

Raphael, Cellini & A Renaissance Banker

The Patronage of Bindo Altoviti

Edited by Alan Chong, Donatella Pegazzano, Dimitrios Zikos

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*Between Bindo Altoviti and Cosimo I:
Averardo Serristori, Medici Ambassador
in Rome*

EMANUELA FERRETTI

As much as Your Excellency writes to me about observing the Florentines, strenuous efforts are not needed to persuade me, since this business is as dear to my heart as it is to yours. Nonetheless, being universally despised by them, I can penetrate their secrets only with difficulty. Nevertheless I will do what I can, and you can be certain of knowing what will come of it in my communications, without any reservations whatsoever.¹

In this letter of 21 March 1555, Averardo di Antonio Serristori (1497–1569), the Medici ambassador in Rome, explained to Cosimo I his role as a spy on the Florentine exiles in the wake of Cosimo's victory over the *fuoriusciti* in the War of Siena. A member of a Florentine aristocratic family long close to the Medici,² Averardo Serristori served three terms as ambassador to Rome: 1541–45, 1547–55, and 1561–69. Apart from his success in previous assignments, Averardo was well qualified to be ambassador when he first arrived in Rome in 1541.³ Although Pope Paul III was hostile to the Medici,⁴ Averardo's father Antonio had been a friend of both the pope and Piero Ridolfi, the father of Cardinal Niccolò Ridolfi, a leader of the political exiles in Rome.⁵ Moreover, Averardo understood the Florentine merchant community in Rome, since he had been apprenticed to his family's silk and gold firms, and his father and his uncle had ties to some of the most important Florentine merchant-bankers in Rome.⁶

Averardo Serristori was an especially effective ambassador because he became an intimate participant in the intellectual and artistic circles in Rome. His friendships with leading humanists and patrons allowed him to monitor the activities of both the papacy and the community of Florentines. Medici ambassadors of the sixteenth century were widely noted for their culture and education, and Averardo was no exception.⁷ In the 1540s, his ties to the courts of Cardinal Ridolfi and Cardinal Alessandro Farnese facilitated his spying on Florentine exiles, who were generally opposed to Medici rule. Averardo also frequented the papal Curia

to promote the clerical career of his son Bartolomeo,⁸ who he hoped would be created cardinal.⁹ His intimacy with Farnese circles was considered so dangerous by Cosimo I, who accused him of being "too free with the papal entourage" (*troppo largo con i papali*),¹⁰ that the embassy secretary, Bartolomeo Concini, was charged with keeping an eye on Averardo himself.¹¹ When in 1545 the duke re-assigned Averardo as ambassador to Charles V in Germany, he was replaced in Rome by Alessandro del Caccia, whom the pope did not favor.¹² Because Averardo had been so close to the Farnese,¹³ he was sent back to Rome when del Caccia was recalled because of a quarrel between Cosimo and the pope concerning the Dominican order in Florence.¹⁴

A reconciliation between Cosimo and the moderate political exiles took place only after the Battle of Montemurlo (31 July–1 August 1537), a defeat that had destroyed the hopes of the exiles. However, Cosimo's relations with Cardinal Niccolò Ridolfi were still strained, and Averardo therefore focused his attention on the cardinal, as well as on the unyielding Roberto and Piero Strozzi. "Far from accepting defeat, the cardinal continued a tenacious struggle consisting only of diplomatic intrigue, but this was no less annoying to the duke. Ridolfi's aim was to disgrace Cosimo I in the eyes of the emperor. Cleverly exploiting the ill will of others, he succeeded in getting the pope and the imperial ambassador himself to help him in his endeavors."¹⁵

Cardinal Ridolfi gathered around him a circle of talented artists and intellectuals that included Michelangelo, Annibal Caro, and the printer Francesco Priscianese.¹⁶ Priscianese was an especially important figure in this group, in part due to his close ties with the cardinal, which Pietro Aretino tried to exploit.¹⁷ Priscianese was connected with the writer Claudio Tolomei,¹⁸ but above all with Donato Giannotti and Pier Vettori.¹⁹ Giannotti, for example, set the second *Dialogo* in *I giorni che Dante consumò nel cercare l'Inferno e il Purgatorio* between Michelangelo, Luigi del Riccio, and Antonio Petreo in Priscianese's house.²⁰ A friend of Averardo Serristori, Priscianese was a native of Pieve a Presciano (a village near Montevarchi, Arezzo), where the Serristori family possessed land.²¹ Averardo gave Priscianese a large number of gifts beginning in July 1541,²² and Priscianese in-turn helped Averardo's son Bartolomeo.²³ Priscianese held republican sentiments, and he took part in the

protection of Florence when the city was besieged by imperial forces in 1527. However, in 1543, Averardo suggested that Duke Cosimo use Priscianese's press to print the Justinian Pandects of Laurenziana.²⁴ Averardo lent Priscianese 100 scudi in order to pay Luigi del Riccio, one of the members of the *stamperia*.²⁵ To show his gratitude for the loan, Priscianese dedicated to Averardo Paolo del Rosso's translation of the *Twelve Caesars* by Suetonius, printed in 1544 at his expense by Antonio Blado.²⁶ Averardo became friendly with Blado, who also printed the madrigals dedicated to Bindo Altoviti (fig. 126).²⁷

While Averardo's friendship with Priscianese was useful for keeping an eye on the court of Cardinal Ridolfi, Averardo's status as ambassador kept him in close contact with the immediate circle of Paul III, especially Cardinal Alessandro Farnese and his court.²⁸ Bindo Altoviti was part of this circle: for example, he and Paolo Giovio had brought Giorgio Vasari to the notice of the Farnese. Cardinal Farnese allowed Averardo Serristori access to the *Accademia della virtù* (Academy of virtue). This group of scholars, led by Claudio Tolomei of Siena, debated many aspects of the ancient world, in particular Vitruvius's treatise *De architettura*. There was especially strong interest in Vitruvius at this time, and many intellectuals must have participated in the academy's discussions, although only a few names are documented.²⁹ Averardo's interest in Vitruvius dated back to the 1520s, as Gherardo Spini reports:

Pietro Vettori, most learned man, testified that in MDXX... in the company of him [Michelangelo], of Antonio degli Alberti, and of Averardo Serristori, very wise gentlemen, and of Giovan Francesco da San Gallo and Lorenzo Cresci, very excellent artificers, considered and examined a large part of the writings of Vitruvius; it happened that various events caused them to leave the study imperfect.³⁰

The circle of Vitruvius scholars who had gathered around Ippolito de' Medici also included Claudio Tolomei, whom Averardo may have known in this period.³¹ Averardo and Priscianese were also close to Cardinal Marcello Cervini (1501–1544), a man of letters who was very interested in architecture. On his behalf, Averardo on 22 October 1541 asked Cosimo for a relief of the Villa Poggio a Caiano, an excellent example of a *villa all'antica*.³²

The cultural lineage of the *Accademia della virtù* was described in a letter Raphael and Baldesar Castiglione wrote to Leo X.³³ Among those who took part in the academy in Rome between 1541 and 1545 were Tolomei, Molza, Cesano, and Giovio,³⁴ who had all enlivened both the Florentine and Roman circles of Ippolito de' Medici. It should also be stressed that Ippolito first founded an academy called *Accademia della virtù*:

In Rome the Accademia della Virtù was founded under the magnanimous authority of Ippolito Medici Grand Cardinal; this enterprise did not have a motto because these famous academics, splendor of our century, argued about how *virtù* should be depicted; in the meantime the same generous Cardinal died, and no further attempts were made, since some were of the opinion that *virtù* had died with the death of this prelate, a true contemporary Maecenas of virtuosos.³⁵

Giovio remarked on the ideal continuity between the patronage of Ippolito and that of Alessandro Farnese: "I then exhorted master Giorgio Vasari of Arezzo to make his art to the same level, with the promise he will find that [the Cardinal Farnese] is no less generous than the Cardinal de' Medici."³⁶ These academies therefore encompassed a group of relationships, rather than the cultural program of one individual. Moreover these academies promoted friendships, as well as the prestige that such connections could bring.

Averardo Serristori played a crucial role as a mediator between Cosimo and Paul III in a dispute over ecclesiastical tithes in 1544. Bindo Altoviti's bank (with 8000 scudi) and a consortium of Florentine bankers made up by Cavalcanti, Giraldis, and della Stufa (9000 scudi) handled the transactions.³⁷ Among the other urgent issues the ambassador was concerned with in the mid-1540s was the control on the alum mines of the Appiano³⁸ and the argument between Paul III and Cosimo about Benedetto Accolti, cardinal of Ravenna, who was portrayed by Benvenuto Cellini.³⁹ Averardo's handling of this last dispute gained him the respect and friendship of the cardinal.⁴⁰

When he returned to Rome in 1547, Averardo found a much calmer political situation. Cosimo I no longer feared the Farnese, having overcome most of his quarrels with Paul III.⁴¹ The election of Julius III in 1550, achieved in part through Averardo's diploma-

cy,⁴² brought two years of stability in the relations between Duke Cosimo and the papacy, and consequently also between the duke and the Florentine Nation.⁴³ Julius III wanted to build his family's funerary chapel in the Nation's church, San Giovanni dei Fiorentini, a project that Michelangelo and Bindo Altoviti supported.⁴⁴ During this period, Averardo may have begun the reconstruction of his own palace in Borgo Vecchio; he also began to support the antiquarian interests of his duke and duchess.⁴⁵ Averardo was again in touch with the scholars and literati who ran the *Accademia della virtù*, now gathered around Cardinal Pioda Carpi.⁴⁶ In 1554 on behalf of Cosimo, Averardo asked the cardinal for help in obtaining medals with the image of the Chimera, which had been discovered shortly before at Arezzo and which was a prestigious monument of the *etrusca toscana*.⁴⁷

As the duke's delegate in Rome, Averardo handled various supplications, warnings, and intercessions from the Florentines.⁴⁸ The relations between the Nation and the duke soon became difficult. In 1553, the Florentine exile poet Paolo del Rosso was arrested and extradited; Serristori had been friendly with him in the 1540s.⁴⁹ During the War of Siena in 1554 and 1555, Serristori was actively engaged in spying on Florentines. Averardo looked for help – unsuccessfully – among the few who were not opposed to Cosimo, with the hope of loosening the solidity of the Francophile group.⁵⁰

The principal leader of the anti-Medici group in Rome was Bindo Altoviti, and numerous letters from Averardo to Cosimo describe Bindo's activities. They refer to his relations with Julius III and to his influence on his fellow-citizens' conduct in Rome. When Cosimo warned the Florentine merchant-bankers not to give the French credit, for example, Bernardo Acciaiuoli declared he could not carry out such an order, but Bindo cleverly asked Averardo Serristori for a written order by Duke Cosimo, which he could not provide.⁵¹ However, there is no evidence that Bindo and Averardo were part of the same intellectual circle. Although Bindo had certain connections with the Farnese, and was known to have hosted an *Accademia de li amici* devoted to music, Bindo's involvement in humanist groups seems to have been limited.

Relations between Averardo and the Nation had worsened in the summer of 1554, after an episode involving a letter from the king of France. Serristori attended a lunch

organized by the Nation's consul to celebrate Saint John's Day, at which time he seized the letter from the king, which requested financial assistance from the Florentine merchant-bankers. In spite of requests from the French ambassador that Serristori be replaced, and the protests lodged by the anti-Mediceans (led by Giovanni Battista Altoviti), Julius III remained neutral, and relations between the pope and the ambassador soon improved.⁵² On this occasion Cosimo decided to retain the man he had called his *procuratore* during the negotiations started by Julius III in June 1553 to "arrange the affairs of Siena" and granted Averardo great autonomy.⁵³

Following the confiscation of Bindo's Tuscan holdings in 1554, Averardo made great efforts to seize the banker's Roman properties as well. However, Julius III was a friend of Bindo and refused to allow the confiscation.⁵⁴ By March 1555, the situation had become very difficult for the ambassador: "I find myself here engulfed by that hatred which Your Excellency knows, and even more, that if I leave my post, God forbid, it will be with much danger and suspicion..."⁵⁵ In 1555, Cosimo I recalled Averardo to Florence because the ambassador had been accused of being involved in the murder of Giovan Francesco Giugni, one of the most active Florentine political exiles. However, in September 1561, Averardo returned to Rome, where he died in 1569, a few months before Pius V made Cosimo grand duke of Tuscany.

This essay is a part of a study of the patronage of Averardo Serristori that will be published shortly. I am grateful to Vanna Arrighi, Mario Bevilacqua, and Dimitrios Zikos for their valuable advice.

1. ASE, Med Princ, 3273, fol. 915 bis:

Quanto a quello che l'Eccellenza Vostra mi scrive dell'osservare i fiorentini, non è bisogno che la duri fatica in persuadermielo, per essermi questo negozio a cuore parimenti che a lei. Non di meno sendo io così universalmente odiato da loro, difficilmente posso penetrare i segreti loro. Tuttavia farò quello che potrò et si renda certa d'havere a sapere quanto verrà sempre in mia notizia senza riservo alcuno. ASE, Med Princ, 3273, fol. 915 bis.

2. The diplomatic career of Averardo Serristori is similar to that of other members of the Florentine aristocracy who supported the Medici before 1530 (for example, the Niccolini, Guicciardini, and Rucellai), and thus "anticipated the court before us

- creation." (Litchfield 1986, p. 30). For Serristori's family relationships with the Medici, see Tognetti 2003, pp. 139–55.
3. In 1537 Serristori was an extraordinary ambassador to Charles V; in 1538 he was sent to Cortona to supervise building of the fortifications at Arezzo and Borgo Sansepolcro (required because of the tensions with the papacy resulting from Ottavio Farnese's war against the duchy of Camerino); in 1539–40 he was captain of Fivizzano; in 1540 Cosimo I made him a senator.
4. On the tense relations between Paul III and Cosimo I, see: Lupo Gentile 1906; Spini 1980, pp. 168–77; Firpo 1997, pp. 311–26.
5. Averardo refers to the friendship between his father and Piero Ridolfi in a letter of 18 April 1542, quoted in Ferrai 1882, p. 176. Averardo also recalled the familiarity between his father and Paul III, from the years when Paul was at the court of Piero de' Medici; Serristori 1853, p. 151 (22 May 1545).
6. The election of Paul III did not displace Florentine financiers from their crucial role in the finances of the papacy. The importance of the firms of Averardo di Salvstro Serristori's sons has been pointed out by Tognetti 2003, pp. 154–66. The firm's books testify to commercial or financial relations with many Florentine banker families in Rome in the 1520s; ASF, Serristori, Famiglia, 711–14. Averardo's sister married the banker Giovanni Pandolfini. In 1536 his second cousin, Costanza di Giovanni di Battista Serristori, married Alamanno di Iacopo Salviati, the eldest brother of the cardinals Giovanni and Bernardo Salviati.
- Averardo also had associations in his youth with the papal court, especially during the reign of Clement VII. He was a friend of the Florentine Giovanni Bandini in Rome; ASF, Serristori, Famiglia, 714. There were also financial connections between Averardo's cousin, Giovan Battista di Francesco di Averardo Serristori, and the court of Clement VII; *ibid.*, 610.
7. A. Contini, "Dinastia, patriziato e politica estera: ambasciatori e segretari medicei nel Cinquecento," *Cheiron* 16 (1999), p. 81. On the cultural backgrounds of ambassadors, see Carmelo Occhipinti, *Carteggio d'arte degli ambasciatori estensi in Francia (1536–1553)* (Pisa, 2001), pp. xi–xii.
8. Born in 1523, he was designated archbishop of Trani in 1551. He died in Rome in 1555.
9. ASF, Med Princ, 3272, fol. 706: Serristori to Lorenzo Pagni, Rome, 16 March 1554.
10. ASF, Med Princ, 3264, fol. 552. Cosimo I frequently recalled the ambassador.
11. Serristori 1853, p. xxvii.
12. Firpo 1997, p. 321. Serristori's assignment in Germany ended in 1547.
13. Lupo Gentile 1906, p. 119.
14. *Ibid.*, p. 93; Firpo 1997, pp. 321–22.
15. Roberto Ridolfi, *Opuscoli di storia letteraria e di erudizione* (Florence, 1942), p. 112.
16. On Caro, see Condivi 1998, p. iii. On Priscianese, see: Redig de Campos 1938; Ridolfi, Roth 1932; Roberto Ridolfi, "Note sul Priscianese stampatore e umanista fiorentino," *La Bibliofilia* 43 (May–June 1941), pp. 291–95.
17. Aretino and Priscianese met in Venice, where Francesco had gone to print his works *Della lingua romana* and *De primi principi della lingua romana*; Aretino 1998, vol. 1, letter 160, p. 352 note. At a dinner at Titian's house, Priscianese met Iacopo Nardi, a poet, and Jacopo Sansovino; G. Padon, *Momenti del Rinascimento Veneto* (Padua, 1978), pp. 371–74.
18. Condivi 1998, p. 21.
19. Redig de Campos 1938, p. 165; Ridolfi, Roth 1932, pp. 68–69.
20. Steinmann 1932; Deoclecio Redig de Campos, ed., *Dialoghi di Donato Giannotti de' giorni che Dante Consumò nel cenare l'Inferno e il purgatorio* (Florence, 1939). Redig de Campos 1938, p. 168, thought that Priscianese was the printer chosen for the edition of the *Canzoniere* by Michelangelo, but Giannotti and del Riccio had been engaged on that work since 1545. For Petreo, see: Roberto Ridolfi, *Antonio Petreo umanista e bibliofilo del Cinquecento* (Florence, 1941); Byatt 1983, pp. 91–95.
21. The first acquisitions were made by Averardo's uncle, Lorenzo, beginning in 1498. ASF, Serristori, Famiglia, 275. Before he arrived in Rome in 1540, he had been rector of the Collegiata of Figline Valdarno. For Priscianese's relations with Caludio Tolomei, Giovanbattista Alemanni, and Paolo del Rosso, see Simoncelli 1990, p. 35.
22. ASF, Serristori, Famiglia, 733.
23. *Ibid.* Priscianese found someone to produce a copy of a codex for Averardo's son, Bartolomeo, and also procured other books to teach the young prelate who had come with his father to Rome.
24. "Perché intendo che V. E. vuol far stampare le Pandette non voglio mancare di dirle come qui v'è uno messer Francesco della Pieve a Presciano, dominio di V. E., et amicho mio, il quale ha cominciato una stamperia, et anche il papa dà a stampare certi libri antichi della sua libreria et mai più stampati, poiché fa una lettera antica della medesima sorte di quella grande di Basilea, ma assai più bella, come V. E. potrà vedere per una nostra, la quale fra XV giorni potrà mandarle." ASF, Med Princ, 3264, fol. 111 (7 February 1543). About this edition see Spagnesi 1983.
25. ASF, Serristori, Famiglia, 733 (20 February 1543).
26. Redig de Campos 1938, pp. 166, 176; Simoncelli 1990, p. 41.
27. On 8 July 1842, Serristori wrote to Cosimo I, "Con la presente mando a V.E. la bolla del Concilio la quale per ancora non è stata pubblicata, ma per essere amico di quello che l'ha stampata [Blado], mi ha dato questa anchora che ebbi expresso comandamento di non mostrarla né darla a persona alcuna." (With the present letter, I send to Your Excellency the Bull of the Council which is not yet promulgat-

ed, but because I am a friend of the printer [Blado], he has given it to me, although I have been expressly ordered not to show nor give it to anyone.) ASE, Med Princ, 3264, fol. 452.

28. André Chastel, "Le cour des Farnese et l'idéologie romaine" in *Le Palais Farnèse*, vol. 1, part 2 (Rome, 1981), pp. 469–73. Averardo often visited the residence of Margaret of Austria, where he met Cardinal Farnese. Serristori 1853, p. 459.

29. Documented participants include Iacopo Vignola and Francesco Paciotto, and the pontifical architects Antonio da Sangallo the Younger and Iacopo Melegghino. Pagliara 1986, p. 72 note 24; Daly Davis 1989, pp. 188–89.

On the academy, see: Daly Davis 1989; Frédérique Lemerle, ed., *Les annotations de Guillaume Philandrier sur le De Architectura de Vitruve, Livres I à IV* (Paris, 2000), pp. 14–17; Brothers 2001; Günther 2002, pp. 126–27. For example, Paolo Giovio relied on members of the academy to develop his Vitruvian interests, exactly when he was placing ancient ruins in his Museo; Maffei 1999, p. 132. Guillaume Philandrier argued with Giovio about the *tridina* in Vitruvius; Daly Davis 1998, p. 98.

30. "Pietro Vettori, homo dottissimo ne fece testimonianza com'egli nel MDXX... [sic] in compagnia sua [Michelangelo], d'Antonio degli Alberti et d'Averardo Serristori gentilhuomini giudiziosissimi et di Giovan Francesco da San Gallo et Lorenzo Cresci, artefici eccellentissimi videro et esaminarono gran parte degli scritti di Vitruvio; avvenga che per diversi accidenti lasciassero poi tale studio imperfetto." Gherardo Spini, *I tre primi libri sopra l'istituzioni de' Greci e de' Latini architettori*, cited by Cristina Acidini Luchinat, in *Il disegno interrotto: Trattati medicei d'architettura*, edited by Franco Borsi (Florence, 1980), vol. 1, p. 51. See also Pagliara 1986, p. 6.

31. On Ippolito, see Michele D'Ercole, *Il Cardinale Ippolito de' Medici* (Terlizzi, 1907). Ippolito was in Florence between July 1524 and May 1527. The importance of the young Ippolito for the study of Vitruvius in these years in Florence is the subject of a forthcoming article by the author.

32. On Cervini, see: Léon Dorez, "Le Cardinal M. Cervini et l'imprimerie à Rome," *Mélanges de l'Ecole française de Rome* 11 (1892), pp. 289–313; Pio Paschini, "Un cardinale editore: Marcello Cervini," in idem, *Cinquecento romano e riforma cattolica* (Rome, 1958), pp. 383–413; D. E. Coffin, "Pope Marcellus II and architecture," *Architectura* 9 (1979), pp. 11–29; William V. Hudon, *Marcello Cervini and Ecclesiastical Government in Tridentine Italy* (DeKalb, Ill., 1992); Paola Piacentini, *La biblioteca di Marcello II Cervini* (Rome, 2001); Ruschi 2002.

For the relief of the villa of Poggio a Caiano: ASE, Med Princ, 3264, fol. 52v; Serristori to Cosimo I, from Camerino, on 22 October 1541.

On Cervini's villa at Vivo d'Orcia (Siena), designed by Antonio da Sangallo the Younger (together with the cardinal), see Ruschi 2002, pp.

175–76.

33. Pagliara 1986, p. 69; Brothers 2001, p. 137; Günther 2002, p. 127.

34. Daly Davis 1998, p. 98; Maffei 1999, p. 132.

35. "In Roma fu fondata l'Accademia della Virtù sotto la magnanima autorità d'Hippolito Medici Gran Cardinale, questa impresa fu senza motto perché fra quei famosi accademici, splendor di questo nostro secolo, fu contrasto in qual foggia si dovesse dipingere la virtù, in quel mezzo venne lo stesso generoso Cardinale a morte, non si cercò altro perché volsero alcuni che la virtù fusse morta per la morte di quel prelato vero mecenate di virtuosi a nostri giorni." *Ragionamento di Luca Contile sopra le proprietà delle imprese con particolari de' gli academici affiliati et con interpretazioni et croniche* (Pavia, 1574), p. 42, quoted in Daly Davis 1989, p. 197 note 31. Zimmerman 1995, p. 115.

36. Letter to Alessandro Farnese, 21 January 1543. Paolo Giovio, *Lettere*, edited by Giuseppe Guido Ferrero, vol. 1 (Rome, 1956), p. 303. Giovio also wrote to Cosimo I to report that the favor he had received from the Medici popes Leo X and Clement VII was continued under Cardinal Alessandro Farnese. Ibid., p. 307; 10 March 1543.

37. The bank of Bindo Altoviti was involved in the first payment (4 July 1544), and the group of Florentine bankers in the following one (4 August 1544); ASE, Serristori, Famiglia, 733. The negotiations concerning the decision about the size and the formalities of the tithes payment began in October 1543; the letters in ASE, Med Princ, 3265 and 3266, testify to the complex negotiations between Cardinal Ricci and the ambassador. About the tithes payments of 1538 and 1540, see Spini 1980, pp. 109, 176, 191.

38. Lupo Gentile 1906, pp. 87–89.

39. Enea Costantini, *Il Cardinal di Ravenna al governo di Ancona e il suo processo sotto Paolo III* (Pesaro, 1891); G. Fragnito, "Un pratese alla corte di Cosimo I," *Archivio Storico Pratese* 1–2 (1986), p. 50 note 69.

40. As indicated by correspondence: ASE, Carte Accolti, 2, 11, 16–17; ASE, Serristori, Famiglia, 538–39.

41. Spini 1980, p. 170.

42. Serristori 1853, p. 257; Pastor 1955, vol. 6, p. 33. The day after Julius III's election, the duke gave Serristori 1000 scudi.

43. After all it was a very inconstant situation: in December 1550, Averardo, on behalf of the duke, negotiated with the Nation's merchant-bankers about the financial matters connected with the succession of the cardinal of Ravenna; ASE, Med Princ, 3269, fol. 534. In 1552, at the festival of Candelora, the governor of the Pietà's brotherhood could not find anyone willing to take the holy symbol and give it to Serristori. Only after some negotiations and compromises were Francesco Pandolfini and Francesco Ubaldini available; Polverini Fosi 1994, p. 405. Moreover, in spring of that year, the strict sur-

- veillance of Paolo del Rosso began; see Simoncelli 1990, p. 74.
44. Bruno Contardi, "Disegni e modelli per San Giovanni dei Fiorentini, 1559-1560" in: Giulio Carlo Argan and Bruno Contardi, *Michelangelo architetto* (Milan, 1990), p. 342. For Michelangelo and Altoviti, see Vasari 1568: ed. 1966, vol. 6, p. 84.
45. Although letters from Averardo to Cosimo in the early 1550s show indications of interest in ancient Roman marbles, it was only after 1560 that Serristori's help became important for acquiring objects for the ducal collections; Cristofani 1979, p. 8.
46. Daly Davis 1989, p. 189.
47. ASE, Med Princ, 3272, fol. 704; quoted in Cristofani 1979, p. 12. Both Vasari and Cellini wrote about the discovery of the Chimera. As letters addressed to Bernardino Maffei testify, Pier Vettori was also interested in the iconography of the Chimera; Carrara 1999, p. 526.
48. The matters dealt with were various; for example, the demand of exemption from the tithe's payment that Averardo showed the duke on behalf of Giovan Battista Galletti (Julius III's steward and altar boy); ASE, Med Princ, 3269, fol. 527.
49. See Simoncelli 1990, p. 88.
50. Within the Florentine community, Serristori could count on his friendship with Pier Antonio Bandini, Roberto Ubaldini (his son Camillo worked in his bank), and Giovanni Pandolfini (his brother-in-law and moreover "provveditore del Consolato" in 1554). He had also had friendly relations with Francesco Del Nero; ASE, Med Princ, 3273, fol. 519.
51. Ibid., 3272, fol. 532 (1 February 1554).
52. Cantagalli 1962, p. 238; Polverini Fosi 1994, pp. 405-9. Although in the middle of July, Serristori's stay in Rome seemed to have come to an end, on 31 July, Baldovino del Monte, the pope's brother, invited him to lunch at the Villa Giulia. In August, Serristori boasted to Cosimo I of being "tenuto [dal papa] sempre per buon rispetto, all'esser cominciata la dimestichezza di lunga mano avanti il suo pontificato." ASE, Med Princ, 3273, fol. 572.
53. With regard to the letter of the French king, Cosimo believed Serristori's version of the event, in which he said he had not snatched the letter from the consul and reported he had been unfairly assaulted (ASE, Med Princ, 3273, fol. 425). The original of Cosimo's proxy concerning Averardo and the negotiations that took place in June 1553 ("accomodare le cose di Siena") is in ASE, Serristori, Famiglia, 305.
54. Ibid., 3273, fols. 304, 309 (30 May 1554).
55. "Io mi trovo qui con quell'odio a dosso che l'E.V. sa et più ancora in modo che vacando la sede, che il Dio non voglia, starò con muolto pericolo et sospetto..." Ibid., 3273, fol. 915 bis.