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FRANCESCO CAMILLIANI AND THE FLORENTINE GARDEN OF DON LUIGI DE TOLEDO:

A study of fountain production and consumption in the third quarter of the 16th century

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FRANCESCO CAMILLIANI AND THE FLORENTINE GARDEN OF DON LUIGI DE TOLEDO:

A study of fountain production and consumption in the third quarter of the 16th century

2 volumes

Volume 1: Text

Anatole Tchikine

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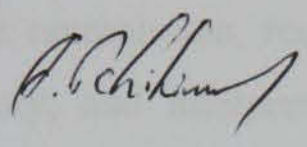
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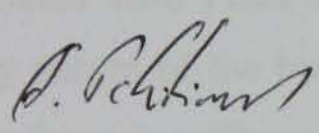
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SUMMARY

This thesis focuses on the most ambitious sculptural complex created for a private garden in Florence in the third quarter of the 16th century. The main feature of this complex was a large fountain, which was sold to the city of Palermo soon after its creation. It was erected in a modified form in one of the city's main squares, the Piazza Pretoria. The fountain became known as the *Fontana Pretoria* and was recognised as one of Sicily's most notable artistic monuments.

My chief contribution to scholarship consists in clarifying the circumstances of the fountain's commission, reconstructing its original appearance, explaining its subsequent history, and interpreting its cultural significance by reference to the concrete historical and artistic circumstances that accompanied its creation. I therefore draw attention to two important protagonists of 16th-century Florentine culture, the sculptor Francesco Camilliani and the patron Don Luigi de Toledo.

The *Fontana Pretoria* is the only significant work associated with the Florentine sculptor Francesco Camilliani (1524-86). The design of this fountain and the appearance of its individual statues defines our overall conception of the sculptor's style, technique, and artistic objectives. I provide a survey of the principle works associated with Francesco Camilliani, emphasising the confusing and often contradictory nature of the historiographic accounts of the sculptor's career and the history of his fountains. The sculptor's professional development is shown against the backdrop of the main artistic trends in Florence in the middle decades of the 16th century.

The reconstruction of the history of large ongoing artistic projects undertaken in the Renaissance involves the analysis of their financial, organisational, ideological, and cultural aspects, involving the study of patrons, artists, and artistic products. I consider the range of factors that brought about the creation of the sculptural complex in the Florentine garden of Don Luigi de Toledo, determined its progress, and conditioned its subsequent dissolution. The considerable modification of the design of the main fountain from this garden is explained by the necessity to transform it from being a garden structure into a civic monument. The history of this fountain is discussed in the context of fountain production in late 16th-century Florence, which is viewed as an industry where changing fashion, improved workshop organisation, and

an expanding art market conditioned the evolution of fountain design to the same extent as the creative effort of individual sculptors.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

The initial impulse to engage with the subject of this thesis came over four years ago in the course of a conversation with Louis Waldman. The acquisition of the group of two standing figures by the Museo Nazionale di Bargello of Florence and their presumed authorship by Francesco Camilliani prompted Louis to comment on the amazing history of the fountain that this sculptor was mainly associated with. Commissioned for a private garden in Florence, this fountain was subsequently dismantled, packed into cases, transported to Sicily, and erected in one of the main squares of Palermo. The considerable size, bland style, and evident fragility of the two Bargello figures provided no explanation as to reasons behind this costly, risky, and evidently difficult undertaking.

The subject and methodology of my thesis evolved in the course of my close collaboration with three distinguished scholars, Peter Cherry, Edward Goldberg, and Rosemary Mulcahy. I met them at different stages of my career as an undergraduate and postgraduate student in the Department of the History of Art and Architecture in Trinity College Dublin. My approach to the analysis of works of art in terms of their style and iconography evolved in Peter Cherry's seminars. Dr. Cherry's gentle guidance in the capacity of my supervisor allowed my work to progress at its own pace while setting a very high standard of expectation. Edward Goldberg taught me the discipline of archival research and offered unlimited help in assembling the documentary material that this thesis is base on. Dr. Goldberg's continuous interest in my work, generous exchange of ideas, and constructive criticism, were crucial to the development of my research. Rosemarie Mulcahy helped me considerably with the research that had to be carried out in Spain. I had many opportunities to benefit from Dr. Mulcahy's critical judgement and extensive knowledge of art history.

Many scholars offered me their assistance at different stages of my work, and I gratefully acknowledge their contribution to the development of this thesis. They include Charles Avery, Antonia Boström, Anthea Brook, and Thomas Willett. I would also like to thank Christine Meek, Edward McParland, Cornelia del Mercato, Antonio Delfino, and the staff of the Medici Archive Project (particularly Lisa Goldenberg Stoppato) for the valuable information that I have received from them.

In the course of my research, I had to consult a substantial amount of documentary and material evidence. A significant part of my work was carried out on location, necessitating a number of study trips with the purpose of examining various works of sculpture preserved in Florence, Siena, Rome, Naples, Palermo, Bologna, Carrara, Viterbo, Madrid, Aranjuez, Escorial, Abadía, London, Paris, and Fontainebleau. Since a lot of sculpture that fell under the scope of my research had been designed for gardens and was integrated into their layout, I explored the 16th-century remains of the Medici gardens at Castello, Petraia, and Pratolino, the garden complex of the Villa Lante at Bagnaia, and the Sacro Bosco at Bomarzo. I am grateful to Juan Angel Sayáns for his exemplary hospitality during my stay in Madrid and Placensia, and to the Flores family for their warm welcome in Abadía and a permission to examine and photograph the remaining fragments of the fountain that had previously stood in the garden of the house that they now own. Gianluca Mugnai continuously offered me his generous help during my frequent stays in Florence.

The documentary evidence that I needed to consult consisted of miscellaneous sorts of archival material, including financial and fiscal records, contracts, property inventories, private and official correspondence, and testaments. Most of this material is preserved in the State Archives and National Libraries of Florence and Naples. I would like to thank Anna Russo of the Biblioteca Nazionale of Florence and the staff of the Soprintendenza Archivistica, the Archivio di Stato, and the Biblioteca Nazionale of Naples, for their assistance.

A important aspect of my research was formed by study in image libraries and print rooms. Using the resources of the Witt and Conway Libraries of the Courtauld Institute in London and the image collections of the Kunsthistorisches Institut in Florence and the Biblioteca Nacional in Madrid, I was able to familiarise myself with a large number of 16th-century sculptures and their present location and learn about their authorship, iconography, and style. I would like to thank the staff of these institutions for helping me to access the material required for my work.

I am grateful to Brendan Dempsey and Brian McGovern of the Photographic Department in Trinity College Dublin for carrying out some of the photographic work that was included in the present study.

My research would have not been possible without the generous financial assistance that I have received during the period of my work on this thesis. I would like to acknowledge the support of the Irish Research Council for the Humanities and

Social Sciences (IRCHSS), and personally Eda Sagarra and Maurice Bric, the Trustees of the Thomas Dammann Memorial Fund, and the Trinity Foundation and Trust. I am also grateful to Roger Stalley, Patrick O'Meara, Philip McEvansoneya, and John Prior for helping me to obtain financial support from these and other sources.

I would like to thank Ron Warne for critically commenting on the text and engaging in stimulating discussions on various aspects of art history. Some of the ideas expressed in this work derive from these discussions. I am also grateful to Sylvia McLeod for the care and patience that she took in proofreading many sections of this thesis. Finally, I would like to thank my parents, Irina and Alexander Tchikine, for the endless support that they have given me at different stages of my work.

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71. Andrea del Minga (after a drawing by Baccio Bandinelli); *Noah as the inventor of wine;* before 1560; oil on panel; Florence, Galleria Palatina (inv. 1890, no. 5058)
72. Author unknown (probably Neapolitan); *Portrait of Don Luigi de Toledo;* late 17th century; engraving (reproduced from: Parrino 1692-1694, 1, plate between pp. 196 and 197)
73. Stefano Bonsignori; *Nova pulcherrimae civitatis Florentiae topographia accuratissime delineata;* 1584; engraving; Florence, Museo Firenze com' era (detail featuring the garden of Don Luigi de Toledo in Florence)
74. Zanobi Lastricati (attributed); *Venus;* c. 1550s; bronze; c. 1.80 m; Aranjuez, Jardín de la Isla
75. Author unknown; *Veuë de la Fontaine de Dom Jouan D'austriche, à Arangouesse;* 17th-century; engraving; Madrid, Museo Municipal (inv. 7399) (reproduced from: Aranjuez 1998, p. 137, plate 132)
76. Battista Lorenzi (attributed); *Triton blowing a conch;* before 1584; marble; height: 2,03 m; Palermo, Museo Nazionale Archeologico
77. Workshop of Giambologna; *Fountain of Samson and a Philistine*; late 16th century; Aranjuez, Jardín de la Isla (detail of the *tazza* showing the joints)
78. Andrea del Verrocchio (copy); *Putto holding a dolphin;* c. 1470; bronze; height: 1.25 m; Florence, Palazzo Vecchio

79. Andrea del Verrocchio; *Putto holding a dolphin;* c. 1470; bronze; height: 1.25 m; Florence, Palazzo Vecchio
80. Donatello; *Judith and Holofernes*; c. 1455-60; bronze with traces of gilding; height: 2.36 m, Florence, Palazzo Vecchio
81. Bartolomeo Ammannati; *Hercules and Antaeus;* 1559-60; bronze; height: 2.01 m; Florence, Villa Reale di Castello
82. Polykleitos (Roman copy); *Doryphoros;* 4th century B.C.; marble; height: 1.96 m; Naples, Museo Nazionale Archeologico
83. Michelangelo Buonarotti; *Victory;* 1532-34; marble; height: 2.61 m; Florence, Palazzo Vecchio
84. Michelangelo Buonarotti, *Day;* 1526-33; marble; length: 1.85 m; Florence, S. Lorenzo, Sagrestia Nuova
85. Bartolomeo Ammannati; *Arno;* c. 1555-63; marble; length: 1.72 m; Florence, Museo Nazionale del Bargello
86. Bartolomeo Ammannati; *Neptune;* 1563-66; marble; height: 4.87 m; Florence, Piazza della Signoria, *Fontana del Nettuno*
87. Giambologna; *Abduction of a Sabine;* 1581-83; marble; height: 4.10 m; Florence, Loggia dei Lanzi
88. Pelegrino Tibaldi; *Fontana in Piazza Scalfieri in Bologna;* 16th century; engraving (reproduced from: The Illustrated Bartsch, 39, no. 8 (16))
89. Author unknown (Italian, late 15th century); *Fountain of the Tree Graces;* late 15th century; woodcut (illustration to Francesco Colonna, *Hypnerotomachia Polifili)* (reproduced from: Colonna 1999, p. 90)
90. Bartolomeo Ammannati; *Ceres;* c. 1555-63; marble; height: 1.87 m; Florence, Museo Nazionale del Bargello
91. Workshop of Giambologna; *Fontana del Nettuno;* 1566; marble and bronze; Bologna, Piazza Scalfieri (detail featuring the figure of a Nereid) (reproduced from Avery 1993, colour plate III)
92. Author unknown (probably Neapolitan); *Herm* (detail of a fountain aedicule); late 16th century; plaster, and painted stucco; Abadía
93. Giovanni Antonio Nigrone; *Design of a fountain with the figures of Venus with a Cupid, Cleopatra, and Lucretia;* late 16th-early 17th century; ink, watercolour, and gouache; Naples, Biblioteca Nazionale (from Nigrone, 1, fol. 23r)

94. Bernardo Buontalenti; *Grotta del Buontalenti;* 1583-93; Florence, Giardino di Boboli (detail featuring external decoration)
95. Giovanni Antonio Nigrone; *Design of a fountain with the figures of Venus and two Tritons;* late 16th-early 17th century; ink, watercolour, and gouache; Naples, Biblioteca Nazionale (from Nigrone, 1, fol. 15r)
96. Giovanni Antonio Nigrone; *Design of a fountain in the form of a castle;* late 16th-early 17th century; ink, watercolour, and gouache (from Nigrone, 1, fol. 88r)
97. Giovanni Antonio Nigrone; *Design of a fountain with the figure of Venus/ Diana;* late 16th-early 17th century; ink, watercolour, and gouache; Naples, Biblioteca Nazionale (from Nigrone, 1, fol. 100v)
98. Giovanni Antonio Nigrone; *Design of a fountain with the figures of Hercules and Antaeus/Samson and Philistine;* late 16th-early 17th century; ink, watercolour, and gouache; Naples, Biblioteca Nazionale (from Nigrone, 1, fol. 165v)
99. Giovanni Antonio Nigrone; *Design of a fountain in the form of a vase with dancing figures;* late 16th-early 17th century; ink, watercolour, and gouache; Naples, Biblioteca Nazionale (from Nigrone, 1, fol. 42r)
100. Agostino Veneziano; *Vase with two handles;* 1530; engraving (reproduced from: The Illustrated Bartsch, 27, no. 543 (388))
101. Giovanni Antonio Nigrone; *Design of a fountain in the form of a vase with a lion;* late 16th-early 17th century; ink, watercolour, and gouache; Naples, Biblioteca Nazionale (from Nigrone, 1, fol. 166r)
102. Agostino Veneziano; *Vase with two rings;* 1531; engraving (reproduced from: The Illustrated Bartsch, 27, no. 547-I (389))
103. Giorgio Ghisi (after Perino del Vaga); *Neptune with two tritons;* 16th century; engraving (reproduced from: The Illustrated Bartsch, 31, no. 30-I (397))
104. Giovanni Antonio Nigrone; *Design of a fountain with a male figure blowing a conch;* late 16th-early 17th century; ink, watercolour, and gouache; Naples, Biblioteca Nazionale (from Nigrone, 1, fol. 245r)
105. Giovanni Antonio Nigrone; *Design of a fountain with the figure of a Triton blowing a conch;* late 16th-early 17th century; ink, watercolour, and gouache; Naples, Biblioteca Nazionale (from Nigrone, 1, fol. 142r)

106. Giovanni Antonio Nigrone; *Design of a fountain with the figure of a youth holding a vase supported by two putti;* late 16th-early 17th century; ink, watercolour, and gouache; Naples, Biblioteca Nazionale (from Nigrone, 1, fol. 215r)

107. Pierino da Vinci; *River-god;* 1548; marble; height: 1.35 m; Paris, Louvre

108. Giovanni Antonio Nigrone; *Design of a fountain with the figures of Perseus and Andromeda;* late 16th-early 17th century; ink, watercolour, and gouache; Naples, Biblioteca Nazionale (from Nigrone, 1, fol. 157r)

109. Benvenuto Cellini (copy); *Perseus freeing Andromeda;* early 1550s; bronze; 0.82 x 0.90 m; Florence, Loggia dei Lanzi

110. Orazio Mochi and Romolo del Tadda; *The game of Saccomazzone*; 1620s; sandstone; unmeasured; Florence, Giardino di Boboli (detail showing the degree of weathering of the figure's face)

111. Author unknown (probably Florentine); *Orpheus, Eurydice, and Cerberus;* late 16th century; marble; 1.25 m; present location unknown

112. Author unknown (probably Neapolitan); *A standing nude couple;* late 16th century; marble; 2.65 m; Florence, Museo Nazionale del Bargello

113. Author unknown (probably Neapolitan); *Andromeda;* late 16th-century; marble; unmeasured; Florence, Giardino di Boboli, Viottolone

114. Author unknown (probably Neapolitan); *A standing nude couple;* late 16th century; marble; 2.65 m; Florence, Museo Nazionale del Bargello (side view)

115. Michelangelo Naccherino; *Adam and Eve;* c. 1616; marble; height: 1.90 m; Florence, Giardino di Boboli, Grotta di Annalena

116. Francesco Camilliani; *Grotesque animal head;* c. 1567; unmeasured; limestone; Siena, Fortezza di S. Barbara

117. Michelangelo Naccherino; *Grotesque masque;* c. 1616; marble; unmeasured; Florence, Giardino di Boboli, Grotta di Annalena

ABBREVIATIONS

ACP	Archivio Storico del Comune di Palermo
AMNBF	Archivio del Museo Nazionale del Bargello di Firenze
AOSMF	Archivio dell'Opera di Santa Maria del Fiore
ASF	Archivio di Stato di Firenze
ASBN	Archivio Storico del Banco di Napoli
ASN	Archivio di Stato di Napoli
ASP	Archivio di Stato di Palermo
BNCF	Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale di Firenze
BNN	Biblioteca Nazionale di Napoli
DBI	Dizionario Biografico degli italiani
GDA	Grove Dictionary of Art
MAP Doc. sources	The Medici Archive Project, documentary database "Documentary Sources for the Arts and Humanities (1537-1743)"

fol.	folio
ins.	inserto
inv.	inventory number
r	recta
v	versa

INTRODUCTION

A. SCOPE OF THIS THESIS

This thesis focuses on the most ambitious sculptural complex created for a private garden in Florence in the third quarter of the 16th century. The main feature of this complex was a large fountain, which was sold to Palermo soon after its creation. It was erected in a modified form in one of the city's main squares, in front of the Palazzo Pretorio. The fountain became known as the *Fontana Pretoria* and was recognised as one of Sicily's most notable artistic monuments.

The *Fontana Pretoria* is now the only significant work associated with the Florentine sculptor Francesco Camilliani (1524-86). Its design and the appearance of its statuary define our conception of the sculptor's style, technique, and artistic objectives. The complicated history of the *Fontana Pretoria* indicates, however, that the professional activities of Francesco Camilliani was only one of many forces that brought about the fountain's creation. Its design, present location, and cultural significance resulted from a range of factors, which have not been fully determined and interpreted in a correct historical context.

In studying Francesco Camilliani, our point of departure is necessarily the *Fontana Pretoria,* the sculptor's most important work that monopolized his activity during the most productive period of his career. The fountain, however, has two distinct phases in its history. The earliest of these phases included its commission and a brief period of time when it decorated the Florentine garden of a Spanish nobleman Don Luigi de Toledo as part of a large sculptural ensemble. The later phase began with the fountain's removal from the garden and erection in the centre of Palermo, a process that involved a considerable transformation of its design. It is therefore the fountain in the garden of Don Luigi de Toledo, rather than the *Fontana Pretoria,* that should form the basis of our understanding of the work of Francesco Camilliani. My chief contribution to scholarship consists in clarifying the circumstances of this fountain's commission, reconstructing its appearance and original setting, explaining its subsequent history, and interpreting its cultural significance by reference to the concrete historical and artistic circumstances that accompanied both its creation and transformation.

The reconstruction of the history of large ongoing artistic projects undertaken in the Renaissance usually necessitates the analysis of their financial, organisational, ideological, and cultural aspects, involving the study of patrons and artists as well as of artistic products. Depending on the focus of each individual investigation, the account of such commissions could take various forms. A chapter in the history of patronage, a monographic study of an artist, or an exhibition catalogue, could present equally adequate and valid ways of dealing with the same material, highlighting its different yet interrelated aspects. In certain cases, however, the nature of the material dictates the method of its treatment. The history of the sculptural complex created for the garden of Don Luigi de Toledo in Florence presents such a case.

The considerable importance of the *Fontana Pretoria* in the life and culture of Sicily offsets the fact that it was not an indigenous creation and obscures its origin. Standard accounts of the fountain fail to acknowledge the importance of the early Florentine period of its history, leaving unexplained the difficulty and cost involved in its acquisition and erection in Palermo. The historiographic situation surrounding the *Fontana Pretoria* precludes the possibility of arranging the material pertaining to its early history into a straightforward chronological sequence. Presented as a story of collaboration between a patron and an artist that involved the creation and dissolution of a particular fountain ensemble, this material would appear contextually misplaced.

Although crucially important in the context of this study, the *Fontana Pretoria* is not its only subject. The fountain is used as a point of entry into the culture of mid-16th-century Florence, which formed a vital background for the creative endeavours of Francesco Camilliani and the artistic patronage of Don Luigi de Toledo. My goal is to demonstrate that the collaboration between these two individuals made an important contribution to the creation of the type of art that defines our modern conception of the culture of the Florentine Cinquecento. The main subject of this study is the factors that brought about this collaboration, determined its course, and decided the fate of the works of art that it had generated.

The various pieces of sculpture associated with Francesco Camilliani include work in the round as well as in relief. These works are not uniform in terms of their style and quality, suggesting that at least in part they were executed by the sculptor's assistants. It would seem that the conspicuous role of workshop participation in the execution of Francesco Camilliani's fountains reflects the basic nature of the project. Although one of the objectives of this study is to identify the stylistic features that

characterise Francesco Camilliani's output, my equally important goal is to determine the principles of managing such large and time-consuming artistic commissions as the fountain complex in the Florentine garden of Don Luigi de Toledo. In the context of this study, the principles that governed the production of this sculptural ensemble are therefore given the same importance as the assessment of its design and artistic significance.

Although essentially a study of the career of Francesco Camilliani and of the patronage of Don Luigi de Toledo, this thesis has a number of minor protagonists associated with either the artist, or the patron, or the works produced in the course of their collaboration. The account of the activities of these individuals (who include Cosimo Bartoli, Giovanni Battista Ricasoli, Giovanni Antonio Nigrone, Michelangelo Naccherino, and Camillo Camilliani) helps to put the subject of this investigation into its historical and artistic context.

This thesis also concerns a number of general issues that present relatively independent areas of research. Although relevant in the context of this study, these issues cannot be fully developed within its scope. They include the history of fountain export in the 16th century, the nature and range of 16th-century garden fountains, and the principles of designing sculpture in the round developed by Florentine sculptors of the Renaissance. Given summary treatment in the course of this study, these issues remain important areas for further investigation.[1]

[1] While much of the evidence used in this thesis is of archival nature, the surviving documentation that pertains to the history and sculptural decoration of the garden of Don Luigi de Toledo in Florence is very uneven. This necessitates the use of records that are different in both scope and nature. References to archival sources that are not followed by the name of an author and the date of publication after a semi-colon indicate citation of unpublished material.

B. STRUCTURE OF THIS THESIS

This thesis accounts for the history of the fountain complex created by Francesco Camilliani for the Florentine garden of Don Luigi de Toledo. It is divided into three chapters, which deal respectively with the works of sculpture that survived from this complex, the nature and scale of the commission that resulted in its creation, and the artist who was put in charge of this project. By presenting the material in the proposed way, we will be able to distinguish clearly between the biography of the sculptor and the history of the fountains that he executed, avoiding the inconsistencies and contradictions that result from confusing these separate stories.

CHAPTER 1 offers a survey of the principle works associated with Francesco Camilliani, which include the *Fontana Pretoria* in Palermo and the remains of the fountain complex in Abadía, Extremadura, the former country residence of the Dukes of Alba. The considerable cultural importance that these fountains achieved in their respective locations generated independent historiographic traditions, which formed the basis for modern historiography of Francesco Camilliani and his works. By emphasising the fragmented and often contradictory nature of this historiography, this chapter indicates the necessity to revise our current conception of both the sculptor's career and the history of his fountains.[2]

In CHAPTER 2, we will focus on the history of the garden created for Don Luigi de Toledo in Florence, determining the nature of its sculptural ornamentation and tracing the subsequent history of its statuary. This chapter provides a hypothetical reconstruction of the appearance of the main fountain that had decorated this garden until it was dismantled and transferred to Palermo. The original conception of the fountain is discussed in the context of the design and cultural significance of gardens in the late 16th century. In the last section of this chapter, we will review the nature and extent of Michelangelo Naccherino's contribution to the design of the *Fontana Pretoria,* questioning some of the currently accepted views regarding the sculptor's style and the course of his career.

CHAPTER 3 contains an account of Francesco Camilliani's career, including the discussion of the sculptor's production methods and style. It aims to demonstrate

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[2] In the course of work on this thesis, CHAPTER 1 effectively replaced a detailed historiographic survey.

that the stylistic heterogeneity and the somewhat formulaic approach to the design of sculpture that characterise much of the statuary of the *Fontana Pretoria,* reflect the particular nature of the project that Camilliani was involved with, rather than indicate his lack of professional ability as a sculptor. The last two sections of this chapter are dedicated to the discussion of two recent attributions to Francesco Camilliani, which include the relief of *Noah and his sons* and a colossal group of two standing figures described as the *Divinità fluviali,* both in the Museo Nazionale del Bargello in Florence.

C. SCHOLARLY CONTEXT: Baccio Bandinelli and his school in the light of modern historiography

Praised by his contemporaries and little known today, Francesco Camilliani was the only notable Florentine sculptor during the period between Tribolo and Giambologna who worked almost exclusively in the area of fountain design. Most of his career was given to one major project, the sculptural complex in the garden of Don Luigi de Toledo in Florence. Following the dispersal of the statuary from this garden, the sculptor's name became associated with random works found in different parts of Europe.

The career of Francesco Camilliani did not attract sufficient attention in modern scholarship. One explanation of the sculptor's relative obscurity lies in the limited documentation pertaining to his artistic activities. The other explanation concerns the historiography of 16th-century Florentine sculpture. Scholars have traditionally drawn on a teleological understanding of the evolution of art as a succession of predominant styles, established in the writings of Giorgio Vasari in the middle of the 16th century. Vasari's principal aim was to demonstrate the superiority of Florence over any other artistic centre in Italy, thus accentuating its prestige in the cultural sphere. He also attempted to show that in his own day art reached the highest point in its progress owing to the astute patronage of the Medici, the ruling dynasty of the newly founded and politically insecure Florentine duchy. According to Vasari, the revival of art after its alleged decline in the Middle Ages took place in Florence during the time of Giotto. Since then, art developed as a constant progression. While the contributions of Brunelleschi, Masaccio, and Leonardo da Vinci marked important phases in the evolution of the new Renaissance style, it culminated in the art of the "divine" Michelangelo. Due to the popularity of Vasari's writings, his account of the development of art proved extremely influential.[3]

In the scholarship of the 20th century, a similarly unilateral approach was adopted by John Pope-Hennessy. Originally an expert on early Sienese painting, Pope-Hennessy became one of the most distinguished and influential scholars of Italian Renaissance sculpture after World War II. His studies constituted the canon of

[3] Cf. Goldberg 1983, pp. 4-5

standard information on sculpture for both Anglo-American and Italian scholars. For Pope-Hennessy, art always progressed towards further complexity, expressiveness, and sophistication. The merit of individual works of art, according to the scholar, should therefore be calculated proportionately to their contribution to this mainstream development. While in Vasari's view the art of Michelangelo was the highest point in the development of art, for Pope-Hennessy it was but one of the pinnacles in the landscape of artistic achievement. Although, according to the scholar, for a large part of the 16th century the art of Michelangelo indeed pointed in the right direction, it was later succeeded by the equally revolutionary styles of Giambologna and the younger Bernini.[4]

Although the evolution of predominant styles, according to Pope-Hennessy, was not "self-generating,"[5] they did not result from shifts in patronage, the forces of the art market, the improvements in workshop organisation or production techniques, or changing fashion. Such changes were brought about solely by the intervention of a creative genius that could spontaneously transform the stagnant artistic environment by "acts of conscious aesthetic will."[6] In Pope-Hennessy's picture of the evolution of art, all that was truly necessary for an artistic breakthrough was "the imagination, the intelligence, and the convictions of a great artist."[7]

For Pope-Hennessy, the history of art was therefore a record of the progression of great styles, created by artistic geniuses that absorbed and innovatively transformed the achievements of their predecessors. The methodological implication of this picture is a fundamental tenet that in the period dominated by the example of an artistic genius, such as Michelangelo, only the artists who shared his artistic standards and aesthetic objectives could be regarded as truly significant. The artists, whose work manifested a different conceptual or stylistic idiom, could then be simply dismissed as mediocre and irrelevant.[8]

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[4] Cf. Pope-Hennessy 1996, p. 10: "What Vasari, writing in 1550, could not foresee was that the revolution which was associated with the name of Michelangelo would be followed by two further stylistic revolutions led by Giovanni Bologna and Bernini [...]." Pope-Hennessy's words are echoes by Wallace: "Michelangelo was the greatest sculptor of the 16th century, as Donatello was before in the century before him and Bernini in the century after him" (Wallace 1998, p. 203).

[5] Pope-Hennessy 1980, p. 327

[6] Ibid.

[7] Ibid.

[8] According to Pope-Hennessy, in the mid-16th century the mainstream sculptural traditions were associated with the grand manners of Michelangelo and Jacopo Sansovino, which are contrasted with the "provincial thinking" of the sculptors based in Florence (Pope-Hennessy 1980, p. 332). In general terms, "we can speak of Florentine *maniera* as it is expressed in sculpture before the ascendancy of

When studying the history of 16th-century Florentine sculpture, one is perhaps justified to see the works of Michelangelo as creations of an artistic genius. Michelangelo was a complex and tormented individual who managed to make his professional tasks a vehicle for his profound and very personal emotional expression. By channelling his passions into art, he was and still is able to incite the emotions of others through the medium of his works. The problem, however, arises when one begins to use Michelangelo's art as the defining standard for the multiplicity of types of sculptural production that existed in Florence during the 16th century. In this context, Michelangelo's very personal and highly emotional attitude toward art appears to be exceptional rather than typical of his time.[9]

If we attempt to judge the variety of works of sculpture created in Florence during the 16th century by the standards that Michelangelo applied to his own art, we would have no choice but to dismiss a lot of them as dry, superficial, impersonal, formalistic, monotonous, and mannered. In the historical context, however, it is evident that these rather "ordinary" works of art constituted the bulk of sculpture production of the time. These were the works, with which Florentines were in most regular contact, as these sculptures decorated the courtyards, bedrooms, and gardens of private homes; they were most in demand, and money and effort were constantly spent on their production. In many ways, these works tell us more about Florentine society of the 16th century (its aesthetic sensibility, sense of humour, idea of propriety, notion of prestige, and intellectual aspirations) than do the works of Michelangelo, however admired they may have been by the same Florentines.

Although John Pope-Hennessy was probably the most conspicuous and influential sculpture historian of the 20th century, his historiographic approach became increasingly isolated during his own lifetime. The early decades of the 20th century gave rise to a more inclusive approach to Renaissance sculpture. It manifested itself in

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Giovanni Bologna simply as a historical phenomenon" (Pope-Hennessy 1980, p. 335). The provincial nature of this style, according to Pope-Hennessy, was brought about by the nature of the Medici patronage. Cf. Pope-Hennessy's assessment of the work of Vincenzo de' Rossi: "Vincenzo de' Rossi was not, even by Florentine standards, a very good sculptor, but he is a sculptor for whom indulgence is often asked, simply on the grounds that the theoretical basis of his style is apprehensible. [...] What is worrying [about the sculptor's works] is not their clumsiness, but their childish expressive repertory. For what breed of patron, one wonders, can works like this have been produced?" (Pope-Hennessy 1980, p. 335).

[9] Cf. Keutner 1969, p. 16: "Where sculpture is concerned, the Italian 16th century, for instance, cannot by any means be regarded as the century of Michelangelo; only a handful of sculptors, working in Florence and elsewhere, such as Giovan Angelo Montorsoli, Vincenzo Danti, and Guglielmo della Porta, treated his problems and preoccupations as their own."

an increased interest in those less renowned sculptors whose output in fact constituted the bulk of artistic production in that period. This resulted in a more comprehensive view of sculpture production, encouraging the analysis of the full range of materials and techniques that it involved. The study of sculpture progressed beyond the exploration of the *œuvres* of individual artists. The new approach allowed scholars to follow the evolution of artistic genres and forms across different styles and historic periods. In the range of publications representative of this trend, the seminal article by Herbert Keutner on the development of monumental statue as an art form throughout the 16th century, the study of the colossal sculpture of the Cinquecento by Virginia Bush, and the study of Florentine sculpture in terms of its display by Kathleen Weil-Garris, rank among the most important.[10]

The growing awareness of the fact that the impact of Michelangelo's art was not the only predominant drive in the stylistic evolution of 16th-century Florentine sculpture encouraged the study of other factors in its development. The most significant publication in this field was probably the study of Leonardo's influence on central Italian art by Kathleen Weil-Garris.[11] Important advances were made in the study of artistic patronage in the public as well as private sectors. In the context of the present thesis, the most interesting research was carried out by Antonia Boström, who explored the criteria for commissioning, collecting, and displaying sculpture of various members of the Soderini and Ridolfi families in Florence and Rome.[12] As a result of these scholarly developments, sculpture production in 16th-century Florence is no longer seen as a linear succession of predominant artistic styles. It is viewed as a complex and multifaceted process, closely associated with fundamental issues of a non-aesthetic nature, including workshop organization, patterns of patronage and consumption, and the state of the art market.

One result of the more traditional approach to the study of 16th-century Florentine sculpture, epitomised by the writings of John Pope-Hennessy, is our scant awareness of the activities of Baccio Bandinelli and his school. Bandinelli is still frequently described in the traditional vein as an inferior imitator of Michelangelo, obsessed with challenging and surpassing the admired master.[13] Bandinelli was a

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[10] See Keutner 1956A, Bush 1976, and Weil-Garris 1983

[11] See Weil-Garris 1975

[12] The results of this extensive research were included by Antonia Boström in her unpublished Ph.D. thesis, presented to the Courtauld Institute in London in 1996 (see Boström 1996).

[13] Cf. Valentiner 1955, pp. 241-63; Avery 1998, p. 116

restless and spiteful individual, an enemy of Vasari and an antagonist of Cellini.[14] From the text of his autobiographic *Memoriale,* he emerges as an insecure, vain, and petty individual, obsessed with the ideas of social status, artistic recognition, and prestige.[15] At the same time, Bandinelli was a masterful and assiduous draftsman and an influential sculptor, who particularly excelled in the area of low relief carving. In the course of his long career, he developed a distinctive figure style, producing crisply carved and highly polished figures, the effect of which was based on a clear silhouette and well-defined side profiles. Bandinelli's notorious personal reputation and sycophantic devotion to the ruling Medici family,[16] abetted by the unfavourable reception of his sculptural output by his peers in the profession, has long precluded a fair assessment of his contribution to the evolution of Florentine sculpture of the 16th century. The negative appraisal of Bandinelli has indeed become so entrenched that it is difficult for art historians to consider his works without preconceptions.[17] Significantly, there is still no comprehensive study of the sculptor's *œuvr*e available at present.[18]

Bandinelli was an important and influential teacher, whose sculptural style was easily absorbed and imitated. His distinctive drawing technique, characterised by powerful hatchings, was eagerly adopted by his followers resulting in a large number of unattributed drawings conceived in his style.[19] The generation of sculptors that dominated the Florentine artistic scene during the brief period between the death of Tribolo and the rise of Giambologna consisted largely of Bandinelli's former students. These sculptors, all born between 1510 and 1540, included Bartolomeo Ammannati,

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[14] Cf. Heikamp 1964C, pp. 59-60; the antipathy of Vasari with Vincenzo Borghini on the one hand, and Benedetto Varchi with Cellini on the other, made Bandinelli unpopular with virtually all of the conflicting factions of the Florentine *letterati.* His feud with Varchi originally stemmed from their disagreement on the reading of a passage from Tacitus (Bandinelli 1973, pp. 1382-85). Bandinelli's only champion was Anton Francesco Doni, related to the sculptor through the latter's wife. Bandinelli referred to Doni as his "grande amico" (Bandinelli 1973, p. 1372). For a lively yet insightful account of Bandinelli as a character see Wittkower R. and M. 1969, pp. 229-32.

[15] See Bandinelli 1973

[16] In the *Memoriale* Bandinelli makes numerous statements of his family's loyalty to the Medici (cf. Bandinelli 1973, p. 1365).

[17] Cf. Heikamp 1966, p. 51

[18] The absence of a monographic study of Bandinelli was pointed out as a conspicuous fact by Roger Ward in 1988 (Ward 1988, p. 11). The most significant contribution to the study of Bandinelli's artistic output in recent years was the analysis of the sculptor's works executed for the decoration of the choir of the Duomo in Florence, carried out by Louis Waldman. Waldman's Ph.D. thesis on the successive artistic transformations of the appearance of this choir was presented to New York University in 1999 (see Waldman 1999). Perhaps the most insightful published account of Bandinelli's style, work methods, and artistic objectives is found in Heikamp 1997, pp. 346-47.

[19] Cf. Middeldorf 1937, p. 291

Domenico Poggini, Vincenzo de' Rossi, Battista Lorenzi, Giovanni Bandini, and Francesco Camilliani.[20] Their works, generally characterised by the predilection for monumental compositions, classical sense of decorum, and emphasis on the clarity of outline in the design of figures, were closes in style, reflecting the common set of aesthetic and professional standards that these sculptors shared.[21] The output of these sculptors, who worked for by and large the same circle of patrons, constituted the bulk of Florentine production in the third quarter of the 16th century. It thus epitomised fundamental yet underrated tendencies in the development of Florentine sculpture.

One of the earliest symptoms of developing interest in the sculptural work of Bandinelli's pupils was the publication of two articles by Ulrich Middeldorf in the late 1920s, the first of which was written jointly with Friedrich Kriegbaum. These articles examined the sculptural output of Domenico Poggini and Giovanni Bandini (also known as Giovanni dell'Opera).[22] In 1929, Kriegbaum published an important early study of Ammannati's project for the *Fountain of Juno,* identifying and analysing its sculptural components, which at that stage were dispersed in the Boboli gardens.[23] In the following year, Middeldorf produced a brief study of a relief by Bandinelli, attempting to identify the defining characteristics of the sculptor's style.[24] The graphic output of Bandinelli and Giovanni Bandini formed the subject of Middeldorf's separate articles published respectively in 1937 and 1939.[25]

Despite the evident importance of these studies by Middeldorf and Kriegbaum, they had little resonance among scholars as no significant publication in

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[20] Ammannati was born in 1510 or 1511, Domenico Poggini in 1520, De' Rossi in 1525, Battista Lorenzi in c. 1527-28, and Bandini in 1540. Francesco Camilliani was born in 1524; his birth date was recorded in the list of newly christened infants, which was kept in the Florentine Baptistery: "[February 1524] Martedì addì 2 [...] Franc.o m.a et R.lo di Giovanni di Nic.o p.o di S.o P.o Maggiore n. a dì 2 h. 9" (AOSMF, Registri battesimali, 9, fol. 19v). Camilliani's younger half-brother Santi Gucci, who also became a sculptor, reached the age of 16 in 1550, and was therefore born in c. 1534 (cf. Bartoli 1567, fol. 20r).

[21] Cf. Middeldorf and Kriegbaum 1928, p. 12. The stylistic resemblance that characterises the works of these sculptors is clearly illustrated by a series of attempts to establish the authorship of the undocumented statue of *Jason,* now in the Victoria & Albert Museum in London. In the museum's catalogue, John Pope-Hennessy attributed it to Domenico Poggini, refusing the earlier attribution of the statue to Bandini by Eric Maclagan (Pope-Hennessy 1964, 2, pp. 485-87). Charles Avery considered the statue a work by Bandini, commissioned for the garden of Ugolino Griffoni (often referred to as Monsignor Altopascio) in Florence (Avery 1994, p. 24), even though in an earlier article on Bandini Ulrich Middeldorf argued against this attribution. Most recently, Antonia Boström proposed that the figure was a work by Battista Lorenzi (Boström 1996, p. 250).

[22] See Middeldorf and Kriegbaum 1928, Middeldorf 1929

[23] See Kriegbaum 1929

[24] See Middeldorf 1930. The article followed Middeldorf's attribution to Bandinelli of a relief previously regarded as a work of Donatello (see Middeldorf 1929).

[25] See Middeldorf 1937 and Middeldorf 1939

this area appeared for another 40 years. Only in the last three decades of the 20th century, there emerged an increased interest in the sculpture and graphics of Bandinelli and his school, reflected in numerous publications dedicated to the development of Florentine sculpture and draughtsmanship in the third quarter of the 16th century. These publications include studies of the sculptural output of Bartolomeo Ammannati by Maria Grazia Ciardi Duprè, Peter Kinney, and Detlef Heikamp;[26] studies of the work of Vincenzo de Rossi by Hildegard Utz, Heikamp, and Antonia Boström;[27] a study of the work of Battista Lorenzi and Domenico Poggini by Utz;[28] and Charles Avery's important article of Giovanni Bandini.[29] Vincenzo de' Rossi's activities as a draughtsmanship were investigated by Heikamp.[30] Various aspects of Bandinelli's sculptural work were considered by W.R. Valentiner, Heikamp, James Holderbaum, Ciardi Duprè, Karla Langedjik, Virginia Bush, Kathleen Weil-Garris, Herbert Keutner, and, most recently, Louis Waldman.[31] The sculptor's impressive graphic output was analysed in the studies by Diane Stillman, Ciardi Duprè, Christopher Lloyd, James Beck, and most importantly Roger Ward.[32]

Sculptors, who were not strictly speaking Bandinelli's pupils, but whose work manifested a certain affinity with the style of his school, have also received some attention in recent years. Among the more recent publications in this area were the studies of Zanobi Lastricati by Antonia Boström and Giovanni di Scherano Fancelli by Louis Waldman.[33] Although the art of Bandinelli and his followers is yet to receive a comprehensive treatment, the broadening perspective has nonetheless yielded impressive results. [34]

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[26] See Ciardi Duprè 1961, Kinney 1976, and Heikamp 1978; for the proceedings of the conference on Ammannati held in Florence and Lucca in 1994 see Roselli Del Turco and Salvi 1995

[27] See Utz 1966, Utz 1971, Heikamp 1990, and Boström 1990

[28] For Battista Lorenzi see Utz-Kissel 1969 and Utz 1973, for Domenico Poggini see Utz 1975

[29] See Avery 1994

[30] See Heikamp 1964A

[31] See Valentiner 1955, Heikamp 1964b, Heikamp 1964c, Heikamp 1966, Holderbaum 1967, Ciardi Duprè 1968, Langedjik 1976, Bush Mockler 1980, Weil-Garris 1981, Keutner 1984, Weil-Garris 1989, and Waldman 1999

[32] See Stillman 1961, Ciardi Duprè 1966a, Ciardi Duprè 1966b, Lloyd 1966, Beck 1973, Ward 1978, Ward 1981, Ward 1982, Ward 1983, Ward 1988, Ward 1993

[33] See Boström 1997 and Waldman 1998

[34] The amount scholarly attention given to the sculptors associated with Michelangelo still noticeably exceeds the volume of work dedicated to Bandinelli and his pupils. Thus, only in the past three decades, the work of Giovanni Angelo Montorsoli merited three independent studies (Mösender 1979, Ffolliott 1984, and Laschke 1993); two monographs were dedicated to Vincenzo Danti (Summers 1979 and Fidanza 1996).

In this context, the absence of studies dedicated to Francesco Camilliani presents a conspicuous gap. In 1975, Charles Davis commented that Camilliani, "though a secondary figure, is too little known given the importance of his fountains."[35] Although Davis evidently viewed Camilliani's importance in historical rather than artistic terms, the career of the sculptor remains as obscure today as it was three decades ago.

[35] Davis 1975B, p. 37

D. ARTISTIC CONTEXT: Fountain design as a branch of artistic production in Florence in the 15th and 16th centuries

The aim of this section is to demonstrate that fountain design was a distinct area of sculpture production in Florence in the Renaissance. Florentine artists and art critics knew that a sculpted figure, in order to be used as a fountain centrepiece, had to satisfy certain compositional requirements. The development of fountain design thus encouraged experiments with daring compositional formulae and stimulated stylistic innovation, becoming an important factor in the evolution of Florentine sculpture.

During the Renaissance, the display of free-standing statuary reflected its increasing autonomy and importance in relation to architecture.[36] During the Middle Ages, sculpture was invariably integrated into the design of buildings, often being carved out of the same block as architectural members. In the course of the 15th century, however, it was allowed to play a progressively independent role. Sculptured figures began to be displayed in the round occupying the centre of private courtyards or decorating the summit of small fountains. In the late 16th century, equestrian monuments or colossal statues raised on high pedestals became a common feature in the appearance of public squares of Italian cities. The proliferation of large gardens during that period necessitated a new approach to the placement of statuary within their confines. Positioned at the end of the main vistas or hidden inside grottoes, statues were distributed around the territory of the garden becoming important punctuation marks within its layout.

In the early 15th century, the need to design sculpture that could be viewed from more than one viewpoint did not arise, because free-standing figures were usually set in a niche. Since the composition of a piece of sculpture depended on the conditions of its display, frontal articulation of such figures was sufficient to secure their successful viewing. Around the middle of the 15th century, however, sculptors faced new challenges, particularly in the area of fountain design.

A fountain is generally an architectural unit, often embellished with sculptural decoration, containing an issue of running water intended for display as well as for

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[36] The present section explores the connection between the development of sculpture with a continuous viewpoint and the growing need for fountain centrepieces in the Renaissance. Some relevant issues have already been considered in the insightful studies by Wiles and Holderbaum (see Wiles 1933 and Holderbaum 1956).

practical utilisation. From antiquity onwards, fountains decorated both public and private spaces and were produced under both civic and private patronage. In terms of form, two fundamentally different classes of fountains, free-standing and engaged, could be distinguished. Free-standing fountains were isolated architectural units; their structural and decorative elements were usually organised around the central shaft, which contained the issue of water [plate 75]. Engaged fountains were always integrated in larger architectonic entities, being either fitted into a wall or contained in a separate architectural shell, usually given the form of an aedicule [plates 93 and 97]. Despite the diversification of fountain types in the course of the 15th century, all fountains produced during the Renaissance belonged to one or the other of these established classes.

In the Renaissance, free-standing fountains were placed in the centre of palace courtyards, public squares, or at the intersection of garden vistas, where they could be viewed in the open. They usually created visual accents or focal points in their immediate environment. Engaged fountains were less conspicuous. Placed against solid masonry structures, they were often found under the loggie of palace courtyards, against garden walls, or at the side of public squares. In the design of both types of fountain, the role of the principal decorative feature was traditionally given to figure sculpture. In engaged fountains, such sculpture was usually positioned a niche and thus expected to be seen from one main viewpoint [plate 97]. In the design of free-standing fountains, the principal figure was displayed in the round, accessible for examination from every angle [plate 88]. This difference in the conditions of display, dictated by the type of fountain for which a particular piece of sculpture was designed, was inevitably reflected in the composition of that piece.

The type of fountain that was most common in Florence in the 15th century was an isolated structure placed in the centre of a courtyard or of a small garden, easily approachable from various angles. Its architectonic system usually included a large receiving basin, a triangular base, a *tazza,* and a shaft that supported a sculpted figure; sometimes a small upper basin was added.[37] The primary function of the shaft

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[37] In the later sections of this thesis, these divisions within the architectonic system of the fountain will be used as terms with relatively fixed meaning. The word "tazza" is left in the original Italian due to its frequent use in English; the expression "receiving basin" generally corresponds to the Italian *vasca;* and the "upper basin" is a translation of *pilo,* admittedly not very successful since it loses the connotation of the vase-like shape. While the receiving basin was integrated into the fountain's foundation, the *tazza* was invariably supported by the shaft; the upper basin was always placed on top of the whole structure, above one or more *tazze* and below the terminal figure. It should be noted that in

was to elevate water. The surface of the whole structure, with the exception of the receiving basin, was often covered with elaborate ornamentation.[38] Since such fountains had a centralised plan, they presented the same pattern of architectural units from every viewpoint. Figures at the summit of such fountains therefore had to accord with their architectonic system. Displayed fully in the round, these figures had no natural framing to limit or direct their viewing, and therefore had to present adequate profiles from whatever angle they were approached. In designing such figures, sculptors faced the double necessity of correlating their composition with the architectonic system of the respective fountain and at the same time making them appear visually coherent when seen from more than one viewpoint.

In the 15th century, designing sculpture in the round was certainly a challenging task.[39] Most of free-standing figures produced during that period were intended to be displayed in a niche. For this reason, they were composed frontally, with only one main profile and a clear silhouette. Composing a figure in relation to a series of viewpoints inevitably affected the coherence of its frontal aspect, while the visual balance between its separate profiles was hard to maintain. In the 15th century, figures with a composition that successfully combined a series of fully resolved profiles were thus extremely rare.

A sculpted figure could be composed in the round by balancing its contrasting units around a fixed axis. Florentine sculptors developed two different methods of dealing with this task. The first method consisted of giving a figure a number of distinct profiles defined by clear and expressive outlines. In this case, the figure was designed as compact and self-contained (which was achieved through eliminating diagonal projections and closing hollows), with the units of its composition arranged into orthogonal patterns.[40] This method of articulating the figure resulted in giving each of its aspects the appearance of a resolved planar composition. The visual effect of a thus composed figure could be fully appreciated in a series of drawings or

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the 16th-century Italian the words *vasca, tazza,* and *pilo* had a much looser sense than what might be suggested by our technical usage of their English equivalents.

[38] Some of such fountains are still preserved. A marble fountain, now in the George Blumenthal Collection in New York, comes from the garden of the Palazzo Pazzi. A similar structure stands in the vestibule of the Palazzo Pitti in Florence; it was previously located in the grotto of Castello. Gaetano Milanesi attempted to identify this fountain with the one that Antonio Rossellino executed for the small enclosed garden at the back of the Palazzo Medici (Vasari-Milanesi, 3, p. 94, note 1); according to Vasari, it was decorated with figures of *putti* squeezing dolphins (Vasari-Milanesi, 3, pp. 93-4). The figure on top of the fountain and the upper basin are 16th-century additions (Wiles 1933, p. 14, note 1).

[39] Cf. Wiles 1933, p. 7

[40] That is, strictly following vertical and horizontal as opposed to oblique lines.

photographs that would register its principal views.[41] Figures designed in this way could be described as having multiple profiles.

The other way of designing a figure with several viewpoints, developed by Florentine sculptors, was by articulating its composition not in relation to a series of distinct profiles, but fully in the round. This was achieved by doing the opposite of what was implied by the first method. By breaking the compactness of the outline, the figure was denied any distinct profiles and predominant viewpoints, and its separate aspects were merged to create a continuous view. In this case, the compositional balance could be maintained by creating an illusion that various elements of the figure engaged in a rotating movement around a fixed axis.[42] This method of articulating a figure in the round was not suitable for static compositions, since a body with limbs shown in constant displacement could only be in motion. The effect of such a figure, created by the interplay of linear patterns that are continuous between its separate aspects, would no longer be reducible to a series of projections on imaginary planes, which could be recorded registered in drawings, photographs, or diagrams; it is unique to sculpture.[43] In designing such figures, which may be described as having a continuous viewpoint, Florentine sculptors appear to have fully realised the compositional potential of sculpture as a representational medium.[44]

Some of the main advances in the development of 15th-century Florentine sculpture concerned the creation of free-standing statuary designed in the round. The most famous and influential pieces produced during that period included Donatello's *David* and *Judith and Holofernes* (c. 1455-60) and Verrocchio's *Putto holding a dolphin* (c. 1470) [plates 80 and 79].[45] The importance of these statues was due to the

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[41] Donatello's *David* in the Museo Nazionale del Bargello in Florence is a classic example of a figure with such composition.

[42] A classic example of such a figure is Verrocchio's *Putto holding a dolphin* in the Museo Nazionale del Bargello in Florence [plate 80].

[43] Cf. Shearman's description of Giambologna's *Mercury* in Vienna: "The raised right arm, which, in the front view, soars like a rocket from the weight-bearing foot, is melodiously curved into the lowered left arm in the side view and sprung against the two other curves, from head to right foot, and from left elbow to left foot. Turn it a little more and the raised arm flows into the right and the line from the left foot runs through the body to the head" (Shearman 1967, p. 90).

[44] The creation of figures with merging viewpoints (the effect unattainable in traditional painting) was important, for example, in the context of the famous 16th-century *paragone* debate, which was intended to establish the superiority of either painting or sculpture as representational media (see Mendelsohn 1982).

[45] According to Avery, Donatello's bronze *David*, probably his most famous work, "was the first free-standing, life-size nude of the Renaissance" (Avery 1970, p. 82). Donatello's *Judith and Holofernes* was the first free-standing composition of the Renaissance that involved two figures. Verrocchio's *Putto holding a dolphin*, according to Avery, was "the first statue of the Renaissance to have multiple and merging viewpoints, which provoke the spectator either to rotate the figure or to walk round it in

fact that both Donatello and Verrocchio were dealing with the creation of free-standing statuary, the area of sculpture production that had been neglected since antiquity. In their attempts to revive the genre of figure in the round, known from ancient descriptions, both sculptors had to rely entirely on their skill and expertise, since the methods of articulating such statues employed by the sculptors of antiquity had long ceased to be a part of artistic training.

Only a handful sculptures produced in Florence in the 15th century was intended for the display in the round. For this reason, these works are relatively easy to trace. Most of them, with the exception of Donatello's *David* and his lost *Dovizia,* were designed for fountain decoration.[46] Fountain centrepieces counted among them such important works as the *Judith and Holofernes* by Donatello and the *Putto holding a dolphin* by Verrocchio, both of which presented satisfactory profiles from more than one viewpoint.[47] While the interest in designing figures in the round, which increased towards the end of the 15th century, was evidently encouraged by the growing demand for fountain statuary, it was not merely an artistic response to a pressing practical need. From Mediaeval times onwards, isolated statues raised on high column-like pedestals were traditionally associated with representations of pagan deities.[48] Such figures were regarded as objects of worship and denounced as idols.[49] While the belief that such sculptures had been common in antiquity encouraged the interest of Renaissance artists in their revival, the incorporation of these figures into fountain design removed their hazardous association with paganism and legitimised their production.[50]

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order to fully appreciate its composition [cf. plate 78]. Not until the work of Michelangelo and later of Giovanni Bologna was the investigation of this problem carried further, except in the medium of the small bronze statuette where Antonio Pollaiuolo took up the challenge in his Hercules and Antaeus; but even here there was no improvement on the advanced solution of Verrocchio" (Avery 1970, p. 135).

[46] Paul Schubring in fact believed that Donatello's *David* was also a fountain centrepiece, proclaiming it "the first bronze fountain figure of the Renaissance" (Schubring 1922, pp. xxxi-xxxii). In the absence of any documentary evidence to support this claim, it was recently dismissed by Francesco Caglioti as "fantastic" (Caglioti 2000, 1, p. 82, note 7). One might observe, however, that the composition of this statue, articulated fully in the round, made it suitable for fountain decoration.

[47] For the discussion of Donatello's *Judith and Holofernes* as a fountain centrepiece, see section 2.2 of the present thesis.

[48] According to Pomponio Gaurico and Baldinucci, free-standing colossal statues were used in antiquity to represent "false" pagan deities (Baldinucci 1681, p. 158).

[49] Cf. Janson 1981 p. 352, and Janson 1998, p. 43

[50] Representations of pagan idols as free-standing figures raised on high columns, often in classical *contrapposto,* frequently appear in Quattrocento paintings. These figures were sometimes shown as the actual objects of worship, as in the mid-15th century Florentine representation of the *Temple of Apollo* in the Kress collection (Atlanta, High Museum of Art, Kress collection, illustrated in Draper 1992, p. 170, fig. 98). The statue of Apollo is placed on a column in the middle of an octagonal domed temple; crowned with laurel, the pagan god stands in elegant *contrapposto* while somewhat absently playing a

We have already noted that in the 15th century, in order to appear satisfactory in the round, a sculpted figure was usually given a series of planar profiles defined by clear outlines and corresponding to predetermined viewpoints. The alternative was to diffuse the figure's silhouette and thus eliminate any of its aspects that could be read as independent planar compositions, including the frontal view. In this latter case, the plastic units of the figure were coordinated in three rather than two dimensions, creating a pattern of interflowing lines and counteracting forms continuous throughout the whole composition.

The difference between the two described approaches to articulating sculpture in the round may be illustrated by comparing the composition of Donatello's *Judith and Holofernes* and Verrocchio's *Putto holding a dolphin.* Designed to decorate small fountains, both sculptures were intended for similar conditions of display. Donatello's group has three distinct profiles corresponding to the three principal viewpoints, which are determined by the faces of the triangular pedestal below the figures. By adopting any other position, the viewer will not only discover the less successful aspects of the group, but will also confront the sharp projecting corners of its support.[51] Guiding the viewer towards adopting a predetermined viewing position in relation to the figures is thus an important function of Donatello's pedestal.

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fiddle. Similar idols appear in Piero della Francesca's *Flagellation* in Urbino and in a painted octagonal birth-tray featuring the *Abduction of Helen by Paris* in the National Gallery of London, attributed to a follower of Fra Angelico (inv. NG 591). Representing such figures was mainly a way to indicate that the scene was set in pagan antiquity. Ancient idols were believed to be gilded, and, for that reason, in both of these paintings the statues are coloured yellow. Bronze figures produced in the 15th-century were conscious recreations of such statues, although, since they represented biblical subjects, they could no longer serve as objects of worship. The bronze representations of *David* by Donatello and Verrocchio in fact still retain some traces of gilding (Butterfield 1997, p. 18). In the anonymous painting of the burning of Savonarola in the Museum of S. Marco in Florence, Donatello's *Judith and Holofernes* is represented as fully gilt. It is not certain whether that had been the case, since the remaining traces of gilding seem to be confined only to certain parts of the group (Janson 1957, 2, p. 201, note 4). In the paintings of the 16th century, idols seem to have acquired a somewhat different meaning and begin to represent paganism as such. The remains of a smashed marble figure, replaced by a Crucifix in its previous location on a high pedestal, represent the triumph of Christianity over paganism in the ceiling fresco by Tommaso Siciliano in the Sala del Constantino in the Vatican. In a more literal way, such statues stand for the paganism in the scenes of martyrdom, as in Bronzino's *Martyrdom of S. Lawrence* fresco in S. Lorenzo in Florence or Titian's representation of the same subject in the Chiesa dei Gesuiti in Venice. The first large free-standing figure that represented a pagan subject and was not concealed in a niche or integrated into the system of a fountain was Bandinelli's *Orpheus;* commissioned by Leo X in about 1519, it stood in the courtyard of the Palazzo Medici in Florence (Langedijk 1976, p. 51).

[51] In his analysis of Donatello's *Judith and Holofernes,* Pope-Hennessy maintained that the group had four principal profiles, the fourth aspect being the view of the group from the back with the female figure towering above the naked legs of Holofernes (Pope-Hennessy 1996, p. 41, ill. 34-37 on p. 38). Donatello evidently tried to give this view of the group a strong planar emphasis by arranging the legs of Holofernes and the side of the cushion below the figure on a single plane. It is unlikely, however, that this aspect of the group originally corresponded to one of its principal viewpoints: the sharp corner

In contrast to Donatello's *Judith and Holofernes,* designed in relation to three fixed viewpoints, Verrocchio's *Putto holding a dolphin* was conceived with one continuous view. The figure of the winged boy conveys a strong sense of rotating movement, as if prepared to swing on its axis defined by the supporting left leg [plate 79]. The statue's overall effect, according to its excellent recent analysis by Andrew Butterfield, is based on repeating a single compositional unit, which is an arc of a curved section, throughout the composition. These curves are coordinated in such a way that they respond to one another forming symmetrical arrangements across space.[52] The figure, while shown in a momentary attitude, therefore appears perfectly composed from almost every viewing angle.[53]

The method of articulating the composition of a figure in the round by giving it a continuous viewpoint, as exemplified by Verrocchio's *Putto holding a dolphin*, contained two potential pitfalls. Firstly, it could result in producing a figure with no successful viewpoints. An example of such a work is Bertoldo's *Orpheus/Apollo* (c. 1470-90), now in the Museo Nazionale del Bargello in Florence, where the figure's unstable stance seems to present a constant threat of putting the statuette off balance.[54] Secondly, the viewer tends to understand sculptural compositions by visually translating them into two-dimensional patterns and reading them from left to right as we read a book. The lasting popularity of Michelangelo's *David* is partially explained by the fact that its planar composition fully lends itself to such an interpretation: the figure is tightly contained within its outline, while the turn of the head suggests that the narrative action develops from left to right [plate 56].[55] By contrast, a figure without a clear silhouette cannot be readily interpreted as a planar image and thus appears evasive, giving the viewer psychological dissatisfaction.[56] Thus, displayed outside its originally intended setting on a fountain, Verrocchio's *Putto holding a*

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of the pedestal projects abruptly into the viewer's space, and the message of the figures becomes obscured, since the faces of either Judith or Holofernes cannot be seen.

[52] Butterfield 1997, p. 132

[53] Wiles observed that the composition of Verrocchio's figure produces a "miraculous effect of poise within motion" (Wiles 1933, p. 8).

[54] For Bertoldo's *Orpheus/Apollo* see Draper 1992, pp. 167-76.

[55] It is therefore no coincidence that the three colossal figures, positioned during the 16th century in Piazza della Signoria in Florence alongside the wall of the Palazzo Vecchio (Michelangelo's *David*, Bandinelli's *Hercules and Cacus,* and Ammannati's *Neptune),* are all looking in the same direction.

[56] This dissatisfaction was described by Adolph von Hildebrand as the "torturing quality of the three-dimensional" ("das Quälende des Kubischen"), which results from the viewer being as it were "driven around a three-dimensional object" (see Hildebrand 1913, pp. 71-2). According to Panofsky, this effect could be diminished if, "so as to clarify the structure of the three-dimensional, the beholder is not expected to make up for the 'deficiencies' by using his own imagination, but is presented with a picture free from excessive foreshortenings, obstructive overlappings, etc." (Panofsky 1962, p. 174).

dolphin might appear constantly slipping away from the spectator.[57] This somewhat unsettling effect could be greatly diminished if the figure is made open to inspection from every angle by allowing the viewer to walk freely around its support. In terms of their aesthetic appeal, however, figures with a continuous viewpoint are always less accessible to the viewer than their frontally articulated counterparts.

The creation of statuary with a continuous viewpoint during the Renaissance therefore could not result from mere artistic challenge: it would have been inexpedient unless it satisfied a concrete practical need. In this context, it becomes significant that Verrocchio's *Putto holding a dolphin,* the first piece of 15th-century sculpture to have a continuous viewpoint, was designed for fountain decoration. In the 16th century, the evolution of Florentine sculpture manifested two predominant trends. One of them consisted in experiments with creating figures that had a continuous viewpoint, developing towards greater compositional complexity that culminated in the work of Giambologna; the other trend was a markedly increased role of fountain design in the overall artistic production. The intrinsic connection between the composition with a continuous viewpoint and the function as a fountain centrepiece, which we have noted in the case of Verrocchio's *Putto holding a dolphin,* seems to suggest that these separate developments were not merely simultaneous, but closely interrelated.

The revival of the free-standing statue as a genre of sculpture production in the 15th century resulted in the rediscovery of *contrapposto,* the formula for composing figures in the round employed in antiquity. In its classic form, *contrapposto* involved minor asymmetries between the two sides of the body (such as the contrasting direction in the turn of the head and the twist of the hips) reconciled in a balanced and compact pose. A figure in *contrapposto* looked tightly composed yet natural, with its stance sufficiently animated and the position of limbs varied.

A classic example of the use of *contrapposto* in antiquity is the figure of *Doryphoros* by the Greek sculptor Polykleitos, active in the 5th century B.C. [plate 82]. Its bronze original is lost, and the statue is mainly known through its marble Roman replicas, one of which is in the Museo Nazionale Archeologico in Naples.[58] The figure is given frontal articulation, the musculature is flattened and schematised,

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[57] The plastic curves, whose visual interaction, according to Butterfield, unifies the composition of Verrocchio's *Putto holding a dolphin,* always remain oblique to the ground and to the viewer (Butterfield 1997, p. 132). This deliberate avoidance of orthogonal patterns in the statue's composition makes Verrocchio's figure difficult to interpret.

[58] Inv. 6011

and the attitude is balanced and locked; the composition is compact, involving minimal projections and recessions. The slight twist of the hips is neutralised by the position of the head, turned in the opposite direction, and the tension inherent in the weight-bearing right leg is counterbalanced by the bend of the left arm (originally it supported a spear). The left foot is brought back, while the other foot is firmly planted on the ground, suggesting poise rather than arrested motion. As the tension between individual limbs is resolved in a stable and confident pose, the implied movement is given no direction.

In the Florentine art of the 15th century, as in antiquity, *contrapposto* was used to compose the human figure as a static self-contained system, where movement, given conflicting direction, was ultimately neutralised in the overall balance. In the 16th century, when representation of movement became an important focus of artistic interest, the concept of *contrapposto* underwent a radical change. The most significant developments in this area were associated with Michelangelo, whose exploration of the possibilities of *contrapposto* through both graphic and plastic media established it as the principal means of articulating human figures in dynamic attitudes.

Throughout his long career, Michelangelo was consistently interested in the expressive potential of the male body in movement. He learned to suggest a strong sense of arrested movement by representing bodies in extreme torsion, in twisting or even contorted poses [plate 83]. The compositional formula that he used to articulate dynamic attitudes, which manifested an entirely new phase in the development of the essentially static *contrapposto,* became known as the *figura serpentinata.*

A passage in the art treatise by the Milanese painter and theorist Giovanni Paolo Lomazzo, published in 1584, gives a practical account of how to use the *figura serpentinata* in order to create both pictorial and sculptural compositions.[59] According to Lomazzo (who claimed to reproduce the exact words of Michelangelo), composing a figure in movement did not merely involve giving it a twisting attitude. To create such a figure, its composition had to be made both pyramidal and serpentine, thus resembling a waving flame regarded as the most beautiful and mobile of all natural forms. The serpentine twist, according to Lomazzo, had to be applied not only to the composition as a whole, but also to its individual parts. In a famous passage from his

[59] Lomazzo 1584, pp. 22-24

treatise, Lomazzo summarised his conception of a dynamic figure as pyramidal and serpentine in form and "multiplied by one, two or three."[60]

A sculpted figure whose body is shown in twisting movement is more likely to require a composition articulated fully in the round than a statue composed frontally. In designing statuary in the round, 16th-century sculptors utilised both methods that they had inherited from the Quattrocento, creating figures with multiple profiles as well as those with a continuous viewpoint. While Giambologna followed Verrocchio in accepting the challenge of dynamic compositions, Cellini perfected Donatello's system of static figures with a finite series of preferred viewpoints, as demonstrated by his celebrated *Perseus* (1554) in the Loggia del Lanzi in Florence.[61] The most significant contribution to the creation of sculpture in the round in the second half of the 16th century, however, was the application of the *figura serpentinata* to the design of such statuary. It is therefore significant that most of the statues with a continuous viewpoint produced in Florence during that period were given serpentine composition.

In modern scholarship, the predilection for the *figura serpentinata* in sculpture design and the proliferation of figures with a continuous viewpoint, both characteristic of the Florentine art of the late 16th century, are closely associated. This association rests on the fact that both serpentine composition and the method of composing statuary with a continuous viewpoint allowed sculptors to represent figures in motion: in the art of Michelangelo's followers, movement was suggested by the spiral twist of the body showing its frontal and rear parts simultaneously.[62] Characteristically, even the composition of Verrocchio's *Putto holding a dolphin* was recently described as the earliest known instance of utilising the *figura serpentinata* in Florentine art.[63] It is tempting to think that the creation of statuary with a continuous viewpoint in the late 15th century had largely precipitated Michelangelo's subsequent experiments with the *figura serpentinata;* but the composition of Verrocchio's statue does not warrant this

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[60] Lomazzo 1584, p. 23: "Diceva più oltre Michel Angelo che la figura hà da essere moltiplicata per uno, doi, & tre." In another passage, Lomazzo explained the concept of the *figura serpentinata* by reference to the image of a spiral. There were two ways in which a sculptural composition could be given a serpentine form: in the case of a single figure, this was achieved by the spiral twist of the body; if there are more figures involved, spiral movement ran through the whole composition.

[61] Cellini characteristically believed that the viewpoints of a statue are essentially countable; in a letter to Varchi he stated that their number was eight, concluding that sculpture has to be seven times greater than painting (Barocchi ed. 1998, p. 82).

[62] Cf. Mendelsohn 1982, p. 287, note 42

[63] Butterfield 1997, p. 2

interpretation: only the head of the figure is turned, while the body is clearly frontal [plate 79].[64]

It is thus important to realise that the experiments with the *figura serpentinata* and the production of the increasing number of figures with a continuous viewpoint were two parallel rather than intrinsically connected developments in the Florentine sculpture of the 16th century. While the use of serpentine composition enabled sculptors to imbue their figures with a strong sense of arrested motion, designing statues with a continuous viewpoint satisfied the demand for statuary suitable for the display in the round. The most successful instances of using the *figura serpentinata* in sculpture design, ironically, resulted in the creation of single-viewpoint figures, such as the standing youth in Michelangelo's *Victory* (c. 1533-34), designed for the tomb of Julius II [plate 83], or the Madonna in Tribolo's relief of the *Assumption of the Virgin* (1537), now in S. Petronio in Bologna. The effect of such figures is conceived fully in relation to the frontal plane, where the twisting of the body is most suggestive of latent force; seeing their side views thus presents mere distraction.[65]

Giambologna's *Abduction of a Sabine,* unveiled in Florence on 14th January 1583 [plate 87], is perhaps the only celebrated work of Florentine sculpture realised on a colossal scale where the serpentine form and the composition with a continuous viewpoint are successfully combined. The group, which is still in its original location in the Loggia dei Lanzi, has earned much praise of Giambologna's contemporaries; by contrast, modern viewers tend to overlook its formal complexity in favour of the grave serenity of Cellini's *Perseus* that stands nearby. Giambologna's group benefits little from its positioning: the low parapet on which it stands prevents free circulation around the figures, whereas its busy silhouette looks out of place in the monumental ambience of the Piazza della Signoria.[66] The group's most unfavourable display led

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[64] Cf. Wiles 1933, p. 8

[65] Michelangelo's *Victory,* with its pyramidal form and the twisting central figure, is a classic illustration of the flame-like composition described by Lomazzo (cf. Shearman 1967, p. 83). The group was designed for a niche, which is clearly indicated by the left leg of the standing youth: hidden in the front view, it appears too short, almost crippled. Michelangelo deliberately increased the frontality of the figure's pose by setting its right arm squarely across the body, almost parallel to the original surface of the block from which it was carved (cf. Avery 1970, pp. 186-7). In Tribolo's relief of the *Assumption of the Virgin,* the twisted pose of the ascending Madonna seems ready to resolve itself into spiralling movement. The viewing of the relief, however, is fully predetermined by its shallowness and the fact that it is set in a wall.

[66] The busy outline of Giambologna's group, which is not characteristic of the art of Michelangelo, serves the function of reinforcing the suggestion of spiralling movement. In the context of Florentine sculpture, this complex silhouette appears to be a sign of Giambologna's debt to Verrocchio, who, in the composition of the *Putto holding a dolphin,* used the same devise (as opposed to the twisting of the

scholars to speculate that the *Abduction of a Sabine* had been originally designed for an entirely different setting, proposing a fountain in the garden of the granducal villa Pratolino as its likely destination.[67] There is no concrete evidence to substantiate this compelling claim, but the group's agitated linear rhythms, which appear uninterrupted throughout the composition, would be ideally complemented by the geometrically ordered greenery and thin jets of spouting water. In the present location, the group's spatial complexity is severely restrained by the framing effect of the arch of the Loggia dei Lanzi, while the continuity of its aspect resolves in a confusing pattern of unrelated facets. The unsettling effect of Giambologna's *Abduction of a Sabine* seems typical of a piece of sculpture with a continuous viewpoint, which is displayed outside the fountain setting.[68]

Only a short distance from Giambologna's group, a few dozen steps across Piazza della Signoria, stands Ammannati's *Fountain of Neptune.* Its creation resulted from perhaps the most prestigious fountain project carried out in Florence in the 16th century: until that time, the city lacked its main civic fountain. The central figure of Neptune (1566) has long been ridiculed for its frontality and stiffness as well as its awkward attitude: of all the figures in Piazza della Signoria, it is perhaps least suitable for decorating a fountain.[69] The statue's planar composition, however, was apparently dictated by the shallowness of the marble block from which it was carved; Ammannati appears to have had a free hand only in designing the subsidiary aspects of the standing figure. The sculptor evidently tried to diminish its frontality by introducing two little tritons blowing conches that are visible at the back [plate 86]; the rear and side aspects of the statue, which feature these figures, present no dominant profiles, creating an effect close to that of a continuous viewpoint.

We began this section by suggesting that fountain design was a distinct area of sculpture production in Florence in the Renaissance, because sculptors of the time

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body) as a means of suggesting movement [plate 78]. The connection between the art of Giambologna and Verrocchio, which does not seem to be fully explored by scholars, presents an interesting potential area of research.

[67] Avery 1993, p. 114. Unlike any other sculpture erected in Piazza della Signoria in the 16th century, Giambologna's *Abduction of the Sabine* conveyed no political message; its execution was simultaneous with Giambologna's work on the statuary intended for the garden of the granducal villa at Pratolino. The idea that the group was originally designed for Pratolino was originally suggested by Keutner (Keutner 1958B, p. 327).

[68] It is important to note that other important sculptures with a continuous viewpoint designed by Giambologna were intended for fountain decoration; they included the *Samson slaying a Philistine* (1561-62, Victoria and Albert Museum, London) and the *Medici Mercury* (1581, Museo Nazionale del Bargello, Florence).

[69] Cf. Wiles 1933, p. 54

recognised the particular nature of its underlying principles. In our further discussion, we proposed that one of these principles was the connection between the creation of statuary with a continuous viewpoint and the architectonic system of free-standing fountains. To emphasise the intrinsic nature of this connection, we proceeded to argue that the composition of Giambologna's *Abduction of a Sabine,* which is articulated as a fountain centrepiece, makes it unsuitable for the conditions of its present display. Going back Ammannati's *Neptune,* we can conclude that while this most prestigious fountain figure created in Florence during the 16th century does not have a continuous viewpoint and thus defies the stated principle, its odd composition with contrasting articulation of the principal and subsidiary views testifies to the opposite. In designing his fountain, Ammannati has thus created an exception that confirms the general rule.

CHAPTER 1: SURVIVING WORKS AND DIVERGENT HISTORIOGRAPHIC TRADITIONS: Francesco Camilliani's fountains in Sicily and Spain: history and historiography

1.1 Florence, Palermo, and Spain: two fountains and three historiographic traditions

The main facts regarding Francesco Camilliani's life and career are reasonably well known. Giorgio Vasari included an outline of the sculptor's biography in the second edition of his *Vite di più eccellenti pittori, scultori e architetti,* published in 1568, in the section on members of the Florentine *Accademia del disegno.*[70] It is the only known contemporary account of Francesco Camilliani's career. Later writers, including Borghini and Baldunicci, do not mention either the sculptor or any of his works.

According to Vasari, Francesco Camilliani was a pupil of Baccio Bandinelli. Having demonstrated his capability as a sculptor, he dedicated 15 years of his career to the design of fountains; the most stupendous of these structures stood in the garden of Don Luigi de Toledo in Florence. Lavishly decorated with figures of humans and animals in various attitudes, the fountain was near completion at the time of Vasari's writing.[71] Two over life-size statues of reclining river-gods, the *Arno* and the *Mugnone,* which decorated the fountain, were noted by Vasari as works of very fine quality. Both of them, and particularly the *Mugnone,* according to Vasari, could stand comparison with the work of any first-rate sculptor.

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[70] Vasari-Milanesi 1906, 7, p. 628: "Francesco Camilliani, scultore fiorentino ed accademico, il quale fu discepolo di Baccio Bandinelli, dopo aver dato in molte cose saggio di essere buono scultore, ha consumato quindici anni negli ornamenti delle fonti; dove n'è una stupendissima, che ha fatto fare il signor Don Luigi di Tolledo al suo giardino di Fiorenza: i quali ornamenti, intorno a ciò, sono diverse statue d'uomini e d'animali in diverse maniere, ma tutti ricchi e veramente reali, e fatti senza risparmio di spesa. Ma, infra l'altre statue che ha fatto Francesco in quel luogo, due maggiori del vivo, che rappresentano Arno e Mugnone fiumi, sono di somma bellezza; e particolarmente il Mugnone, che può stare al paragone di qualsivoglia statua di maestro eccellente. In somma, tutta l'architettura ed ornamenti di quel giardino sono opera di Francesco, il quale l'ha fatto per ricchezza di diverse varie fontane sì fatto, che non ha pari in Fiorenza, nè forse in Italia: e la fonte principale, che si va tuttavia conducendo a fine, sarà la più ricca e sontuosa che si possa in alcun luogo vedere, per tutti quegli ornamenti che più ricchi e maggiori possono imaginarsi, e per gran copia d'acque, che vi saranno abbondantissime d'ogni tempo."

[71] Vasari was writing before the end of 1567, when, according to the dedication, the second edition of the *Vitae* was brought to completion.

Over three centuries later, in the notes to his 19th-century edition of Vasari's text, Gaetano Milanesi added the following information. Francesco Camilliani, stated Milanesi, came from a dynasty of professional sculptors. He was a son of the sculptor Giovanni di Niccolò Gucci, also known as Giovanni della Camilla, who worked mainly for the Opera del Duomo in Florence and died in 1566. Giovanni married twice, and Francesco had two half-brothers, Santi and Pietro.[72] They also became professional sculptors, but retained the original family name of Gucci. Francesco Camilliani died on 13th October 1586 and was buried in the crypt of the Chapel of St. Luke in the cloister of the SS. Annunziata, a burial place for members of the Florentine *Accademia del disegno*.[73]

There is more information available regarding Don Luigi de Toledo, the owner of the garden where Francesco Camilliani's most celebrated fountain stood. Don Luigi was a member of the Spanish noble elite.[74] He was the third son of Don Pedro de Toledo, Viceroy of Naples in 1532-53,[75] and a brother of Don Garcia de Toledo, commander of the Spanish fleet in 1564-66 and Viceroy of Sicily in 1566-67.[76] In 1539 Don Luigi's sister Eleonora married Cosimo I de' Medici, Duke of Florence.[77] Don Luigi's close family ties with the Florentine court largely explain why he resided in Florence for much of his life. The garden that he purchased in Florence on 2nd June 1551 occupied a large plot of land behind the church of SS. Annunziata [plate 73].[78] In 1574, 12 years after the death of Eleonora de Toledo, Don Luigi suddenly left

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[72] The name of Giovanni Camilliani's first wife, who gave birth to Francesco, was Nannina. Giovanni's other two sons were born to his second wife Marietta, the daughter of Santi Birbi of S. Gervasio (Biehl 1911, p. 439).

[73] Vasari-Milanesi 1906, 7, p. 628, notes 1 and 3

[74] For Don Luigi de Toledo see Parrino 1692-94, 1, pp. 196-98

[75] For the most recent study of Don Pedro de Toledo and his political career see Hernando 1988. One of Don Pedro's earliest biographies was written by the Neapolitan historian Scipione Miccio, dedicated on 10th June 1600 (see Miccio 1846). Don Pedro died in Florence on 22nd February 1553 and was buried in the Florentine Duomo on 13th March 1553 (Lapini 1900, p. 109). It is not clear whether his remains were transferred to his tomb in Naples in the church of S. Giacomo degli Spagnuoli at a later stage.

[76] Don Garcia de Toledo was appointed the commander of the Spanish fleet on 10th February 1564 (see Braudel 1972-73, 2, pp. 1012-14). In March 1552, he married Vittoria Colonna (Miccio 1846, p. 81), a daughter of Ascanio Colonna and a niece of her famous namesake, Marchioness of Pescara, a poetess and a friend of Michelangelo (see DBI, 27, p. 274). Don Garcia subsidised the construction of the tomb of his parents Don Pedro de Toledo and Donna Maria Osorio Pimentel in the church of S. Giacomo degli Spagnuoli in Naples, which was executed by the workshop of the Neapolitan sculptor Giovanni da Nola. It was completed, according to the inscription, in 1570 (Borelli 1903, p. 60). Don Garcia died in Naples in 1577 (Ceva Grimaldi 1857, p. 657). According to the Neapolitan tradition, Don Garcia and his wife were buried in the tomb that he had commissioned for his parents (Croce 1884, pp. 123-24).

[77] Eleonora de Toledo entered Florence as the bride of Cosimo I on 29th June 1539 (Lapini 1900, p. 102).

[78] ASF, Corporazioni religiosi soppresi dal governo francese, no. 108, 121, fols. 76-77; Zangheri 1999, p. 19, note 2. For the most recent study of Don Luigi's Florentine garden, see Zangheri 1999.

Florence and settled in Naples. His Florentine garden was abandoned and its sculptural ornamentation was soon dispersed.

On 8th January 1573, shortly before Don Luigi's departure from Florence, the main fountain from his garden that that Vasari had admired only a few years previously, became the subject of a contract between Don Luigi and the authorities of Palermo.[79] This contract concluded formal negotiations for the fountain's acquisition by the Palermitan Senate, begun several months previously through the agency of Don Luigi's brother Don Garcia.[80] For this large structure, evidently consisting of 644 parts, Don Luigi was to receive the sum of 20,000 *scudi*.[81] By 11th April 1573, according to the report of the Ferrarese Ambassador in Florence, the fountain was dismantled and ready for transport.[82] A whole year, however, passed before its component parts arrived in Palermo.[83]

On its arrival in Sicily, the fountain, originally designed for a private garden, had to be erected in the centre of the city in front of the Palazzo Pretorio, the official seat of the Senate. The task of adjusting its design to this new setting was assigned to Francesco Camilliani's son, Camillo Camilliani.[84] The equally important task of aligning the fountain's thematic programme with the new Sicilian context was assigned to the Monrealese poet Antonio Veneziano.[85] Veneziano provided new identities for the Tuscan river deities that decorated the original fountain, transforming the Arno and Mugnone into their Sicilian counterparts, the Oreto and Gabriele. It has often been surmised that Veneziano was also responsible for positioning the statuary on the fountain in Palermo.[86]

It took over nine years to enlarge, re-erect, and reinterpret the fountain, with work brought to completion only towards the end of 1583. Two of the statues that

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[79] ACP, Real Segreteria, no. 1; Pedone 1986, documents section, unpaginated

[80] ACP, Consigli Civici, anni 1560-72, no. 68, c. 320; Pedone 1986, documents section, unpaginated. The decision of the Palermitan Senate to start the negotiations regarding the acquisition of the fountain was passed on 26th August 1572.

[81] ACP, Real Segreteria, no. 1; Pedone 1986, documents section, unpaginated

[82] The letter of Ridolfo Conegnano to the Duke of Ferrara dated 11th April 1573, quoted in Di Marzo 1880-83, 1, p. 810. The letter specified that the fountain was to be transported to Palermo at Don Luigi's expence and risk.

[83] The shipment was received on 26th May 1574; see ASP, Notaio Carasi Antonio 1573-4, 6295; Di Marzo 1880-83, 2, pp. 440-441

[84] ASP, Notaio Carasi Antonio 1573-1574, 6295; Di Marzo 1880-83, 2, pp. 440-441

[85] Veneziano addressed each of the figures decorating the fountain with short Latin verses with an Italian translation. The verses were supposed to elucidate the connection of the statues with the aquatic mythology and thereby justify their position on the fountain. They were reported by the Palermitan polymath Francesco Baronio and later included in the celebrated 18th-century description of the fountain by Leonardo Maria Lo Presti, printed in Palermo in 1737 (Palermo 1816, p. 108).

[86] Cf. Palermo 1816, p. 107

decorate the present *Fontana Pretoria*, the river-god *Papireto* and a standing *Nereid* on the left of the river-god *Oreto*, bear the signature of Michelangelo Naccherino [plates 16 and 6].[87] Naccherino was a Florentine sculptor active in Naples from the last quarter of the 16th century until his death in 1622.[88] The presence of his figures among the statuary decorating the *Fontana Pretoria* in Palermo raises the issue of the nature of Naccherino's contribution to the fountain's design.

Three aspects of the sale and acquisition of the fountain from Don Luigi's garden are particularly worthy of note. To begin with, it is evident that the fountain was viewed as a valuable commodity, and that both parties involved in its sale thought that they have benefited from this transaction. The sum of money that Don Luigi received as a result of the fountain's sale was substantial. By comparison, the dowry that Cosimo I received in 1538 on the occasion of his marriage with Don Luigi's sister Eleonora amounted to the same sum of 20,000 scudi.[89] Secondly, the eagerness of the authorities of Palermo to purchase a fountain from Florence instead of commissioning one locally is a significant fact that requires an explanation. Thirdly, although the fountain was a massive object consisting of numerous fragile components and cumbersome to transport, the idea of its relocation was viewed by both parties as by no means extraordinary.

The difficulty and cost involved in the fountain's acquisition and erection, its impressive size, and the variety of sculptural elements used in its decoration, ensured that the *Fontana Pretoria* would become an integral feature in the artistic culture of Sicily.[90] On his visit to Palermo in the late 18th century, Goethe was so misled by local pride regarding the fountain that he assumed that it to be an indigenous work.[91] Throughout its history, the *Fontana Pretoria* maintained its prestige as one of Palermo's great civic monuments, perhaps most conspicuously during the heroic days of May 1860, when Garibaldi had a brief siesta on its steps while enduring the attack of the Bourbon troops.[92] By this stage, the fountain's Florentine origin had become a

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[87] Pedone 1986, p. 68

[88] For Naccherino see Maresca di Serracapriola 1924 and Kuhlemann 1999.

[89] ASF, Mediceo del Principato 337, fol. 134. I am greatful to Edward Goldberg for bringing this document to my attention.

[90] According to the 18th-century Sicilian Jesuit historian Francesco Aprile, "There are three things in Sicily that are referred to by words consisting of only one syllable, and yet they are the biggest in their kind: *mons, fons,* and *pons.* They are Mount Etna, the Pretorian fountain, and the bridge of Capodarso" (quoted in Pedone 1986, p. 7, my translation).

[91] Goethe 1970, p. 231

[92] Pedone 1986, p. 146

peripheral issue, and the name of Don Luigi de Toledo was gradually erased from accounts of its history.

The dramatic history of this fountain stands in stark contrast with the elusiveness of the sculptor responsible for its creation. The list of Francesco Camilliani's other documented commissions is notably short. He participated in the production of ephemeral decorations for the wedding of Prince Francesco de' Medici and Johanna of Austria in 1565,[93] and executed two Medici escutcheons for the bastions of the fortress of S. Barbara in Siena, installed in 1567 [plates 55 and 57].[94] In 1567, as a member of the *Accademia del disegno,* he received the commission for the statue of *Melchisedech* of painted clay or "terra di Montelupo" for the Chapel of St. Luke in the cloister of the SS. Annunziata in Florence [plates 52 and 54].[95] This range of assignments seems unremarkable and gives us the impression of a recognised, but not necessarily very distinguished sculptor working in Florence in the third quarter of the 16th century.

The *Fontana Pretoria* in Palermo is not the only important fountain associated with Francesco Camilliani. In the late 18th century, Spanish historian and traveller Abbot Antonio Ponz discerned the sculptor's signature and the date of 1555 on the pedestal of one of the statues decorating the fountain in the garden of the palace Sotofermoso in Abadía, Extremadura. This palace in the valley of the river Ambroz was the country residence of the Dukes of Alba.[96] In the early 19th century, the garden was devastated by Napoleonic troops, the fountains were demolished, and their sculpture dispersed. Some of their fragments are still found under the loggia in the courtyard of the palace. Prominent among the remains of this sculptural ensemble are marble medallions with profile portraits of characters from Roman history [plates 38 and 39]. The only piece of sculpture that remains in its original location in the garden

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[93] For the accounts of the wedding, see Mellini 1566 and Ginori Conti 1936.Camilliani was employed to work mainly on the decorations of the Porta al Prato, which was the point of entry into the city for the wedding procession, and the entrance to the Borgo Ognissanti. He also designed the relief representing the Annunciation for the doors of the Florentine Duomo.

[94] The two escutcheons were installed in 1567 and were therefore executed before that date (Commune di Siena 1988, pp. 7-8). Venturi wrongly gives the date of the work as 1561, which is the date of the inscription on one of the escutcheons (Venturi 1937, pp. 530, 541-2). This date, however, refers to the beginning of work on the fortress itself, which had long preceded the execution and installation of the sculpture.

[95] Summers 1969, p. 68, note 1. The paving tiles of the Library of S. Lorenzo were made of the same material (ASF, Guardaroba Mediceo, 18, fol. 113). For the account of Camilliani's statue, see Summers 1969, p. 79.

[96] Ponz 1988, 2, p. 519. The palace and its garden are located in the present province of Cáceres.

is a damaged figure of *Andromeda,* executed in very high relief and positioned in a niche [plate 48].

Francesco Camilliani's statuary in Abadía is usually taken as evidence that the sculptor worked in Spain due to the lack of employment in his native Florence.[97] Opportunities for sculptors in Florence were certainly limited, since large sculpture commissions could be afforded only by the Duke and a few members of his court.[98] Many Tuscan sculptors of varying ability had to seek employment abroad, including such major figures as Giovanangelo Montorsoli, who worked first in Genoa and then in Messina, Jacopo Sansovino, who settled in Venice, and Raffaello da Montelupo, who ran a workshop in Rome and later in Orvieto. It would appear that few of these sculptors left Tuscany willingly. In 1547, at the peak of his international career, Montorsoli wrote a letter to Cosimo I, expressing a strong desire to return to his native city. The sculptor assured the Florentine ruler of his intention to serve him not only for the duration of any given commission, but for the whole of his life, satisfying the Duke's smallest fancies.[99]

The patronage situation in Florence did not change much in the second half of the 16th century. Many promising sculptors a generation younger than Francesco Camilliani, including his own son Camillo Camilliani, Michelangelo Naccherino, Pietro Bernini, and Taddeo Landini, had to exercise their talents outside Tuscany. Working abroad, some of them enjoyed a success that they might have never achieved in the competitive environment of Florence. For example, Naccherino established himself as one of the foremost sculptors in Naples in the last decades of the 16th century, and the output of his large workshop had a considerable impact on the later development of Neapolitan sculpture.[100]

Francesco Camilliani's involvement with two fountain commissions in Florence and Spain, and his association with the largest civic fountain in Palermo, made him the subject of competing Florentine, Spanish, and Palermitan historiographic traditions. This resulted in somewhat conflicting accounts of his life and career. These accounts suggest, for example, that the work on the two fountains in Florence and in Abadía progressed simultaneously. The incised date "1555," noted by

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[97] Cf. Schubert 1908, p. 293; Gothein 1926, 1, p. 388; Wiles 1933, p. 70, note 4; Ferrarino 1977, p. 48; Tagliolini 1988, p. 225; and Negri Arnoldi 1997, p. 109

[98] Cf. Bartoli 1567, fol. 19v

[99] Gaye 1839-40, 2, p. 365. The letter is dated 17th June 1547.

[100] Cf. Negri Arnoldi 1997, pp. 21-22

Ponz on one of the pedestals of the figures in Abadía, also appears on the statue of the river-god *Oreto* decorating the *Fontana Pretoria* in Palermo [plates 6 and 7].[101] These empirical facts are difficult to reconcile, since the two projects were ostensibly carried out in different parts of Europe. Further, while the Spanish commission is invariably associated with Ferdinando de Toledo, 3rd Duke of Alba,[102] writers disagree as to who employed Camilliani in Florence. Vasari and other Florentine sources suggest that it was Don Luigi de Toledo. Palermitan historians, however, maintain that laying out the garden and commissioning the fountain complex was the initiative of Don Pedro de Toledo, Don Luigi's father, and that Don Luigi inherited the property after Don Pedro's death.[103]

In short, the three historiographic traditions originating in Florence, Palermo, and Spain do not provide a coherent biography for Francesco Camilliani. They offer conflicting evidence, which makes it difficult to decide whether the sculptor was working in his native Florence and other places, and who were his employers. Since any attempt to synthesise these separate versions of Francesco Camilliani's career and the history of his fountains yields questionable and unconvincing results, it is evident that they evolved in isolation from one another.[104] The origin and evolution of these conflicting traditions, however, is essential to our present investigation, since the resulting factual discrepancies help to explain the inconsistencies that permeate the modern accounts of Francesco Camilliani's career and his sculptural work.[105]

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[101] Pedone 1986, p. 54

[102] Cf. Ferrarino 1977, p. 48

[103] Cf. Lo Presti 1737, p. 40; Di Marzo 1872, p. 354; Di Marzo 1880-83, 1, p. 810; Samonà 1931-33, p. 330; and Russo 1961, pp. 15-16

[104] Cf. Negri Arnoldi 1997, pp. 108-09.

[105] In the absence of comprehensive studies of Camilliani and his artistic output, information about his professional career is usually derived from Adolfo Venturi's history of Italian art and entries on the sculptor in three encyclopaedias. The earliest of these publications is the *ad vocem* on the Camilliani (della Camilla, or Gucci) family written in 1911 by Wilhelm Biehl for the *Algemeines Lexicon der Bildenden Kunstler,* edited by Ulrich Thieme and Felix Becker (Biehl 1911). The volume of Venturi's history of Italian art, which contains Camilliani's biography, was published in 1936 (Venturi 1936). The more up-to-date account of Camilliani's career appeared nearly 40 years later. It was written by Francesco Negri Arnoldi for the *Dizionario biographico degli italiani,* the respective volume of which was published in 1974 (Negri Arnoldi 1974B). Probably the most comprehensive of all the biographies of the sculptor that are presently available, Negri Arnoldi's survey of Camilliani's career is full of factual mistakes and for this reason is not entirely reliable. The most recent *ad vocem* on Camilliani was written by Luigi Ferrarino in the *Dizionario degli artisti italiani in Spagna,* published in Madrid in 1977 (Ferrarino 1977). If the other three surveys of Camilliani's career concentrate mainly on the nature and extent of his contribution to the design of the *Fontana Pretoria,* Ferrarino's biography of the sculptor is remarkable primarily in view of its peculiar unawareness of the scale and importance of Camilliani's professional activities in Florence.

The historical evidence pertaining to Francesco Camilliani and his artistic output falls into two distinct categories: documentary and material. The first type of evidence includes documents and contemporary printed sources containing references to the sculptor and the works associated with him. The material evidence includes not only the sculptures executed or designed by Camilliani, but also the inscriptions and dates that the artist incised on his works. Documents provide a written record of events as they actually occurred or as they were believed to have occurred, although on rare occasions they might distort events by presenting them the way they were supposed to be viewed by future generations. The situation with material evidence is different. Works of art do not exist in isolation, and their meaning often changes along with their conditions of display. Whether public or private property, they become an integral part of the history of the individuals, families, towns, and states that own them. They can generate a trail of mythical beliefs that allegedly explain their origin and history, resulting in popular traditions, which often conflict with documentary records. Though such popular traditions may not provide accurate accounts of events and facts, their historical importance is nonetheless considerable, since they tell us how works of art were perceived at a particular time and what they actually meant to generations of their owners.

The presence of Francesco Camilliani's fountains in Sicily and Spain made a lasting impact on the culture of these territories. It generated extensive historiographic literature, focusing on these monuments themselves rather than on the career of their presumed creator.[106] The grandeur of the *Fontana Pretoria,* which struck Goethe in the early 18th century, continues to impress visitors to Palermo. Although the evident importance of Francesco Camilliani's fountains, only one of which has survived, saved the sculptor from total oblivion, it could not prevent him from falling into

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[106] For the early accounts of the *Fontana Pretoria,* see section 1.2.3 of this thesis. The modern historiography of the fountain includes four important studies. The most significant among them is the monograph on the *Fontana Pretoria* by Salvatore Pedone (Pedone 1986). Published in 1986, it largely departs from the tradition of looking at the fountain mainly in terms of its present location and explores the circumstances that accompanied its original commission. Although Pedone's book draws mainly on the documents preserved in the State Archive of Palermo, the share of the Florentine material in the evidence that it provides is also considerable. In the appendix to his book, Pedone included all of the documentary evidence relevant to the history of the *Fontana Pretoria* in both Palermo and Florence that was available to him. Other publications on the *Fontana Pretoria* include a small book by Lia Russo (Russo 1961), a frequently cited account of the fountain's restorations by Giulia Davi and Santina Grasso (Davi and Grasso 1983), and a collection of articles on its physical characteristics and present condition edited by Giuseppe La Monica (La Monica ed. 1987). In the absence of any books or articles devoted to Francesco Camilliani and the analysis of his *œuvre,* the number of studies dedicated to this single work associated with the sculptor is certainly impressive.

relative obscurity. His reputation as a sculptor now principally rests on the sculptural decoration of the *Fontana Pretoria,* which defines our understanding of the place of his work in the artistic context of 16th-century Florence. Soon after its erection in Palermo, the fountain, however, began to generate a trail of legendary history, which greatly complicates the study of the circumstances of its commission, the authorship of its statuary, and the course of its early history.

1.2 The "Fontana Pretoria" in Palermo:

1.2.1 The fountain: design and present condition

The *Fontana Pretoria* occupies most of a modestly sized square in front of the Palazzo Pretorio, the seat of the Palermitan Senate [plate 2].[107] It is located a short distance off the Quattro Canti, which marks the intersection of Via Maqueda and the Cassaro, the city's two main arteries [plate 1].[108] The square is raised above street level and is approached by climbing up a series of steps. The main approach is from Via Maqueda, although the area in front of the Palazzo Pretorio could also be entered from the Cassaro through a narrow gap between Palazzo Bonocore and Palazzo Bordonaro.

The fountain is 132.92 m. in circumference.[109] Its plan consists of a series of concentric ovals that become nearly circular towards the periphery of the fountain.[110] Certain asymmetries in this system result from the fact that the ovals are not perfect.[111] The sculptural decoration of the fountain is distributed along the perimeters of these ovals. The fountain's longer axis is stretched across Piazza Pretoria from Via Maqueda to the church of S. Caterina.[112]

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[107] The palace is also know as "Palazzo Senatorio" and "Palazzo delle Acquile." Originally built in 1463, it has undergone considerable modifications since that time (Guidone et al. 1987, p. 182).

[108] Throughout this study the original street names will be used. The Cassaro, which was renamed "Corso Vittorio Emanuele" in the 20th century, was the principal street of Palermo before the urban interventions of the 17th century. Originally, it connected the city to the old Norman palace, which incorporated the Palatine Chapel, located towards Monreale. Some of the city's most important buildings, such as the Cathedral and the Archbishop's palace, stood in this street. In the opposite direction, the Cassaro stopped near what today is the intersection of Corso Vittorio Emmanuele and Via Roma. Beyond it, there was a maze of streets leading to the large open area near the old harbour, dominated by the massive Palazzo Chiaramonte [plate 1].

[109] Di Marzo 1880-83, 1, p. 810. In stating that the *Fontana Pretoria* is 133 metres in diameter, Negri Arnoldi has evidently confused the circumference of the fountain with its diameter (Negri Arnoldi 1974b, p. 217).

[110] It is frequently erroneously stated that the *Fontana Pretoria* is circular in plan (cf. Wiles 1933, p. 68; Negri Arnoldi 1974, p. 217; and Guidone et al. 1989, p. 182). The fact that the fountain was not circular, but oval in plan has been noted by its early commentators (cf. Palermo 1816, p. 106).

[111] La Monaca ed. 1987, p. 43

[112] The church of S. Caterina was built between 1580 and 1596 (Guidone et al. 1989, p. 181). The church of S. Giuseppe dei Teatini that stands in the opposite side of the square, along Via Maqueda, is the most recent building in Piazza Pretoria. It was designed by Theatine architect Giacomo Besio in 1612, and its construction was completed in 1645 (Guidone et al. 1989, p. 184).

The fountain's central feature is a tall shaft 12.90 meters high, crowned with the figure of a *putto* holding a cornucopia [plate 17].[113] This shaft surmounts an oval receiving basin and three *tazze* [plate 3].[114] The two upper *tazze* are supported by sculptured figures carved integrally with the shaft, while the lowest *tazza* rests on the shoulders of two sea-monsters. The outer boundary of the fountain is defined by a low balustrade interrupted by four entrances flanked by pairs of colossal herms [plate 4]. These eight herms are considerably larger than any of the other sculptures that decorate the fountain.

In architectonic terms, the fountain presents a combination of two main elements, a broad low cylinder and an oval platform, raised on eight steps. Placed in the centre of the platform, the cylinder rises above it, displaying 24 arched niches divided by short pilasters. The cylinder is separated from the platform by a continuous moat, bridged by four stairs slightly tapering towards the centre of the fountain. The stairs are placed on the same axis as the four entrances, creating an uninterrupted passage from the fountain's periphery to its central feature, which surmounts the cylinder. On either side the stairs have balustrades, the terminal points of which are enlarged so as to form supports for 16 figures of standing deities, nine male and seven female. Not all of these figures are presently on the fountain, and some of them are not extant, but their original arrangement is recorded in old photographs. The figures of male deities included Apollo, Mercury, Bacchus, Orpheus, Adonis, Hercules, Triptolemus, and Vertumnus. The female statues represented Ceres, Ops, Venus, Diana, Pomona, and Venus Verticordia. Two remaining figures were of allegorical nature and included male Abundance and female Liberality.

The side elevation of the cylinder is divided by the stairs into four segments, each featuring six niches. These niches contain marble heads of animals, fantastic as well as real. Four statues of reclining river-gods, representing the Sicilian rivers Oreto, Gabriele, Maredolce, and Papireto [plates 6, 15, 5, and 16], are the main sculptural accents of the fountain. They are placed on the edge of the platform directly across the moat from the animal heads. The river deities are flanked by standing

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[113] Di Marzo 1880-83, 1, p. 810

[114] This type of structure was described by Bertha Wiles as a fountain of "candelabrum type," drawing on the resemblance between its architectonic system and the form of Renaissance candelabra, noted by Lomazzo: "Dalla forma de' candelieri sopradetti ne sono cavate le fontane, tonde, ovate, e quadre, in fondo di cui si fa il vaso che riceve l'acqua che da di sopra esce fuori da bocche di maschere, o di altre simili cose, ed in cima si fa qualche Dio Marino" (Lomazzo 1584, p. 429).

figures of tritons and nereids. Facing in the same direction towards the fountain's periphery, these statues partially obscure the view of the menagerie behind them.

The sculptural decoration of the fountain is organised on two distinct levels, which are connected by stairs. The figures of standing deities positioned at both the bottom and top of these stairs are therefore placed at a different height. For this reason, their arrangement could be interpreted in two ways. To a viewer located close to the periphery of the fountain, the figures tend to appear as simply flanking the stairs. Seen from a distance, they could be read as delineating two different levels within the architectonic system of the fountain.[115] It is improbable that the positioning of these statues was decided at the sole discretion of the poet Antonio Veneziano.[116] It seems to be determined by the difference in the height between the statues, which in some cases reaches up to 0.3 m.[117] With such notable discrepancies in size, the larger figures were placed at a lower level and therefore closer to the viewer than the smaller ones. This odd arrangement, which makes the undersized statues appear even smaller, makes the viewer believe that the figures placed at the higher level are further away from the periphery of the fountain than they actually are, increasing the impression of the size and grandeur of the whole structure.

The design of the fountain is therefore based on the idea of an oval isle rising in the middle of a pool and approachable by four separate stairs. The water, which emanates from the *tazze* or spouts in slender jets from the sculptured figures of the shaft, flows into the large receiving basin, which occupies most of the upper surface of the cylinder. The perimeter of this area is defined by a parapet, split by the stairs into four sections. Sustained by low balusters, some of which are carved in the form of coupled dolphins, they are low and wide enough to be used as benches by those viewers who prefer to admire the effect of the central feature of the fountain in close proximity. From the receiving basin, the water flows underneath the cylinder and disappears from view until it emerges again from the mouths of animals that spout it into the moat below. The moat serves as the main reservoir of drinking water provided for public use. Quite independently from this main passage of water, some minor jets are connected to the statues of river-gods and standing deities placed around the outer limit of the moat. The water that emanates from the attributes held by

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[115] This deliberate ambiguity in the arrangement of architectonic members was regarded by Rudolf Wittkower as a characteristic feature of Mannerist architecture (see Wittkower 1978).
[116] Cf. Palermo 1816, p. 107
[117] See La Monaca ed. 1987, table on p. 64

these figures falls into the carved basins below. Quite small in amount, this water is aimed at a decorative effect rather than practical utilisation. In total, the fountain has 56 water jets.[118]

The *Fontana Pretoria* is a monument with over 400 years of history. Although it may initially appear to be a unique 16th-century sculptural ensemble surviving in its original form, in many respects the fountain that now occupies the Piazza Pretoria is not the same structure that had been erected there in the last quarter of the 16th century.[119] For example, to prevent acts of vandalism against the nude figures, in 1757 the fountain was enclosed with an iron railing, which introduced into its design an element of seclusion alien to the fountain's original conception.[120] Apart from minor works of routine maintenance, the *Fontana Pretoria* has undergone a series of restorations, carried out successively in 1656, 1718, 1737, 1769, 1780, 1858, and 1958.[121] Most of them evidently took place in the course of the 18th century.

The 1958 restoration had to rectify the damage caused to the monument by the Allied bombings of Piazza Pretoria in the course of World War II, on 29th and 30th June 1943.[122] The repair work, based on the principle of reintegration as opposed to historical conservation, involved the removal of the statue of *Vertumnus* and its replacement with a modern, rather inaccurate copy [plate 22].[123] The highly debatable results of this restoration were severely criticised by Francesco Negri Arnoldi, who termed them "historical falsifications."[124] The scholar noted the weak modelling of the torso of the new *Vertumnus,* and the head that betrayed the style of a 20th-century sculptor; the "peak of shamelessness," in the words of Negri Arnoldi, was the reproduction of Camilliani's signature on the vase below the figure.[125]

The fountain was again covered in scaffolding in 1997. Three plexiglas-protected openings in the wooden hording that surrounds its periphery allow a partial view of some of the statuary, displayed against the background of a white rectangular enclosure with the undulating forms of the fountain's basins and shaft painted on its four faces.

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[118] Palermo 1816, p. 110
[119] Cf. Negri Arnoldi 1997, p. 292
[120] Palermo 1816, p. 109
[121] Davì and Grasso 1983, pp. 78-81
[122] Davì and Grasso 1983, p. 80
[123] Negri Arnoldi 1997, p. 292
[124] Negri Arnoldi 1997, p. 292
[125] Negri Arnoldi 1997, p. 292

Some of the figures of the fountain bear the incised signatures of their creators as well as the dates of their execution, usually on their supports or accessories. Five of the statues were signed by Francesco Camilliani, although only two of these signatures included dates. The sculptor's surname was consistently spelt in the form "Camilani," while his first name was usually abbreviated. It appeared in full only once, in which case it was spelt in the Spanish fashion as "Francisho." The sculptor's name was often accompanied by the indication of his Florentine origin.[126] The now removed figure of *Vertumnus* bore the earliest date of 1554; the original inscription was reproduced on the base of its replacement.[127] Both the signature and the date of 1555 were also incised on the statue of the *Arno/Oreto* [plate 6]. The figures of *Hercules, Abundance,* and *Ceres* [plates 8 and 10] had only the sculptor's signatures, found in various places. In the case of the *Hercules,* it featured on one of the wings of the tiny Hydra; the *Abundance* had it prominently displayed on the bracket below; and the *Ceres* had it on the rim of the vase beside the figure. The figure of the

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[126] The inclusion of the descriptor "FLORENTINUS" in some of Camilliani's signatures raises the question of its function. It is generally believed that this descriptor served to indicate that a particular piece was either created abroad, or else intended to be exported (cf. Avery 1994, p. 25). This theory was postulated by Janson, who developed it on the basis of his study of Donatello's signatures. Donatello used his signature sparingly (cf. Vasari-Milanesi, 2, pp. 405-6). The descriptor "FLORENTINUS" appears on only four of his works: the Crivelli tomb, the *Gattamelata,* the *Judith and Holofernes,* and the South Pulpit of S. Lorenzo (Janson 1957, 2, p. 202). With the exception of the Crivelli tomb, all of these works were executed late in the sculptor's career, either during his ten-year sojourn in Padua (which took place between 1443 and 1453) or afterwards. Donatello's signature on the South Pulpit of S. Lorenzo was regarded by Janson as posthumous due to its poor epigraphic quality (Janson 1957, 2, p. 202). The *Judith and Holofernes,* according to Janson, therefore offers the only authentic example of Donatello's signature found in Florence. Since there was no need for Donatello to proclaim his citizenship in his home town, as there would have been in Rome or Padua, Janson proposed that the group was commissioned for the Siena cathedral (Janson 1957, 2, pp. 202-3). The use of the descriptor "FLORENTINUS" by 16th-century Florentine sculptors was quite random. It appeared on a number of works designed abroad, such as Jacopo Sansovino's bronze statue of *St. Mark* in Venice, and Vincenzo de' Rossi's group of *Theseus and Helen,* carved in Rome and later presented as a gift to Cosimo I. The descriptor also featured on sculptures that were produced in Florence and were never intended to be removed from the city, including Tribolo's *Fountain of Venus,* formerly in the garden of the ducal villa at Castello (the sculptor's name appears on the *tazza),* or Bandinelli's group of *Hercules and Cacus* in Piazza della Signoria in Florence. Although the scope of the present study does not allow for a systematic investigation of the nature and function of the signatures of Florentine sculptors, it is evident that in the 16th century no definite pattern in the use of the descriptor "FIORENTINUS" could be discerned. While the nature of this descriptor's function, which must have been the same both in Florence and abroad, is yet to be determined, it is possible that it had to do with the growing international recognition of Florentine sculpture and its greater fluidity as a commodity (cf. section 1.1.2 of this thesis). If this was the case, the statement of the Florentine provenance might have presented a peculiar trademark of quality.

[127] See Negri Arnoldi 1997, p. 292 and plates 303 and 304 on p. 306

Parnassus/Maredolce had the date of 1566 but no other information incised on its support [plate 5].[128]

Two statues bear the signature of Michelangelo Naccherino. They include the figures of the reclining river-god *Papireto* and a standing *Nereid* placed to the left of the river-god *Oreto* [plates 16 and 6]. The *Nereid* has the sculptor's signature incised on the bracelet decorating figure's right wrist.[129] Naccherino's signatures were misread by generations of historians including Milanesi, until they were finally given a correct transcription by Di Marzo.[130] The identity of the second master responsible for the sculptural decoration of the *Fontana Pretoria* was therefore firmly established only in the last two decades of the 19th century.

Two of the statues, the *Venus Verticordia* and the *Mercury* [plates 23 and 21], are currently missing from the fountain.[131] The photographs of the *Venus Verticordia* taken in the course of the 20th century show successive stages in the figure's disintegration.[132] Before being taken away, the *Venus Verticordia* was evidently missing both arms, the right leg, and the little figure of a *putto* that had accompanied it originally. The figure of *Vertumnus* is a modern replacement, and so, according to Negri Arnoldi, is the statue of *Venus*, at least in terms of its style.[133] The head of the *Diana* was stolen on the night of 24th August 1975 together with the head of the *Venus Verticordia*, which at that stage still stood on the fountain [cf. plates 19 and 10].[134] At least half of the figure of *Pomona* must be a replacement, as it features in a very fragmented state in an earlier photograph reproduced by Salvatore Pedone.[135]

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[128] Pedone 1986, pp. 54-56. The inscription on the *Vertumnus* reads "OPUS/FRANC°/CAMILANI /FLORENTIN°/1554." The inscription on the statue of the Oreto is "OPUS FRANC/CAMILANI/CIVI FLORENTIE /1555." The figure of Hercules has the signature "FRC·CAM·F"; in the case of the *Abundance*, the signature reads "FRANCISHO/CAMILANI"; and the figure of Pomona has it in the form "FRAN CAMILANI."

[129] Pedone 1986, p. 68

[130] Vasari-Milanesi, 7 p. 628. The transcription of Naccherino's signature reported by Lo Presti and Milanesi was "ANGELUS VAGHERIUS." Palermo had Italianised the sculptor's name as "Angelo Vagherino," referring to Bulifoni and Lo Presti; see Palermo 1816, p. 106. In this form it was known until Di Marzo corrected the mistake (Di Marzo 1880-83, 1, p. 813).

[131] According to Giuseppe La Monica, in May 1984 he had seen fragmentary remains of the statue of *Mercury* in a storage room of the Museo Pitrì in Palermo. He was informed by a member of the museum staff that the fragments of the statue of *Venus Verticordia*, apparently in a similar state, were preserved in the same museum, but were not available for viewing (La Monaca ed. 1987, p. 17, note 4).

[132] Negri Arnoldi 1997, p. 307, plates 306 and 307; for a proper 20th-century photograph of *Mercury* see Pedone 1986, p. 134

[133] Negri Arnoldi 1997, p. 292. The scholar's conjecture does not seem to be supported by other evidence.

[134] Davì and Grasso 1983, p. 81

[135] See Pedone, Salvatore 1986, plates section, unpaginated

The appearance of the missing, heavily restored, or mutilated statues of the *Fontana Pretoria* could be partially reconstructed on the basis of their old photographs taken early in the 20th century by the Florentine photographic firm "Alinari" and Friedrich Kriegbaum, some of which were published by Venturi.[136] Even these photographs, however, do not represent the original state of the fountain's statuary. According to the document dated 31st January 1718, the statues of the fountain were already missing 27 fingers and 13 noses, all of which, together with a hand of the *Mercury,* the support of the head of the horse, and the beak of the eagle, were going to be provided by the sculptor Gioacchino Vitagliano.[137] The numerous restorations of *Fontana Pretoria* make the stylistic analysis of its statuary a notably complicated task.

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[136] Venturi 1937, plates 438-47 on pp. 539-41, and plates 449-50 on p. 543
[137] ASP, Atti 1717-18, no. 322, fol. 145; Pedone 1986, documents section, unpaginated

1.2.2 The "Fontana Pretoria" in the history of fountain export

The present street pattern of Palermo was laid out in the early 17th century, resulting from the rapid urban development of the city in the second half of the 16th century. A series of major building campaigns that took place during that period involved the construction of the New Wharf, the straightening of the meandering Cassaro and its subsequent extension to the sea, and the laying out of the Via Maqueda (which met the Cassaro at right angles) through the old quarters of Palermo [plate 1].[138]

In the course of these urban transformations, new emphasis was given to the Palazzo Pretorio, marking the increasing importance of the Senate in the civic life of Palermo. It was decided that the palace should face in the direction of the Cassaro, and its principal façade was accordingly shifted from the old Piazza S. Cataldo to the opposite side. In order to give the new façade additional prominence, the area in front of the Palazzo Pretorio was cleared to create a square, enclosed on three sides by the walls of the surrounding buildings. In the centre of this square, the Senate, as another mark of its authority, intended to erect the city's main civic fountain, which at that stage Palermo still lacked.[139]

The fountain that the Senate originally hoped to erect in front of its palace did not have to be commissioned. It was a finished structure, owned by Don Garcia de

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[138] The radical reorganisation of the city was decided by the city authorities in about 1566. In 1568, the Cassaro was extended as far as the Church of S. Maria di Porto Salvo near the harbour, reaching the seafront by 1581. The sea and the old Norman palace were thus linked together by a straight avenue. To mark the ends of the Cassaro, two city gates were built: Porta Nuova, facing towards Monreale (begun in 1583 and decorated with bizarre herms representing captive Turks), and Porta Felice, overlooking the sea, begun in 1602. The laying out of the Via Maqueda (known until well into the 18th century as Strada Nuova), which completed the reshaping of the city, was initiated in 1600 by Bernardino Cardines, Duke of Maqueda, who was the Viceroy of Sicily in 1598-1601 (Fagiolo and Madonna 1981, p. 246). The extent of these impressive urban interventions was limited, since much of Palermo still consisted of a maze of narrow streets. The stark contrast between the splendid achievements of the 16th-century city planning and the areas unaffected by them was noted by Goethe on his visit to Palermo in 1787: "We went out first thing to take a closer look at the city, which is easy to grasp in its overall plan, but difficult to get to know in detail. A street a mile long runs from the lower to the upper gate; this is bisected by another street, so that everything which lies along these axes is easy to find. But the inner part of the city is a confusing labyrinth, where a stranger can find his way about only with the help of a guide" (Goethe 1970, p. 227).

[139] The present account of the urban development of Palermo in the second half of the 16th century draws on two principal sources. They include a study of the ideology of city planning in Palermo by Marcello Fagiolo and Maria Luisa Madonna, and a survey of the social, economic, political, and religious circumstances that brought about the urban reshaping of the city during the period, provided by Donald Garstang in his book on Giacomo Serpotta (see Fagiolo and Madonna 1981; Garstang 1984, pp. 14-19).

Toledo, the former Viceroy of Sicily.[140] The fountain stood in Florence, although it was probably initially destined for Don Garcia's garden in Chiaia, a fashionable quarter of Naples. It is not clear whether there were in fact any formal negotiations regarding its acquisition for Palermo. On 7th August 1570, the Senate received the news that the fountain had been sent by Don Garcia to Spain as a gift to Philip II and had already been destined for the decoration of the Jardín de la Isla at Aranjuez.[141] The fountain, which included two simple *tazze* and the bronze figure of *Venus Anadyomene* (attributed by Antonia Boström to Zanobi Lastricati),[142] still stands in Aranjuez, although some distance from its original location [plate 74]. It is sometimes referred to as the fountain of Don Juan of Austria, since the jasper of its lower *tazza* is believed to have come from the Bay of Lepanto.[143] In an 18th-century engraving preserved in the Museo Municipal of Madrid, the fountain is represented in its initial position, occupying an open square approachable through two pergolas [plate 75]. The seated subsidiary figures, visible below the lower *tazza,* must have been lost in the course of the fountain's subsequent relocation. The engraving gives a deliberately wrong notion of the size of the fountain, making it appear surrounded by dwarfish human figures. In reality, it is a structure of rather modest dimensions, with the height of the statue of *Venus Anadyomene* not exceeding two metres.[144] The moderate size and simple design of the fountain in Aranjuez provide a clear indication that the initial plans of the Palermitan senators for decoration of the square in front of their palace were far from ambitious.

The failure to acquire the fountain of Don Garcia prompted the Senate to undertake a different course of action. On 7th August 1570, the same day when the disappointing news was received, the Senate decided that the fountain should be executed locally, and a number of arrangements to this effect were made. The total cost of the project was estimated at 3,000 *scudi.* A special committee that was to

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[140] Don Garcia de Toledo was the Viceroy of Sicily between 21st March 1565 and 18th October 1566 (Fagiolo and Madonna 1981, p. 244).

[141] ACP, Consigli civici, anni 1560-72, n. 68, fol. 260; Pedone 1986, documents section, unpaginated

[142] See Boström 1997. The attribution of the figure to Lastricati was made on stylistic grounds and appears entirely convincing.

[143] Aranjuez 1998, p. 137, plate 132. The engraving is preserved in the Museo Municipal of Madrid, inv. 7399.

[144] No precise measurements of this figure have so far been published. According to Boström, its height is approximately the same as that of Lastricati's bronze *Mercury* in Walters Art Gallery in Baltimore, which is 1.831 m. excluding the base (Boström 1997, p. 5, note 11; Acidini Luchinat et al. 2002, p. 230, p. 214).

supervise the work on the fountain was nominated, and the fund raising began.[145] The artist, who was going to be put in charge of the commission, was summoned to Palermo on behalf of the Senate by Viceroy Francesco Ferdinando d'Avalos, Marquis of Pescara.[146] The Viceroy's choice fell on the Milanese sculptor Annibale Fontana, who arrived in Palermo on 9th September 1570.[147] The choice of Fontana as the artist responsible for the execution of the main civic fountain in Palermo was by no means random. In 1560-63, D'Avalos was the Spanish governor of Milan; having commissioned two bronze medals from Fontana, he was almost certainly familiar with the sculptor's other works.[148] The contract between Fontana and the Palermitan Senate was drawn up a month later, on 9th October 1570.[149] The sculptor was obliged to execute a fountain of white marble in accordance with the drawing and specifications provided by the Senate.[150] The description of the proposed structure was included in the contract.

The fountain envisaged by the Senate was to be a structure of modest proportions, but more elaborate than the one previously owned by Don Garcia in terms of its sculptural ornamentation. It was to consist of a large octagonal receiving basin with an island in the middle. Four statues of harpies, related to each other by small figures of *putti,* were to stand at the corners of the island, spouting water into the basin. Behind the harpies, in the centre of the fountain, there were to be four free-standing figures, all nude and with well-articulated musculature, supporting a *tazza* on their shoulders. The ornamentation of this *tazza* was to consist of masks alternating with the arms of the city of Palermo. Above the *tazza,* there was to rise a sculpted shaft with four openings for spouting water. The whole composition was to be crowned with the standing figure of the Genius of Palermo, accompanied by two vipers. The sculptor was required not to depart from the proposed scheme, strictly adhere to the specified measurements, and in the space of one month produce a

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[145] The relevant decisions were passed by the Senate on 25th September 1570 (ACP, Atti, anni 1570-71, No. 196, fol. 46; Pedone 1986, documents section, unpaginated), after the new plan received the official approval of the Viceroy on 9th September 1570 (ACP, Atti Bandi e Provviste, anni 1570-71, no. 176, fol. 176; Pedone 1986, documents section, unpaginated).

[146] ACP, Consigli civici, anni 1560-72, no. 68, fol. 260; Pedone 1986, documents section, unpaginated. Francesco Ferdinando d'Avalos, Marquis of Pescara, was the Viceroy of Sicily from 20th August 1568 until his death on 31st July 1571 (Fagiolo and Madonna 1981, p. 244).

[147] ASP, Notaio Carasi Antonio, 6327, fol. 233; Pedone 1986, documents section, unpaginated

[148] Thieme-Becker, 12, p. 169

[149] ASP, Notaio Carasi Antonio, 6327, fol. 233; Pedone 1986, documents section, unpaginated

[150] Ibid.

sculptural model of the fountain.[151] The marble for the project was to be provided at the expense of the Senate. The sculptor was obliged to finish the work within two years after the arrival of the marble, receiving the annual salary of 100 *scudi* during the stated period.[152]

The figures of winged harpies, spouting water from their breasts and placed at the corners of a sculpted unit in the centre of an ornamental basin, seem to be a typical feature of the decoration of civic fountains of the late 16th-early 17th centuries. They are found in a similar position, for example, in a miniature by late 16th-century Neapolitan hydraulic engineer Giovanni Antonio Nigrone representing the project for a street fountain in Poggio Reale, completed, according to the accompanying note, in January 1604.[153] The inclusion of heraldic imagery, such as the city's coat-of-arms, in the overall decorative scheme, was characteristic of the design of civic fountains since the Middle Ages.[154] The fountain commissioned by the Palermitan Senate from Annibale Fontana was therefore a conventional structure conceived along traditional lines and intended to be realised on a relatively modest scale.

Though worked out in great detail, the project fell through without any apparent reason. It appears that the Senate had simply failed to deliver the marble required for the fountain, and the sculptor could not begin his work. The death of Viceroy D'Avalos, which followed on 31st July 1571, might have been another cause of the Senate's declining interest in the project. During most of his stay in Palermo, Fontana enjoyed the hospitality of his former patron, and was even allocated rooms in the Viceroy's palace.[155] The latter's death left the sculptor without any significant support in Palermo. On 24th October 1571, the Senate received Fontana's petition, in which the sculptor confirmed his eagerness to serve the city, but requested that at least a third of the salary specified in the contract was to be paid to him in view of his "severe need."[156]

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[151] The fountain that stands inside the Palazzo Pretorio, crowned with the figure of the Genius of Palermo holding two vipers, was identified by Pedone as the incomplete work by Fontana; see Pedone 1986, pp. 82-92, ill. on p. 83. This identification does not appear convincing on stylistic grounds and because the Genius of Palermo is represented as seated as opposed to standing. In any case, there is no indication in the Palermitan documents that Fontana had even begun the work.

[152] ACP, Consigli civici, anni 1560-72, no. 68, fol. 260; Pedone 1986, documents section, unpaginated

[153] Nigrone, 1, fol. 59v

[154] Wiles 1933, p. 3

[155] ACP, Atti Bandi e Provviste, anni 1570-71, no. 176, fol. 236; Pedone 1986, documents section, unpaginated

[156] ACP, Atti Bandi e Provviste, anni 1570-71, no. 176, fol. 236; Pedone 1986, documents section, unpaginated

The outcome of Annibale Fontana's plea is unknown, but the sculptor's involvement with the creation of Palermo's main civic fountain must have ended around the time when he presented his petition to the Senate. From that point onwards, Fontana's name disappears from the documents related to the project. The failure of the attempt to execute the fountain locally, however, did not mean that the idea of endowing Palermo with a new civic structure was abandoned by the Senate altogether. The next initiative, probably quite unexpectedly, came from Don Garcia de Toledo.[157] On 26th August 1572, the Senate announced that it had been informed by Don Garcia that the fountain owned by his brother Don Luigi was available for sale.

It must have been clear from the outset that the transaction was going to be quite a challenge to the city's budget, and for this reason, to make the new offer look most attractive, its champions in the Senate put forward three arguments. Firstly, they emphasised that the erection of a new fountain was a natural conclusion to a series of building campaigns undertaken in Palermo during the previous decade, which included the construction of the New Wharf and the straightening of the Cassaro.[158] Indeed, they argued, it was evident that there was nothing that "the ornamentation of the city required more, or that could bring more satisfaction to the people, than the acquisition of a beautiful fountain."[159] Secondly, the senators were reminded that the above accomplishments in the urban improvement of Palermo were instigated by Don Garcia de Toledo as Viceroy of Sicily. His latest offer was yet another unmistakeable sign of the affection that he bore for the city, and for this reason alone the proposed transaction should prove to be of great advantage to Palermo. Thirdly, the fountain in question was reported to be "very magnificent and held the most beautiful one in Italy."[160]

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[157] ACP, Consigli Civici, anni 1560-72, no. 68, fol. 320; Pedone 1986, documents section, unpaginated

[158] The work on Cassaro began after the decision of the Senate passed on 12th July 1567 (Fagiolo and Madonna 1981, p. 29), but the discussion of this project must have begun somewhat earlier, during the Vice-regency of Don Garcia. The New Wharf was considered by the Palermitans worthy of being added to the Seven Wonders of the world (cf. Di Giovanni 1989, p. 105). Its construction was dictated by the practical necessity of protecting the horseshoe-shaped harbour, the Cala, from the sea. Exposed to the Northern and Eastern winds, it was originally shielded only by the short old wharf. The idea of building another wharf went back to the time of the Viceroy Juan De Vega, but the official decision that sanctioned its construction was made in 1566 by Don Garcia (Fagiolo and Madonna 1981, p. 31). Although the foundation stone was laid on 19th June 1567 in the presence of the new Viceroy Carlos d'Aragona (Fagiolo and Madonna 1981, p. 32), the project was strongly associated with Don Garcia (Di Giovanni 1989, p. 105).

[159] ACP, Consigli Civici, anni 1560-72, no. 68, fol. 320; Pedone 1986, documents section, unpaginated (my translation)

[160] Ibid.

The conclusion was that the city should attempt to procure the fountain owned by Don Luigi at all costs. The funds previously allocated to the project were evidently insufficient, and it was suggested that higher taxes on wine or grain should be introduced. Since the imposition of an additional duty on grain was viewed as too hard a blow for the poor, it was decided that grapes and wine should be taxed instead for the duration of two years.[161] The committee that was appointed to administrate the imposition of additional taxes was also put in charge of making arrangements for the acquisition of the fountain.[162]

On 16th December 1572, official approval of the Senate's proceedings was granted by the new Viceroy Carlos d'Aragona.[163] By that stage, it was clear that by accepting Don Garcia's offer the Senate had precipitated a host of problems. Not only did a number of new taxes need to be introduced to raise the money required for the purchase of Don Luigi's fountain, but also the square that was supposed to accommodate the new structure had to be considerably enlarged. The partial demolition of a number of houses along the Cassaro was therefore necessary, and in order to provide compensation to their owners the Viceroy suggested that the emergency tax on grapes and wine should be extended from two to three years. The project, however, seemed to be worth the effort, and in his address to the Senate the Viceroy emphasised that the fountain owned by Don Luigi was indeed the most "beautiful and stupendous" structure of its kind "that one could find in Italy."[164] In forming an idea of the fountain's qualities, the Viceroy did not rely on rumours. The fact that the fountain was truly a "beautiful and rare" work was confirmed by its drawing, conveniently supplied by Don Garcia.[165]

This drawing and the word of Don Garcia seemed to constitute the only evidence available to the Senate, which testified that the fountain was as good as it was supposed to be. These proofs must have been considered sufficient, since, having the Viceroy's approval, the Senate pursued the process of acquiring the fountain with

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[161] Ibid.

[162] ASP, Real Segreteria, no. 1; Pedone 1986, documents section, unpaginated. The appointment was made by the Senate of Palermo on 1st December 1572 and confirmed by the Viceroy on 16th December 1572.

[163] ACP, Atti Bandi e Provviste, anni 1570-71, no. 178, fol. 89; Pedone 1986, documents section, unpaginated. Carlos d'Aragona, Prince of Castelvetrano, was the Viceroy of Sicily between 18th October 1566 and 20th August 1568, and again between 8th November 1571 and 24th April 1577 (Fagiolo and Madonna 1981, p. 244).

[164] ACP, Atti Bandi e Provviste, anni 1570-71, no. 178, fol. 89; Pedone 1986, documents section, unpaginated

[165] Ibid.

considerable haste. On 3rd January 1573, the contract between the Grapes and Wine Tax Committee, appointed by the Senate of Palermo, and Don Garcia de Toledo, who acted on behalf of his brother Don Luigi, was drawn up by the Neapolitan notary Gentile d'Avizzo.[166] According to the contract, Don Luigi was agreeing to sell the fountain that he then owned to the special committee appointed by the city of Palermo for the price of 20,000 *scudi,* payable in two instalments over a period of two years starting on 1st February 1573.

Shortly afterwards, on 8th January 1573, the transaction was ratified in Palermo, with the necessary documentation prepared by the notary Antonio Carasi.[167] The fountain, which at the time was in Florence, was to be delivered to the port of Palermo during August 1573 at the expense of the vendor. It was supposed to arrive in its integrity, that is, to include all the elements recorded in the drawing that had been sent by Don Garcia and now preserved by Carasi. The drawing, which acquired the status of a binding legal record, was almost certainly the same one that was seen by Viceroy D'Aragona at the end of the previous year. It is interesting that the concept of the fountain "in its integrity" included all of its "individual statues, monsters, basins, bases, columns, pavement, figures, and marble imagery," but no plumbing equipment or hydraulic machinery required to create the water pressure necessary for the fountain's functioning.[168]

Although the dismantling of the fountain was complete by 11th April 1573,[169] it took over a year for its component parts to arrive in Palermo. In the meantime, on 20th July 1573, it was announced that the demolition of houses between Piazza Pretoria and the Cassaro was going to commence shortly. All compensation claims were to be submitted within the following 12 days.[170] On 26th May 1574, the fountain components, accompanied by Don Luigi's agent Giovanni Battista Scarlino, finally

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[166] ASP, Real Segreteria, no. 1; Pedone 1986, documents section, unpaginated

[167] Ibid.

[168] Ibid.

[169] This fact is testified to by the letter of the Ferrarese Ambassador in Florence Ridolfo Conegnano to the Duke of Ferrara, which bears this date. The relevant excerpt from the letter was published by Di Marzo (Di Marzo 1880-83, 1, p. 810). Conegnano reported that Don Luigi de Toledo has sold the beautiful fountain, produced for his garden and consisting of many figures and pieces of marble, to the city of Palermo for the price of 20,000 *scudi.* The fountain was going to be sent to Palermo at Don Luigi's risk and expense. At the time when the letter was written, the fountain was already dismantled and prepared for transportation.

[170] ACP, Atti Bandi e Provviste, anni 1570-71, no. 178, fol. 133; Pedone 1986, documents section, unpaginated. For the account of the partial demolition of the Palazzi Bondonaro and Bonocore, see La Monaca ed. 1987, pp. 19-39.

arrived in Palermo.[171] The consignment of 644 pieces, the smallest of which were packed into 69 cases, were received by the members of the Grapes and Wine Tax Committee.[172] The inventory of the fountain components, some of which were reported as broken or chipped, was compiled on the same day by the notary Antonio Carasi.[173]

The process of procuring a civic fountain for the embellishment of Palermo had therefore gone through three main phases. It began with the Senate's unsuccessful attempt to purchase a fountain from Florence. The failure to acquire this fountain resulted in a decision to produce one locally. This project had no concrete outcome, apparently through no fault on the part of the sculptor who was put in charge of the work. Finally, the next attempt to buy a Florentine fountain resulted in a successful transaction, despite the additional cost that its acquisition was going to involve.

What is perhaps most striking about this story is the fact that during each of these separate phases the Senate wanted to obtain something distinctly different. Its initial intention was to purchase a relatively small garden fountain, quite simple in design, which presumably would have had little visual impact in the urban context. When this project fell through, the necessity of commissioning the fountain as opposed to purchasing a finished structure from elsewhere forced the Senate to specify what it actually wanted. It transpired that what the senators had in mind was a rather conventional civic structure, although grander in appearance and more direct in terms of its ideological message, conveyed by the city's arms and the figure of the Genius of Palermo, than the simple garden fountain that they originally wanted to purchase. Having commissioned what it ostensibly wanted, the Senate all of a sudden proved reluctant to go ahead with this project. The next offer to buy a finished fountain involved yet another garden structure, but this time of massive dimensions, which must have been evident from the drawing in which it was represented. For the sake of comparison, we should note that the fountain sent to Aranjuez consisted of 40 blocks of marble and jasper in addition to the bronze statue,[174] while the number of sculptural and architectural components of the structure owned by Don Luigi

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[171] ASP, Notaio Carasi Antonio 1573-1574, 6295; Di Marzo 1880-83, 2, pp. 440-441

[172] The committee included Praetor Ottavio del Bosco and senators Giovanni Villaraut, Niccolò Antonio Spatafora, Luigi Bologna, Antonio Vetro, and Giovanni Lo Campo.

[173] ASP, Notaio Carasi Antonio 1573-1574, 6295; Di Marzo 1880-83, 2, pp. 440-441

[174] Boström 1997, p. 1

amounted to 644.[175] In other words, it did not seem to matter whether the fountain acquired by the Senate was going to be small or large, and whether it was originally designed for a garden or for a city. What did seem to matter to the senators of Palermo, as the process of procuring the fountain for their city reveals, was their stable preference for importing one as opposed to commissioning one locally.

Both fountains that the Senate considered buying were going to be acquired through the agency of Don Garcia de Toledo. Don Garcia was a popular and respected figure in Palermo, certainly remembered for the major scheme of urban improvement of the city that he had initiated. Although the acquisition of a fountain for the Piazza Pretoria was evidently seen by the Senate as an integral part of this scheme, it would be wrong to think that by accepting Don Garcia's offer the senators mainly wanted to reciprocate the favours that he had bestowed on the city. While the rhetoric of their correspondence with Don Garcia betrays their willingness to oblige by the former Viceroy,[176] it also conveys the senators' conviction that they were acting in their city's best interests. Paying 20,000 *scudi* (which the city's treasury did not even contain at that time) with the purpose of merely pleasing Don Garcia would have appeared most imprudent on part of the municipal government of Palermo.[177]

The importance of the role that Don Garcia played for the Palermitan Senate in the process of acquiring a fountain, however, should not be discounted. His sister Eleonora was married to Cosimo I de' Medici, and even after her death in 1562 Don Garcia was spending much of his time at the Florentine court.[178] During her lifetime, Eleonora regularly sent her brother precious gifts of various kinds, including fountain figures executed by Florentine sculptors. A few of these figures have been recorded and one has been identified: it is a marble statue of a young river-god now in the

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[175] ASP, Notaio Carasi Antonio 1573-1574, 6295; Di Marzo 1880-83, 2, pp. 440-441

[176] One of the letters addressed to Don Garcia by the Senate of Palermo bears the date of 23rd October 1573. Writing in response to Don Garcia's letter of 13th September, the authorities of Palermo thanked him for the favour he has done to their city by offering them to purchase the fountain that had belonged to his brother. T his favour was so great, they maintained, that it could hardly ever be repaid (ACP, Libro delle lettere della città di Palermo fatte da Girolamo Branghi Dottor di legge e Cavaliere di Santo Stefano, anni 1573-6, no. 69/9; Pedone 1986, documents section, unpaginated).

[177] The cost of purchasing the fountain, cleaning and restoring some of its components, demolishing a number of houses to enlarge Piazza Pretoria, ordering additional statuary, and buying the rights to use water from private individuals finally amounted to a very large sum of 61,786.7 *scudi* (Palermo 1816, p. 109).

[178] For example, Don Garcia stayed with the Florentine court in Pisa and Poggio a Caiano between 14th July 1571 and 18th March 1572 (ASF, Mediceo del Principato, 4077, unpaginated). He was therefore in Tuscany at the time when the fountain that the Palermitan Senate initially wanted to purchase was shipped to Spain. Don Garcia returned to Naples by 11th June 1572 (ASF, Mediceo del Principato, 4077, unpaginated).

Louvre, represented in the unusual standing pose and executed by Pierino da Vinci [plate 107].[179] Don Garcia's experience and connections at the Florentine court and his previous involvement in the urban improvement of Palermo made him a valuable intermediary for the senators of Palermo in the process of acquiring a fountain for their city.[180]

In view of these considerations, it becomes apparent that the Senate's policy in procuring a fountain for the city it governed was by no means inconsistent. In the 16th century, Florence was evidently recognised as a source of good quality fountains, and even in Palermo civic authorities were prepared to recognise a "Florentine fountain" as a valuable commodity. In the two instances of having an opportunity to buy a fountain from Florence, the senators' enthusiasm about the possible transaction was matched by their lack of interest in the completion of the structure that they had commissioned locally. To give a more concrete example, the Senate was as efficient in sanctioning the demolition of houses along the Cassaro to allow space for the new fountain, as it was slow in providing Annibale Fontana with the materials necessary to begin his work. The incentive for purchasing a finished structure was not the vague possibility of saving time and money on its execution, as the later history of the erection of the *Fontana Pretoria* demonstrated the opposite. Neither was there a problem in entrusting the design and execution of a local civic monument to a non-native sculptor, since the custom of inviting foreign masters to carry out commissions of considerable importance was a regular practice in 16th-century Italy. For example, the two principal fountains in the nearby Messina, the *Fountain of Orion* in the centre of the city and the *Fountain of Neptune* near the harbour, were both executed by the

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[179] Vasari-Milanesi, 6, p. 126. The statue in the Louvre was identified by Middeldorf in 1928 as the figure previously owned by Don Garcia (see Middeldorf 1928); this attribution was confirmed by Wiles (Wiles 1933, pp. 86-7, 130). The figure is dated 1547-48 (Acidini Luchinat et al. 2002, p. 230); it was executed by Pierino as a gift to Luca Martini, who presented it to Duchess Eleonora. When the statue finally came in Don Garcia's possession, it was installed on a fountain in his garden in Chiaia. It remained in Naples until it was acquired by the Louvre in 1915 (Acidini Luchinat et al. 2002, p. 230). Another fountain figure given as a gift to Don Garcia by his sister Eleonora was carved by Stoldo Lorenzi. Recorded by Vasari, this statue has not yet been identified (Vasari-Milanesi, 6, p. 124; Borghini 1584, p. 607).

[180] The earliest recorded fountain obtained by Don Garcia was sent to him from Pisa to Livorno by Luca Martini on 8th February 1549. It consisted of a "piletta del marmo," and a "putto per detta piletta" (ASF, Mediceo del Principato, 1175, ins. 2, fol. 17). The fountain must have been relatively small in size, as it was deposited in the room of Antonio de Aldana, Castellan of Livorno, until Don Garcia's return from Genoa. Tribolo, who was inquiring about the fountain's whereabouts in Livorno, could be suggested as its possible author.

Florentine sculptor Giovanangelo Montorsoli.[181] Montorsoli, in fact, was not the first choice of the Messinese authorities, whose initial preference was given to another Tuscan, Raffaello da Montelupo.[182] Though it seems likely that the decision to put Annibale Fontana in charge of the fountain commission was imposed on the Palermitan Senate by the Viceroy Francesco Ferdinando d'Avalos, there is no reason to doubt the sculptor's professional abilities. During his stay in Palermo, Fontana was simply given no opportunity to prove himself as a fountain designer. While no concrete instances of dissatisfaction with the Milanese master have been recorded in the official documentation, the Senate was reluctant to continue their collaboration with Fontana after the Viceroy's death. Although it is true that Annibale Fontana was not an internationally renowned sculptor, neither did Zanobi Lastricati or Francesco Camilliani (both of whom worked on the two fountains that the Palermitan senators were very willing to purchase) become particularly distinguished in their profession. What perhaps sets Fontana aside from these two masters is the fact that he was not Florentine.

When in 1547 the authorities of Messina were trying to choose the sculptor to execute the *Fountain of Orion,* the reputation of both Montelupo and Montorsoli rested primarily on their close association with Michelangelo, whom they had previously assisted in the New Sacristy of S. Lorenzo. Michelangelo's fame as the greatest contemporary artist, immense in Italy, had certainly reached Sicily early in the 16th century, being subsequently confirmed by the sculptural work that Montorsoli executed in Messina.[183] The new style manifested by Montorsoli's figures, imbued with formal complexity and forceful emotional expression, stood in sharp contrast to the more serene sculpture, less daring in compositional terms, produced by local masters. Florentine sculptors were generally viewed as artistic descendants of

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[181] The *Fountain of Orion* was executed in 1547-51, and the *Fountain of Neptune* in 1557. For the studies of Montorsoli's fountains see Mösender 1979, Ffolliott 1984, and Laschke 1993.

[182] Ffolliott 1984, pp. 39-41

[183] Negri Arnoldi 1997, p. 103. Apart from designing the two civic fountains, Montorsoli undertook a number of small private fountain commissions in Messina: "Fece anco condurre per lo muro di santo Agnolo acqua per una fontana, e vi fece di sua mano un putto di marmo grande, che versa acqua in un vaso molto adorno e benissiomo accomodato; che fu tenuta bel opera. Ed al muro della Vergine fece un' altra fontana con una vergine di sua mano, che versa acqua in un pilo; et per quella è posta al palazzo del signor Don Filippo Laroca fece un putto maggiore del naturale, d'una certa pietra che s'usa in Messina; il qual putto, che è in mezzo a certi mostri ed altre cosi maritimme, getta acqua in un vaso" (Vasari-Milanesi, 6, p. 651).

Michelangelo, and their association with his novel style was an essential aspect in the popularity of their sculptural output outside Tuscany.[184]

The growing recognition of the Florentine school of sculpture, noted by contemporary writers such as Cosimo Bartoli,[185] not only helped to promote the services of Tuscan sculptors abroad, but also stimulated the increasing demand for Florentine fountains. The earliest signs of the popularity of these objects abroad appeared in the late decades of the 15th century. There is evidence that in about 1488 Verrocchio was commissioned to carve a fountain for the King of Hungary Mattias Corvinus.[186] The marble for the fountain's execution had already been ordered from Carrara when the sculptor's death put a sudden end to the project. The novel feature of this commission was that instead of travelling to Hungary Verrocchio was allowed to carry out all his work in Florence. Hungarian rulers must have developed a particular taste for Florentine fountains, for the next known instance of ordering these objects from abroad also came from their quarters. Commissioned in the second decade of the 16th century from the sculptor Andrea Ferrucci (also known as Andrea da Fiesole), this other fountain was carved in Florence and dispatched to Buda within two years after the work began, earning its creator considerable fame.[187]

The two examples of fountain export that we have considered concerned structures commissioned in Florence by foreign patrons. In the course of the 16th century, the situation seems to have changed. From a republic noted for its accomplishments in the artistic sphere, Florence turned into an Italian princely state within the orbit of political influence of the Spanish monarchy. Florentine art became an important tool in the hands of Tuscan diplomats, and the institution of state gifts evolved rapidly.[188] Fountains were rated among the most prestigious and valuable offerings that could be received from the Florentine court, and a number of them were commissioned specifically as diplomatic gifts. Usually designed as independent

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[184] In the 19th century, Di Marzo thought it was very significant that the fountain purchased by the Palermitan authorities from the garden of Don Luigi de Toledo in Florence was "una mirabil fonte eseguita in Firenze sul gusto novello" (Di Marzo 1872, pp. 353-54). The "new taste" evidently referred to the predilection for the works executed "in the manner of Michelangelo," which in Messina were represented by the statuary by Montorsoli and Calamech, and in Palermo the work of Francesco Camilliani (Di Marzo 1872, p. 359).

[185] Cf. Bartoli 1567, fols. 19v-20r. For Bartoli see section 3.1.

[186] See Milanesi's note in Vasari-Milanesi, 3, p. 361, note 3

[187] Vasari-Milanesi, 4, p. 479

[188] For Florentine state gifts, their nature, and use as political tools, see Goldberg 1998. One of the most famous sculptured objects sent to Spain as diplomatic gifts was the marble Crucifix, now in Escorial, originally designed by Cellini for his own tomb. For the account of its transportation to Spain and transcriptions of relevant documents, see Mulcahy 1997.

architectonic units, these fountains could be adjusted to any setting, while their craftsmanship demonstrated the style and compositional achievements of the Florentine school of sculpture.[189] Although the main consumer of these objects was the Spanish court, Florentine fountains were greatly in demand in Italy and France.[190]

Towards the end of the 16th century, the taste for Florentine fountains among the Spanish nobility must have increased considerably. Fountain production was not a particularly speedy process, and in order to satisfy the growing demand, fountains that already stood in Florentine gardens started to be used as diplomatic gifts.[191] To facilitate the selection of the most appropriate objects, Bartolomeo Carducci, a Florentine painter resident in Spain, drew up a now lost list of the fountains available in the Medici residences in Florence, which he passed on to the personnel of the Tuscan Embassy in Madrid.[192] The list certainly included the *Fountain of Samson* by Giambologna.[193] Executed at least two decades earlier, this fountain stood at that time

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[189] According to Edward Goldberg, "by the last years of the reign of Philip II, an assumption seems to have arisen among Spanish collectors that Florence was the natural home of sculpture while Venice was the natural home of painting" (Goldberg 1998, p. 535).

[190] A few examples, most of which are derived from contemporary documents, would highlight the extent of international popularity that Florentine fountains enjoyed. In 1566-67, Francesco Mosca was working on the two fountains that Cosimo I intended to send as gifts to his distant relative Catherine de' Medici, Queen of France (references to this commission may be found in Gaye 1839-40, 3, pp. 248-49 and ASF, Mediceo del Principato, 225, fol. 76; MAP Doc. sources, entry no. 1236). In 1588, Don Hernando de Toledo, Grand Prior of Castile in the Order of St. John of Jerusalem, expressed a desire to have a marble fountain executed in Florence for the garden of the new villa that he was decorating. The information was passed on to Florence by the secretary of the Tuscan Embassy in Madrid Giulio Battaglino, accompanied by a drawing that specified the appearance of the requested object (ASF, Mediceo del Principato 4919, fol. 182; Goldberg 1998, p. 529). On 26th July 1598, Eleonora de' Medici, Duchess of Mantua, formally thanked Christine de Lorraine, the wife of Ferdinando I and Grand duchess of Tuscany, for certain gifts that were sent to her children from the Florentine court. In addition to a statue, a horse, some textiles, and a number of items of clothing, the list included a "beautiful fountain" (ASF, Mediceo del Principato, 2945, unpaginated; MAP Doc. sources, entry no. 4784). In 1598, Ferdinando I sent to France two bronze fountain figures by Giambologna, which represented Mercury and a triton blowing a horn (Avery 1993, p. 210). In 1603, Domizio Peroni, the secretary of the Tuscan Embassy in Madrid, was enquiring about the taste of the new Spanish King Philip III in gifts, specifically mentioning "vases, fountains, and other ornaments" (ASF, Mediceo del Principato 4935, fol. 262; Goldberg 1998, p. 112).

[191] The documentation pertaining to the commission of the *Fountain of Samson rending the lion's jaws*, brought to light by Edward Goldberg, allows us to estimate the amount of time that the production of a structure of similar size and quality would have involved. In his letter to the members of the Tuscan diplomatic mission in Spain dated 13th October 1604, Ferdinando I stated that the basin of the fountain was going to be ready in four to six weeks, while the statue was going to take a year to complete (ASF, Mediceo del Principato, 5080, fol. 1261; Goldberg 1998, p. 530). It is not clear whether the work had already begun by the time when the letter was written, so the actual process of fountain execution could have taken even longer than the specified periods.

[192] Carducci's list, mentioned in a letter of the Tuscan Ambassador in Madrid Francesco Guicciardini to Ferdinando I, dated 30th May 1601, is not preserved (ASF, Mediceo del Principato, 4928, fols. 167-68; Goldberg 1998, p. 529).

[193] The group of *Samson slaying a Philistine* was closed to completion in January 1563. It is not certain when it was installed on a fountain, but it recorded in that position by Raffaello Borghini before 1584 (Avery 1993, pp. 75-77).

in the garden adjacent to the Casino of S. Marco in Florence. Its shipment to the gardens of the Duke of Lerma in Valladolid, where it arrived in 1601, was probably the most celebrated instance of fountain export.[194] For the purpose of transportation, the structural part of the fountain, executed in Serravezza marble, was sawn into four parts. The resulting joints, poorly concealed, are still visible on its pedestal and basin [plate 77].[195] In 1623, after a relatively brief sojourn in Spain, the fountain's centrepiece was separated from its architectural support and presented to Charles, Prince of Wales, who passed it on to the Duke of Buckingham.[196] The group of *Samson slaying a Philistine* is now in the Victoria and Albert Museum in London,[197] while the fountain itself stands in Aranjuez, crowned with a somewhat incongruous bronze statue of Bacchus.

The fountain purchased by the Palermitan Senate from Don Luigi de Toledo was not the only Florentine work of this kind to arrive in Palermo in the course of the 16th century. Another fountain, decorated with the marble figure of a triton blowing a conch, must have reached the city at about the same time [plate 76]. For many years, it stood in the garden of the old Norman palace. Its centrepiece, which now decorates the courtyard of the Archaeological Museum in Palermo, answers the Vincenzo Borghini's description of the statue commissioned by Cosimo I from Battista Lorenzi and dispatched as a present to an unknown Spanish gentleman.[198] According to a

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[194] For the most recent account of the documentation regarding the transportation of Giambologna's fountain, see Goldberg 1998, pp. 529-31. On 10th September 1601, the fountain was sent from Livorno in eight cases, while the sculptural group had been shipped to Spain before that date (ASF, Fabbricche Medicee 122, fol. 107; Pope-Hennessy 1964, 2, pp. 459-65). The success of Giambologna's fountain in Spain was so considerable, that in 1604 a similar structure was ordered from Florence. The two fountains were going to be displayed as pendants, and for that reason the centrepiece of the newly commissioned structure was supposed to represent an analogous subject of Samson slaying a lion. Giambologna was too advanced in age to undertake its execution, and the project was allocated to the young sculptor Cristofano (Cristoforo) Stati of Bracciano (for Stati see Avery 2001, pp. 315-38). Stati's fountain reached Spain in 1608, but met with a rather cool reception, partially accountable by the fact that its centrepiece was signed not by Giambologna, but another, less famous sculptor (Goldberg 1998, p. 531). The group of *Samson slaying the lion* is now in the Art Institute in Chicago.

[195] A passage from the letter by the Tuscan Ambassador in Spain Francesco Guicciardini to Ferdinando I, dated 9th August 1601, sheds some light on the reasons behind the custom of shipping abroad whole fountains as opposed to some of their component parts. Referring to the arrangements he was making with regard to the transportation of Giambologna's *Fountain of Samson* to Spain, Guicciardini remarked, evidently with a slight air of contempt, that it would be pointless to dispatch just its centrepiece and its base without the structural parts, for in Spain there were "neither marble nor craftsmen who would know how to set it up" (ASF, Mediceo del Principato, 4928, fols. 242-43; Goldberg 1998, p. 529).

[196] Avery 2001, p. 315

[197] Giambologna's group was purchased by the Victoria and Albert Museum in 1954 (Avery 2001, p. 316).

[198] Borghini 1584, p. 598: "Fece poi a richiesta del Gran Duca Cosimo una fontana di marmo, che da Sua Altezza fu mandata a donare a un Signore Spagnuolo; e questa fu una tazza di marmo col piede di

somewhat apocryphal story related by the 17th-century Palermitan historian Vincenzo di Giovanni, this fountain received a word of praise from the Viceroy Marcantonio Colonna, who apparently noted that in Rome an object of its quality would have been worth 10,000 *scudi.*[199] The price quoted by the Viceroy seems to be something of an exaggeration, for according to the record of the diplomatic gifts sent to Spain compiled in Florence in 1623, the value of Giambologna's *Fountain of Samson* was estimated at only 800 *scudi.*[200] What is significant about this story, however, is the fact that with the increasing regularity of fountain trade, the imported objects were coming to be viewed as much in terms of their cost as their artistic appeal. While recognised as elegant and prestigious items of decoration, Florentine fountains were therefore also regarded as valuable commodities.

The transportation and subsequent installation of fountains dominated by a single figure or a group of figures, as in the case of the *Fountain of Triton* in Palermo or Giambologna's *Fountain of Samson,* was a relatively straightforward task. The fountain that had stood in the garden of Don Luigi de Toledo was, however, a vast sculptural ensemble. In Palermo, where the notion of what this fountain had originally looked like was based exclusively on a drawing provided by Don Garcia, the prospect of putting the structure back together would have seemed a daunting undertaking. To facilitate the reassembling of such substantial structures it was customary to number each of their components,[201] but the success of this project still required the assistance of someone who had participated in the process of dismantling the fountain. For this reason, the young Florentine sculptor Camillo Camilliani, the son of Francesco, was

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mistio in mezo, a cui sedeva sopra tre Delfini un Tritone maggiore del naturale." The statue in Palermo, previously believed to be a work by Camillo Camilliani (Di Marzo 1880-83, p. 819; Biehl 1911, p. 440), was identified as a fountain figure by Battista Lorenzi by Wiles (Wiles 1933, pp. 131 and 137). This attribution is now generally accepted (cf. Utz 1969, p. 73; Negri Arnoldi 1997, pp. 292-3). The identity of the "Spanish gentleman," however, still poses a problem. Wiles suggested that it was Don Pedro de' Toledo, who was likely to receive gifts from the Florentine court after his daughter Eleonora became Florentine Duchess (Wiles 1933, p. 137). Don Pedro, however, was well known in Florence as an important politician, while the expression "un Signore Spagnuolo" used by Borghini suggests that Lorenzi's statue was presented to a private individual. Further, Don Pedro Viceroy of Naples rather than Sicily, and it is not clear why the figure given to him would have ended in Palermo. The statue bears certain iconographic resemblance to the bronze representation of the same subject by Giambologna, now in the Metropolitan Museum in New York, which was similarly designed as a fountain centrepiece (Negri Arnoldi 1997, p. 293).

[199] Di Giovanni 1989, p. 122. Marcantonio Colonna, Duke of Tagliacozzo, was the Viceroy of Sicily between 24th April 1577 and 18th May 1584 (Fagiolo and Madonna 1981, p. 244). It is usually assumed that the statue was seen by the Viceroy before his final departure from the island in 1584 (Negri Arnoldi 1997, p. 311, note 23).

[200] ASF, Mediceo del Principato, 5080, fols. 1255-56; Goldberg 1998, p. 531

[201] Cf. Pedone 1986, p. 152 (note to the illustration on the page)

summoned to Palermo. According to his own testimony, he arrived in the city on 20th January 1574, four months earlier than the arrival of the fountain itself.[202]

Camillo Camilliani was evidently a person of considerable talents and a broad range of interests, who managed to make a successful and eventful career in Sicily as an architect and a military engineer.[203] In the title of the manuscript containing his description of Sicily, Camillo also styled himself a "famous mathematician."[204] The contributions that he made to the culture of Sicily include a number of architectural projects,[205] three treatises on the island's topography,[206] and the mechanism that, when added to a millstone, helped to increase the speed of the grinding process.[207] Despite his undeniable achievements and a large amount of documentation pertaining to his activities, he remains a little known figure.[208]

As a sculptor, Camillo Camilliani worked in almost every medium and was involved with many different genres of sculpture production, which would have been inconceivable without a large and well-organised workshop.[209] The precarious seismic

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[202] ASP, Notaio Carasi Antonio 1573-4, 6295; Pedone 1986, documents section, unpaginated

[203] For Camillo Camilliani see Samonà 1931-33 and Scarlata 1993. Other accounts of the sculptor's career are found in Di Marzo 1880-83, Biehl 1911, Negri Arnoldi 1974A, and Garstang 1996. Camillo features both as an architect and engineer in the contract for the erection of the *Fontana Pretoria* that he drew up with the Senate of Palermo on 27th July 1574 (ASP, Notaio Carasi Antonio 1573-1574, 6295; Pedone 1986, documents section, unpaginated). He usually refers to himself to as an engineer in later correspondence and contracts.

[204] Di Marzo 1880-83, p. 814

[205] Camillo Camilliani was responsible for designing fortifications of the town of Milazzo, begun in 1585 (Samonà 1931-33, p. 228). He is also credited with the design of the tribune of the church of S. Giovanni di Malta in Messina, which he produced in 1591 (Samonà 1931-33, p. 228). The church was badly damaged by the earthquake that destroyed much of the city in 1908.

[206] Camillo Camilliani's treatises included the description of Sicily, published by Di Marzo in 1877, and two other manuscripts, which contained the accounts of the island's coastline and its coastal fortifications (Di Marzo 1880-83, pp. 814-15). His richly illustrated treatise on the coastal fortifications of Sicily, now in Turin, was published by Scarlata in 1993 (see Scarlata 1993).

[207] Samonà 1931-33, p. 228. In 1584, he requested that a copyright on this invention be granted to him by Viceroy Marcantonio Colonna.

[208] Camillo Camilliani arrived in Palermo to direct the erection of the *Fontana Pretoria*. He remained in Sicily after the completion of this project, since in 1582 his presence is documented in Messina (Samonà 1931-33, p. 227). In 1583, he was employed by the Spanish government to inspect the coastline of Sicily and its defences, a difficult and time-consuming task (Samonà 1931-33, p. 227). In 1586, he was nominated in Messina the superintendent of the fortifications of Sicily and engineer to the Kingdom by the Viceroy Diego Enríquez de Guzmán, Count of Alba de Lista. This title he probably retained throughout his life (Samonà 1931-33, p. 228). In 1593 heexecuted a triumphal arch in Palermo for the feast of S. Ninfa, which was erected by the city's Florentine community (Di Marzo 1872, pp. 258-59, note 2). His presence in Spain, where he acted as a hydraulic engineer, is recorded in 1608 (Estella 1992, pp. 73-74 and 85, note 11).

[209] Cf. Samonà 1931-33, p. 259. The recorded works by Camillo Camilliani were executed in marble, bronze, and silver. They included a civic fountain, a tabernacle, a tomb, a holy water basin, and ephemeral decorations. The scale of sculpture production that his workshop engaged in is indicated by the large quantities of marble that Camillo was importing from Carrara. Thus, in 1598 he ordered 36 carats of marble, which chronologically relate to none of the important commissions that the sculptor undertook (Campori 1873, p. 300).

conditions of Sicily are partially responsible for the survival of only a few of his artistic works. Camillo's main independent sculptural commission, an elaborate fountain that he executed for the town of Caltagirone in the last decade of the 16th century, was destroyed by an earthquake a century later.[210] A damaged fragment of this structure may now be found on the grounds of the town's main public garden, the Villa Comunale.[211]

Camillo Camilliani was almost certainly trained as a sculptor in his father's workshop. On 5th March 1573, he paid his entry fee for the Florentine *Accademia del disegno.*[212] Two months later, on 17th May 1573, he was elected its full member.[213] He is recorded as paying his membership fee in 1573,[214] and again in 1577.[215] The erection of the fountain in Piazza Pretoria in Palermo was his first major commission, and the choice of this young and inexperienced sculptor for such an important undertaking suggests that he had worked on the fountain during the Florentine phase of its history.[216] The respect with which Camillo Camilliani was treated in Palermo

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[210] This fountain was commissioned in 1592 and completed in 1596 (Samonà 1931-33, p. 228). Destroyed in 1693, it is reported as having been a rather lavish structure. Its receiving basin was carved of the local Taormina stone, while other structural parts were made of marble. The fountain was decorated with figures of marine deities, harpies, and animals, which were larger than life-size and executed in both marble and bronze. The whole structure was crowned by the bronze figure of Hero of Syracuse (Biehl 1911, p. 440).

[211] There is some confusion in scholarly literature regarding this fragment, which apparently consists of a damaged marble statue of a triton. Biehl noted that stylistically this figure was in keeping with the statuary that decorated the *Fontana Pretoria* in Palermo (Biehl 1911, p. 440). According to Negri Arnoldi, the style of this piece differed from that of the *Triton* in the Archaeological Museum in Palermo, previously attributed to Camillo Camilliani (Negri Arnoldi 1974, p. 216). The situation, however, is complicated by the fact that according to Samonà, whose article on Camillo Camilliani appeared between the publications by Biehl and Negri Arnoldi, the fragment preserved in the Villa Comunale was not a statue, but a small *tazza* (Samonà 1931-33, p. 228). The summary of the contract for the fountain's execution, provided by Samonà, indicates that no marble figure of a triton was part of its design, for the three sea-monsters that supported the *tazza* were supposed to be executed in bronze (Samonà 1931-33, p. 276, note 19). The question therefore remains whether the design of the fountain was altered in the course of its execution. Other works by Camillo Camilliani, which include a partially surviving silver tabernacle designed for the church of S. Maria also in Caltagirone and a funerary monument to Mauro Valdina in the church of Roccavaldina, finished in 1603, do not provide a clear idea of the sculptor's style. The tabernacle, completed in 1597, originally included the figures of 12 apostles and four evangelists (Biehl 1911, p. 440). The design of the tomb of Marco Valdina, commissioned in 1599 by Laura Valdina and Ventimiglia, Baroness of Rocca, had only a few figural elements (Samonà 1931-33, p. 228). They included two winged harpies on the side of the sarcophagus and two female caryatids at the corners of a large bracket in the upper part of the monument (see Samonà 1931-33, ill. on p. 258).

[212] ASF, Accademia del disegno, 101, fol. 32; Zangheri 2000, p. 61

[213] ASF, Accademia del disegno, 25, fol. 26; Zangheri 2000, p. 61. In this record his full name is quoted as "Camillo di Francesco di Giovanni Camilliani."

[214] ASF, Accademia del disegno, 25, fol. 26

[215] ASF, Accademia del disegno, 123, fols. 66-67; Zangheri 2000, p. 61

[216] The fact that Camillo Camilliani was put in charge of the erection of the *Fontana Pretoria* appeared puzzling to most of scholars. Probably for this reason, Di Marzo suggested that Camillo Camilliani had served his apprenticeship with Montorsoli in Messina, acquiring sufficient experience of dealing with

probably indicates that the sculptor was received to Sicily on the basis of Don Luigi's recommendations.

The contract between Camillo Camilliani and the new Fountain Committee appointed by the Senate of Palermo was drawn up on 27th July 1574.[217] The sculptor was supposed to supervise the erection a the new fountain in Piazza Pretoria in accordance with the drawings that he had executed, receiving one *scudo* per day for the duration of the work. The payment of his salary was going to begin on the day of his arrival in Palermo. Camillo was expected to notify the Fountain Committee 40 days in advance when the work was going to stop. His request for a "decent house" and demand that nobody should be allowed to interfere with the commission without his sanction, were crossed out in the original document and evidently not accepted by the senators.[218] On these conditions Camillo Camilliani was officially appointed the "architect and engineer" in charge of the project.

After this point, the documentary evidence regarding the progress of work on the *Fontana Pretoria* becomes rather patchy. On 8th January 1576, it was reported that certain marble carvers employed by the authorities of Palermo to build the fountain's stairs were awaiting the Viceroy's permission to begin their work.[219] On 22nd March 1577, the Senate announced the additional expenses for the fountain's erection, which were caused by the arrival of another consignment of statuary.[220] The statues, which were delivered from an unspecified source, were to be examined in order to ascertain that they were of the same quality and size as the figures that had arrived previously and had already been positioned on the fountain. Should this not be the case, the Senate reserved the right to withhold the payment.

Work on the fountain was still in progress in 1581-82. The documents pertaining to that period contain no further references to Camillo Camilliani, and the erection of the fountain continued under the direction of its *capomaestro,* the marble

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civic fountains (Di Marzo 1880 and 1883, 1, p. 773). Di Marzo's conjecture is based of the fact that a certain "mastro Camillo Fiorentino" was recorded on 30th May 1551 as Montorsoli's associate in Messina. According to the baptismal records of the Florentine Baptistery, Camillo Camilliani, however, was born in 1550: "[April 1550] Domenica 13 [...] Cammillo, e Romolo di [cancelled: di] Francesco [di] Giovanni di Niccolò scultore populo di San Piero Maggiore, nacque a dì XI a h. 23 ½" (AOSMF, Registri battesimali, 11, fol. 94r). Di Marzo's hypothesis regarding Camillo Camilliani's apprenticeship with Montorsoli is thus unsustainable.

[217] ASP, Notaio Carasi Antonio 1573-4, 6295; Di Marzo 1880-83, 2, p. 441

[218] Ibid.

[219] ACP, Libro delle lettere della citta di Palermo fatte da Girolamo Branghi Dottor di legge e Cavaliere di Santo Stefano, anni 1573-6; Pedone 1986, documents section, unpaginated

[220] ACP, Consigli Civici 1573-83, no. 69, fol. 162; Samonà 1931-33, p. 271

worker Pietro Bacciotta.[221] Although the purchase of marble continued, no sculptures were executed during that time. The work, carried out by local masters, was confined to two main areas, the niches that contained animal heads and the periphery of the fountain. The architectural features added to the fountain included the large platform with steps leading to the moat, the niches that contained the animal heads, the eight basins that stood below the herms that guarded the four entrances, and the balustrade that enclosed the whole structure [plate 4].[222] Another important aspect of this work was the installation of the hydraulic equipment.

In 1583, work on the fountain reached its final phase. By that stage, the additional expenses born by the population of Palermo included not only the tax on wine and grapes, but also extra duties on meat and wheat.[223] The work carried out during that last phase included the installation of the decorative scrolls behind the pedestals that supported the herms and the completion of the balustrade. The final payments to the craftsmen still involved with the project were administered in May 1583, indicating that by that stage the *Fontana Pretoria* was already complete.[224]

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[221] ACP, Racionicio de la deputazione di la nova fonte posta inanti la Casa di la Città per li anni VIIII Ind. 1581 e X Ind. 1582; Pedone 1986, documents section, unpaginated

[222] The names of the Palermitan masters responsible for the execution of these final elements in the design of the fountain are preserved. They provide an addition to the list of artists and craftsmen who contributed to the design of the *Fontana Pretoria.* The niches were the responsibility of Pietro Bacciotta. The steps leading to the fountain were executed in local stone in the workshop of Vincenzo Guerchio. The execution of the balustrade that surrounds the fountain and the basins that were placed below the herm was allocated to the workshop of Vincenzo Gagini (ACP, Racionicio de la deputazione di la nova fonte posta inanti la Casa di la Città per li anni VIIII Ind. 1581 e X Ind. 1582; Pedone 1986, documents section, unpaginated).

[223] ACP, Raciocinio de la deputazione de la nova fonte posta innanti la Casa di la Città per lo anno XI, ind. 1583; Pedone 1986, documents section, unpaginated

[224] Ibid.

1.2.3 The "Fontana Pretoria" in the light of Palermitan historiography

The intricate history of the *Fontana Pretoria* attracted continuous interest on part of Italian, mostly Sicilian historians. In giving the particulars of the fountain's commission and acquisition, most of them drew on the detailed account of the fountain's history, written by the early 18th-century Palermitan historian Leonardo Maria Lo Presti.[225] Lo Presti presented a cross between a historian in the modern sense of the word and an old-fashioned type of erudite ecclesiastic, deeply involved with the history and artistic heritage of his native region. His historic method justified the use of any material that he considered reliable. It is partially for this reason that the story that Lo Presti tells raises more questions that it answers.

Lo Presti's account of the commission of the *Fontana Pretoria* begins with the story of the marriage between Eleonora de Toledo, daughter of Don Pedro de Toledo (2nd Marquis of Villafranca and Viceroy of Naples), and Florentine Duke Cosimo I de' Medici.[226] Contemplating his eventual retirement from politics, the aged Viceroy, according to Lo Presti, decided to settle in Florence in order to live close to his daughter. For this reason, Don Pedro bought there a villa with a magnificent garden and commissioned a beautiful fountain, which remained unfinished at the time of his death.[227] Considerably later, continues Lo Presti, the fountain was completed at the instance of Don Garcia, Don Pedro's first-born son and 3rd Marquis of Villafranca, who inherited his father's feudal possessions.[228] Don Garcia, during his term of service as the Viceroy of Sicily, developed a great affection for the city of Palermo and was much involved with its embellishment and general improvement. He succeeded in convincing his younger brother Don Luigi, Don Pedro's second-born

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[225] See Lo Presti 1737

[226] Lo Presti 1737, p. 40. Lo Presti erroneously refers to Cosimo I as the Grand Duke at the time of his marriage in 1539, the title that Cosimo did not have until 13th December 1569, when he received the grand ducal crown from Pius V (Lapini 1900, p. 165).

[227] The date of Don Pedro's death is wrongly given by Lo Presti as 1552, although he died on 22nd February 1553 (Lapini 1900, p. 109). This mistake resulted from the use of the Florentine calendar, where the year was reckoned to begin on the day of Annunciation on 25th March. Lo Presti's mistake was repeated in a number of modern studies (cf. Wiles 1933, p. 69; Pope-Hennessy 1963, 1, p. 117; Ruggieri Tricoli 1984, p. 64; and Negri Arnoldi 1997, p. 108).

[228] Don Garcia was Don Pedro's second-born rather than first-born son. He inherited the title of the Marquis of Villafranca only after the death of his older brother Federico (cf. the list of Don Pedro's heirs in the posthumous inventory of his property in ASN, Manoscritti della Biblioteca, 135, fol. 1). Don Garcia was therefore not the 3rd, but the 4th Marquis of Villafranca.

son, to sell the fountain to the city for the price of 8,000 *once* or 20,000 *scudi.*[229] Don Luigi, according to Lo Presti, was the heir to his father's allodial properties and therefore had the right to decide the what was going to happen to the sculpture from Don Pedro's Florentine garden.

In the picture drawn by Lo Presti, the real protagonists of the Florentine period in the fountain's history were Don Pedro and Don Garcia. Don Luigi's involvement with the fountain was reduced to a merely incidental role of sanctioning it sale. Some details of this version of events provided by the historian, however, appear somewhat puzzling. It seems peculiar, for example, that even though the fountain's completion was overseen by Don Garcia, the right to sell it belonged to Don Luigi. Lo Presti subtly addressed this issue by drawing attention to the division of Don Pedro's property after his death. Don Luigi, who was not the first son, could inherit some of his father's fortune, but not the family's feudal possessions. Since the villa and garden in Florence were later acquisitions and therefore allodial property, Don Pedro could feasibly bequeath them to his younger son. Despite this explanation, the question of how and why Don Garcia undertook the completion of a fountain that was in the possession of his brother after Don Pedro's death remains, however, unanswered. These small problems raise a suspicion that for whatever reason Lo Presti sought to downplay Don Luigi's role in the history of the fountain's commission.

Lo Presti was not the first historian to tackle the question of the fountain's origin. His account was preceded by two 17th-century descriptions of the *Fontana Pretoria*, one in poetry and the other in prose.[230] The fountain also featured in the works of some distinguished visitors to Palermo, who included 17th-century military historian Majolino Bisaccioni,[231] famous cartographer and traveller Giovanbattista Pacichelli,[232] and Neapolitan publisher Antonio Bulifoni.[233] These accounts of the *Fontana Pretoria* and its history were not contemporary and freely combined fact

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[229] Don Luigi was Don Pedro's third and youngest son (Hernando 1994, p. 96).

[230] The account of the *Fontana Pretoria* was included in the poem by the medical doctor Don Giuseppe Galeano e S. Clemente entitled *Palagio, ossia Spagna riaquistata.* Its description in prose was written by Don Alfonso Salvo and published on occasion of the feast of S. Rosalia, the patroness of Palermo, in 1656. Both of these descriptions preceded Lo Presti's account of the fountain, published in 1737 (Palermo 1816, pp. 109-10).

[231] Count Majolino Bisaccioni (1582-1663) is mainly known for his commentary on the military campaigns of Gustavus Adolphus in Europe, published in 1634-38.

[232] The description of the *Fontana Pretoria* was included in Pacichelli's book *Memorie de' viaggi per l'Europa cristiana,* published in 1685 (Pedone 1986, p. 7).

[233] In 1685 Antonio Bulifoni published the guide to Naples written by Pompeo Sarnelli. The description of the *Fontana Pretoria* is contained Bulifoni's letter to Don Gennaro d'Andrea, who was then in Madrid (Pedone 1986, p. 7).

with rumour. Bulifoni, for example, apparently believed that even though the fountain was executed by Francesco Camilliani and Naccherino, the artist who was mainly responsible for its design was the "celebrated Sebastiano del Piombo."[234] The mention of Sebastiano del Piombo in relation to the design of the *Fontana Pretoria* brings an element of farce in the discussion of the fountain's origin. Sebastiano was a Venetian painter who was based principally in Rome. He died on 21st June 1547, four years before Don Luigi de Toledo purchased his Florentine garden.[235]

In a way, though, the mention of Sebastiano del Piombo in connection with the design of the *Fontana Pretoria* is not as absurd as it may initially seem. Sebastiano was a close friend and associate of Michelangelo, who was known to have supplied the painter with his drawings.[236] We have already noted the importance that was attached in Palermo to the connection between the style of the statuary decorating the *Fontana Pretoria* and Michelangelo's art.[237] In the early 17th century, the Palermitan historian Vincenzo di Giovanni did indeed believe that one of river-gods decorating the fountain, characterised by "extraordinary stature and involved in a beautiful attitude" (evidently referring to the highly uncomfortable posture of Naccherino's *Papireto),* was no less than a "divine work of Michelangelo"[238] [plate 16]. Leaving wishful thinking aside, Di Giovanni was not entirely misinformed, since the *Papireto* was indeed a misplaced, almost grotesque replica of Michelangelo's *Day* from the New Sacristy of San Lorenzo in Florence [plate 84].[239] The postures of the figures of *Arno/Oreto* and *Mugnone/Gabriele* by Francesco Camilliani are similarly filtered through the sculptor's knowledge of Michelangelo's art. The bent as opposed to stretched left knees of these aquatic deities present an iconographic peculiarity, which contrast with the less daring attitudes of the colossal antique figures of reclining river-god. They derive from Michelangelo's figure of Adam in the *Creation of Man* fresco of the Sistine chapel ceiling, or, less probably, from his clay model of a river-god, intended for the New Sacristy of San Lorenzo, now in the Casa Buonarotti.

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[234] Palermo 1816, p. 106
[235] Lucco 1995, p. 331
[236] Michelangelo supplied Sebastiano with a drawing of *The Flagellation,* now in London, British Museum, and some sketches for the *Raising of Lazarus,* one in Bayonne, Musée Bonnat, and another in London, British Museum (Lucco 1996, p. 333).
[237] See section 1.2.2
[238] Di Giovanni 1989, p. 140 (my translation)
[239] Cf. Maresca di Serracapriola 1924, p. 17

These curious facts indicate that following its erection in Palermo the *Fontana Pretoria* became the subject of stories of a clearly legendary nature, which generated the local popular tradition regarding the fountain. This tradition evidently had a considerable influence on subsequent historians, including Di Giovanni and Lo Presti. The somewhat naïve logic behind this tradition is easy to understand. In Palermo, the *Fontana Pretoria* was evidently regarded as one of the most beautiful fountains in the entire world.[240] In order to justify this status, it had to be designed by one of the greatest artists of the age and produced for a well-known and distinguished person. Thus we find the attempts to establish direct or indirect links between the fountain's design or statuary and the art of Michelangelo. We also find a tendency to downplay Don Luigi's role in its creation. Both Don Pedro and Don Garcia were conspicuous political figures in the 16th century, who were well known in Palermo. The idea that a relatively obscure figure might have initiated the creation of one of Sicily's greatest monuments did not seem to attract Palermitan historians, and Lo Presti reduced Don Luigi's role in the fountain's history to merely authorising its sale.

In his history of the *Fontana Pretoria,* Lo Presti made two important claims. Firstly, on the basis of archival documentation, he demonstrated that the idea to erect a fountain in front of the Palazzo Pretorio was not the initiative of the benevolent Don Garcia, as it was thought previously, but the decision of the Palermitan Senate.[241] Secondly, by drawing a connection between the marriage of Eleonora de Toledo to Cosimo I de' Medici and the fact that Don Pedro's death took place in Florence, he put into circulation the idea that the old Viceroy planned to retire from active life in the comfortable environment of a Florentine villa. The connection between the two events is rather tenuous, since they were separated by 13 years. Further, while it is true that Don Pedro died in Florence on 22nd February 1553, he arrived in Tuscany in command of the Spanish troops engaged in the war against Siena,[242] which was hardly an activity appropriate for a retirement.

In the last quarter of the 19th century, Lo Presti's account of the fountain's history was revived by the distinguished Palermitan archivist and historian Abbot Gioacchino Di Marzo.[243] Di Marzo included discussion of the fountain's commission

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[240] Cf. Di Giovanni 1989, p. 139, and Palermo 1816, p. 105
[241] Lo Presti 1737, p. 36
[242] Miccio 1846, p. 81.
[243] For most of his career, Di Marzo (1839-1906) was the head librarian of the Biblioteca Comunale in Palermo.

in his article on the sculptors from the Italian mainland working in Sicily during 14th through to 16th centuries, which was published in 1872.[244] The relevant passages of this article present a virtual paraphrase of Lo Presti's text, fully preserving the logical and narrative sequence of the earlier study.[245]

Di Marzo reproduced the same account of the early history of the *Fontana Pretoria* in his later seminal work on the sculptural activities of the Sicilian branch of the Gagini, the two volumes of which appeared in 1880 and 1883.[246] The Gagini were a family of sculptors from Carrara who settled in Sicily in the course of the 15th century and founded a large workshop on the island, and in his book Di Marzo provided a broad overview of artistic culture in Sicily of the 15th and 16th centuries. His book also included transcriptions of the two crucial documents pertaining to the acquisition of the *Fontana Pretoria:* the inventory of its components received on 2nd May 1574 and the contract between the authorities of Palermo and Camillo Camilliani dated 27th July 1574.[247]

Di Marzo's monograph on the Gagini was the first modern scholarly work to articulate the view that the future *Fontana Pretoria* had been commissioned by Don Pedro de Toledo. In 1891, over a decade after the publication of the first volume of Di Marzo's study, this view was accepted by the Neapolitan historian Gaetano Filangieri.[248] Di Marzo's book retained considerable influence long after its publication, thus perpetuating the Palermitan popular tradition in modern scholarship.

Modern accounts of the history of the *Fontana Pretoria* usually reiterate the version of the events outlined by Lo Presti. Most of them suggest that the fountain was commissioned by Don Pedro de Toledo following his decision to retire to Florence, and was inherited by Don Luigi after his father's death.[249] Some of these

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[244] Di Marzo 1872, pp. 353-54

[245] Alessandro Parronchi suggested that in maintaining that the fountain was commissioned by Don Pedro de Toledo, Di Marzo had relied on some unknown lost source (Parronchi 1965, p. 16). The nature of this source is made evident by comparing the relevant section of Di Marzo's article with Lo Presti's account of the fountain's commission. The juxtaposition of the two texts reveals that Di Marzo followed Lo Presti's account almost literally (cf. Lo Presti 1737, p. 40, and Di Marzo 1872, p. 353-54).

[246] Di Marzo 1880-83, 1, p. 810

[247] Di Marzo 1880-83, 2, pp. 437-40

[248] Filangieri 1891, pp. 86-87. Filangieri is sometimes viewed as an independent source (Hernando 1994, p. 527), which is not the case, since in his text he refers to Di Marzo.

[249] The view that the fountain was commissioned by Don Pedro is accepted by the majority of modern scholars (cf. Biehl 1911, p. 439; Samonà 1931-33, p. 330; Wiles 1933, p. 69; Russo 1961, pp. 15-16; Pope-Hennessy 1963, 1, p. 117; Parronchi 1965, p. 16; Negri Arnoldi 1974, pp. 214 and 217; Davis 1975B, pp. 68-96, note 37; Davì and Grasso 1983, p. 75; Ruggieri Tricoli 1984, p. 64; Bryce 1980, p. 269; Garstang 1984, p. 16; La Barbera Bellia 1984, p. 96; Giunta 1985, p. 23; Garstang 1996, p. 525; Negri Arnoldi 1997, p. 108; and Boström 1997, p. 1). The idea that the fountain was originally

accounts also imply that since Don Luigi had nothing to do with the fountain's commission, he had no interest in pursuing Don Pedro's project, and work on the fountain was discontinued after the latter's death.[250]

John Pope-Hennessy's account of the early history of the *Fontana Pretoria* is probably the most influential modern version of the circumstances of the fountain's commission. Pope-Hennessy recognised the evident importance of the project, which was initiated by a member of the ducal family (the scholar thought it was Don Pedro), and attempted to explain why it was allocated to a relatively obscure sculptor, Francesco Camilliani. Reasoning that the commission must have been allocated a few years before Don Pedro's death, which the scholar reckoned took place in 1552, Pope-Hennessy associated the original project with Tribolo.[251] The commission, according to Pope-Hennessy, was transferred to Francesco Camilliani because of Tribolo's death.[252]

Pope-Hennessy's suggestion that the original commission for the future *Fontana Pretoria* was allocated to Tribolo won some support in the scholarly community.[253] Resting entirely on the assumption that the fountain was commissioned by Don Pedro, this hypothesis is purely speculative and has no documentary foundation. In reality, the garden that the fountain was intended to decorate was purchased by Don Luigi a year after Tribolo's death. Pope-Hennessy's analysis, however, poses an important issue regarding the factors that secured Francesco Camilliani his involvement in this significant project. We will return to this issue in our account of the sculptor's biography.[254]

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designed for a villa, suggested by Lo Presti, led some scholars to believe that the fountain was commissioned for an estate outside Florence (cf. Pope-Hennessy 1963, 1, p. 117).

[250] Cf. Wiles 1933, p. 69; Pope-Hennessy 1963, 1, p. 117; La Barbera Bellia 1984, p. 96; and Negri Arnoldi 1997, p. 108. The idea that the work on the fountain was suspended after Don Pedro's death was used to explain the incomplete state of some of its components upon their arrival in Palermo.

[251] Pope-Hennessy 1963, 1, p. 117. Since Pope-Hennessy stated that Don Pedro died two years after the work on the fountain had begun, the scholar placed its commission in 1550. Tribolo's death in the same year was therefore regarded by Pope-Hennessy as no mere coincidence.

[252] Tribolo fell violently ill on 28th August 1550, leaving little hope for his recovery. (ASF, Mediceo del Principato 1176, ins. 5, fol. 31). On the following day, he was reported as close to dying (ASF, Mediceo del Principato 1176, ins. 5, fol. 34). He died in the beginning of September 1550.

[253] Davì and Grasso, 1983, p. 75; Hernando 1998, pp. 148-49

[254] Ruggieri Tricoli, reckoning that a sculptor without any experience could have hardly been allocated such an important job, interpreted Vasari's statement that Camilliani has spent 15 years on the design of fountains in the sense that this work had preceded the sculptor's involvement with the garden of Don Luigi (Ruggieri Tricoli 1984, p. 64). Vasari's text does not warrant this reading.

1.3 The fountain statuary in Abadía:

1.3.1 The fountain complex at the palace of the Dukes of Alba: its present condition, early descriptions, and historiographic accounts

The large fountain that stood in the Florentine garden of Don Luigi de Toledo was described by Vasari as one the most beautiful structures of its kind that could be found in Italy.[255] The documents that relate to its subsequent sale to Palermo refer to the fountain with similar terms of praise, emphasising that its aesthetic merits were universally recognised at the time.[256] Many years later, in the last quarter of the 18th century,[257] a Spanish historian Abbot Antonio Ponz left a similarly enthusiastic account of another fountain associated with Francesco Camilliani, which he saw in a small village of Abadía in Extremadura.[258] The garden where the fountain stood was located on the river Ambroz, an inflow of Tajo, and belonged the Dukes of Alba. The large country residence adjoining the garden was called "Sotofermoso," evoking the name of the abbey of Cistercian nuns that had stood there until the 14th century when the building was converted into a palace.

At the time when Ponz visited Abadía, the garden still retained its original form, but was in a largely decaying state.[259] Ponz noted that the garden was divided into the upper and lower. In the middle of the upper garden, there was a marble fountain decorated with two statues, one of which represented Hygieia, daughter of Asclepius and goddess of health, and various busts of the same material; the whole structure was crowned with a marble statue of Pegasus. Some of the sculptural pieces decorating the fountain were regarded by Ponz as antique.[260]

From the upper garden, a series of stone steps led down into a spacious square, closed off by stone walls on three sides. The square opened into the lower garden

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[255] Vasari-Milanesi 1906, p. 628

[256] Cf. ASP, Consigli Civici, anni 1560-1572, no. 68, fol. 320; Pedone 1986, documents section, no pagination. The fountain is described as "assai magnificata et tenuta per la più bella in Italia."

[257] The 8th volume of Ponz's *Viaje de España,* which contains the description of Abadía, was published in 1772.

[258] See Ponz 1988, 2, pp. 520-25. On p. 521 the fountain is described as "una de las más bellas fuentes que he visto en España."

[259] Ponz noted the ruinous state of various features of the garden's decoration (cf. Ponz 1988, 2, pp. 520 and 521).

[260] Ponz 1988, 2, p. 520

stretched along the river Ambroz, but was separated from it by three steps and a balustrade decorated with two marble statues of Fauns that were spouting water.[261] The statues were noted by Ponz to be of modern rather than antique origin.[262] The middle of this square was occupied by a large fountain, surrounded by a balustrade and octagonal in plan. The fountain was designed on two levels connected by four stairs, corresponding to the four entrances in the balustrade; its architectonic system thus mirrored the design of the central part of the *Fontana Pretoria* in Palermo. The fountain's sculptural decoration consisted of the statues of playful *putti* in various attitudes holding conches, from which spouted water.[263] Although the total of these figures was 15, the number of pedestals supplied for them was 16, with one of the *putti* was evidently missing.[264] On one of these pedestals, Ponz discerned the incised name of the sculptor and the date of execution: "FRANCISCI CAMILANI FLORENTINI OPUS 1555."[265]

The central feature of the fountain was crowned with the figure of a *putto* holding a dolphin, who was spouting water from its mouth.[266] It included a receiving basin and a shaft that carried three *tazze*.[267] The shaft was embellished with sculpture carved integrally with its structural core. Three lifesize figures of youths with dolphins in between them carried the first *tazza.* The second *tazza* was sustained by three smaller figures, and the upper *tazza* was supported by three "figurillas," whose bodies instead of legs turned into acanthus leaves.[268]

The masonry wall at the back of the square, in the middle of which stood the fountain, included five niches. The central niche was decorated with the coat-of-arms of the house of Alba, below which there was a life-size sculpted head of green jasper (with the eyes of white and pupils of black stone, one of them missing), which Ponz

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[261] Ponz 1988, 2, p. 523
[262] Ibid.
[263] The effect of these figures, according to Ponz, was as if each of them formed a fountain within fountain (cf. Ponz 1988, 2, p. 521).
[264] Ponz 1988, 2, p. 521
[265] Ibid.
[266] This statue was identified by Ponz as Bacchus, probably because of a wreath of grapes and wine leaves that, similarly to the little boy on top of the *Fontana Pretoria,* it wore on its head. The fact that the figure was shown as squeezing a dolphin, thereby suggesting a stable iconographic type exemplified by Verrocchio's *Putto holding a dolphin,* makes its identification as a *putto* more probable.
[267] In his text, Ponz mentions four *tazze,* but since the lowest of them was not supported by the shaft it is better described as a receiving basin.
[268] Ponz 1988, 2, p. 521. Ponz found the great fountain in Abadía similar to the fountains he had seen in Casa del Campo and Aranjuez, but more impressive in terms of the volume of its sculptural decoration, monumentality, and the amount of water that it produced ("más obra de escultura, más grandiosidad y más copia de agua") (Ponz 1988, 2, p. 521).

believed to be an ancient Egyptian work.[269] Below this head there was a marble medallion showing an "amorcillo" asleep on a lion pelt, carved in a high relief.[270] The decoration of the niches either side of this central niche included the busts of Hadrian and Cicero, which were, according to Ponz, of modern rather than antique origin, both consisting of marble heads and jasper supports.[271] The outmost niches contained two lifesize statues representing Perseus and Andromeda. The *Perseus,* located on the right, was shown as raising his sword. His other arm was protected by a shield with the sculpted head of Medusa. The figure of winged Pegasus was appropriately placed beside this niche. In the niche at the opposite end of the wall stood the *Andromeda,* shown as chained to a rock and ready to be devoured by a sea-monster that featured nearby, evidently in a position similar to that of the Pegasus. All the four statues were carved of marble.[272] Although the figures were placed some distance apart, Ponz interpreted them as enacting the story of Andromeda's sacrifice and subsequent liberation by Perseus, presuming that it alluded to the heroic deeds of Don Fernando de Toledo, 3rd Duke of Alba, invoked by Lope de Vega in his earlier description of Abadía.[273] The niches contained water spouts, and their statuary had originally been part of a large system of waterworks, as were the great fountain and the two sculpted *Fauns* at the opposite end of the square.[274]

The lateral wall of the square, adjacent to the steps that led into the upper garden, was decorated with three marble medallions representing Pompeius, Agrippina, and Nero. These medallions, according to Ponz, were not antique, but of sufficiently good quality, leading him to believe that they were executed by the same sculptor who was responsible for the great fountain.[275]

The remaining fragments of the fountain complex that used to decorate the garden complex described by Ponz are now in the courtyard of the adjacent palace. The only piece of statuary in Abadía that is still in the garden is the figure of *Andromeda* [plate 48]. Its accompanying figure of *Pegasus,* distinguished by the naturalistically strained veins on the side of the body, was recently moved to the courtyard [plate 44]. Conceived in very high relief and represented with one of the

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[269] Ponz 1988, 2, p. 522
[270] Ibid. Ponz noted that he had seen a very similar relief in the Palacio Real in Madrid, representing a "Hércules niño."
[271] Ibid.
[272] Ponz 1988, 2, p. 522
[273] Ibid.
[274] Ibid.
[275] Ponz 1988, 2, pp. 522-23

arms raised above the head and chained to the rock, the *Andromeda* has clear iconographic parallels in Florentine art of the 16th century, such as Cellini's relief of *Perseus freeing Andromeda,* now in the Museo Nazionale del Bargello in Florence [plate 109].[276] The emphasis on the crisp outline, created by flowing calligraphic lines, finds analogies in the output of Bandinelli and his followers. The comparison of the figure's elaborate coiffure with the hairstyle of Ammannati's *Parnassus* similarly testifies to its Florentine provenance, confirming the attribution of the *Andromeda* to Francesco Camilliani [cf. plates 50 and 51]. The other remaining statues include the headless figure of a *Putto riding a marine goat* [plates 32 and 33], a little *Triton with two dolphins* [plates 29 and 30] and the two *Fauns* cited by Ponz, which now flank the entrance to the staircase leading to the residential part of the palace [plates 42 and 43]. The other surviving sculptural features include pseudo-Roman bust, a few balusters, which evidently served to define the boundary of the fountain [plates 36 and 37], a piece of a fountain shaft (which must have supported the upper *tazza* and was decorated with three "figurillas") [plates 34 and 35], and over a dozen of rectangular marble reliefs of varying size.

The rest of the garden, which this square opened in on one side, contained, according to Ponz, similarly marvellous features, but was largely abandoned.[277] These features included two large fountains of bronze, and a marble pavilion that stood between them.[278] The pavilion was octagonal in plan and had four entrances, framed by aedicules with triangular pediments supported by Ionic columns. The walls defining the sides of this area was originally decorated with stucco niches, which had originally contained busts, but were by and large ruined by the time they were discovered by Ponz.[279] The third wall, stretched along the river, was decorated on the ends by two niches in the form of triumphal arches, covered in multicoloured stones in imitation of mosaic.[280] The inside of these niches was decorated with medallions, figures, and other features executed in stucco. In the middle of this wall, equidistant from these arches, there was another structure, similarly decorated with a mosaic of multicoloured stones. Circular in plan, its inside area was decorated with four niches that contained over life-size figures, representing Pan, Apollo, Aristeus, and Orpheus,

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[276] The same motif of a raised arm in the figure of Andromeda appears in Vasari's painting of *Perseus and Andromeda*, dated c. 1574, in the Studiolo of Francesco I in the Palazzo Vecchio in Florence.
[277] Ponz 1988, 2, p. 523
[278] Ibid.
[279] Ponz 1988, 2, p. 524
[280] Ibid.

with animals at their side, all executed in stucco. Each one of these niches used to contain hydraulic machinery,[281] but all of this has perished, similarly to the great fountains that represented the Ship Argos, Mount Parnassus, and Noah's Arc, referred to by Lope de Vega.[282]

The description of Abadía by Ponz reflected the final form given to the garden before its devastation by the Napoleonic troops. Perhaps the most famous description of the garden is contained in an ode by Lope de Vega, written in about 1592.[283] Lope was employed as a secretary by Antonio de Toledo, the 5th Duke of Alba, and visited Abadía between 1590 and 1595.[284] His description therefore reflected the state on the garden when the work on its layout and decoration could have still been in progress. Many features of the garden described by Lope, according to Ponz, were missing, while others were destroyed or disfigured.[285]

Lope's poetic description of Abadía, however, was not the first of the garden's descriptions. Its earlier account is found in a manuscript entitled *Pelegrino curioso,* written by Bartolomé de Villalba, completed before 1577.[286] Villalba visited the garden when it was still in the possession of Don Fernando de Toledo, 3rd Duke of Alba. During that time, as Villalba's text indicates, the upper garden was still referred to as "huerta" as opposed to "jardín," which in Spanish designated a sort of a kitchen garden or an orchard as opposed to a leisure garden.

The three descriptions of Abadía by Villalba, Lope de Vega, and Ponz differed considerably, since they reflected different stages in the garden's history. Villalba described the garden when the work on its decoration was still largely in progress. Lope de Vega saw it 20 years later, after the death of Duke Ferdinando. Finally, Ponz described the garden at the ultimate stage in its development, in a largely dilapidated state, a few decades before it was savaged by the Napoleonic troops. It is therefore significant that the works associated with Francesco Camilliani, such as the fountain and the statues of *Perseus* and *Andromeda,* which were seen in Abadia by Ponz, do not feature in the earlier descriptions of the garden by Villalba and Lope de Vega. This indicates that Francesco Camilliani's statuary was not in Abadía before 1575, when the garden was seen by Villalba, and the early 1590s, when it was described by

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[281] "Órgano hidráulico"
[282] Ibid.
[283] See Vega 1953, 2, pp. 77-81
[284] Lope de Vega left the service of the Duke of Alba soon after 22nd April 1595.
[285] Ponz 1988, 2, p. 524
[286] For the relevant extract from Villalba's text see Jiménez and Lozano 1984, appendix, unpaginated

Lope de Vega. The sculptor, who died in 1586, therefore could not have worked in the garden. His statuary must have been brought there between the dates when Abadía was visited by Lope de Vega and Ponz, most likely in the course of the 17th century.[287]

[287] This hypothesis is indirectly confirmed by the location of Francesco Camilliani's fountain as indicated by Ponz. The square that had accommodated it is conceived as a relatively independent self-contained unit within the garden, which breaks the symmetry of the whole and thus appears to be an addition to the original scheme. According to Ferrarino, however, in about 1555, Camilliani worked in Spain in the palace of Sotofermoso in Abadía, Extremadura, which belonged to Ferdinando, the 3rd Duke of Alba. For the duke's garden on the river Ambroz the sculptor executed fountains and medallions with, which were identified and described in the late 18th century. Camilliani's surviving works in Spain, continues Ferrarino's story, count among them the figure of *Andromeda,* still in Abadía, and a statue of a *Nymph* decorating the fountain in the garden of El Greco's house in Toledo, which originated from Abadía (Ferrarino 1977, p. 48). One of the earliest studies where the theory of Camilliani's working sojourn in Spain was articulated is Schubert's book on the Spanish Baroque, published in 1908 (Schubert 1908, p. 293). Schubert stated that Camilliani worked on the statuary for the gardens of the Dukes of Alba in 1555, and cited the description of these gardens by Lope de Vega. The same information was reiterated by Gothein, who provided a more detailed description of Abadía in her book on historic gardens. Gothein stated that Francesco Camilliani was employed by the Duke of Alba to execute sculpture for his garden in 1555 (Gothein 1926, 1, p. 388). With a reference to Gothein, this information was repeated by Wiles (Wiles 1933, p. 70, note 4). A consistent feature of these accounts of Abadía and its sculptural decoration is the fact that the date of Francesco Camilliani's presence in Spain is usually given as 1555.[287] Further, the sculptor's name is usually reproduced in the form of "Camilani," the form in which it usually appears in Camilliani's incised signatures. These facts indicate that Schubert and Gothein drew the same source, which is evidently Ponz. The assumption of Francesco Camilliani's working sojourn in Spain therefore appears to be a scholarly construct, intended to provide an explanation of the presence of the sculptor's statuary in Abadía.

CHAPTER 2: THE FOUNTAIN COMPLEX IN THE FLORENTINE GARDEN OF DON LUIGI DE TOLEDO: its conception, creation, and dispersal

2.1 Don Luigi de Toledo: his life and art patronage

Private artistic projects usually reflect the personality, tastes, and social standing of the individuals who commissioned them. The evolution of these projects, particularly if they are lengthy undertakings, is often influenced by the changing fortunes of these individuals. In the case of the sculptural complex that Francesco Camilliani created for the garden of Don Luigi de Toledo in Florence, the personal circumstances of the patron not only determined the course of the commission, but also affected the subsequent history of the relevant works of art.

Don Luis de Toledo (who was known in Florence as Don Luigi, the Italianised version of his name) was the third son of Don Pedro Álvarez de Toledo and Donna Maria Osorio Pimentel [plate 72].[288] Born in Alba de Tormes in Castilia, the dynastic stronghold of the Toledo family, he moved to Naples with his mother and five siblings in 1534, when Don Pedro was appointed the Viceroy of Naples.[289] Being the youngest son, Don Luigi was not his father's main heir, and for this reason he was destined for an ecclesiastical career from early childhood,[290] subsequently becoming a priest.[291] In later years, his temperament and interests seemed to demonstrate the appropriateness of this choice. Don Luigi was not very robust physically.[292] Unlike soldierly Don Pedro, he displayed no particular inclination towards the military profession, occupying himself with letters and jurisprudence.[293] His accomplishments in these areas were recognised by his contemporaries.[294]

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[288] Hernando 1998, p. 96

[289] Ibid.

[290] Ibid.

[291] In some documents Don Luigi features as "Reverendo don Luigi di Toledo" (cf. ASF, Possessioni, filza 4138, fol. 121).

[292] ASF, Mediceo del Principato, 6, fol. 113 (Cosimo I at Poggio a Caiano to Don Pedro de Toledo in Naples, 5th July 1545)

[293] Cf. Capaccio 1989, 2, p. 319.

[294] Cf. Parrino 1692-94, 1, p. 197. In the beginning of January 1546, Don Luigi was planning to give a law lecture at the University of Pisa, which became a subject of active discussion among Florentine courtiers (ASF, Mediceo del Principato, 1172, fols. 4 and 5; MAP Doc. sources, entry nos. 2449 and 7273). There exists an undated minute of a letter in Latin from a Florentine lawyer Niccolò Guicciardini addressed to Don Luigi, which contains a theoretical discussion of various legal matters (ASF, Carte Strozziane, 1st series, 137, fols. 219-20). Benedetto Varchi's *Due Lezzioni*, published in

Don Luigi studied in Naples, where he obtained his degree in 1541.[295] The inventory of books in his father's library in Naples indicates the range of literature available to Don Luigi during these years. Don Pedro, who viewed himself primarily as a man of arms, was known to read mainly military treatises and chronicles of Spanish history. His library, however, also included Castiglione's *Corteggiano,* a Spanish translation of Ariosto's *Orlando furioso,* the third of Serlio's *Four books on architecture*,[296] a volume of the works of Alberti, and miscellaneous treatises on Roman antiquities, epitaphs, and architecture. This library also contained classical writings by Ovid, Apuleus, and Boethius.[297]

Don Luigi enjoyed the unfailing affection of his older sister Eleonora, who in 1539 married Cosimo I de' Medici and became the Duchess of Florence. From about 1545, Don Luigi's base was the Florentine court, where he was known for his refined taste and also his persistent health problems.[298] The close bond between Don Luigi and Eleonora emerges from numerous letters of Florentine courtiers, who during the summer of 1545 exchanged frequent reports of the treatment of Don Luigi's stomach.[299] When his health permitted, Don Luigi divided his time between

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1549, were dedicated to Don Luigi. The date of the dedication is 7th March 1546, the time when the first of the lectures that Varchi's book was based on had been delivered (Mendelsson 1982, p. 95).

[295] ASF, Mediceo del Principato, 3, fol. 213

[296] It was originally published in Venice in 1540.

[297] ASN, Manoscritti della biblioteca, 135, fols. 29-32

[298] During Don Luigi's stay in Poggio a Caiano in 1545 textile and leather hanging for the wall in his rooms were a matter of discussion for the courtiers (ASF, Mediceo del Principato, 1171, fol. 422; MAP Doc. sources, entry no. 2437). On another occasion, Don Luigi and the Duchess were reported as examining a precious inkwell sent to Cosimo I from Florence (ASF, Mediceo del Principato, 1171, fol. 446; MAP Doc. sources, entry no. 2438).

[299] For Don Luigi's illness in 1545 and the progress of his treatment see ASF, Mediceo del Principato, 6, fols. 85, 93, 95, 102, 113, 117, 118, 235, 236, 238, 247, and 260. The first report of Don Luigi's illness is dated 5th July 1545 (ASF, Mediceo del Principato, 6, fol. 113; MAP Doc. sources, entry no. 3951). His condition must have deteriorated rapidly, since on the following day the Duchess ordered the court physician Andrea Pasquali, who had just arrived in Florence after successfully treating Cardinal Innocenzo Cybo at Carrara, to hurry to Poggio a Caiano (ASF, Mediceo del Principato, 1171, fol. 425; MAP Doc. sources, entry no. 7227). On 16th July, Pasquali reported that the treatment of Don Luigi was going well, and that his patient was almost cured (ASF, Mediceo del Principato, 1170A, fol. 15; MAP Doc. sources, entry no. 5360). Don Luigi, however, was still recovering from his illness throughout September and October 1545. By 5th January 1546, he regained his health to the extent that he was able to prepare himself for his lecture in Pisa (ASF, Mediceo del Principato, 1172, fol. 4; MAP Doc. sources, entry no. 2449). His health problems, however, persisted. On 30th September 1546, Cosimo I and Eleonora de Toledo visited him at Bagno Vignoni near Siena, where he was still recovering after his illness (ASF, Mediceo del Principato, 8, fol. 72; MAP Doc. sources, entry no. 4328). On 21st March 1547, the Duchess asked Pasquali for more medicine for Don Luigi (ASF, Mediceo del Principato, 1173, fol. 123; MAP, Doc. sources, entry no. 8077). Don Luigi was similarly preoccupied with Eleonora's health when she suddenly fell ill in April 1551. On that occasion, she disappeared from public sight, refused medication, and suppressed any reports of her condition, and Don Luigi reprimanded Pasquali for not persuading Cosimo I to take his wife back to Florence and accept treatment (ASF, Mediceo del Principato, 1176, fol. 45; MAP Doc. sources, entry no. 7950).

intellectual pursuits,[300] boar hunting,[301] and other forms of entertainment, including playing dice in the company of the courtiers and the Duke himself.[302]

Don Luigi's closest friend in Florence was Bernardetto Minerbetti, Bishop of Arezzo.[303] Minerbetti was an able diplomat, who had served as Florentine Ambassador at the Imperial and the Spanish courts.[304] He was also a patron and admirer of Giorgio Vasari. From the letters he wrote to the artist, Minerbetti emerges as an enthusiastic and opinionated critic of art, notably direct in expressing his views.[305] Among the many interests that he shared with Don Luigi, the arts were of considerable importance. During 1550 and 1551, Don Luigi and Minerbetti planned a trip to Naples, including a sojourn in Rome, where they wanted to see the ruins and other "antique miracles" of the ancient city.[306] While in Rome, they also intended to pay homage to Michelangelo, whom Minerbetti professed to hold in greater artistic esteem than "all other men in the world taken together."[307] The friendship between the two ecclesiastics continued until Minerbetti's death in 1574.[308]

Although Don Luigi retained Spanish as his basic language throughout his lifetime, in his adult years he did not reside permanently in Spain, nor owned property

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[300] While at the Florentine court, Don Luigi evidently enjoyed spending time at the University (Studio Pubblico) of Pisa, recently founded by Cosimo I (ASF, Mediceo del Principato, 6, fol. 400; MAP, Doc. sources, entry no. 3999).

[301] On 7th November 1546, Don Luigi was reported as hunting wild boars near Vinci in the company of Cosimo I and his courtiers (ASF, Mediceo del Principato, 1172, fol. 26; MAP, Doc. sources, entry no. 7665).

[302] On 6th November 1546, Don Luigi played dice in the company of Cosimo I and another courtier. The Duke and his brother-in-law split the 400 *scudi* lost by their unlucky companion (ASF, Mediceo del Principato, 1172, fol. 25; MAP, Doc. sources, entry no. 7662).

[303] Bernardetto Minerbetti was created Bishop of Arezzo on 6th February 1538. The records of his friendship with Don Luigi are found in the numerous letters that Minerbetti wrote to Vasari (Frey 1923-30, pp. 296-97, 298, 299, 307, 311, 317, 324, 382, 385, and 682). In January 1546, when Don Luigi was planning a law lecture at the University of Pisa, Minerbetti's presence was specifically requested (ASF, Mediceo del Principato, 1172, fol. 4; MAP Doc. sources, entry no. 2449).

[304] Minerbetti was Florentine Ambassador in Spain between 1559 and 1563.

[305] On 20th August 1552, Minerbetti wrote to Vasari, favourably commenting on the appearance of Cellini's *Perseus,* which was put on display in the sculptor's garden, and expressing rather negative views with regard to Bandinelli's *Christ supported by an angel,* unveiled in the Florentine Duomo (Frey 1923-30, 1, pp. 330-31).

[306] Frey 1923-30, 1, p. 311. The trip was originally scheduled by Don Luigi for the second half of 1550, but, despite Minerbetti's year-long desire to join his friend, he had to remain in Florence due to his father's illness (Frey 1923-30, 1, pp. 296-97). The trip, according to Frey, finally took place during May and June 1552 (Frey 1923-30, 1, p. 324).

[307] See the letter from Minerbetti to Vasari dated 31st October 1551 in Frey 1923-32, 1, p. 311 (my translation).

[308] Minerbetti died on 16th September 1574 (Ricci 1972, p. 127, note 2). On 14th November 1551, Minerbetti reported to Vasari that he was very attached to Don Luigi due to the latter's "most lovable goodness" and that they could no longer live without each other: "non posso viver senza esso, come esso mostra mal poter' star senza me" (Frey 1923-30, 1, p. 311).

there.[309] His opinion of the Spanish nation was not entirely favourable. On one of his visits to Spain in 1562, he confessed to Minerbetti that he was "fed up" with his compatriots and eager to recount their "barbarism" upon his return to Florence.[310] On another visit in 1567, when Don Luigi was detained in Madrid by his affectionate relatives, he decided to hide in the house of the Florentine Ambassador intending to flee on horseback at midnight.[311] He confessed that he desired nothing better for himself than a place in Florence and the affection of the ducal family.[312]

While in Florence, Don Luigi appeared in public on at least one occasion, in a masquerade that took place on 9th February 1551. The masquerade was an important event, which figured prominently in the correspondence of various courtiers and was recorded in at least one contemporary chronicle. One of the hidden motifs for these festivities was to provide a distraction from the effects of food shortage that afflicted Florence during the previous winter.[313] The masquerade also coincided with a sudden and severe illness of Cosimo I, who was then in Pisa, which alarmed the ducal family.[314] Credit for organising this event was given to both Don Luigi (who was personally responsible for designing some of the costumes)[315] and Minerbetti.[316] The masquerade's participants included the courtiers Ridolfo Baglioni, Pandolfo della Stufa, Leone di Nerli, Sforza Almeni, and two unidentified Spanish gentlemen.[317] The central pageant was accompanied by music and singing, and its climax was a torchlight procession through the sleeping city, led by a figure dressed as Argus.

Don Luigi did not manifest political ambition, unlike his father Don Pedro and brother Don Garcia, who were important officials of the Spanish monarchy. Modern historians consistently assert that Don Luigi lacked the aptitude and skills for a successful political career.[318] Earlier historiographers were generally more favourable to Don Luigi, maintaining that he had never been given an opportunity to apply his

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[309] All of Don Luigi's correspondence was conducted in Spanish.
[310] See the letter dated 2nd July 1562 from Minerbetti, then the Florentine Ambassador in Madrid, to Vasari (Frey 1923-30, 1, p. 682).
[311] ASF, Mediceo del Principato, 4898, fol. 68
[312] ASF, Mediceo del Principato, 4898, fol. 94
[313] Coppi ed. 2000, p. 125-26
[314] ASF, Mediceo del Principato, 1176, ins. 9, fol. 6
[315] ASF, Mediceo del Principato, 1176, ins. 9, fol. 3; MAP Doc. sources, entry no. 3169
[316] The author of the so-called "Diario Marucelli" commented on this pastime as incompatible with the status of ecclesiastics (cf. Coppi ed. 2000, p. 125).
[317] ASF, Mediceo del Principato, 1176, fol. 3; MAP Doc. sources, entry no. 3169
[318] Cf. Coniglio 1967, p. 79; Pedone 1986, p. 21

talents.[319] Don Luigi's father occasionally entrusted him with diplomatic missions of some delicacy. On 7th December 1551, for example, Don Luigi was in Rome negotiating with Pope Julius III the passage of the Spanish troops, ready to march against Siena, through Papal territory.[320] This was no easy task, since the Pope anticipated substantial financial losses through this movement of Spanish troops.[321] Don Luigi therefore had a good opportunity to exercise his oratorical skills and his knowledge of judicial matters.[322]

Don Luigi's public career reached its pinnacle in January 1553 when Don Pedro left for Siena at the head of Spanish troops, opposing a threat of a French invasion.[323] On his departure, he appointed Don Luigi his Lieutenant in Naples, making him in effect the acting Viceroy. The hardships of a military campaign proved fatal to the aged and overweight Don Pedro, and on 22nd February 1553 he died in Florence.[324] Don Luigi remained in charge of the administration of the Kingdom of Naples until the arrival of the new Viceroy, Cardinal Pedro Pacheco, on 3rd June 1553.[325] The period of his government was not remembered for any particular reason other than the fact that he managed to collect 300,000 *scudi* as an annual donation to the King of Spain.[326]

Relieved from his administrative duties, Don Luigi returned to Florence, which he must have regarded as his natural home. Two years earlier, on 2nd June 1551, he had purchased a large plot of land in the northern part of the city, between Via del Maglio and Via S. Sebastiano, which he intended to turn into a garden [plate 73]. The land had previously belonged to the convent of S. Domenico in Maglio as

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[319] Cf. Capaccio 1989, 2, pp. 318-19. Don Luigi's biography was included in the series of the lives of the Spanish Viceroys of Naples, written by the Neapolitan historian Domenico Antonio Parrino in the late 17th century (Parrino 1692-94, 1, pp. 196-98).

[320] For a summary of the speech that Don Luigi delivered at the Roman court see BNCF, Magliabechi, XXXVII, 207, fols. 250-254.

[321] BNCF, Magliabechi, XXXVII, 207, fol. 252

[322] After the death of Don Pedro de Toledo, Don Luigi carried out occasional diplomatic missions in the service of Cosimo I. One of these missions involved a visit to Rome in November 1562 (ASF, Mediceo del Principato, 327, fol. 90). In 1557, Philip II asked him to discuss with Cosimo I a delicate question concerning the misgovernment of Siena by Juan de Toledo, Cardinal of Burgos (Adriani 1822-23, 5, pp. 200-02). In 1559, together with Francesco de' Medici, Don Luigi accompanied Lucrezia de' Medici, the daughter of Cosimo I, to the domain of her husband, the Duke of Ferrara (Adriani 1822-23, 6, p. 56).

[323] Capaccio 1989, 2, p. 318; Miccio 1846, pp. 81-85

[324] Lapini 1900, p. 109

[325] Borelli 1903, p. 85. The first of the seven letters that Don Luigi wrote to Cosimo I in the capacity of the Viceroy of Naples was dated 3rd March 1553 (ASF, Mediceo del Principato, 4074, fol. 181).

[326] Parrino 1692-94, 1, p 198; Coniglio 1967, p. 79

part of its orchard,[327] and bordered on the Giardino dei Semplici, which Cosimo I rented from the same convent.[328] The contract for the acquisition of the property was drawn up on Don Luigi's behalf by the ducal major-domo Pierfrancesco Riccio.[329] The land consisted of 100 *stiora* and was valued at 22 *scudi* per *stioro.*[330] This vast property of approximately 52,500 square meters was therefore valued at 2,220 *scudi.*[331] After the initial payment of 44 *scudi,* Don Luigi was required to pay the total sum in annual instalments of 100 *scudi* (compensating the nuns for the produce of the orchard, as they maintained).[332] The convent reserved the right to reclaim the property until such time as its value was fully recovered.[333]

Don Luigi's decision to create a large garden was probably prompted by the work on the garden at Palazzo Pitti, which began on 12th May 1550.[334] The earliest known record of work in the garden of Don Luigi is dated 24th September 1551. Work involved clearing the ground and moving large stones.[335] By 18th December 1551, the basic layout of the garden was nearly complete. A letter of that date from Pierfrancesco Riccio to the ducal secretary Cristiano Pagni gives an optimistic account of the garden's development. According to Riccio, Don Luigi pursued the work assiduously, and the property that he owned had been given a beautiful and orderly form with regular alleys and well-proportioned subsidiary passages. On the whole, Riccio maintained, the garden promised to be beautiful, and it had already been visited by all of Florence.[336]

Some of the work in Don Luigi's garden was ordered by his sister Duchess Eleonora and carried out by workers on the ducal payroll. This work took place

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[327] ASF, Corporazioni religiosi soppresi dal governo francese, no. 108, 121, fol. 76; Zangheri 1999, p. 19, note 2. The convent was also known as S. Domenico di Cafaggio, "Cafaggio" being an early name for the part of Florence where the convent stood (Firenze illustrata, 3, p. 253).

[328] ASF, Mediceo del Principato, 1, unpaginated; MAP, Doc. sources, entry no. 5897. The contract between Cosimo I and the convent of S. Domenico in Maglio was drawn on 16th November 1545. Cosimo I was paying the annual rent of 27 *scudi* (ASF, Corporazioni religiosi soppresi dal governo francese, no. 108, 121, fol. 101).

[329] ASF, Corporazioni religiosi soppresi dal governo francese, no. 108, 121, fols. 76-77; Zangheri 1999, p. 19, note 2

[330] One *stioro* consists of about 525 square meters.

[331] For the sake of comparison, the size of Giardino dei Semplici comprised of only 36 *stiora* (Firenze illustrata, 3, p. 247).

[332] ASF, Corporazioni religiosi soppresi dal governo francese, no. 108, 122, fol. 44; ASF, Corporazioni religiosi soppresi dal governo francese, no. 108, 121, fols. 76-77; Zangheri 1999, p. 19, note 2

[333] ASF, Corporazioni religiosi soppresi dal governo francese, no. 108, 121, fols. 76-77; Zangheri 1999, p. 19, note 2

[334] Lapini 1900, p. 107

[335] ASF, Fabbricche Medicee, 18, fol. 46

[336] ASF, Mediceo del Principato, 406, fol. 617; Conforti 1990, p. 393

during intensive campaigns, usually coinciding with the periods of Don Luigi's absence from Florence.[337] The first of these campaigns took place from December 1552 until July 1553.[338] Work consisted mainly in planting the greenery, including orange trees.[339] On the return of Don Luigi from Naples at the end of July, this intensive activity ended, and there was only occasional work, like the planting of holly in November 1553.[340] In 1554, a pair of oxen was brought from the ducal farm in the Mugello to pull heavy weights.[341]

Another major campaign took place in the spring of 1562, during Don Luigi's absence in Spain.[342] Work began in the middle of March 1562[343] and was finished by 18th July 1562.[344] It involved erecting a large pergola supported by chestnut posts. Payments to the workers occupied in Don Luigi's garden were administrated by Bartolomeo Ammannati, who at that time was supervising work in the garden of Palazzo Pitti.[345] The installation of the pergola involved digging holes,[346] continuous deliveries of gravel from the Mugnone,[347] and frequent consignments of lime and tar.[348] The installation of chestnut posts began in April 1562 and must have been finished by 16th June 1562.[349] By the beginning of May 1562, work on the cross beams for the pergola had begun.[350] At the beginning of July 1562, other work was carried out on the espaliered orange trees, probably directed by Don Luigi's gardener Luca di Matteo.[351]

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[337] It is also possible that the work was carried out while Don Luigi was in Florence. In this case, the payments for this work must have been recorded in his own account books, which so far have not come to light.

[338] ASF, Possessioni, 4136, fols. 28, 29, and 91. Payments for the work were received between 29th December 1552 and 27th July 1553.

[339] ASF, Possessioni, 4136, fol. 29

[340] ASF, Possessioni, 4136, fol. 91

[341] ASF, Possessioni, 4137, fol. 5

[342] From May to the middle of July 1562 Don Luigi was in Burgos and then in Madrid (ASF, Mediceo del Principato, 4894, fols. 500, 501, 528).

[343] ASF, Scrittoio delle fortezze e fabbricche, Fabbricche Medicee, 48, fol. 32

[344] ASF, Scrittoio delle fortezze e fabbricche, Fabbricche Medicee, 48, fol. 40

[345] Cf. ASF, Scrittoio delle fortezze e fabbricche, Fabbricche Medicee, 49, fols. 20-22

[346] ASF, Scrittoio delle fortezze e fabbricche, Fabbricche Medicee, 48, fol. 35

[347] ASF, Scrittoio delle fortezze e fabbricche, Fabbricche Medicee, 48, fols. 32, 33, 34, and 35. Payments for the deliveries of gravel were received between 28th March and 2nd May 1562.

[348] ASF, Scrittoio delle fortezze e fabbricche, Fabbricche Medicee, 48, fols. 33, 34, and 35. Payments for the deliveries of lime were received between 3rd April and 2nd May 1562.

[349] ASF, Scrittoio delle fortezze e fabbricche, Fabbricche Medicee, 48, fol. 34

[350] ASF, Scrittoio delle fortezze e fabbricche, Fabbricche Medicee, 48, fol. 35

[351] ASF, Scrittoio delle fortezze e fabbricche, Fabbricche Medicee, 48, fol. 40

According to Vasari, Don Luigi's garden had an abundant supply of water.[352] As in the case of the adjacent Giardino dei Semplici, water for this garden probably came from the river Mugnone.[353] It was brought to the garden by two separate conduits.[354] The first conduit was constructed between December 1552 and January 1553.[355] It must have been a relatively small undertaking, since the work was carried out by the same labourers who planted trees in the garden. Indeed, water from this conduit was conceivably used to irrigate these plants.

Construction of the second conduit was evidently a more substantial project.[356] Although the main work was carried out between February and October 1556,[357] the conduit still was not entirely finished in 1558.[358] The massive amount of labour involved in its construction would seem to indicate that the second conduit provided water for the two fountains that formed the main feature of the garden's decoration.[359] This supposition is substantiated by the deliveries to the garden between 1556 and 1558 of considerable quantities of lime and sand,[360] materials necessary for the construction of the architectural framework that supported the fountain statuary. Work on the second conduit and the fountains could therefore have progressed simultaneously.

The garden had no residential building attached to it, and for this reason initially Don Luigi lodged in the Palazzo Bartolini near the church of S. Trinità, where he kept a large household.[361] When in November 1553 this palace was sold by its owner, Don Luigi moved to the Palazzo Vecchio,[362] where he was allocated the rooms that had been previously occupied by Maria Salviati, the mother of Cosimo I. Don

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[352] Vasari-Milanesi, 7, p. 628

[353] Florence 1980, 4, p. 199 (entry 7.21). The water of Mugnone was similarly utilised by Luca Alamanni, Prior of the Ospedale degli Innocenti, in order to operate a mill and irrigate the nun's herb and vegetable garden (Bartoli 1567, fol. 20r).

[354] The water was brought to the garden of Don Luigi by closed channels, referred to in Italian as "condotti." Baldinucci describes them as lead or terracotta pipes, which could be both wide and narrow in diameter (Baldinucci 1985, p. 38).

[355] ASF, Possessioni, 4136, fols. 28 and 29. The payments for this first conduit were received between 7th January 1553 and 25th January 1553.

[356] This is indicated by both the time involved in the construction of the conduit and also the amount of payments that were received for the work.

[357] ASF, Possessioni, 4138, fol. 19; ASF, Possessioni, 4138, fol. 27; ASF, Possessioni, 4137, fol. 151

[358] ASF, Possessioni, 4138, fol. 27

[359] See section 4.1

[360] ASF, Possessioni, 4138, fol. 19; ASF, Possessioni, 4138, fol. 27

[361] Don Luigi lived in the Palazzo Bartolini from at least 1552 (ASF, Possessioni, 4136, fol. 28).

[362] Don Luigi must have moved to the new residence before 10th November 1553, when Minerbetti wrote to Vasari that Don Luigi had to move to the "casa di Medici" (Frey 1923-30, 1, p. 382).

Luigi shared these rooms with his uncle Francisco de Toledo.[363] On moving into this new residence, Don Luigi wished to decorate it with a frescoed lunette. Following Minerbetti's recommendation, he intended to assign this task to Vasari, though the project had no outcome, probably due to the painter's commitments in Rome.[364] After living in the Palazzo Vecchio for about two years, Don Luigi took over the former dwelling of the republican partisan Bindo Altoviti in Via del Parione, expropriated by Cosimo I.[365] The two marble putti by Jacopo Sansovino, which Don Luigi found above the fireplace in his new residence supporting the Altoviti coat-of-arms, were soon transferred to his garden.[366]

Don Luigi occasionally interrupted his stay in Florence with trips abroad. During Don Pedro's lifetime, his main destination was Naples.[367] In later years, Don Luigi mainly travelled to Spain. On one of these trips, which took place in 1567, Don Luigi bought a few mules to carry back to Florence some earth for his garden.[368]

Like many Spanish noblemen of that time, Don Luigi lived in debt.[369] His loans were often guaranteed by Duchess Eleonora, and for this reason are recorded in the ducal account books.[370] Don Luigi also received occasional consignments of fire-wood, grain, feed grain, and wine from the ducal supplies.[371] During the period of his absence in Naples, these deliveries continued to be received by his major-domo Diego de Heredia.[372] After Don Luigi's return, they were instituted on a regular monthly basis, presumably indicating his intention of settling in Florence permanently.[373]

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[363] Hernando 1998, p. 140. Don Luigi lived in the Palazzo Vecchio during 1554 and 1555 (ASF, Guardaroba Mediceo, 26, fols. 57, 58; ASF, Guardaroba Mediceo, 34, fol. 20; ASF, Guardaroba Mediceo, 22, fols. 11, 15, 39, 61).

[364] Frey 1923-30, 1, p. 382. On 18th November 1553 Minerbetti wrote to Vasari that Don Luigi was asking him each single day as to the date of Vasari's arrival in Florence (Frey 1923-30, 1, p. 385).

[365] In the 18th century, this building became known as the Casino of Don Lorenzo de' Medici.

[366] Vasari-Milanesi, 7, pp. 492-93

[367] Frey 1923-30, 1, pp. 297, 298, 311

[368] ASF, Mediceo del Principato, 4898, fol. 65

[369] Cf. Braudel 1972-73, 2, p. 714. Between 1554 and 1560 Don Luigi continuously borrowed considerable sums of money, mainly from Spanish money lenders (ASF, Possessioni, 4137, fols. 5, 19, 20; Possessioni, 4138, fol. 121).

[370] Some of the loans were guaranteed privately, as the loan of 3,000 scudi from Raffaello Acciaioli on 27th July 1552 (ASF, Mediceo del Principato, 5922B, fol. 8).

[371] Cf. Hernando 1998, p. 141. From 3rd August 1552 to 3rd November 1553 Don Luigi received monthly supplies from the ducal farms of Castello and Petraia (ASF, Mediceo del Principato, 5922B, fols. 7, 47, 50, 51, 53, and 54). Don Luigi also received deliveries of firewood (ASF, Possessioni, 4140, fol. 10; ASF, Possessioni, 4136, fol. 91; ASF, Possessioni, 4136, fol. 170).

[372] On 1st May 1553, Heredia was paid 100 *scudi* to cover the pantry and household expenses from 1st October 1552 until the end of April 1553 (ASF, Possessioni, 4136, fol. 29; see also ASF, Mediceo del Principato, 5922B, fol. 51).

[373] On 14th August 1553, Andrea, the farm-keeper at Castello, was informed that the Duchess wanted to provide Don Luigi with the monthly supply of food worth of 37 ½ *scudi* (ASF, Mediceo del Principato,

Some of Don Luigi's miscellaneous expenses were covered by the ducal treasury, including occasional rent for the Palazzo Bartolini,[374] some of the annual payments to the Convent of S. Domenico in Maglio,[375] and various costs associated with Don Luigi's garden.[376]

Perhaps due to this generally comfortable existence, Don Luigi revealed considerable carelessness in regard to financial matters.[377] The collection of 16th-century anecdotes assembled by Girolamo da Sommaia contains an amusing tale related to Don Luigi's management of his finances. On one occasion, the story goes, Don Luigi was confronted by his niece Isabella de' Medici, who told him that she was ashamed of the disgraceful state of his finances. Despite her own annual income of 78,000 *scudi,* Isabella maintained that she was spending only a small fraction of this sum. When questioned about his income, Don Luigi could not come up with a definite answer, but eventually admitted that it must have been no less that 9,000 *scudi,* which he spent on an annual basis. The implication is that Don Luigi kept track of his expenses, but not his income.[378]

Even though this account is only anecdotal, it reflects an ongoing problem in Don Luigi's life, the lack of financial security. Although an ecclesiastic, he held no church offices and therefore had no benefices. One way of solving this problem was by becoming a cardinal. There is a playful note preserved among the papers of Eleonora de Toledo, dated 1st June 1560, in which Don Luigi promises to pay his sister 100,000 *scudi* as soon as he becomes elected Pope.[379] Don Luigi's relatives took his situation more seriously, and the task of procuring him a cardinalate became the

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5922B, fol. 53). On 23rd August 1553, these provisions were increased by the addition of 22 *staia* of forage grain per month (ASF, Mediceo del Principato, 5922B, fol. 53). On 27th September 1553, 20 barrels of wine per month were added (ASF, Mediceo del Principato, 5922B, fol. 53). The order was confirmed on 7th July 1554, with the addition of 31 ½ *staia* of grain. When out of grain, Andrea was requested to use the grain from the supplies in the Fortezza da Basso (ASF, Mediceo del Principato, 5922B, fol. 57). Firewood arrived from a separate source (ASF, Possessioni, 4136, fol. 91). On 3rd November 1553, its deliveries were similarly put on a permanent basis, and the relevant officials were informed that the Duchess wanted to provide Don Luigi with four *cataste* of firewood every month (ASF, Mediceo del Principato, 5922B, fol. 54).

[374] ASF, Possessioni, 4136, fol. 28. The annual rent for the Palazzo Bartolini was 105 *scudi.*

[375] On 11th July 1552 by order of the Duchess Don Luigi received the sum of 100 *scudi* to cover the annual payment for his garden (ASF, Possessioni, 4136, fol. 28).

[376] ASF, Possessioni, 4137, fol. 5v. The sum that was supposed to cover the garden expenses from 16th February to 7th August 1557 was 187 *scudi.*

[377] Don Luigi was known as "Don Luigi Generoso" (BNCF, Magliabechi, VIII, 80, fol. 257).

[378] BNCF, Magliabechi, VIII, 80, fol. 257.

[379] ASF, Mediceo del Principato, 5922A, ins. 17

object of secret negotiations in Rome. These negotiations were begun by Don Pedro de Toledo and were continued after his death by Don Garcia and Cosimo I.[380]

The ascent of Don Luigi's ecclesiastical career was abruptly interrupted by a sudden decision, which earned him the lasting resentment of his family. In the spring of 1558, Don Luigi announced his intention of marrying Violante Moscoso, an illegitimate daughter of Lope Moscoso, Count of Altamira.[381] Lope Moscoso was part of Don Luigi's extended family, married to his sister Ana de Toledo, who died in 1549.[382] The identity of Violante's mother was suppressed and still remains unknown. The decision to marry not only put a definite end to Don Luigi's ecclesiastical ambitions: it was viewed as a family disgrace.

The period between 1558 and 1562 must have been a very difficult time for Don Luigi and his close relatives, who unsuccessfully pressured him to renounce his matrimonial plans.[383] The tension reached its climax when Bartolomeo Concini, one of the trusted secretaries of Cosimo I, managed to procure the agreement of Pope Pius IV to create Don Luigi cardinal.[384] In this situation, Don Luigi acted with either

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[380] There are numerous references to what was obliquely called "negozio" of Don Luigi in diplomatic and private correspondence (cf. ASF, Mediceo del Principato, 4321, unpaginated, 22nd and 27th November 1557).

[381] The matter was first related to Minerbetti, who was then the Florentine Ambassador in Madrid, by Don Garcia's wife Vittoria Colonna in a letter dated 11th June 1558 (ASF, Mediceo del Principato, 4895A, fols. 7-9). Vittoria Colonna was shocked by the "strange determination" of Don Luigi not to become a cardinal. She considered many reasons that would explain Don Luigi's behaviour, until she learned the "most shameful" news. Having worn the habit of a priest for 30 years, Don Luigi was apparently resolved to marry a "bastard daughter" of the Count of Altamira. The girl was described by Vittoria Colonna as a daughter of a "meretrice pubblica," and a person "without judgement and brain." In the next letter to Minerbetti, dated 17th June 1558, Vittoria Colonna complained about Don Luigi's "shamelessness," manifest through his insistence to get married (ASF, Mediceo del Principato, 4895A, fol. 10). Don Luigi therefore was not going to marry his niece, as Hernando believed (Hernando 1998, p. 159), or trying to secure a dynastic bond with the house of Altamira, which was suggested by Coniglio (Coniglio 1967, p. 79). In erroneously thinking that Violante Moscoso was a legitimate daughter of the Count of Altamira, both Hernando and Coniglio probably relied on Parrino (Parrino 1692-94, 1, p. 198).

[382] The news of the death of Ana de Toledo were received at the Florentine court on 6th May 1549 (ASF, Mediceo del Principato, 1070, fol. 569; MAP, Doc. sources, entry no. 6388).

[383] Much of this pressure was evidently put on Don Luigi by his brother Don Garcia. The relationship between the two brothers was not smooth, despite the frequent expressions of mutual affection, and could switch from cordial to rather hostile in only a few days. Don Luigi, for example, openly resented Don Garcia's "obstinate avarice" (ASF, Mediceo del Principato, 4898, fol. 99). On 17 June 1563, while sending a certain medicinal elixyr, Cosimo I expressed a wish that Don Garcia stayed "satisfatto et quieto del Signor Don Luigi suo fratello" (ASF, Mediceo del Principato, 219, fol. 133).

[384] ASF, Carte Strozziane, 1st series, 36, fol. 72. The document contains a list of the diplomatic tasks carried out by Bartolomeo Concini for Cosimo I: "Trattati al medesimo Pontefice [Pius IV] il cardinalato ancho di don Francesco Pacecco, et prima havevo anche ottenuto quello per don Luigi di Toledo, che non volse poi effettuarlo."

notable stubbornness or integrity, marrying Violante Moscoso by the end of 1562 and irremediably damaging his career prospects.[385]

The final blow for Don Luigi was the death of his sister Eleonora, which took place in Pisa on 17th December 1562.[386] Six months earlier, on 10th June 1562, Don Luigi wrote her a passionate letter from Madrid, conveying the insuperable nature of his love for his future wife and seeking to clarify the circumstances of her birth.[387] In Eleonora's testament, drawn on 16th December 1562,[388] Don Luigi was left an annual allowance of 500 *scudi,* transferable to his heirs.[389] More than ever before, he was facing the lack of permanent residence, unpaid debts, and financial insecurity.[390]

After the death of his understanding and affectionate sister, the holes in Don Luigi's budget became increasingly difficult to patch up. Don Luigi spent the next 11 years in Florence struggling to keep his head above the water and maintain at least some of his previous lifestyle. During his visit to Spain in the summer of 1567, Don Luigi was noted as trying to regularise his income.[391] Budgeting was not always easy for Don Luigi and his family, and Violante Moscoso was reported as having bought various "delizie di Spagnia" and other beautiful objects worth 6,000 or 7,000 *scudi,* which she wanted to bring back to Italy as gifts. Subsequently she had to sell all her purchases in order to avoid customs duties and transport costs.[392]

Don Luigi's unstable financial situation certainly affected the progress of work on his garden and its sculptural ensemble. On 18th August 1562, Francesco Camilliani, styling himself as the "sculptor to the illustrious Don Luigi de Toledo,"

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[385] In a letter to Pius IV dated 1st September 1562, Cosimo I described the situation that Don Luigi put himself in by refusing the cardinalate as "irremediable" and prone to "ruin" him (ASF, Mediceo del Principato, 327, fol. 71).

[386] Lapini 1900, pp. 135-36. Eleonora's body was brought to Florence on 20th December 1562. The end of 1562 was probably the saddest period for the family of Cosimo I. On 20th November 1562, Cardinal Giovanni de' Medici died in Livorno, followed by the death of his brother Garcia de' Medici in Pisa on 12th December 1562 (Lapini 1900, p. 135).

[387] ASF, Carte Strozziane, 1st series, ins. 84

[388] ASF, Mediceo del Principato, 5922A, fol. 12

[389] ASF, Mediceo del Principato, 5922A, fol. 130

[390] On 19th January 1563, Violante Moscoso was reported as ill and close to death (Frey 1923-30, 1, pp. 693-94). It is likely that her illness was the result of troubles of the previous month.

[391] ASF, Mediceo del Principato, 4898, fol. 59. According to the report of the Tuscan Ambassador in Spain Leonardo de' Nobili, Don Luigi was returning to Florence "with a great desire to become rich and, while spending little, increase his income, which he has already augmented by sorting out his pensions" (ASF, Mediceo del Principato, 4898, fol. 65).

[392] ASF, Mediceo del Principato, 4898, fol. 68. By selling the goods Violante Moscoso acted more prudently than Leonardo de' Nobili, who reported this incident to Francesco de' Medici. Right after his return from Madrid, Nobili was put into prison for squandering 18,000 *scudi* that belonged to the Florentine state during his term in office. On 13th August 1574 he fled to Venice and there died soon afterwards (Arditi 1970, pp. 16-18).

wrote a petition to Duke Cosimo I.[393] Evidently finding himself in impoverished circumstances, Camilliani sought an official sanction for some of his works to be used as prizes for a small private lottery. The pieces that that the sculptor provided for this raffle included a relief with the story of Noah and his sons, inserted in a hazelnut frame, three busts of antique subjects, representing Marcus Aurelius, Faustina,[394] and Antinous, and two octagonal slabs of polished marble.[395] At the time when the petition was presented, Don Luigi was absent from Florence. The Duke's response to Camilliani's plea was characteristically brief, but surprisingly negative, suggesting that the refusal to help the sculptor in Don Luigi's employment was primarily dictated by Cosimo's unwillingness to draw public attention to the disordered finances of his brother-in-law.

Family life demanded a fixed residence,[396] and in 1571 Don Luigi acquired ten houses along Via S. Sebastiano for a total price of 4,400 *scudi,* intending to convert six of them into a urban residence or *casone.*[397] These houses, which were adjacent to his garden, had previously belonged to the Calimala or Merchants' guild. The land on which they stood had been acquired by the Calimala from the Convent of S. Domenico in Maglio on 10 April 1548, and in about 1555 Cosimo I ordered the guild to build ten small houses that were subsequently rented for 28 *scudi* each. The value of the property acquired by Don Luigi was estimated by Calimala officials to be worth 4,400 *scudi.*[398]

The construction of the *casone* must have further undermined Don Luigi's finances, since he did not even manage to pay for the houses that he acquired from the Calimala.[399] It must have also have made him realise that he would not be able to maintain an appropriate lifestyle while staying in Florence. He therefore decided to move to Naples, where he had a house and moderately sized piece of land, located in the area of Pizzofalcone (known in antiquity as Mount Echia), between the Via del Pallonnetto and Via del Presidio, the present Via S. Maria Egiziaca.[400] In the 16th

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[393] ASF, Otto di Guardia e Balia, 2241, no. 19; Parronchi 1965, p. 28, note 19. This petition is the only autograph document pertaining to Francesco Camilliani that has so far come to light. It was discovered by Edward Sanchez and published by Alessandro Parronchi in 1965.
[394] Presumably Faustina the Younger, daughter of Faustina the Elder and Antoninus Pius, married to Marcus Aurelius.
[395] ASF, Otto di Guardia e Balia, 2241, no. 19; Parronchi 1965, p. 28, note 19
[396] Don Luigi and Violante Moscoso had two children, Rodrigo, who died in 1600, and Francisca.
[397] ASF, Arti dei Mercanti di Calimala, 130, fols. 8-13; Pedone, documents section, unpaginated
[398] Ibid.
[399] ASF, Arti dei Mercanti di Calimala, 132, fol. 22; Pedone, documents section, unpaginated
[400] Labrot 1993, p. 102

century, Pizzofalcone was a fashionable quarter of aristocratic residences, particularly palaces with large gardens.[401] A substantial proportion of its population was Spanish.[402]

Don Luigi's failed ecclesiastical career, his lack of a stable income, and his inability to control the disorderly state of his expenditure ultimately determined the fate of the sculpture from his Florentine garden. The main fountain that he had commissioned in Florence was too large for his Neapolitan property, and the best option that Don Luigi had was to sell it. This decision was perhaps solicited by Don Garcia, who only a few years previously considered selling a fountain of his own to the Senate of Palermo and was well aware of the commercial value of the considerably more lavish structures that stood in his brother's garden. It is certainly significant that the negotiations with the Palermitan Senate and the eventual signing of the contract were carried out by Don Garcia on his brother's behalf.

On 6th April 1573, Don Luigi renounced the annual pension of 3,000 *scudi* that he used to receive from Cosimo I in favour of a lump sum of 21,000 *scudi,* the allowance he was due for the next seven years.[403] A week before that, on 29th March 1573, he had also borrowed 8,000 *scudi* from Cosimo I for the period of three years, which he was supposed to return by the end of May 1576.[404] With this substantial amount of money, he departed for Naples, leaving behind his garden, the unfinished *casone,* and bringing with him considerable debts.[405]

The unsettled state of Don Luigi's financial affairs in Florence continued to trouble him during his stay in Naples. In 1577, he was sued by the widow of his major-domo Diego de Heredia, who demanded the sum of 1,000 *scudi* for the services of her late husband. The basis of her claim was a written obligation that Don Luigi ostensibly made to Heredia in Florence on 26th November 1563,[406] confirming it in Naples on 21st November 1574.[407] The lawsuit, which appears to have caused considerable annoyance to Don Luigi, was still in progress on 8th May 1584.[408]

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[401] Labrot 1979, p. 54

[402] Cf. Labrot 1993, p. 106. Pizzofalcone and the surrounding area retained the name of the "quartiere spagnuolo" until the end of the 18th century (Croce 1894, p. 109).

[403] ASF, Possessioni, 691, unpaginated; ASF, Possessioni, 672, fols. 293-94

[404] On 19th May 1576 Don Luigi asked Grand Duke Francesco I to extend this loan until September 1576 (ASF, Possessioni, 691, unpaginated; ASF, Mediceo del Principato, 4077, unpaginated, 25th September 1577).

[405] Don Luigi moved to Naples before 18 July 1573 (ASF, Mediceo del Principato, 4153, unpaginated).

[406] Ibid.

[407] ASF, Mediceo del Principato, 4077, unpaginated

[408] ASF, Mediceo del Principato, 4077, unpaginated

When he left Florence, Don Luigi still owed about 6,000 *scudi* for the *casone*, which must have included the cost of construction, and an additional 800 *scudi* in tax.[409] His debts were assumed by the Calimala, and the guild had no other choice but to seize and sell his property. The value of the *casone*, the four houses, and a plot of land along with columns and some "other marbles" that the guild officials found stored in the reception room of the main building, was estimated at 5,840 *scudi*. The guild therefore managed to recover 5,400 *scudi* in real property. The columns and "certe fontanelle" that were also kept in the *casone* were to be sold separately.[410]

Relations with the convent of S. Domenico in Maglio were no less troublesome. Don Luigi must have ceased his payments for the garden soon after his departure for Naples, and the nuns wanted to reclaim their property. Their case was championed by a certain Fra Domenico Meniconi from Perugia, a friar of the monastery of S. Marco in Florence. A liable pretext for undertaking a legal action was that after signing the contract for the garden, Don Luigi was supposed to obtain Papal confirmation of the transaction. Don Luigi obtained this confirmation only in 1573 from Pope Gregory XIII, but did not manage to get it properly ratified, presumably busy with arrangements for his departure for Naples.[411] Fra Domenico insisted that the contract be declared void, since it infringed on the interests of the Church, and the relevant documents were once again sent to Rome. Seven years later, on 30th August 1580, the Papal court decided in favour of the convent of S. Domenico in Maglio, and the original contract was invalidated.[412] In September 1580, soon after the property was reclaimed by the convent, the garden previously owned by Don Luigi was visited by a notary, who recorded its layout and contents in a detailed map. It was recognised that Don Luigi made certain "improvements" to the property while it was in his possession, and the Papal court was asked to determine whether he merited financial compensation. The finding was that Don Luigi was due no such compensation.[413]

These facts suggest that the garden was abandoned after Don Luigi's departure, and its ornamentation was gradually dispersed. In 1573 Piero Pagni, the former superintendent of Don Luigi's garden, was recorded in a new capacity as the

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[409] ASF, Arti dei Mercanti di Calimala, 130, fols. 8-13; Pedone, documents section, unpaginated

[410] Ibid.

[411] ASF, Corporazioni religiosi soppresi dal governo francese, no. 108, 122, fol. 44; Zangheri 1999, p. 19, note 4

[412] Ibid.

[413] In his letter of 25th March 1581 Don Luigi complained to Francesco I about the seizure of his garden by the nuns of S. Domenico in Maglio, putting the blame mainly on Fra Domenico Meniconi (ASF, Mediceo del Principato, 4077, unpaginated).

major-domo of Don Luigi's niece Eleonora de Toledo, the daughter of Don Garcia, who was married to Don Pietro de' Medici, the youngest son of Cosimo I.[414] In subsequent years, Pagni continued to act as Don Luigi's trusted agent in Florence.[415] On 15th October 1574, acting on Don Luigi's behalf, he settled the overdue rent to the convent of S. Domenico in Maglio by ceding to the nuns 90 chestnut posts, evaluated at four *scudi* each.[416] These posts were installed in the garden in 1562 by order of Eleonora de Toledo to form a large pergola.

By 1580, Don Luigi was sufficiently established in Naples to begin laying out at the back of his house a garden,[417] which was going to be considerably smaller than the one that he had owned in Florence.[418] Since the decoration of the new garden required sculpture, Don Luigi recalled that he still owned statuary in Florence. On 2nd September 1581, he wrote to Grand Duke Francesco I, asking permission to collect the fragments of sculpture left behind in his Florentine garden. The objects that he referred to included a "fuentecilla" and "a few other things." He hoped that these objects would be given to Piero Pagni, who could then send them to Naples.[419] Although the grand ducal authorisation was granted on 15th September 1581,[420] on 13th September 1584 Don Luigi wrote to Francesco I again, noting that when Pagni visited the garden, he did not find any of the objects that Don Luigi cited in his letter. The fountain and the statuary appeared to have been sold by the convent of S. Domenico in Maglio to some unknown "private persons." Don Luigi attributed this "exorbitant" action on part of the nuns to the deviousness of Fra Domenico Meniconi.

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[414] Piero Pagni probably belonged to the Pagni family from Pescia. Two members of this family, Cristiano and Lorenzo Pagni, were secretaries to Cosimo I. Piero Pagni was recorded as the "superintendent" of Don Luigi's garden on 17th July 1557 (ASF, Possessioni, 4137, fol. 201). His duties included paying the gardener's wages (ASF, Possessioni, 4137, fol. 201).

[415] ASF, Mediceo del Principato, 262, fols. 92, 142

[416] For some reason the total value of the posts was estimated by the nuns at only 320 as opposed to 360 *scudi* (ASF, Corporazioni religiosi soppresi dal governo francese, no. 108, 122, fol. 39).

[417] For the most recent account of Don Luigi's garden in Naples see Giannetti 1994, pp. 59-60. The work on Don Luigi's garden in Naples is mentioned in a document dated 21st June 1580 (ASN, Monasteri soppresi, 2485, unpaginated folio between index and fol. 1). According to Ceva Grimaldi, the work on the garden started in 1553 (Ceva Grimaldi 1857, p. 445). This view is improbable, since at that stage Don Luigi had every intention of settling in Florence. Ceci sugested a more probable date of the beginning of the garden as c. 1580 (Ceci 1892, p. 88).

[418] After the death of Don Garcia in 1577, Don Luigi became a guardian to his son Don Pedro (ASN, Notai del Cinquecento, no. 332, 1, fol. 262). For this reason Don Luigi administrated some of Don Pedro's property, which included a garden in Pozzuoli, originally owned by Don Pedro de Toledo, Viceroy of Naples. In a document dated 24th January 1587, the two gardens were described as "giardino grande" in Pozzuoli and "giardino piccolo" at Pizzofalcone (ASN, Notai del Cinquecento, no. 332, 40, fol. 26).

[419] ASF, Mediceo del Principato, 4077, unpaginated

[420] ASF, Mediceo del Principato, 257, fol. 41. I am grateful to Edward Goldberg for bringing this document to my attention.

He therefore petitioned the Grand Duke for the return of the fountain and other sculptures, which were worth as much as 3,000 *scudi* for the marble alone.[421] In the reply to Don Luigi, dated 12 October 1584, Francesco I promised to restore justice.[422] Finding a relatively large fountain that had been sold only a few years earlier was not a difficult task. Don Luigi's request must have been soon fulfilled, as he made no further pleas for the return of his statuary.

Don Luigi's new garden overlooked the bay of Naples.[423] The earliest description of this garden was provided by the Neapolitan poet Giovanni Battista del Tufo, who saw it before 1588.[424] At that stage, the main features in the garden's decoration included a fountain crowned with a figure of *Diana* and a pool, in the middle of which stood a statue of *Jupiter* with thunderbolts in his hand and an eagle by his side.[425] This pool was surrounded by genre figures, including statues of a peasant emptying a barrel, from which flowed real water, an old woman washing clothes, a fisherman with a fish on a hook, and a young peasant woman drawing water.[426] These genre figures find analogies in similar works that were produced by Valerio Cioli and Battista Lorenzi for the Boboli gardens in the second half of the 16th century.[427] Another statue that stood in the garden was the figure of Orpheus surrounded by wild animals that included a bear, a wild boar, a tiger, a panther, a wolf, a stag, and a unicorn.[428]

Another description of the garden, left by 17th-century Neapolitan historian Giulio Cesare Capaccio, who saw it before 1607, suggests that at least some of the

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[421] ASF, Mediceo del Principato, 4077, unpaginated

[422] ASF, Mediceo del Principato, 262, fol. 156v: "[...] et dell' altro Piero Pagni mi ha dato poi la lettera sua, et parlatomi sopra la fonte venduta da frati, et la lite della Mogl[i]e d'Eredia, che per esser cose di iustitia non lasserò d' tener mano, che gl' sia amministrata rettamente come conviene si come si è fatto intendere [...]."

[423] Cf. Del Tufo 1959, p. 73

[424] Del Tufo was born in 1548 and died in the beginning of the 17th century. In 1588 he fought in Flanders, became a prisoner, and was sent as a hostage to Milan, where he wrote a manuscript on the beauties of his native Naples, conceived as a poetic narrative addressed to the Milanese gentlewomen (Taglioreni 1954, p. 18). The manuscript is now in the Biblioteca Nazionale in Naples (BNN, Ms. XIII C 96); it was transcribed by Calogero Taglioreni in 1959 (see Taglioreni 1959).

[425] Del Tufo 1959, p. 75

[426] Del Tufo 1959, pp. 75-76

[427] For genre figures in the Boboli gardens see Brook 1991.

[428] Del Tufo 1959, p. 74. Nigrone's miniatures, which offer an important insight into the nature of late 16th-century garden fountains and the iconography of figures used in their decoration, indicate that in the 16th century it was common to represent Orpheus "in the wilderness" wearing peasant clothes (cf. BNN, Ms. XII G 59, fols. 161r and 117r). Although one of these miniatures shows this subject adopted for a free-standing fountain, it appears more likely that it was normally used for niche compositions.

sculptures from Florence were eventually returned to Don Luigi.[429] Apart from the figures of *Jupiter* and *Orpheus,* which still decorated the garden, Capaccio noted a figure of *Andromeda* chained to a rock. According to the inventory of Don Luigi's property compiled on 13th September 1599, the principal elements in the garden's decoration at that stage included not only a pool with numerous marble figures,[430] but also a large fountain embellished with statues.[431] The new pieces, which included the statue of *Andromeda* and the fountain, were evidently received from Florence and installed in the garden between 1588 and 1599.

On 3rd June 1597, Don Luigi authorised Violante Moscoso to administer his estate, and soon afterwards set off on his last journey to Spain.[432] On 23rd November 1597, he drew up his will in Cartagena in the presence of the city's bishop. He died there before 20th December 1597.[433] The objects listed in the inventory of Don Luigi's property included a few items of Florentine origin.[434] He left two houses in Naples and a large plot of land in the south of Italy in the Province of Bari,[435] inherited by his son Rodrigo and administered by Violante Moscoso.[436]

Rodrigo de Toledo died before 4th April 1600, when this news was reported by Violante Moscoso to the grand ducal family in Florence.[437] After his death, the ownership of Don Luigi's property was shared between his wife Violante Moscoso and their daughter Francisca de Toledo, who on 16th September 1600 married Ottavio Orsini, Count of Pacentro.[438] Francesca's husband experienced constant financial difficulties, which resulted in the sale of family estates.[439] After the death of Violante Moscoso in 1611,[440] Don Luigi's property was gradually sold, reflecting further decline of the fortune of the Counts of Pacentro. On 4th March 1639, Giovanni Orsini, the second son of Francisca de Toledo, completed the sale of the main house and

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[429] See Capaccio 1771, 2, pp. 42-43. The *Historiae Neapoletanae* was originally published in 1607. For Capaccio (1552-1634) see DBI, 18, pp. 374-80.
[430] Three of the figures decorating the pool were executed by Michelangelo Naccherino in 1594 (D'Addosio 1917, pp. 109-10; Kuhlemann 1999, p. 291).
[431] ASN, Notai de Cinquecento, 332, 17, fol. 273
[432] ASN, Notai del Cinquecento, no. 332, 15, fol. 219
[433] ASF, Mediceo del Principato, 4077, unpaginated
[434] ASN, Notai del Cinquecento, no. 332, 17, fols. 273-75
[435] Don Luigi purchased this land from his nephew Don Pedro for 100,000 *scudi* before 10th February 1587 (ASF, Mediceo del Principato, 4077, unpaginated).
[436] ASN, Notai del Cinquecento, no. 332, 16, fol. 279v; ASN, Notai del Cinquecento, no. 332, 17, fol. 273
[437] ASF, Mediceo del Principato, 4077, unpaginated
[438] ASN, Notai del Cinquecento, no. 332, 18, fol. 280
[439] According to Litta, in 1626 Ottaviano Orsini had to sell Pacentro, but was granted a permission to retain the title of its count (Litta 1902, 2nd series, Orsini, table XXIV).
[440] ASF, Mediceo del Principato, 4077, unpaginated

garden to the nuns of S. Maria Egiziaca of Forcella,[441] reflecting the gradual takeover of aristocratic residences by religious institutions that began in Naples in the late 16th century.[442] In keeping with the spirit of the Counter Reformation, the nuns intended to found a convent based on a particularly strict version of the Augustinian rule.[443] They entered the property on 9th October 1639 and soon afterwards surrounded it with a notably high wall.[444]

The main fountain, which on 26th October 1616 was recorded as still standing in the garden,[445] was removed in the course of the next decade. Writing before 1629, Capaccio indicated that the lavish sculpture that decorated the garden had been transported elsewhere.[446] It can therefore be deduced that the sculptural complex from Don Luigi's garden was sold between 1616 and 1629. This period coincides with the presence in Naples of Don Antonio de Toledo, 5th Duke of Alba, in the capacity of Viceroy.[447] On his return to Spain, Don Antonio added the Plaza de Nápoles to the pre-existing layout of the garden of his country resort, Abadía. The statuary that decorated this square included a fountain, with the pedestal of one of the statues bearing Francesco Camilliani's signature, and the figure of *Andromeda.* The fact that both the fountain and the statue representing the same subject had previously decorated the garden of Don Luigi de Toledo in Naples, suggests that they were purchased by Don Antonio from the impoverished descendants of his distant relative.

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[441] Cf. ASN, Monasteri soppresi, 2485, fol. 285

[442] See Labrot 1993. The process of converting palaces of the nobility into religious establishments affected not only Pizzofalcone, but also Chiaia.

[443] For the convent of S. Maria Egiziaca at Pizzofalcone see Cantone 1969. The church was designed by Cosimo Fanzago in the middle of the 17th century.

[444] Cf. Ceci 1892, pp. 109-10; Cantone 1969, p. 94

[445] ASN, Monasteri soppressi, Monte Oliveto, 5508; Labrot 1993, pp. 127-28

[446] Capaccio 1989, 2, p. 319. Ceci suggested that the statuary from Don Luigi's garden was sent to Spain, following the statue of *Hercules* that had been previously owned by Don Luigi's neighbour Marquise of Trevico (Ceci 1892, p. 89). Ceci's hypothesis appears to be confirmed by the presence of Francesco Camilliani's statuary in Abadía.

[447] Antonio de Toledo was the Viceroy of Naples from 14th December 1622 until 16th August 1629.

2.2 Garden fountains and fountain conceits: an aspect of culture consumption in the 16th century

Almost every instance of sculpture production during the Renaissance, with the exception of small-scale religious images or restoring damaged antiquities, resulted from a specific commission. Sculpture production depended on the availability of material and was a costly and time-consuming undertaking. Although limestone, wood, and terracotta were frequently employed in Florence for making sculpture, the most valued materials were marble and bronze. Marble was rarely available in sufficiently large blocks and was expensive and difficult to transport;[448] hidden flaws and cracks in its texture had the potential of ruining a nearly finished composition. Bronze casting was a complex process, which involved a considerable waste of material and never guaranteed a success.[449] Sculpture was therefore a conservative medium, difficult to experiment with, and slow to allow for the development of novel genres or iconographic themes.[450]

The works of sculpture immediately available for sale, which sculptors kept in stock in their workshops, were mainly small pieces that had an unfailing public demand, such as small reliefs of the Madonna and Child. Such works could also include pieces that were rejected or for some reason failed to reach their original destination. Selling such sculpture was not always an easy task, and its success was often a matter of luck. The sale of Michelangelo Naccherino's large statue of the *Madonna and Child,* purchased by the two members of the Confraternity of S. Agata in Sicily for their church in Castroreale from the sculptor's workshop in Naples for the price of 160 ducats, presented a rather atypical situation.[451] The statue was originally intended to be sent to King Philip II of Spain and for this reason was executed with "exquisite diligence." After the news of the King's death in 1598 reached Naples, work on the statue has stopped, and it remained "quasi finita" in

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[448] See Bush 1976, pp. 28-30. Carrara had a monopoly on marble trade until 1515, when the Florentines acquired the right to extract marble from Mount Altissimo near Serravezza (Bush 1976, p. 26).
[449] Vincenzo Danti, when commissioned to produce a bronze group of *Hercules and Antaeus* for Tribolo's *Fountain of Hercules* at Castello, failed to cast it twice and finally decided to abandon the project (Vasari-Milanesi, 7, p. 631).
[450] Cf. Keutner 1969, p. 16: "Caution and perseverance are the occupational virtues of sculptors, who are relatively slow to admit outside influences and much more sceptical than painters in their attitude to the changing fashions of the day."
[451] Bilardo 1969-71, appendix 1, pp. 244-45

Naccherino's workshop, where it was eventually found by the two devout Sicilians in 1601.[452]

Sculpture production in the 15th and 16th centuries therefore satisfied specific needs that developed within the Renaissance society, being a response to concrete demands made by its members; it was therefore closely tied to consumption.[453] The nature of this consumption, which is relatively straightforward when considering small devotional images and restored antiquities, requires a word of explanation in the case of garden fountains.

In the Renaissance, sculpture was rarely used for mere decoration. It usually conveyed a message of a religious, allegorical, or political nature, or evoked a chain of literary, mythological, or biblical associations, and in this way was laden with meaning. In the context of 16th-century gardens, sculpture often helped to organise various natural elements in their design (such as water, trees, plants, and rocks) into comprehensible narrative sequences. In the ducal garden at Castello near Florence, for example, the positioning of sculptures representing Mount Asinaio and the Mugnone was intended to reflect the supposed relationship between their natural prototypes.[454] Sculpture was also ingeniously used to reveal the underlying nature of its surroundings. The figure of Hygieia, which decorated a fountain in the upper garden in Abadía, stood there not as an abstract symbol of health, but as a concrete indication of the garden's original function as a "huerta," a place for growing medicinal and kitchen plants.[455] The degree of importance attached to a message conveyed by a piece of sculpture was reflected in its positioning. In the garden setting, where fountains, grottoes, and ponds constituted the focal points of the layout, sculpture that decorated them was the principal means of conveying the overall conception of the design.

During the Middle Ages, the garden conveyed the idea of paradise in a tangible form. It was conceived as an enclosure, limited and inaccessible, a *hortus conclusus* suggestive of virginity and chastity and for this reason associated with the Virgin. Permeated with religious symbolism, the garden was viewed as a place of repose and meditation, akin to a monastic cloister. Water symbolised purity, and for this reason a Mediaeval garden generally included a well or a fountain, often located

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[452] Ibid.
[453] For the discussion of the consumption of culture in the Renaissance, see Goldthwaite 1993.
[454] Vasari-Milanesi, 6, p. 77
[455] Ponz 1988, 2, p. 520

in the centre. Small fountains that stood in the courtyards of Mediaeval monasteries similarly served a double function of sources of water and symbols of purification. The biblical tradition perpetuated the belief that the garden of Eden contained the origin of a spring, which gave water to the plants and then parted into the four rivers that nourished different regions of the earth.[456] In keeping with this vital nourishing function of the original spring, the water feature in the centre of Mediaeval gardens was often described as the Fountain of Life, evoking its important association with the Divinity.[457] Such fountains were often represented in Mediaeval breviaries, where their appearance ranged from a simple basin to elaborate structures resembling cathedral lanterns, as in the case of the famous image from the *Très Riches Heures* representing Adam and Eve in the garden of Eden.[458]

In the secular tradition, the garden was given a more sensuous interpretation. An enclosed area, it presented a convenient spot for social gatherings and provided a romantic refuge for courting couples. Flowers and plants were regarded as a source of physical and mental revitalisation, remedies for disease and old age, and the garden was often seen as an enchanted terrain, *locus amoenus,* where man came directly into contact with nature.

In the Middle Ages and the Renaissance, fountains decorated both public squares and gardens, and these two types of structure should be clearly distinguished. Placed in the heart of Mediaeval towns in the immediate vicinity of the seat of the local government and the ecclesiastical centre of the community, civic fountains fulfilled the double function of supplying the population with water and celebrating the achievements of the municipal authorities that managed to provide water for public use. Decorating the centre of public squares, such fountains were free-standing, raised on a series of steps. Their system usually comprised of a receiving basin given a polygonal, circular, or quadrilobe shape, in the centre of which rose a shaft that terminated in a rounded knob with water spouts, often four in number. The principal function of the shaft was the elevation of water. In the elaborate fountains of this type, like the *Fontana della Rocca* in Viterbo, the shaft fulfilled the additional task of

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[456] Bible, Genesis 2, 10-14

[457] The theme of the fountain as a source of life is recurrent in the Bible. The "fountain of life" is the way David addresses the Divinity in Psalm 36, 9. In the Revelation 21, 6, God describes himself as the "fountain of the water of life" to John.

[458] The *Très Riches Heures* was begun by the Limbourg brothers for the Duke of Berry in 1411-16 and completed by Jean Colombe in about 1485-86. The spring in the garden of Eden, represented on folio 25v of the original manuscript, was given the appearance of a fountain.

supporting a series of decorative superimposed basins. Apart from stylised masques of monstrous animals grouped at the top of the shaft and spouting water from their mouths, the sculptural decoration of such fountains was usually limited to the heraldic or biblical imagery carved in low relief on the sides of the receiving basin.[459]

Not all Italian towns, however, had their main public fountains constructed during the Middle Ages. In Messina, Bologna, Florence, and Palermo fountains that were viewed as symbolic nuclei of the city were not erected until the middle of the 16th century.[460] In the course of the 16th century, fountains were increasingly seen as important landmarks within the urban fabric. The appearance of civic fountains erected during the Renaissance reflected new tendencies in fountain design. In the architectonic system of 15th-century fountains, figure sculpture was finally allowed to overcome its architectural constraints, competing with the structural framework in terms of its visual impact until and it began to dominate the basins and the shaft. The practical significance of civic fountains did not pass out of use with the increasing role of decorative elements in their design. Such fountains were still primarily viewed as communal sources of water, as demonstrated by a late 16th-century engraving of Giambologna's *Fountain of Neptune* in Bologna by Pelegrino Tibaldi [plate 88]. The perseverance of the Mediaeval perception of public fountains as fundamental features of civic life is testified by Antonio Lapini's 16th-century *Diario fiorentino.* Lapini's diary indicates that to an ordinary Florentine observer the successive stages in the construction of Ammannati's *Fountain of Neptune* in Piazza della Signoria were sufficiently important events to punctuate the course of history of the whole city.[461]

In the 16th century, the garden was no longer conceived not only as a place of meditation and repose, or as a domain of purely sensual pleasure. Its important function, which gained increasing prominence in the course this period, was to delight and amuse its visitors by appealing to their intellect rather than senses.[462] Even during

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[459] In the design of the celebrated *Fontana Maggiore* in Perugia, inaugurated in 1278, the sculptural decoration was united into a complex iconographic scheme. It included 50 reliefs representing the months of the years, the arts, the signs of the zodiac, a series of stories from Genesis and the origins of Rome, and 24 statues of various prophets and saints.

[460] The *Fountain of Orion* in Messina was designed by Montorsoli between 1547 and 1553. It was followed by the *Fountain of Neptune* located near the harbour, commissioned from the same sculptor and erected in 1554-57. Giambologna's *Fountain of Neptune* in Bologna is dated 1563. Ammannati's *Fountain of Neptune* in Florence was produced between 1560 and 1575.

[461] Cf. Lapini 1900, pp. 140, 144, 145, 148, and 154

[462] Cf. MacDougall ed. 1978, p. 3. The distinction between sensual and intellectual pleasure was clearly recognised by Renaissance theorists. Thus, Cosimo Bartoli, while discussing the mechanism of art appreciation, distinguished between the two kinds of satisfaction produced by *pittura* and *invenzione*. If

the 15th century, garden fountains were not merely intended to soothe the senses with the sound and interplay of running water. They were expected to delight the viewer with the artistry of their design and provide intellectual stimulation, but in a witty rather than earnest way. For this reason, the design of garden fountains often incorporated amusing devices suggestive of various analogies and associations, whether hidden or manifest, intended to bewilder and amuse the viewer. These devices usually aspired at a certain degree of sophistication, but were often quite crude in both sentiment and conception, and thus ranged from disarmingly subtle to flagrantly coarse.

We will refer to these devices as "conceits," employing an apt term adopted by John Shearman.[463] Conceits were generally based on the principle of analogy, so that certain actions or processes characteristic of the natural world were reproduced in artefacts by isomorphic phenomena.[464] This straightforward mimicry often involved exaggeration, aimed to produce a deliberately bizarre and thus amusing effect. Perhaps the simplest and most common of the fountain conceits invented in the Renaissance involved connecting jets of water to the nipples of a sculpted female figure, suggesting that water spouted from its breasts. This devise is best illustrated by a famous woodcut from Francesco Colonna's *Hypnerotomachia Poliphili,* published in 1499, representing the antique theme of the Three Graces adopted for a fountain group [plate 89].[465] The wittiness of this conceit, based on the analogy between lactating and emitting liquid, consisted in making female breasts produce instead of milk a constant and often thick jet of water.

In the course of the 16th century, the motif of spouting breasts was frequently implemented in practice. It is demonstrated, for example, by the bronze figures of

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pittura appealed primarily to the senses, *invenzione* stimulated the intellect, thus providing pleasure of a relatively higher order (Bartoli 1567, fol. 22v).

[463] Cf. Shearman 1992, p. 244. Shearman probably borrowed this term from Symmonds, who used in a similar context.

[464] Drawing analogies between natural phenomena on the basis of their ostensible "similitude" was an essential tool of the Renaissance cognitive thinking; see Foucault 1974, pp. 17-45. This point is vividly illustrated by two scientific treatises published in the late 16th century by the Neapolitan theorist Giovanbattista della Porta. In the earlier treatise concerning human physiognomy, Della Porta drew parallels between the appearance of various animals and human facial types (see Della Porta 1586). In the other treatise, published two years later, he attempted to establish a similar correlation between animal and vegetable forms (see Della Porta 1588). Numerous engravings that illustrate this work compare the appearance of the human scalp and the mesh of plant roots, the position of teeth in the human mouth and the distribution of seeds in a pomegranate, and the shape of vegetable stems and that of animal horns (Della Porta 1588, ills. on pp. 130, 138, and 169). The somewhat naïve impression produced by these comparisons is further deepened by finding the image of a unicorn among representations of real animals.

[465] For the description of the fountain, see Colonna 1999, pp. 89-90; ill. on p. 90.

nereids surrounding the pedestal of Giambologna's *Fountain of Neptune* in Bologna, completed in 1566 [plate 91]. In the case of marble fountain statues, their breasts were carefully drilled in order to create small round holes. These holes are conspicuous in Ammannati's figure of *Ceres* in the Museo Nazionale del Bargello in Florence [plate 90], which used to part of a functioning fountain. As with Giambologna's bronze *Sirens,* the action of spouting is explained here by the figure pressing her breasts.

No antique statue designed for fountain decoration had holes drilled in its breasts, since water usually emanated from some accessory, such as a vase, a goose, or a dolphin.[466] In the Renaissance, it became typical to make narrative action literal by showing not only overflowing vases, but also dripping hair and urinating penises. In order to achieve this effect, via internal pipes, jets of water were linked directly to the figure's body.[467]

The act of spouting water thus usually travestied some realistic action, which provided the fountain's narrative programme. In the 15th-century fountains, spouting was usually instigated by mischievous *putti* either squeezing dolphins, as in Verrocchio's *Putto with a Dolphin* [plate 78], or blowing trumpets, as represented in a famous panel with the view of the imaginary city, attributed to the school of Piero della Francesca, now in Baltimore. In both cases, water was emitted not from the figure itself, bit from its attribute, such as a dolphin or a trumpet.

Making female breasts spout water was considered amusing only to a limited degree. More sophisticated fountain conceits produced in the Renaissance were based on less straightforward and thus unexpected analogies. In the conception of the famous *Putto holding a dolphin* by Verrocchio, the winged boy is making water come out of the dolphin's mouth by rather carelessly squeezing the animal's body [plate 78].[468] In Ammannati's group of *Hercules and Antaeus,* designed to crown the *Great Fountain* of the ducal villa at Castello, water rather than air unexpectedly gushes from the mouth of the dying squeezed giant.[469]

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[466] See Kapossy 1969, pp. 12-15

[467] Cf. Lazzaro 1998, p. 251. The examples or figures shown as urinating or wringing their hair, produced in 16th-century Florence, include Pierino da Vinci's *Putto pissatore*, now in Arezzo, and Giambologna's *Fiorenza,* originally designed for the *Fountain of Labyrinth* at Castello.

[468] Cf. Shearman 1992, p. 244

[469] Perhaps the most ingenuous fountain conceit invented in the Renaissance was suggested by Donatello in the design of his bronze group of *Judith and Holofernes.* The view that Donatello's *Judith and Holofernes* was originally designed as a fountain centrepiece was accepted by the majority of scholars (cf. Bode 1921, p. 30, note 1, Wiles 1933, p. 12, Janson 1957, 2, p. 201, Avery 1970, p. 93, and Pope-Hennessy 1996, 2, p. 359). This view rested mainly on the fact that the corners of the cushion under the body of Holofernes had been pierced; the resulting openings were interpreted as water

In the 16th century, garden fountains were structures of both free-standing and engaged types, with sculpture constituting the principal features of their decoration. Fountain sculpture was designed both in the round and in relief and executed from the whole range of materials, which included marble and bronze as well as less durable

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spouts. It was also suggested that the decorative masks on each of the faces of the three-sided pedestal, positioned just above the lower edge, were bored to spout water. In the absence of any documentary evidence concerning the commission and early history of the group, it was proposed that its original function was to decorate the fountain in the garden of the Palazzo Medici in Via Larga. In recent years, the idea that Donatello's group was designed as a fountain centrepiece was decisively challenged by Caglioti (see Caglioti 1994 and Caglioti 2000), who maintained that the size and monumentality of Donatello's figures rendered them incompatible with the principles of 15th-century fountain design (Caglioti 2000, 1, p. 84). Caglioti produced a number of arguments to support his view. Firstly, he reviewed the evidence regarding the original location of the group. The document pertaining to its confiscation by the Signoria of Florence in 1495, for example, states that the group was taken to the Palazzo Vecchio with its architectural support. Other early references to Donatello's *Judith and Holofernes* describe it as standing in the garden of the Palazzo Medici not on a fountain, but on top of a column, which bore two inscriptions (relevant texts were reproduced by Janson; see Janson 1957, 2, p. 198). Secondly, according to Caglioti, the restoration of the group in 1986-88 has demonstrated that there were no perforations in the masks on its pedestal, whereas the holes in the corners of the cushion may have been intended to hold decorative tassels (Caglioti 2000, 1, pp. 83-4). These important factual observations, however, were only preliminary remarks before the scholar's main attack on the view that the group was designed for fountain decoration: what, wondered Caglioti, could be the meaning of the water jets coming from the bed of Holofernes? (Caglioti 2000, 1, p. 84). The scholar's sarcasm, while it leaves no doubt that this question was regarded by Caglioti as merely rhetorical, appears quite misplaced in the case of Donatello's group: the connection between the death of Holofernes and the release of water is found in the very biblical story of Judith. The town of Bethulia, goes the story, was exhausted by the drought inflicted by the besieging army of Holofernes; the beheading of the Assyrian general put an end to the siege, symbolising the return of water to the town's inhabitants (Bible, Judith, 2:4-13:8). The symbolic importance of the action of beheading Holofernes was conveyed by Donatello in the highly ritualistic gesture of Judith; water appearing from the corners of the cushion below Holofernes was thus a sign of victory of the Bethulian heroine over the Assyrian general. In the conception of the fountain, Donatello drew a literal connection between the murder of Holofernes and the return of water to Bethulia; the contiguity of two separate events was thus interpreted as a miracle. In a less obvious way, water spouts coming from the bed of Holofernes may have referred to the opposition between sanctity and incontinence, which seems to underlie the meaning of the group (Wind 1937-38). Water, which was the matter of deprivation for the citizens of Bethulia, poured from the richly patterned cushion below the Assyrian general, an allusion to the vice of *Luxuria* or overindulgence that he represented (Wind 1937-38, p. 63). It is therefore evident that there was no inherent contradiction between the subject of the group and its use for fountain decoration. It can also be observed that in his other arguments Caglioti did not distinguish between two separate issues: whether the group actually stood on a fountain and whether it was designed as a fountain centrepiece. In other words, while his proof that in the garden of the Palazzo Medici it was supported by a column appears entirely convincing, it does not entail that the *Judith and Holofernes* was not originally intended to stand on a fountain. The one feature in the design of the group that indicates that it was conceived as a fountain centrepiece is the triangular pedestal below the figures. There is no record why Donatello chose to give the group such an awkward support, which poorly relates to the circular top of the column that supports the *Judith and Holofernes* in its present location. Its inelegant shape, characterised by the sharp projections of the three corners, caused the sculptor nothing but problems; the motif of the cushion, for example, had to be introduced to conceal the awkward transition between the figures and their support. The shape of the pedestal, however, begins to make sense when the group is considered in the context of the system of the fountain that it would have crowned. This system presented an orderly juxtaposition of triangular and circular elements, which included a circular receiving basin, a triangular base, a circular *tazza*, a triangular pedestal, and the terminal group (cf. Wiles 1933, p. 13). According to the logic of this arrangement, one of the functions of the triangular pedestal was to help to integrate the *Judith and Holofernes* into the design of the fountain that it was intended to decorate.

substances, such as stucco and terracotta. Crucial to the aesthetic appeal of these fountains, their sculptural ornamentation was also the principal means of transmitting their intrinsic narrative content. For this reason, the design of such sculpture had to accommodate any conceits that were fundamental to the conception of these fountains.

The setting of sculpture that decorated garden fountains of the free-standing type was relatively straightforward. It was constituted by the architectural units of pedestals, basins, shafts, and any additional features that the design of such fountains incorporated. Engaged fountains were integrated into shallow niches, generally in the form of aedicules, conceived as independent structures. The design of these structures was based a timber, usually chestnut, frame, covered with stucco. Their surface ornamentation presented a mosaic of textures and colours, a result of combining in various patterns a wide range of heterogeneous materials [cf. plate 94]. These materials included glazed terracotta, pumice stone, tufa, pieces of coral, lava, coloured pebbles, shells, and any other colourful substances produced by the sea. The natural origin of these materials did not mean that they were considered cheap. Due to the increasing popularity of garden fountains throughout the 16th century, the materials used in their decoration were constantly demand as objects of trade and gift exchange.[470]

Some of the most extravagant and bizarre fountain designs produced in the late 16th century appear to be the work of Giovanni Antonio Nigrone, who was the author of a curious manuscript, two volumes of which are preserved in the Biblioteca Nazionale in Naples [plates 93 and 95].[471] The substance of the manuscript is formed by a series of coloured and rather crudely executed miniatures, almost all of which represent fountain designs. Some miniatures are accompanied by comments and explanations, others by little poems, rather naïve in both sentiment and style.

The evidence regarding Nigrone's professional activities derives mainly from what he states about himself in miscellaneous annotations to his miniatures. Nigrone

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[470] A considerable number of 16th-century documents testifies to the popularity and wide spread of these materials. Cf. a letter from an unknown agent in Ancona to Johanna of Austria, dated 6th June 1573, reporting a lack of success in finding the materials needed for fountain decoration (such as shells, snails, and corals) due to the excessive demand for these substances in Rome (ASF, Mediceo del Principato, 5925, fol. 70; MAP Doc. sources, entry no. 3727). On 9th December 1581 Francesco I sent a large consignment of shells, porous stone, and other materials for the decoration of fountains and grottoes as a gift to Wilhelm V, Duke of Bavaria (ASF, Mediceo del Principato, 257, fol. 85; MAP Doc. sources, entry no. 14039).

[471] BNN, Ms. XII G 59-60

described himself as a "fontaniere," which meant that he was a hydraulic engineer rather than a designer of fountain statuary. His responsibilities therefore included the design, construction, and maintenance of complex machinery, which created water pressure and put fountains in operation. Active between 1585 and 1614, he seems to have been employed in different parts of Italy, but mainly in Naples, Rome, and Florence. His clients included two Popes, a few Cardinals, the Grand Duke and Duchess of Tuscany, and the cream of Neapolitan, Roman, and Florentine nobility. In a short poem included below his self-portrait, Nigrone takes considerable pride in the fact that various distinguished persons sought his services. For them he finds hidden subterranean sources of running water and creates fountains decorated with "sculpted nymphs, satyrs, shepherds, and beasts," as well as "singing birds." In neither of these tasks, proclaimed Nigrone, he ever erred.[472]

In presenting his designs, Nigrone, who was not a professional draughtsmen, often copied the work of other artists [cf. plates 103, 104, and 105]. When working in Naples, Nigrone had access to the garden of Don Luigi, for whom he claimed to have executed two fountains in the form of antique vases and the third one, decorated with the group of Hercules and Antaeus, which under closer examination appears to represent Samson and a Philistine [plates 101, 99, and 98]. Some of Nigrone's miniatures appear to include the images of the real statuary that he observed in the course of his work. The figure of a youth holding a vase supported by two *putti,* which appears twice in the manuscript, for example, seems to convey Nigrone's impression of the *River-god* by Pierino da Vinci, which he must have seen in the garden of Don Garcia de Toledo in Naples [cf. plates 106 and 107]. The figure of Andromeda, which appears in another miniature, seems to be similar in stance to the statue in Abadía, attributed to Francesco Camilliani [cf. plates 108 and 48]. Since the miniature includes the same sculptural elements that were displayed in Abadía, that is, the figures of Andromeda, Perseus, Pegasus, and the monster, it may be representing their original arrangement in the Neapolitan garden of Don Luigi. In this case, the position of the *Pegasus* on top of the fountain would explain its small scale in relation to the figure of Andromeda.

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[472] Nigrone, fol. 8r

2.3 The "original fountain" and its transformation:

2.3.1 The problem of the "original fountain"

The importance of Don Luigi's garden in Florence was recognised in recent decades, when it became associated with the garden projects of the Medici.[473] In the absence of any contemporary descriptions, the garden's layout was reconstructed on the basis of its representation in Stefano Bonsignori's axonometric map of Florence,[474] published in 1584 [plate 73].[475] This map reflected the state of the garden after its takeover by the convent of S. Domenico in Maglio, with its layout already altered by the removal of the main fountain, which had been sold to Palermo a decade earlier.[476] The garden represented on Bonsignori's map, however, appears to retain at least some elements of its original decoration, such as two rows of columns, a statue, and a small fountain. The garden therefore probably still retained the basic geometry of its original layout at the time when it was seen by Bonsignori.

The design of the garden represented on the map is based on the system of orthogonals, which is manifest in the cruciform junction of the two main alleys. Its layout must have been determined by the fact that the garden was not attached to a

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[473] For the discussion of Don Luigi's Florentine garden see Fagiolo 1980, p. 46; Rinaldi 1980; pp. 148-49; Rinaldi 1981, pp. 142-45; Tagliolini 1988, pp. 175-76; Rinaldi 1997, p. 30; Cinti 1997, pp. 145-46; Zangheri 1998, pp. 127-32; and Zangheri 1999. The connection between this garden and the garden projects of the Medici was emphasised by Marcello Fagiolo and Alessandro Rinaldi (Fagiolo 1980, p. 46 and Rinaldi 1980, p. 148). Don Luigi's garden features as no. 1 on in the map of 16th-century Medici gardens published by Marcello Fagiolo (Fagiolo 1980, p. 39). Other gardens that feature on the map include the Giardino dei Semplici, instituted by Cosimo I in 1545 (no. 2), the garden of the Casino of S. Marco (no. 3), the garden of the Palazzo Medici in Via Larga (no. 4), the hanging garden of the Loggia dei Lanzi (no. 5), the Boboli gardens (no. 6), and the Orti Orricellari, acquired by Francesco I for Bianca Capello in 1573 (no. 7).

[474] Cf. Rinaldi 1980, pp. 148-49; Rinaldi 1981, pp. 142-45; and Rinaldi 1997, p. 30

[475] Bonsignori, Stefano, *Nova pulcherrimae civitatis Florentiae topographia accuratissime delineata*, 1584, Gabinetto Disegni e Stampe degli Uffizi, Florence, inv. 2614 (presently in Museo Firenze com' era). Pedone argued that Don Luigi's garden was considerably smaller than the area represented on Bonsignori's map and therefore could not accommodate a fountain of the size of the *Fontana Pretoria*. Pedone's argument was based on the fact that when in 1586 some of the land that had previously been owned by Don Luigi was measured to be rented to Count Ugo della Gherardesca, its size amounted to only 12 *stiora* (Pedone 1986, p. 30). Contrary to Pedone's view, this land, however, was only a small fraction of the original 100 *stiora* that constituted Don Luigi's garden (ASF, Corporazioni religiosi soppresi dal governo francese, no. 108, 122, fol. 44).

[476] Rinaldi suggested that the small fountain visible on Bonsignori's map was moved in its position to replace the much larger structure that had been sold to Palermo. The original location of the smaller fountain, according to Rinaldi, was at the junction of the main alleys (Rinaldi 1981, p. 144). Rinaldi's suggestion that the garden's layout was altered in order to cover the balk space left by the removal of the main fountain, however, contradicts the fact that Don Luigi abandoned his property in Florence following his departure for Naples.

residence and therefore was not designed in relation to the architecture of any adjacent buildings. In terms layout and scale, the garden was therefore conceived as a self-contained and independent unit within the city.[477] The junction of the two main alleys was the principal point for appreciating its of radiating vistas. The fountain complex was also designed to be appreciated from within the garden rather than the rooms of an adjoining villa.

The garden was surrounded by a wall, tall enough to support an espalier of orange trees and built some distance apart from the walls of the city. The area in between the two walls was used as a damp.[478] Some sculptural elements that formed the original decoration of the garden still feature on Bonsignori's map. They include two rows of marble columns, a statue on top of a column, represented as too small to identify its subject, and a free-standing fountain. Although all of these features are positioned along the main alley parallel to Via San Sebastiano, their arrangement is asymmetrical: the columns flank this alley, the fountain is located at its end, and the statue is placed at its junction with another lane.

The marble columns represented on the map were probably analogous to the objects found inside *casone* by the Calimala officials soon after Don Luigi's departure for Naples.[479] The fountain must be a schematic representation of the structure that was retrieved by Don Luigi and erected in his garden in Naples after 1588.[480] It appears to be a large object, and for this reason could not be identified as one of "certe fontanelle," which the Calimala officials discovered stored in the *casone.* Estimated at only 440 *scudi,* they must have been relatively small.[481]

The main features of the garden's decoration were therefore two free-standing fountains. The appearance of the smaller fountain, octagonal in plan and embellished with the figures of playful *putti,* could be reconstructed on the basis of its much later description by Ponz, who saw it in Abadía.[482] The garden of the Dukes of Alba on the

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[477] Cf. Rinaldi 1980, p. 148. The layout of Don Luigi's garden as reconstructed on the basis of Bonsignori's map was taken by scholars as an important precedent for the 17th-century enlargement of the Boboli gardens, undertaken by Giulio Parigi (see Fagiolo 1980, p. 46, and Rinaldi 1980, p. 148).

[478] ASF, Mediceo del Principato, 219, fol. 116

[479] ASF, Arti dei Mercanti di Calimala, 130, fols. 8-13; Pedone, documents section, unpaginated

[480] See section 3.1.

[481] ASF, Arti dei Mercanti di Calimala, 130, fols. 8-13; Pedone, documents section, unpaginated

[482] An immediate analogy to its octagonal plan is found in the design of the fountain that stood in the centre of the *Giardino dei Semplici,* adjacent to Don Luigi's property. Designed by Antonio Lorenzi and decorated with representations of various sea-creatures executed in variegated marble, it is known primarily through its description by Vasari (see Vasari-Milanesi, 7, p. 636). An octagonal fountain was included in the layout of the ideal royal garden envisaged by Agostino del Riccio (1541-98), a

river Ambroz, where this fountain was erected following its removal from Don Luigi's garden at Pizzofalcone in Naples, was the third of its successive settings. It is unlikely that this fountain underwent any structural modifications in the course of its relocations, since it only had to be transported from one garden to another. Some of its sculpture, however, may have been lost by the time it reached Spain. For example, the marble animal heads mentioned in one of the descriptions of Don Luigi's property at Pizzofalcone did not feature in Abadía, although it is not clear whether they had actually been part of the fountain when it stood in Naples.[483] Similarly, it is uncertain whether the two badly damaged figures of fauns that now flank the entrance to the staircase in the former Palace of the Dukes of Alba were integrated into the fountain's architectonic system [plates 42 and 43]. Ponz saw them in a separate position guarding the approach to the Plaza de Nápoles from the lower garden, but the fact that he recorded them as spouting water may indicate that their original function was different.[484]

The larger of the two free-standing fountains commissioned by Don Luigi de Toledo for his Florentine garden was decorated with the figures of reclining river-gods. It was described by Vasari while it still stood in its original location. The fountain was then purchased by the Senate of Palermo, which intended to re-erect it in the centre of the city in front of the Palazzo Pretorio. Since the square opposite the palace had to undergo major rebuilding specifically to accommodate this new structure,[485] the oval ground plan of the *Fontana Pretoria* was probably a reflection of the design of the original fountain rather than the result of its adjustment to the new location. The geometry of the fountain's plan has not been accounted for by Antonio Veneziano and therefore had no particular ideological or aesthetic significance for the authorities of Palermo. In the garden context, however, oval fountains were by quite

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Dominican monk, who wrote a number of treatises on different subjects including agriculture and mineralogy (see Heikamp 1981 and Del Riccio 1996). Heikamp believes that its description was inspired by the design of Antonio Lorenzi's fountain in the *Giardino dei Semplici* (Heikamp 1981, pp. 73-4, and note 11 on p. 74).

[483] The animal heads appear in only one description of Don Luigi's garden in Naples, which was published by Labrot. It mentions "una fontana di marmo con molte statue di marmo, molto principale, et molti altri marmi, e teste di diversi animali di marmi" (ASN, Monasteri soppressi, Monte Oliveto, 5508; Labrot 1993, pp. 127-28). It is not clear from this passage whether the animal heads were integrated into the design of the fountain or positioned in the garden as independent sculptural features.

[484] Ponz 1988, 2, p. 523

[485] See La Monaca ed. 1987, pp. 19-39

usual.[486] In the mid-16th century, the use of oval forms in both architecture and garden design was advocated by Giovanvettorio Soderini, who described it not only as a way of avoiding the repetitive use of orthogonal patterns, but also as a means for achieving the optimal organisation of space, as in the design of the Colosseum in Rome.[487]

The first, although largely unheard, plea to reconsider the significance of the fountain that now decorates the Piazza Pretoria in Palermo by reference to the circumstances of its original commission came in 1975 from Charles Davis.[488] Davis observed that the impressive conception, enormous size, and iconographic complexity of the *Fontana Pretoria* made it "by far the largest fountain complex in 16th-century Florence." Its removal from the city, according to Davis, "distorted" the history of Florentine fountain design.[489] Commissioned for a garden in Florence from a local master, the fountain presented a link in a long tradition of similar projects carried out by generations of Florentine sculptors. It is within this tradition, maintained Davis, that both the antecedents and descendants of its design should be sought.

Davis's proposal to review the dominant perception of the *Fontana Pretoria* as a Sicilian monument raises a host of difficult questions. Firstly, as Davis himself admitted, the Florentine period in the fountain's history is "regrettably obscure."[490] For example, it is not clear whether the fountain was originally commissioned from two different sculptors, Francesco Camilliani and Naccherino, or the statues signed by the latter were added to its design after its arrival in Palermo. Secondly, the fountain was erected in Sicily as a civic monument as opposed to a garden feature, and it is likely that in the course of its reassembly the fountain's design was modified. In this case, its original appearance must have been different from its present form, but neither Davis nor any other scholar proposed a definitive reconstruction of what the fountain might have looked like when it stood in the garden of Don Luigi in Florence.

This line of reasoning brings us to what may be termed the problem of the "original fountain." If the fountain from Don Luigi's garden remained unaltered in the

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[486] When speaking about the most common types of fountain, Lomazzo described them as "tonde, ovate, & quadre" (Lomazzo 1584, p. 429). The gardens of Villa Lante at Bagnaia and Villa d'Este at Tivoli had oval fountains (Coffin 1960, pp. 33 and 87). Ammannati's lost fountain complex in Vicenza, designed for Girolamo Gualdo and completed by the end of 1546, had two free-standing fountains with oval *tazze*, apparently quite small. They supported the figures of winged *Fame*, represented blowing a trumpet, and *Time*, identifiable by a clock and a scythe (Kinney 1976, p. 190).

[487] Soderini 1902-04, 1, p. 263, quoted in Rinaldi 1981, p. 138

[488] Davis 1975B, p. 37

[489] Davis 1975B, p. 37

[490] Davis 1975B, p. 68, note 57

course of its relocation, this problem does not arise. If it underwent changes, however, their nature and scale need to be determined before we can speak of the fountain's place in the history of Florentine fountain design. Solving the problem of the "original fountain" will also enable us to determine the exact role played by Camillo Camilliani in the process of its reassembly in Palermo. If the appearance of the *Fontana Pretoria* mirrors the fountain's original design, the architect's task was reduced to the mere recreation of the structure that stood in Don Luigi's garden in Florence. If the two fountains, however, differed significantly, Camillo Camilliani's contribution to the design of the *Fontana Pretoria* has to be reconsidered.

The idea that a fountain could be removed from its original setting and set up elsewhere was quite usual in the late 16th century. Ammannati's *Fountain of Juno,* originally designed to decorate the south wall of the *Sala Grande* of the Palazzo Vecchio,[491] was eventually erected in the garden of Pratolino, where it was seen and described by the Bolognese naturalist Ulisse Aldrovandi in 1586.[492] Only a few years later, in 1589, the fountain was brought back to Florence by order of Grand Duke Ferdinando I and re-erected on the terrace above the grotto in Ammannati's *cortile* of the Palazzo Pitti.[493] The inherent meaning of the fountain kept changing along with these relocations. Its original political and allegorical message glorifying the virtues of Medici rule was dissipated in the idyllic garden setting of Pratolino, but gained new prominence on its return to Florence.[494] The fountain, however, did not remain long in its new location. In 1635, it was again dismantled and later replaced with the Baroque *Fountain of the Artichoke.*[495] The principle reason for the removal of Ammannati's fountain was the fact that originally it was designed to be placed against a wall. The fountain therefore had only one principle viewing aspect even when displayed fully in the round facing the courtyard of the Palazzo Pitti, and viewers who were approaching it from the garden had to content themselves with the unsatisfactory rear view. Relegated to the garden of the Casino of S. Marco, Ammannati's figures were brought back to the Boboli gardens during the 18th century. They were scattered around the garden and displayed haphazardly as separate pieces until they were brought together

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[491] For the most comprehensive recent study of Ammannati's *Fountain of Juno* see Heikamp 1978.
[492] Heikamp 1978, pp. 139-40
[493] Heikamp 1978, p. 141
[494] For the iconography and ideological underpinnings of Ammannati's *Fountain of Juno* see Heikamp 1978, pp. 120-130.
[495] Heikamp 1978, p. 144

again in a partial reconstruction of the complex in the Museo Nazionale del Bargello in Florence, where, one after another, they arrived in the course of the 20th century.[496]

The other important garden fountain of the Florentine Cinquecento, Stoldo Lorenzi's *Fountain of Neptune*, has never left the Boboli gardens, but changed its location and appearance three times before being installed in its present position.[497] In the course of these relocations, the four statues that were originally intended to support the *tazza* of the fountain were integrated into the rocky base under the principal figure. Similarly, Giambologna's *Fountain of Neptune*, executed between 1570 and 1575, was not intended to stand in its present position in the centre of the Isolotto.[498] Its original location on the axis of the amphitheatre of the Boboli gardens is recorded in the lunette painting of the Palazzo Pitti and its garden by Giusto Utens, dated 1599.

Fountains were not only relocated in keeping with successive systems of garden layout, as demonstrated by the three previous examples, but also in accordance with alternative schemes of urban design. An epitome of the latter practice was the history of the early 17th-century *Fontana Medina* in Naples, which was commissioned by the Viceroy Count Olivares and designed by the architect Domenico Fontana. The fountain incorporated sculptural contributions from Michelangelo Naccherino, who was responsible for the principal figure of Neptune, Pietro Bernini, and a number of other less distinguished sculptors. Originally placed in front of the Arsenal, the fountain was moved four times in the course of the 17th century according to the urban development schemes of successive Viceroys. It could have been found at different times in the square in front of the Royal Palace and on the seafront in the area of S. Lucia.[499]

In all of the examples thus far discussed, fountains were moved within the confines of one garden complex, or within the orbit of a single city and its satellite

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[496] Heikamp 1978, p. 145
[497] See Acidini Luchinat 1990-91
[498] Avery 1993, pp. 215-18
[499] For the history of the *Fontana Medina* see Nappi 1980, p. 216. In 1638, the Viceroy Duke of Medina ordered Cosimo Fanzago to move the fountain to the Strada delle Correge, the present Via Medina, from which it received its name. For the longest stretch of its history, the fountain stood in this location, in the vicinity of Castel Nuovo. The original sculptural decoration of the fountain was a collaborative project, with the main sculptors who contributed to its design including Michelangelo Naccherino (who executed the statue of Neptune), Pietro Bernini (who carved the four sea-monsters), and Angelo Landi. Some other statues, including the eight lions, were added later by Cosimo Fanzago, when the fountain was moved to Via Medina. At that later stage Donato Vannelli carved the coat-of-arms, putti, and the sea-horses, while Andrea Iodice executed the dolphins.

villas. It is important to note that none of these fountains, despite their changed location and altered appearance (as in the case of Stoldo Lorenzi's *Fountain of Neptune),* was moved from one type of setting to another.[500] In other words, garden fountains continued to decorate gardens, even if their successive locations were far apart, and civic structures continued to supply the urban population with water. The fountain that Don Luigi de Toledo sold to the city of Palermo occupies a unique place in the history of such migrations because of its unprecedented transformation from a garden structure into a public monument.

The requirements of the design of civic and garden fountains had always been different, since the former were first and foremost sources of drinking water, however lavish and extravagant their sculptural treatment might have been. There is therefore a distinct possibility that as a result of its adaptation to the new environment in the centre of Palermo, the architectonic system of the fountain from the garden of Don Luigi de Toledo was subjected not merely to surface alterations, but underwent fundamental structural changes. In the absence of any descriptions of the "original fountain," our account of its design will be based on retracing successive stages in the history of its transformation. The next section of this thesis will provide a hypothetical reconstruction of the "original fountain" in terms of its appearance and fundamental conception, in other words, both its design and its conceit.

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[500] Ammannati's *Fountain of Juno* arguably presents an exception to this rule, although it is debatable whether its intended positioning in the Palazzo Vecchio would have made it, strictly speaking, a civic fountain.

2.3.2 The reconstruction of the "original fountain"

In our discussion of the acquisition and erection of the fountain that now stands in Piazza Pretoria in Palermo, we established two basic facts. Firstly, the construction work, which continued from 1574 to 1582, took much longer than a mere reassembly of the elements of a pre-existing structure should have required. Secondly, there is evidence that during that period some additional components were executed and included into the fountain's design. These components include the steps that surround the fountain, the balustrade that defines its boundary, the decorative scrolls behind the herms, and the niches that contain marble animal heads. Much of the peripheral area of the present *Fontana Pretoria* was therefore executed in Palermo [plate 4].[501] The documents, however, give no indication of what changes were introduced in the fountain's original design and how they affected the distribution of the sculpture.

Most of the architectural and sculptural components of the future *Fontana Pretoria* were delivered to Palermo in two separate consignments. The first consignment, received on 26th May 1574, was dispatched from Florence. It was accompanied by Don Luigi's agent Giovanni Battista Scarlino.[502] The elements of the fountain that it contained were recorded in an inventory drawn up by the notary Antonio Carasi. The second consignment arrived in Palermo shortly before 22nd March 1577 from an unspecified location, most likely Naples.[503] The document that refers to this delivery, published by Samonà, contains no mention of Don Luigi.

Long before the publication of this document, the idea that the fountain was delivered to Sicily in two separate consignments became an established fact for Palermitan historians. This view was largely based on the information contained in the inventory of the fountain components that arrived in Palermo in 1574. The oddities and contradictions in the number of sculpted figures and architectural elements suggested that only some of them were received on that occasion. According to the Palermitan historians, the purpose of the second consignment was to deliver the

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[501] Cf. Bilardo 1969-71, p. 238

[502] ASP, Notaio Carasi Antonio, 6295; Di Marzo 1880-83, 2, pp. 437-40

[503] ACP, Consigli Civici 1573-83, no. 69, fol. 162; Samonà 1931-33, note 1, p. 271. The reasons why the statues delivered in the second consignment are most likely to have Neapolitan provenance will be considered in section 2.3.3.

missing elements of the fountain.[504] Since it was assumed that both consignments came from Florence, the intervening period of time was considered to be much shorter than three years. Probably for that reason Lo Presti placed the arrival of the second consignment in 1575, even though there is no documentary evidence to substantiate this claim.[505]

The hypothesis that both consignments arrived from Florence and contained elements of the "original fountain" appears unfounded for two main reasons. Firstly, it fails to explain the three-year gap between the deliveries, given that by the time the second shipment reached Palermo, Don Luigi had long since left Florence and settled in Naples. From a practical point of view, sending the fountain to Palermo in two separate consignments was highly inexpedient, as it would have increased the cost of transportation, which had to be covered by the vendor.[506] Secondly, after the arrival of the second consignment, the newly received statues were supposed to undergo an examination, the purpose of which was to establish whether these statues matched the figures that had been delivered earlier in terms of size and quality.[507] Had the two consignments contained constituent parts of the same fountain, these arrangements would have been superfluous.[508] The discrepancies in the size and style of the figures that arrived in 1574 and 1577 were, however, conspicuous, creating an impression that whoever was responsible for the additional statuary was not familiar with the dimensions and appearance of the pieces that had arrived in Palermo three years earlier.[509]

The suspicion that the statuary delivered in the second consignment was not part of the "original fountain" is confirmed by the text of the inventory of 1574. This document suggests that it includes the list of all the elements of the fountain that stood in the Florentine garden of Don Luigi de Toledo. These elements, according to the

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[504] Cf. Di Marzo 1880-83, 1, p. 810

[505] Lo Presti 1737, p. 40

[506] According to the contract, the fountain remained the responsibility of the vendor during the period of its transportation until it was received by the Wine and Grapes Tax Committee in the port of Palermo (ASP, Real Segreteria, n. 1; Pedone 1986, documents section, unpaginated). The letter of Ridolfo Conegnano to the Duke of Ferrara, dated 11th April 1573, also states that the fountain was to be delivered to Palermo at Don Luigi's "risk and expense" (Di Marzo 1880-82, 1, p. 810).

[507] ACP, Consigli Civici 1573-1583, no. 69, fol. 162; Samonà 1931-33, p. 271

[508] Cf. Bilardo 1969-71, p. 241

[509] Cf. Bilardo 1969-71, p. 241: "In confronto agli altri tre *fiumi* collocati nella *Fontana Pretoria* e sicuramente scolpiti da Francesco Camilliani, quello del Naccherino, per le sue inferiori qualità stilistiche, ma sopratutto per la sua diversa postura e per sue differenti proporzioni, appare così ... stonato da dare l'impressione che il suo autore non avesse sotto gli occhi le statue alle quali esso si accompagna."

inventory, were also recorded in the drawing sent to Palermo by Don Garcia de Toledo.[510] In the absence of this drawing, the inventory therefore provides the sole criterion for distinguishing between the components of the "original fountain" and any additional elements commissioned for its erection in Palermo. That is to say, the sculptural or architectural elements of the *Fontana Pretoria* that are not recorded in the inventory must have been commissioned after the fountain left the garden of Don Luigi. Indeed, the balustrade that surrounds the fountain and the scrolls behind the herms, which we know were executed in Palermo, are not mentioned in this document.

According to the inventory, on its arrival in Palermo the fountain included three statues of reclining river deities, the *Arno,* the *Mugnone,* and the *Parnassus.* All three of them, despite the new identities that they were given in Palermo, are identifiable by their attributes [plates 6, 15, and 5].[511] The reclining poses of these figures derived from antique representations of river-gods, whose colossal statues, unearthed in Rome, were identified in the early 15th century.[512] The *Papireto,* which bears Naccherino's signature, is not mentioned in the inventory [plate 16]. The statue was therefore added to the fountain after its removal from the garden of Don Luigi.

The number of standing figures mentioned in the inventory was 15. These figures included personifications of eight male and five female deities and two allegorical subjects. The statues personified Venus, the Goddess of Nature (Ops), Bacchus, Orpheus, Pomona, Diana, Liberality, Triptolemus, Hercules, Abundance, Ceres, Vertumnus, Mercury, Apollo, and an anonymous male deity, identified in Palermo as representing Adonis. The number of pedestals supplied for these figures was 16, indicating that one of the statues was missing. The figure of *Venus Verticordia,* which decorated the *Fontana Pretoria* until quite recently (when it was removed on account of its dilapidated condition) [plate 23], is not mentioned in the

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[510] See ASP, Notaio Carasi Antonio, 6295; Di Marzo 1880-83, 2, pp. 437-40. The inventory states that the fountain arrived "complete cum omnibus et singulis suis statuis mostris fontibus colonnis basis pavimento figuris et imaginis iuxta formam retrattus in pictura existensis virtute et iuxta formam contrattus vendicionis."

[511] The *Arno/Oreto* holds a cornucopia. A lion, the heraldic beast of Florence, glares at the viewer from between his legs. The *Mugnone/Gabriele* supports an urn on his shoulder. As in the case of Ammannati's *Fountain of Juno,* Mount Parnassus is represented by the nymph Hippocrene. Accompanied by Pegasus, she holds pan pipes and rests her elbow on a tragic mask. In Palermo she became a representation of the river Maredolce.

[512] Rubinstein 1984, p. 259

inventory. It therefore was not part of the "original fountain" and must have been added in Palermo to replace the missing sixteenth statue.

According to an amusing tale related by Vincenzo di Giovanni, the original figure of *Venus* that stood on the *Fontana Pretoria* was stolen during the night by Don Carlos d'Avalos, commander of Spanish cavalry in Palermo, who was captivated by the statue's beauty. This statue, continues the story, was later replaced with another representation of the goddess, which was executed by a member of the Gagini family (Di Giovanni did not specify which Gagini it was). The replacement, according to the historian, was of no less merit than the original statue.[513] Since there were two representations of Venus on the *Fontana Pretoria,* we have to determine which one of them was referred to in the story.

One figure of *Venus* decorating the fountain is placed at the bottom of the stair facing the Convent of S. Caterina [plate 18]. The goddess is shown in strong *contrapposto,* holding a twisting dolphin by the tail. The iconography and style of the figure are unmistakably Florentine. The appearance of the other representation of the goddess, the *Venus Verticordia,* may be judged from an old Alinari photograph. Its stocky physique, ungainly proportions, and awkward attitude find no analogies among the other deities that populate the *Fontana Pretoria* [plate 23]. Since the statue does not feature in the inventory and therefore was not part of the "original fountain," the legend reported by Di Giovanni must have served as a justification of the fact that the figure had been executed by a local sculptor.

Three herms that arrived from Florence in the first consignment were composed of two separate pieces each. The inventory does not mention the figures of tritons and nereids that presently flank the river-gods, so they must have been integrated into the design of the fountain after its arrival in Palermo. There are 19 marble animal heads recorded in the inventory, including those of a lion, an ostrich, two dolphins, a wolf, a deer, a giraffe, a marine capricorn, a hydra, a rhinoceros, a griffin, a camel, a dog, a horse, an elephant, a bull, a lamb,[514] a wild boar, and a unicorn. Some of these heads arrived in a damaged state, with missing or broken horns, ears, tongues, beaks, or snouts. It is reported that some of the breakage occurred while the animal heads were still in Florence.

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[513] Di Giovanni 1989, p. 140. Di Giovanni's manuscript was written in about 1627 and originally published by Di Marzo in 1872 (see Di Giovanni 1989, pp. 16 and 35).

[514] The "crastato" mentioned in the inventory must be a misspelling of "castrato" (see ASP, Notaio Carasi Antonio, 6295; Di Marzo 1880-83, 2, pp. 437-40).

The architectural parts of the fountain were listed separately. They included 16 pedestals to support the standing figures, two basins that were used as receptacles for the water emanating from the statues of the *Arno* and *Parnassus* (each of the basins consisted of two separate pieces), eight slabs that formed the bases and capping for the herms, and four vases that were to be placed at their foot. The number of carved niches was 14 (one of them was received unfinished), and an additional 162 pieces of marble constituted their architraves, cornices, and capping. There were 12 paving slabs for the bottom of the "great" water receptacle, and two different sets of components (consisting of 18 and 43 pieces) that were supposed to constitute its body. The number of balusters for the stairs was 56 (40 were monolithic and 16 consisted of two pieces), while the number of the marble slabs that formed their banisters and supports was 27. Another 44 pieces of marble were used to sustain the "small" water receptacle, while 14 "benches" made up its rim. The area around this receptacle was constituted by 19 slabs. It was surrounded by a continuous narrow ledge consisting of 28 "benches" that were supported by dolphins' tails, only seven of which were supplied. The smaller elements of the fountain included 36 lion paws, two dressed paving slabs, and 63 various smaller pieces. Many of the pieces were recorded as damaged or broken.

The central feature of the fountain was a tall shaft that carried two tazze. It was crowned with the figure of a *putto* holding a cornucopia, which was identified in the inventory as a "small Bacchus" [plate 17].[515] The architectural components that constituted the fountain's central feature included a large oval *tazza*, seven pieces of marble that constituted its rim, a small *tazza* that was to be placed above it, and a piece of another *tazza* that did not have an identified function. The sculptural components of the fountain's central feature included a female satyr and a marine monster that supported the lower *tazza,* a large group of three figures (one had a broken arm), and a group of three satyrs. The smaller pieces included four tails of sea-monsters (one of which was recorded as damaged), capricorn heads carved out of one block, two damaged pairs of capricorn legs, two marble blocks with carved tortoises,

[515] The presence of two figures of Bacchus among the statues of the "original fountain," indicated in the inventory, raises a suspicion that at least one of these identifications may be incorrect. Di Giovanni, for example, thought that the *putto* on top of the central feature of the fountain represented a little Jupiter holding the horn of plenty of the goat Amalthea (Di Giovanni 1989, p. 140). The reason for identifying this figure as Bacchus probably resulted from the fact that it carried a cornucopia. The figure, however, is more likely to represent a *genius loci.* According to the 16th-century scholar Vincenzo Cartari, such *genii* were represented in antiquity in a variety of guises, one of which was that of a little boy; cornucopia was a characteristic attribute of such figures (Cartari 1996, pp. 505-6).

four geese that decorated the rim of the lower *tazza*, and a unit consisting of three shells.

It is perhaps already evident that the information regarding the nature and quantity of the components of the "original fountain," contained in this list, is not entirely clear and consistent. The number of standing statues, for example, does not correspond to the number of pedestals, while the quantity of various architectural components that had to be arranged symmetrically is often expressed by an odd number. In view of these inconsistencies, the list of the elements of the "original fountain" does not seem to constitute a coherent whole. There is no doubt, however, that it was precisely these architectural and sculptural elements that made up the fountain in Don Luigi's garden in Florence. The key to the inventory should therefore be sought in the state of this fountain at the time of its sale, which, in its turn, may be indicated by the quantity and condition of its individual components.

According to Lo Presti, on their arrival in Palermo many of the fountain's elements were "not worked to their completeness and perfection, while others were broken or chipped."[516] For example, two of the 15 standing figures, the *Orpheus* and the *Adonis* [plates 11 and 12], were reported as incomplete, while the sixteenth figure was not supplied at all.[517] The number of recumbent river-gods was three, while the basins supplied for them were only two.[518] The inventory mentions four vases that were supposed to stand at the foot of the herms (which was in keeping with the number of the slabs that were intended to go above and below them); only three herms, however, had been delivered.[519] The unfinished architectural features included one of the 14 niches.[520] The incompleteness of the fountain components that arrived in Palermo, the striking discrepancies in their quantity, and the fact that the number of some of them could not be arranged to form a regular design (such as 19 animal heads), lead to one conclusion. The fountain must have been unfinished at the time of its sale.

There are numerous indications in the inventory that some of the pieces that arrived in Palermo were broken and repaired in Florence. This means that the breakage did not occur in the course of their transportation. The repaired pieces were

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[516] Lo Presti 1737, p. 40; cf. Palermo 1816, p. 107
[517] ASP, Notaio Carasi Antonio, 6295; Di Marzo 1880-83, 2, pp. 437-40
[518] Ibid.
[519] Ibid.
[520] Ibid.

integrated into the design of the fountain when it was still in its original location, and some of the damage could have been caused by its dismantling. Further, the fountain components that arrived in Palermo in the first consignment had to be cleaned at the city's expense.[521] The fountain therefore stood in the garden and was evidently functioning, since Vasari noted that it enjoyed an abundant supply of water, while the work on its statuary was still in progress.

These facts allow us to deduce the sequence of work on the "original fountain." Its execution was a lengthy and expensive process, and the patron evidently wanted to justify his investment into the project and see the results at the earliest opportunity. The fountain must have been considered ready for operation as soon as the work on its hydraulic system was finished.[522] Its architectural framework must have been constructed first, and sculptural elements were added to this masonry shell as they were completed. This procedure was also implemented in Palermo in the course of the erection of the *Fontana Pretoria,* since, when the second consignment of the statuary arrived in 1577, the statues that had been delivered earlier were reported as already standing on the fountain.[523] The practice of integrating newly completed figures into partially assembled sculptural ensembles was in fact common in the 16th century as a way of managing large ongoing commissions. The statues that Bandinelli executed for the choir of the Duomo in Florence, for example, were put on display as soon as they came out of the sculptor's workshop. The period between the completion of individual figures could reach four years.[524] The fact that the pedestal of one of the figures of the fountain that Ponz saw in Abadía, similarly to the statue of *Arno/Oreto,* bore the date 1555, indicates that the work on the statuary of the two fountains in Don Luigi's garden progressed simultaneously.

Analysis of the inventory of fountain components that arrived in Palermo in 1574 thus reveals that the main fountain designed by Francesco Camilliani for the garden of Don Luigi in Florence had never been completed according to the original scheme. In view of this fact, our conception of the "original fountain" needs to be

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[521] Palermo 1816, pp. 107 and 108

[522] It is significant that the fountain was sold to Palermo without any hydraulic equipment, which evidently were not considered its integral part. The construction of the main conduit in Don Luigi's garden in Florence was largely finished in 1558, which was presumably the time when the fountain was put in operation. It was seen by Vasari as functioning in about 1567.

[523] ACP, Consigli Civici 1573-1583, no. 69, fol. 162; Samonà 1931-33, p. 271

[524] The group of *Christ supported by an angel,* for example, was displayed in the Duomo on 13th August 1552 (Lapini 1900, p. 108). The figure of *God the Father* was placed in the Duomo over four years later, on 21st October 1556 (Lapini 1900, p. 118).

clarified. It is evident that the structure that actually stood in the garden of Don Luigi in Florence remained an ongoing project for all of its brief history. It presented an intermediate stage in the construction of the fountain, a particular arrangement of the architectural and sculptural elements that were later recorded in the inventory. All that can be reconstructed on the basis of this document is this incomplete structure, which, at the time when it was dismantled, was still far from the ultimate form that it was supposed to take.

What is important in the context of our investigation is the design of the "original fountain," which was only partially realised in the structure that decorated the garden of Don Luigi in Florence. We should therefore remember that the evidence provided by the list of fountain components that arrived in Palermo in 1574 is insufficient for determining this design, which was largely defined by the arrangement of the sculpted figures. In all previous attempts to reconstruct the appearance of the "original fountain," scholars drew exclusively on the material of the inventory. The most significant of such attempts were undertaken by Giuseppe Samonà and Adolfo Venturi in the 1930s.[525] Since both scholars based their analysis on what was in effect the list of elements of an incomplete structure, their separate studies of the inventory yielded perplexing results.

Samonà and Venturi tried to reconstruct the appearance of the "original fountain" by reference to the number of figures of reclining river deities. These statues, described by both scholars as works of superior quality, were regarded by them as the principal features of the fountain's design. The *Fontana Pretoria* is constructed on two levels connected by four stairs, which gives it a distinct quadripartite structure. The number of river deities in its design corresponds exactly to the number of stairs. If the number of reclining figures in the design of the "original fountain" was different, reasoned both scholars, so was its architectonic system. In other words, if the number of river deities was originally three, the fountain had three stairs and its architectonic system was therefore tripartite.

The next sep for both Samonà and Venturi was to identify the figures of river-gods that had definitely been part of the "original fountain." Since the *Arno/Oreto,* signed by Francesco Camilliani, and the *Mugnone/Gabriele,* which is closely related to it stylistically, were seen by Vasari while they still decorated the fountain in Don

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[525] See Samonà 1932-33, p. 232, and Venturi 1936, pp. 534-37

Luigi's garden in Florence, they and caused no controversy. The two scholars found a point of disagreement in the statue of *Parnassus/Maredolce.* The only female figure among the four river deities decorating the *Fontana Pretoria,* it has the iconography of Hippocrene, the nymph of a spring on Mount Parnassus, usually accompanied by the winged Pegasus [plate 5]. In the garden context, this figure's function was to establish an association between the verdant amenities of its setting and the dwelling of the Muses. The statue bears the date of 1566, but no signature, and its authorship was often regarded as uncertain.[526] Venturi, who erroneously believed that the *Maredolce* was one of the figures signed by Naccherino, considered it an addition to the fountain's original design.[527] Accordingly, he mistook the *Papireto* for a work by Francesco Camilliani and therefore regarded it as part of the "original fountain." Samonà, who failed to recognise the fact that the *Maredolce* of the *Fontana Pretoria* and the *Parnassus* mentioned in the inventory were one and the same figure, considered both the *Parnassus/Maredolce* and the *Papireto* as later additions.[528] In conclusion, Venturi decided that the "original fountain" had a tripartite structure, while Samonà regarded it as bipartite, arguing that the architectural components mentioned in the inventory were sufficient to construct only two stairs. In addition, he noted that the original fountain must have been considerably smaller in size, since the inventory contained no mention of the steps and the balustrade that presently define the boundary of the *Fontana Pretoria.*[529]

In their attempts to determine the architectonic system of the "original fountain," the only issue that Samonà and Venturi really addressed was the question of why the number of reclining figures mentioned in the inventory is smaller than that in the design of the *Fontana Pretoria.* In the light of our previous discussion, this question ceases to be relevant. The fourth river deity did not feature in the inventory because the fountain that stood in Don Luigi's garden was sold to Palermo in an incomplete state.[530]

Whether bipartite or tripartite in terms of its architectonic system, the "original fountain" had to accommodate not only the river deities, but also the standing figures,

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[526] Cf. Negri Arnoldi 1974, p. 218
[527] Venturi 1936, p. 536
[528] Samonà 1932-33, p. 232
[529] Ibid.
[530] Parronchi, who believed that the fountain was originally quadripartite, proposed that the stolen *Venus* was the fourth reclining figure (Parronchi 1965, p. 17). This is most unlikely since Venus is not a river deity.

which, given the number of pedestals, was supposed to be 16. It is difficult to determine how these statues would have been positioned on a fountain with three stairs, since 16 is not divisible by tree. Further, it is likely that the "original fountain" had a quadripartite system, since in the garden setting the number four had a concrete and recognised meaning. The fountain was probably conceived as an island associated with the four rivers of Paradise, which were reinterpreted in accordance with the topographic realities of Tuscany.[531] The inclusion of four statues of river-gods into fountain design must have been customary in the 16th century, and there were four such figures in Montorsoli's *Fountain of Orion* in Messina even though it was a civic structure. The idea that the "original fountain" had a quadripartite system is also supported by the fact that the other fountain from Don Luigi's garden, which Ponz later saw in Abadìa, had four stairs.

We have already noted that the "original fountain" was constructed by adding newly finished sculptural pieces to the pre-existing supporting structure. The design of the "original fountain" therefore should be reconstructed by reference to its architectonic system rather than the number of statues of reclining river deities. The fact that that these figures were regarded as subordinate to the fountain's architectural core is confirmed by the respective time of their execution. While the fourth reclining figure was not executed at all, the completion of the *Arno/Oreto,* finished in 1555, and the *Parnassus/Maredolce,* which bears the date of 1566, was separated by over ten years.

The references to the principal structural elements of the fountain found in the inventory provide a clear sense of its architectonic system. The document suggests that the fountain was subdivided into two main areas, which accommodated the two main water receptacles, referred to as "great" and "small." These areas were connected by stairs. The "small" receptacle was raised above the ground level. It accommodated the central feature of the fountain, which included two tazze, the largest of which was carried on the shoulders of a female satyr and a sea-monster. The surrounding area had provisions for seating and was encircled by a low parapet, supported by dolphins' tails. The cylindrical structure below the area of the "small" receptacle had a series of shallow niches in its side. Below these niches there was the "great" receptacle, given the form of a moat. The area inside the fountain was paved.

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[531] Cf. Conforti 1991, pp. 499-500

The inventory provides a list of the sculptural pieces that were part of the "original fountain," but gives no indication of how they were distributed. In order to determine their original position, we need to consider three drawings published by Marcello Fagiolo and Maria Luisa Madonna.[532] The drawings appear to reflect alternative proposals for the arrangement of the statuary of the *Fontana Pretoria,* and for this reason were attributed to Camillo Camilliani.[533] They represent the entire fountain viewed from the same angle, and the differences between them concern mainly the distribution of sculpture. Although it is tempting to view these drawings as a discreet series, this conclusion would be premature since the purpose of their execution has not yet been determined. The most finished of these drawings, which bears the date of 2nd June 1576, is now in the Biblioteca Nazionale in Naples [plate 26]. The inscription in its lower left corner indicates that it is a copy of an original drawing kept by the notary Antonio Carasi for Camillo Camilliani, as certified by the Palermitan official Giovanni Battista Locreto.[534] The reasons why this copy was made are not entirely unclear. It was presumably done on the architect's request in relation to the construction of the *Fontana Pretoria.* Both the original drawing and its copy in Naples evidently had the status of legal documents, as demonstrated by the inscription. The other two drawings, which are in the Kupferstichkabinett in Berlin, bear no date [plates 27 and 28]. For the sake of convenience, we will refer to these three drawings as the Naples drawing, the 1st Berlin drawing, and the 2nd Berlin drawing.

The principal feature that distinguishes these drawings from the inventory is the fact that all three of them present the number of river-gods decorating the fountain as four. For this reason, none of the drawings could describe the actual appearance of the incomplete structure that stood in the Florentine garden of Don Luigi. When considered together, the drawings emerge as successive proposals for the appearance of the *Fontana Pretoria.* The manifest differences between them, however, do not

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[532] Fagiolo and Madonna 1981, plates 56-58. The drawings were published without a commentary.

[533] Cf. Scarlata 1993, pp. 30-31. The number of surviving drawings by Camillo Camilliani is quite substantial, since he used them to illustrate his numerous treatises. The quality of the three fountain drawings appears to be inferior to his other graphic works, characterised by crisp draughtsmanship and almost pedantic precision. In the context of the present study, however, there is no need to question the attribution of these drawings to Camillo Camilliani, since they certainly reflect different schemes for the number and arrangement of figures of the *Fontana Pretoria.*

[534] The inscription on the drawing is transcribed by Pedone: "[...] Ex proprio originale existente penes magistrum notarium Antonium Carasi ad conservandum pro cautela partis per nobilem camiliani, die ij iunij IV Ind. 1576 [...] iohannes battista locretto" (Pedone 1986, p. 58).

concern the basic architectonic system of the fountain. In all three drawings, we see a two-level structure united by four stairs, with the fountain's main feature invariably positioned on the upper level. The evident changes in the design of the fountain concern only the quantity and arrangement of its statuary.

In the 2nd Berlin drawing, the number and positioning of the sculpted figures corresponds exactly to their arrangement in the design of the *Fontana Pretoria* as it is today [cf. plates 28 and 4]. The drawing that deviates most from the present scheme is the one in Naples, which for this reason must have been the point of departure for Camillo Camilliani in working on the design of the fountain in Palermo [plate 26]. Since the 2nd Berlin drawing reflects the fountain's final design, the 1st Berlin drawing would seem to represent an intermediate project [plate 27].

It is natural to assume that the design of the "original fountain" presented a starting point for Camillo Camilliani in reassembling it in Palermo. The conditions of his employment by the Palermitan Senate indicate that his main task was to reconstruct the fountain from the Florentine garden of Don Luigi to its original form, which was represented in a drawing provided by Don Garcia de Toledo.[535] The drawing in Naples therefore presumably reflects the original number and arrangement of the fountain figures as projected but not completely realised for the fountain in the Florentine garden of Don Luigi. Our task is to determine the reasons why Camillo Camilliani deviated from the original scheme.

The differences between the three drawings concern not only the arrangement, but also the number of sculpted figures. These differences imply that Camillo Camilliani was not sure about the quantity and appearance of the statuary that was going to be available for the project. The number of statues represented in the Naples drawing and in the 1st Berlin drawing is considerably larger than the number cited in the inventory or the number in the current *Fontana Pretoria.* The Naples drawing shows 16 statues of standing deities, four reclining figures of river-gods, 16 tritons and nereids, 24 animal heads, and eight herms. The figures of the marine deities are subdivided into groups of four and used to decorate the four entrances, which are indicated as rectangular projections beyond the periphery of the fountain [plate 26].

In the 1st Berlin drawing, the number of tritons and nereids is reduced to eight. Although they still guard the four entrances, these entrances are less prominent, being

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[535] ASP, Notaio Carasi Antonio 1573-4, 6295; Di Marzo 1880-83, 2, p. 441

reduced to simple openings in the low parapet that defines the outer limit of the fountain and supports the animal heads. The one entirely new feature in this design is the introduction of 16 figures of sirens, identifiable by their double tails, placed in the niches above the moat. The number of niches in each segment of the wall between the stairs is reduced from five to four and considerably enlarged to accommodate the figures. The niches are now given a more emphatically decorative appearance, subdivided by colonnettes and supporting a narrow entablature [plate 27].

In the 2nd Berlin drawing, the sirens disappear [plate 28]. The number of tritons and nereids is still eight, but they are given their present position on the *Fontana Pretoria,* flanking the figures of the reclining river-gods. The number of niches is increased again. They retain the ornamental features that they acquired in the 1st Berlin drawing, but now accommodate the animal heads. The drastic reduction in the number of figures as reflected in the 2nd Berlin drawing might well reflect the decision on the part of the Palermitan authorities to cut the cost of erecting the fountain.

Although there are considerable differences in the arrangement of the statuary in the three drawings, they only reflect three basic changes. These changes involve moving the animal heads from the periphery of the fountain into the niches above the moat, placing the river-gods along its outer edge, and exchanging the positions of the herms (which originally stood either side of the reclining river-gods) with those of tritons and nereids (which were intended to guard the entrances). These changes resulted in a fundamental transformation in the design of the "original fountain," which consisted in reversing the orientation of the figures of river-gods, the animal heads, and the herms. Originally turned towards the centre of the fountain, they are now placed facing outwards beyond it.

The presumption that these three drawings form a sequence is strengthened by the fact that they consistently explore and develop a limited range of elements in the fountain's design. These elements include the niches, the entrances, and the outer boundary of the fountain. The niches, which were initially intended to conduct water emanating from the upper receptacle into the moat below, were originally conceived as plain, inconspicuous, and utilitarian. In the course of the fountain's transformation, they acquired the new function of containing sculpture. This considerably increased their importance in the overall conception of the fountain, which was emphasised by giving them a notably ornamental treatment.

While the role of the niches in the design of the fountain increased, the importance of entrances in its overall conception clearly diminished. The strikingly elaborate entrances in the Naples drawing, formed by rectangular masonry projections beyond the low wall surrounding the fountain, are much narrower than in the two other drawings. Decorated with figures of tritons and nymphs in ecstatic attitudes, these entrances were originally given a considerable emphasis within the overall design of the fountain, as they marked the point of transition between its enclosed private realm and the outside world. By passing through them, the act of entering and leaving the fountain was given a particular significance.

In the 1st Berlin drawing, the projections are removed, and the entrances are substantially widened, creating better circulation between the fountain and the surrounding area [plate 27]. These entrances are now conceived as simple openings in the low parapet surrounding the fountain. Although they are still decorated with the statues of tritons and nereids, the number of these figures is reduced by half. In the 2nd Berlin drawing, these figures are replaced by the herms [plate 28].

The outer boundary of the fountain in the Naples drawing has the appearance of a low parapet, consisting of narrow slabs that alternated with more solid pedestals, which supported the statuary [plate 26]. The slabs were decorated with circles, diamonds, and ovals, forming a regular pattern. This outer parapet had two functions. Firstly, it delineated the boundary of the fountain, clearly separating the area that it enclosed from the surrounding space. Secondly, it supported the animal heads and figures of river-gods, concealing the hydraulic equipment that provided a constant supply of water for the statuary. The animal heads that presently decorate the *Fontana Pretoria* have their snouts drilled to spout water, which falls into the moat. The figures of river-gods, according to the inventory, were provided with basins intended to collect the water emanating from the figures.

The arrangement of the river-gods, the animal heads, and the herms in the Naples drawing is repeated in the 1st Berlin drawing. In the 2nd Berlin drawing, however, the animal heads are removed from the parapet and placed in the niches above the moat, which in the previous project were meant to be occupied by the figures of sirens [cf. plates 27 and 28]. The river-gods, which must have appeared isolated on the fountain's periphery after the removal of the animal heads, were transferred to a more central position at the edge of the moat. These relocations removed the necessity of extending the hydraulic apparatus to the boundary of the

fountain, while the parapet became redundant, as it had lost its tectonic function of providing support for the statuary. As a result, it was replaced with a less massive balustrade, which further diminished the sense of enclosure that the fountain manifested in the Naples drawing.

The changes in the number and arrangement of sculpted figures in Camillo Camilliani's successive projects for the fountain in Piazza Pretoria, as reflected in these drawings, allow us to deduce the nature of the criticisms raised against each of his successive proposals. In considering these alternative schemes, the Palermitan Senate was apparently guided by financial as well as aesthetic considerations.

There are two apparent reasons why the original project, reflected in the Naples drawing, was not accepted by the Palermitan authorities. Firstly, the narrow entrances prevented free circulation between the fountain and the surrounding area, obstructing access to the moat, which was meant to function as a public source of drinking water. The additional statues of tritons and nereids needed for the fountain's decoration would have involved heavy expenditure, which was evidently viewed as unnecessary since in the final design the number of figures was reduced by half. Secondly, the wall above the moat, decorated with simple shallow niches, must have appeared too plain and ungainly, and Camillo Camilliani was requested to make it more pleasing in appearance. His decision was to have the niches accommodate additional statuary, which necessitated making them larger and more ornamental. At this stage, the design of the fountain was still in keeping with the original scheme for the distribution of the figures, since the statues of river-gods and animal heads retained their position along the periphery of the fountain. The idea of decorating the niches with statues might have appealed to the Senate, but the necessity of purchasing some two dozen additional figures rendered the second project a very costly undertaking. Camillo Camilliani could reasonably have been told to fill the niches with statuary, but manage it with the resources available at hand.

This was certainly no easy task, and Camillo Camilliani's solution of moving the animal heads into the niches above the moat enunciated a major conceptual change in the design of the fountain. Although the animal heads continued to constitute its most distinctive feature,[536] their removal from the fountain's periphery considerably weakened their visual impact. Since only 19 of them were originally

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[536] Cf. Wiles 1933, p. 68

supplied, five additional heads had to be ordered. In the design of the present *Fontana Pretoria,* they are distributed in a series of six. The relocation of the animal heads further necessitated the transfer of the reclining river-gods to the edge of the moat, thereby making redundant the ornate parapet that surrounded the fountain. Finally, it was decided that the tritons and nereids should flank the river-gods rather than guard the entrances, and their position was switched with that of the herms.[537]

This analysis allows us to draw two important conclusions. Firstly, it emerges that the design of the *Fontana Pretoria* evolved organically in a series of projects, where the definitive departure from the original scheme was recorded in the 2nd Berlin drawing. The three drawings that we have considered demonstrate how the statuary, which in the beginning was mainly confined to the periphery of the fountain, in the course of the transformation of its design was moved into a more central location. We have two chronological indications that enable us to determine the exact time when this fundamental decision was made. The Naples drawing is dated 2nd June 1576, indicating that by that stage the original scheme was still taken as the basis for the ongoing project. Camillo Camilliani was unsure about the exact number of figures that would be available to him until the second consignment of fountain statuary, which arrived on 22nd March 1577, was approved by the authorities of Palermo. The 1st Berlin drawing was therefore executed between these two dates. The 2nd Berlin drawing, which reflects the present number and position of the fountain's statuary, should therefore be dated after 22nd March 1577. Secondly, this analysis confirms the initial conjecture that the fountain represented in the Naples drawing must closely reflect the intended design of the "original fountain," even though it might not reproduce it exactly. The most distinctive feature of this design was the position of the

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[537] The position of herms in the Naples drawing, where they are shown as flanking the river-gods, attracts some attention. During the 16th century, the function of herms was usually to guard the entrances to buildings, as in the case of the two armless figures outside the principal entrance of the Palazzo Vecchio in Florence (cf. Baldinucci 1985, p. 166; see also Lomazzo 1584, pp. 413-17). Herms were also characteristically placed in gardens, where, in accordance with their original meaning, they signified fertility. In the art of the 16thcentury, herms and pergolas were used as hallmarks of the garden setting, as in Tintoretto's *Susannah and the Elders* in the Kunsthistorisches Museum in Vienna (c. 1555), or the engraving by Leon Davent of the school of Fontainebleau representing men and women cultivating a garden (see Illustrated Bartsch, 33, p. 195). Nigrone's miniatures indicate that it was customary to use herms in the design of niche fountains, placing them instead of pilasters that flanked the niche containing the water feature [cf. plate 93]. In this case, herms were almost invariably made of stucco and executed in relief. Such stucco figures, now in a very decayed condition, still decorate the aedicules attached to the back wall in the lower garden in Abadía [plate 92]. The positioning of herms to stand either side of the reclining river-gods in the design of the "original fountain" in the Florentine garden of Don Luigi seems to reproduce the same arrangement of sculpted figures without their architectural shell.

river-gods and animal heads, which in the drawing occupy the fountain's periphery and are facing inwards. The design of the fountain that stood in the Florentine garden of Don Luigi therefore could only be fully appreciated from inside, where the main viewpoints for examining its statuary were to be found. This arrangement finds no analogies in other known fountains executed in the 16th century. The changes introduced by Camillo Camilliani resulted in a thorough transformation of the fountain's original conception, in effect turning "inside out" its original design. By reducing the prominence of the entrances and replacing the solid parapet with an open balustrade, Camillo greatly diminished the impression of enclosure that characterised the "original fountain." By reversing the orientation of the river-gods and animal heads, he changed the main position for viewing the fountain from inside to outside.

A fountain conceived as an enclosed space, a place of repose and meditation, made sense in the context of a garden, but not in a public square. The changes that Camillo Camilliani wrought to the design of the "original fountain" were dictated primarily by the necessity of adapting it to an urban setting. His final project rendered it an open structure, easily accessible from outside and suited to its newly acquired function as a public source of drinking water. A private fountain thus became an urban monument. The success of this transformation was extraordinary, given that the fountain's original architectural shell was left virtually intact.

At this point, it should be noted that under close inspection the arrangement of the fountain's statuary in the Naples drawing does not make complete sense. We have already noted that the animal heads were provided with holes for spouting water [plate 14]. In the present *Fontana Pretoria,* the water that they spout falls into the moat. In the Naples drawing, the animal heads are placed along the parapet surrounding the fountain, which conceals the hydraulic equipment, and are turned inwards to face the centre. They are positioned a considerable distance away from the moat. If they were spouting water (as seems to be indicated by the thin curving lines connected to some of these sculptures), it would presumably have fallen directly on the pavement [plate 26].[538] In the absence of any devices for channelling this water (the pavement represented in the drawing appears to be completely flat), the continuous flooding would have made the whole area swampy and inhospitable.

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[538] Animal heads that featured in Agostino del Riccio's description of an imaginary fountain were described as similarly spouting water from their snouts (Heikamp 1981, pp. 73-74).

The apparent incongruity between the position and function of the animal heads in the design of the "original fountain" is resolved if we assume that the water issued only occasionally. The fountain was located in a garden, a place where Nature was ostensibly given a free reign. While inspiring intellectual endeavours, the garden also called for playfulness, a freedom from behavioural conventions and social constraints.[539] Fountains not only soothed the senses with the sound of flowing water and stimulated philosophical contemplation: they provided fun. An essential feature of 16th-century Italian gardens were *giochi d'acqua*, systems of water jets designed to drench unsuspecting visitors.[540] Triggering devices hidden under the pavement put them in operation. Special hydraulic equipment controlled the supply of water and made it possible to turn off the entire system when needed.

If the animal heads were part of a system of *giochi d'acqua* in the "original fountain," they formed an essential feature of its overall conception, that is to say, its conceit. Upon entering the fountain, the unsuspecting visitor could activate the mechanism that controlled the issue of water, exposing himself, as it were, to a sudden "attack" of the animals. During the summer months, when the system of *giochi d'acqua* was most likely to be in operation, the relatively small amounts of water that fell on the pavement would have dried quickly. Amused and a little alarmed, the visitor would have sought refuge from the terrifying beasts in the upper zone of the fountain by climbing a flight of stairs. Surrounded by the serene figures of antique heroes and deities, he would have been able to sit on one of the benches, relax, and enjoy the scenographic effects of the fountain as a whole.

As designed for the garden of Don Luigi de Toledo in Florence, the "original fountain" was conceived as a *locus ludicus*, a bizarre adult playground. It allowed its visitors to combine sensual pleasure, intellectual sophistication, and childish carelessness in a single experience. The fountain's conceit appears to have been one of the finest bizarre creations of the 16th-century imagination. As the main feature in

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[539] Cf. Lazzaro 1998, p. 250

[540] The effect of the *giochi d'acqua* in the Villa d' Este at Tivoli was vividly described by Claudio Tolomei in his letter dated 26th July 1543: "Ma di quelli è da pigliar gran diletto, le quali stando nascoste, mentre l'huomo è tutto involto nella maraviglia di si bella fonte, in un subito, come soldati che escon d'acquato, s'apreno, e disavedutamente assagliono, e bagnano altrui: onde nasce e riso, e scompiglio, e piacer tra tutti" (MacDougall ed. 1978, p. 13). In the ideal garden imagined by Agostino del Riccio, *giochi d'acqua* included an overturning bridge that threw whoever stepped on it into the water. In was essential that this amusing procedure was entirely harmless, since, according to Del Riccio, "le burle devono essere civili et non asinesche" (Heikamp 1981, pp. 73-74).

the garden's decoration, the fountain provided the key to its overall conception. When it was removed, the garden lost its internal logic and reason for being.

The system of *giochi d'acqua,* intrinsic to the conception of the "original fountain," was certainly inappropriate for a utilitarian structure in the centre of a public square. The transformation of the fountain's design, carried out by Camillo Camilliani, largely consisted in divorcing it from the original connection with these amusing drenching devices. Despite the success of its transformation into a civic monument, the fountain that presently stands in Piazza Pretoria in Palermo nonetheless retains features that seem misplaced in an urban environment. Goethe, for example, found its rich sculptural ornamentation rather incongruous with the fountain's primary use as a source of water.[541] The figures of Vertumnus and Pomona are closely associated with gardens, while the sculpted geese that landed on the main *tazza* as if to drink from it might appear frivolous more so than witty in the context of a city. It was perhaps these and other oddities in the design of the *Fontana Pretoria* that suggested to Vincenzo di Giovanni a fanciful idea that the fountain was like a garden in its relation to the Senatorial palace.[542]

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[541] Cf. Goethe 1970, p. 231: "In a square of a moderate size stands a circular stone construction of a little less than a storey high, the socle, wall, and cornice of which are coloured marble. Let into it all the way round are niches from which all sorts of animal heads, carved in white marble, look out, craning their necks – horses, lions, camels, elephants in succession. Within this circular menagerie, one is rather surprised to see a fountain. Four flights of marble steps lead up it from openings cut in the enclosing wall, allowing people to draw the copiously flowing water."

[542] Di Giovanni 1989, p. 141

2.3.3 Michelangelo Naccherino and his contribution to the design of the "Fontana Pretoria"

The design and sculptural decoration of the *Fontana Pretoria* represents the contribution of a number of sculptors, architects, and engineers, including Francesco Camilliani, Michelangelo Naccherino, Camillo Camilliani, and various Florentine and Palermitan craftsmen. The heterogeneous nature of the fountain's statuary has not escaped the notice of scholars. Di Marzo was among the first to emphasise this lack of stylistic unity, maintaining that the statues signed by Naccherino were characterised primarily by their inferior artistic quality.[543] By tracing the transformation of the architectonic system of the "original fountain," we were able to determine Camillo Camilliani's role in the creation of the *Fontana Pretoria.* Naccherino's documented authorship of at least two of the statues presently decorating the fountain [plates 16 and 6] raises the larger question of the nature and extent of his contribution to its design.

Michelangelo Naccherino was a Florentine sculptor who was mainly active in Naples, where he established himself in the last quarter of the 16th century and had a long career until his death in February 1622 at the age of 72.[544] Due to his importance in the context of the development of Neapolitan sculpture, Naccherino was the subject of two monographic studies by Antonio Maresca di Serracapriola (1924) and Michael Kuhlemann (1999).[545]

Naccherino belonged to the same generation of sculptors as Camillo Camilliani; their names appeared closely together in the books of the Florentine *Accademia del disegno* in spring 1573.[546] Information regarding Naccherino's early career was mainly provided by the sculptor himself in his written testimony to the Neapolitan Inquisition, dated 20th February 1589.[547] This document contains a

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[543] Di Marzo 1872, p. 356; Di Marzo 1880-83, p. 813

[544] Kuhlemann 1999, p. 151

[545] The present section is focused on Naccherino's early career, style, and involvement with the design of the *Fontana Pretoria.* For this reason it does not account for all the bibliographical material pertaining to the sculptor. For the full bibliography on Naccherino's role in the design of the *Fontana Pretoria* see Kuhlemann 1999, p. 171. The studies of Naccherino relevant to our present discussion include Morisani 1941, Bilardo 1969-71, Parronchi 1965, Parronchi 1980, and Parronchi 1981.

[546] ASF, Accademia del disegno, 25, fol. 26

[547] The document was originally published by Luigi Amabile (Amabile 1870). The text is reproduced by Kuhlemann (Kuhlemann 1999, pp. 257-58).

denunciation on religious grounds of Giambologna, whom Naccherino declared to be his former master. In accusing Giambologna of impiety, Naccherino repeatedly stated that he spent ten years in the sculptor's workshop.[548]

Few art historians have been comfortable about this incontrovertible association between the two sculptors.[549] The somewhat heavy and awkward style of Naccherino's statuary bears little evident resemblance to the elegant and fully resolved attitudes of Giambologna's figures. The closest analogies to Naccherino's style are usually sought in the school of Bandinelli. The distinctively Bandinellian overtones of Naccherino's statuary, according to Venturi, allowed it to tally with the sculpture by Francesco Camilliani in the decoration of the *Fontana Pretoria.*[550]

The most significant attempt to resolve the problem of the origin of Naccherino's style was undertaken by Alessandro Parronchi in an article published in 1965. Parronchi argued that Naccherino was apprenticed not only to Giambologna, but also to Bandinelli's pupil Vincenzo de' Rossi.[551] In subsequent publications, Parronchi referred to Naccherino's apprenticeship with De' Rossi as an established fact.[552] This conclusion was so welcome in the scholarly world that the association between the two sculptors was accepted by all later scholars, notably by Kuhlemann, and Parronchi's arguments have never been subjected to scrutiny.[553]

Although Vincenzo de' Rossi was referred to by Bandinelli as one of his favourite students,[554] he developed a highly idiosyncratic manner after he started working as an independent sculptor. The odd expressiveness of his statuary, achieved through the brutality and violence of action,[555] coarseness of emotion,[556] and

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[548] Kuhlemann 1999, pp. 257-58. The fact that Naccherino had spent ten years in Giambologna's workshop is stated three times. Naccherino's accusations are based on his claim to have the intimate knowledge of Giambologna's habits, as during his ten-year period of service his duties involved dressing and undressing his master. During this whole period of Naccherino's service the irreverent Fleming persistently ate meat on fast days, never called a doctor when he was ill, never attended the Holy Mass unless he had to do so with other members of the *Accademia del disegno,* and never went to confession.

[549] Cf. Morisani 1941, pp. 46-47. Morisani believed that Naccherino's statuary decorating *Fontana Pretoria* was particularly removed from the stylistic principle of Giambologna's art.

[550] Venturi, Adolfo 1937, p. 541. The stylistic affinity between Naccherino's sculpture and the output of Bandinelli's studio was noted by other scholars. Cf. Morisani 1941, p. 50-51 (in relation to the style of Naccherino's tomb of Alfonso Sanchez de la Luna in SS. Annunziata in Naples), p. 59 (in relation to the style of Naccherino's group of *Adam and Eve* in the Boboli gardens), and Parronchi 1965, p. 15.

[551] See Parronchi 1965

[552] See Parronchi 1980, pp. 34-35

[553] Kuhlemann 1999, pp. 16-17; cf. Negri Arnoldi 1997, p. 21

[554] Cf. Bandinelli 1973, p. 1385

[555] Cf. the figure of the *Dying Adonis* by De' Rossi in the Museo Nazionale del Bargello in Florence.

[556] Cf. De' Rossi's series of the *Labours of Hercules* in the Palazzo Vecchio in Florence.

disregard for the size and proportions of the figures,[557] remained a relatively isolated phenomenon in Florentine sculpture of the 16th century. Parronchi's suggestion that Naccherino's formation as a sculptor took place in De' Rossi's studio would therefore put the sculptor's early work in a very specific stylistic context.

Naccherino's career is fairly well known apart from the period between 1568 and 1577. The lost figure of *St. Matthew,* commissioned by the Florentine *Accademia del disegno* in 1571, is the only documented work that dates from that time. Designed for the chapel of St. Luke in the cloister of the SS. Annunziata in Florence, it was removed at an early date;[558] there is no record of the style or appearance of this figure. The two statues of the *Fontana Pretoria* that bear Naccherino's signature, the *Papireto* and the standing *Nereid* on the side of the *Arno/Oreto,* are therefore the sculptor's only identifiable works from that early period of his career.[559] While the *Papireto* displays a varied range of influences and fails to define Naccherino's style as distinctly individual, the *Nereid* manifests some of the characteristics of the sculptor's mature works, such as the softness of flesh and a peculiarly elongated shape of the eyes.[560]

Hoping to establish a close association between Naccherino and De' Rossi, Parronchi relied on both archival and stylistic evidence. The apparent archival evidence consisted of three new documents. The first document, dated 26th February 1573, included a payment to "Michelagnolo scultore" for producing crib figures for the monastery of S. Maria Novella in Florence.[561] The second document contained two references to "Michellagnollo garzone" of Vincenzo de' Rossi, bearing the dates 12th May and 20th June 1565.[562] The third document, dated May 1572, included a

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[557] Cf. De' Rossi's early group of *Jesus with St. Joseph,* commissioned in 1547 for the Pantheon in Rome.

[558] The statue's present location is unknown. According to Summers, it is the only figure used in the chapel's decoration, "whose appearance is not definitively known" (Summers 1969, pp. 80 and 82).

[559] The figures are dated by Kuhlemann 1574-76 (Kuhlemann 1999, pp. 171-73).

[560] Naccherino's statuary was generally criticised by Morisani for the "elements of generic expression" that it contained (Morisani 1941, p. 52). The opinions as to the quality of the two sculptures signed by Naccherino that decorate the *Fontana Pretoria,* however, differ considerably. Both the *Papireto* and the *Nereid* were described by Bilardo as "sculture inerti e del tutto esteriori" (Bilardo 1969-71, pp. 242-43). According to Pedone, these two statues "non presentano alcunchè d'interessante." The "unnatural" posture of the *Papireto,* maintains the scholar, betrays the approach of an ambitions yet inexperienced sculptor (Pedone 1986, p. 68). By contrast, Negri Arnoldi described Naccherino's reclining river-god as "uno dei massimi capolavori della scultura italiana del secondo Cinquecento" (Negri Arnoldi 1997, p. 21). The difference between these two assessments of the same piece of sculpture is so considerable that the scholars might almost be referring to different works.

[561] Parronchi 1965, p. 12

[562] Parronchi 1965, p. 14

reference to "Michelagniolo scultore," who was staying at that time with Vincenzo de' Rossi.[563]

In contemporary documents, Michelangelo Naccherino is indeed referred to as "Michelagnolo scultore," although not invariably. In a reference to the sculptor in the books of the Florentine *Accademia del disegno,* dated between 12th April and 10th May 1573, his name appears as "Michelagnolo Nacherini."[564] Naccherino must have completed his apprenticeship and emerged as an independent sculptor by the late 1560s, since on 12th September 1568 he paid his matriculation fee to the *Accademia del disegno.*[565] On that occasion his name was spelt as "Michelagniolino scultore."[566] By 12th March 1571, he had completed the already discussed statue of *St. Matthew* for the Chapel of St. Luke, originally allocated to Giovanni Balducci.[567] In the record of payment to the four porters who carried Naccherino's statue to the chapel, the sculptor's name appears as "Michelagnolo scultore."[568]

It is probably correct to conclude that "Michelagnolo scultore," who worked on the crib figures for S. Maria Novella before 26th February 1573, and "Michelagnolo scultore," who completed the statue of *St. Matthew* by 12th March 1571, was one and the same person. There is also little remarkable about the possibility of Naccherino lodging with Vincenzo de' Rossi in May 1572. The possible collaboration between the two sculptors does not entail, however, that at an earlier stage Naccherino had been De' Rossi's apprentice. Parronchi's argument presupposes Naccherino's continuous stay in the older sculptor's workshop between 1565 and 1572. In 1571, however, during the period of his presumed apprenticeship, Naccherino was working on an independent and prestigious commission allocated by the *Accademia del disegno.* Further, on 13th January 1572, less than a year later, he was elected *accademico,* thus becoming a full member of the artists' organisation.[569] The identification of Naccherino with "Michellagnollo garzone," who assisted De'

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[563] Parronchi 1965, p. 12

[564] ASF, Accademia del disegno, 25, fol. 26. For Naccherino's record with the *Accademia del disegno* see Zangheri 2000, p. 228

[565] ASF, Accademia del disegno, 101, fol. 8; Kuhlemann 1999, p. 255

[566] Naccherino is recorded to have paid his membership fees and other duties to the *Accademia del disegno* on two occasions in 1570. On 16th July his name features as "Michelagniolo di Domenico Nacharini," and on 18th October it is spelt as "Michelagniolo di Domenico scultore" (ASF, Accademia del disegno, 101, fols. 21 and 22 respectively; Kuhlemann 1999, p. 255).

[567] Summers 1969, p. 80

[568] ASF, Accademia del disegno, 24, fol. 61,Summers 1969, p. 80

[569] ASF, Accademia del disegno, 25, fol. 18; Zangheri 2000, p. 228

Rossi in 1565 and, according to Parronchi, remained in his studio until 1572, therefore cannot be correct.

The suggestion that Naccherino was apprenticed to De' Rossi also contradicts the sculptor's own testimony that he spent ten years in Giambologna's workshop.[570] Born in 1550, Naccherino must have completed his term of apprenticeship by 1568, when he entered the *Accademia del disegno.* His ten-year stay in Giambologna's workshop therefore would have commenced in 1557 or 1558, when Naccherino was seven or eight. This seems to be a reasonable age for a young apprentice to enter a sculptor's studio. While maintaining that Naccherino "stayed with Vincenzo de' Rossi in 1565 and still was there in 1572," Parronchi was aware that Naccherino's declaration contradicted his hypothesis.[571] In order to spend ten years with Giambologna before starting an apprenticeship with De' Rossi, Naccherino would have had to enter Giambologna's workshop at a very improbable age of four or five. Parronchi preferred to avoid this problem by vaguely remarking that Naccherino's words to the Inquisition were "non una bugia ma una mezza verità."[572]

The analysis of documents was only a point of departure for Parronchi, whose main objective was to determine the origins of Naccherino's style. Parronchi's earliest article on the sculptor, which explored the implications of his presumed association with De' Rossi, focused on the authorship of the seven wax heads, preserved in a private collection in Florence. Parronchi identified them as originally part of the figures for the crib of S. Maria Novella, which he believed Naccherino executed before 26th February 1571.[573] The naturalism of these heads and a definite predilection for the ugly that they manifest makes it difficult to believe that they were executed by a pupil of Giambologna. Parronchi, however, found certain parallels between the artistic preoccupations that the wax heads displayed and the work of a sculptor none other than Vincenzo de' Rossi.[574] Further, he argued that the facial expressions captured in these heads convey an interest in physiognomy. In Naccherino's case, according to Parronchi, this interest was confirmed by the sculptor's likely connection with the Neapolitan theorist Giovanbattista della Porta, the author of an important

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[570] Kuhlemann 1999, p. 257
[571] Parronchi 1965, p. 15 (my translation)
[572] Parronchi 1965, p. 16
[573] Parronchi 1965, p. 9
[574] Parronchi 1965, fig. 9 on p. 16

treatise on physiognomy originally published in Naples in 1584.[575] Parronchi concluded that the attribution of the wax heads to Naccherino on stylistic grounds was entirely conclusive so long as the sculptor was a pupil of De' Rossi and had an interest in physiognomy.[576]

The wax heads brought to light by Parronchi did indeed come from S. Maria Novella.[577] There is no indication, however, that they date from the 16th century. Naturalistic in the extreme, they explore ungainly human conditions, such as idiocy, lunacy, disease, and frailness, tabooed by the classical artistic canon.[578] The style of these heads allows us to put them quite firmly in the context of the Neapolitan tradition of *presepi* and suggest the late 18th or early 19th century as a probable time of their execution.[579] There is nothing unusual about the fact that the wax heads ended up in the crib of S. Maria Novella at some stage after their production, probably in the

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[575] See Della Porta 1584. Although not documented, the connection between Naccherino and Giovanbattista della Porta derives from the fact that the latter's brother Vincenzo acted as the sculptor's *confidant* in preparing the charges against Giambologna (Kuhlemann 1999, p. 257).

[576] In support of his view Parronchi offered a number visual comparisons between the works of De' Rossi, the wax heads from S. Maria Novella, some of the animal heads decorating the *Fontana Pretoria* (which the scholar believed to be by Naccherino), and the illustrations to Giovanbattista della Porta's treatise on physiognomy. The wax head identified by Parronchi as representing St. Joseph, for example, was described as "very similar" to the head of Hercules in De' Rossi's group of *Hercules and Diomedes* in the Palazzo Vecchio (Parronchi 1965, p. 22). In a similar fashion, Parronchi drew parallels between certain animal heads of the *Fontana Pretoria,* some illustrations from Della Porta's treatise, and other wax heads (Parronchi 1965, pp. 23-26). Although Parronchi did not attempt to draw a direct comparison between De' Rossi's sculpture and the images from Della Porta's book, he implicitly suggested that all of the subjects of comparison betrayed the same artistic preoccupations (Parronchi 1965, p. 28). The comparisons were supposed to demonstrate that Naccherino's alleged predilection for naturalism, enhanced by his likely acquaintance with Giovanbattista Della Porta, originated in Vincenzo de' Rossi's workshop.

[577] Parronchi 1965, p. 9 and p. 28, note 1

[578] Cf. Parronchi 1965, fig. 10 on p. 16, figs. 12-15 on p. 18, figs. 16-19 on p. 19, fig. 22 on p. 21, fig. 30 on p. 25, and fig. 33 on p. 26

[579] It should be noted that even though "Michelagnolo scultore" who worked on the crib figures for S. Maria Novella could be identified with Naccherino, there is no indication that the works he produced were executed in wax. In the 16th and 17th centuries, crib figures were made integrally of timber, as testified by the oldest partially surviving example of a monumental *presepe,* now in the Museo Nazionale di San Martino, originally carved by Pietro and Giovanni Alemanno in 1478-84 for the church of San Giovanni a Carbonara in Naples (Fittipaldi ed. 1995B, p. 138). Even at the beginning of the 17th century, *presepi* usually consisted of relatively large statues of polychrome wood. It was only later in the century that their figures were given elaborate costumes and separately modelled heads and hands, executed in wood or wax (for a surviving example of a late 17th-century Genoese *presepe* with such figures see Biavati and Sommariva 1989). It is therefore significant that the wax sculptures identified by Parronchi as the work of Naccherino include only heads and not whole figures. The figures that in the late 16th century decorated the crib of S. Maria Novella were evidently made of wood, as in 1605 certain "maestro Cosimo pittore" (possibly Cosimo di Alfonso Parigi) was commissioned to retouch the statue of little Jesus (cf. the document transcribed by Parronchi in Parronchi 1965, p. 12).

course of the 19th century. It does not follow, however, that they had anything to do with the crib figures that Naccherino was presumably working on in 1571.[580]

Although the style of Vincenzo de' Rossi is usually described as violent and coarse, it is classical at foundation. The ugliness of action that the sculptor evidently liked to portray, manifest in his series of the *Labours of Hercules* in the Palazzo Vecchio in Florence, is emphatic and exaggerated to the degree of grotesque stylisation. In this it is anything but naturalistic. The artistic principles manifested by the wax heads, striking precisely because of their shocking veristic quality, are in direct opposition to the style of De' Rossi's statuary. The non-classical origin of their style was evident also to Parronchi, who confessed that "initially" he could find no analogies for these heads in the Florentine art of the 16th century.[581] Parronchi's attribution of the wax heads to Naccherino on the basis of his presumed apprenticeship with De' Rossi is therefore based on a misreading of the fundamental aesthetic principles that underlie the art of both of these sculptors.

In the absence of any conclusive evidence confirming Naccherino's association with Vincenzo de' Rossi (apart from the possibility of their brief collaboration in 1572), the roots of the sculptor's style should be sought elsewhere. For this reason, the stylistic links between Naccherino's sculpture and the output of Giambologna's studio, which are perhaps not immediately evident, should be reconsidered.

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[580] The fact that neither the wax heads from the crib of S. Maria Novella nor the illustrations to Della Porta's treatise have anything to do with the Florentine artistic tradition may suggest that Parronchi's understanding of the nature of Naccherino's style rests on a confusion between two contrasting principles of the use of hyperbole in art. The effect of hyperbole could be achieved through either hyper-naturalism or grotesqueness. In the art of the 16th century, the effect of the grotesque was usually derived from the unnatural exaggeration of human or animal forms, as evident from the representations of the giants in the *Sala dei Giganti* of the Palazzo del Te in Mantua by Giulio Romano. The element of unnaturalness distinguishes such works from equally striking hyper-naturalistic images, such as the grimacing self-portraits of the eccentric 18th-century German sculptor Franz Xaver Messerschmidt (for Messerschmidt see Wittkower R. and M. 1964, pp. 124-32). The difference between these contrasting principles of grotesqueness and hyper-naturalism is clearly manifest in their relationship to the art of antiquity. In the Renaissance, grotesque figures were always created in accordance with the classical aesthetic canons. Such figures were also common in antiquity, and certainly included the satyr with an exaggerated phallus and a bizarre facial expression, part of the marble group of *Satyr raping a goat* from the Villa dei Papiri in Herculaneum, now in the Museo Archeologico Nazionale in Naples (inv. 277709; see ill. in De Caro ed. 2000, p. 25). The figures executed for the Neapolitan *presepi* often utilise postures and gestures of classical origin. In the attitude of a leper supported by a boy by the 18th-century Neapolitan sculptor Giuseppe Sanmartino (1720-93), the outstretched right arm of the reclining figure is a mocking reference to the gesture of awakening Adam from Michelangelo's Sistine Chapel ceiling (the statue in now in the Museo di San Martino; see ill. in Fittipaldi ed. 1995A, p. 54). Yet, despite the correct proportions and studied attitudes, the naturalism of the figures of the Neapolitan *presepi* has distinctly non-classical roots (cf. Fittipaldi ed. 1995A, p. 7).

[581] Parronchi 1965, p. 20

In general terms, Naccherino's style seems to be rooted in two separate traditions. While the emphatic classicism of Bandinelli's school, usually monumental, but occasionally mannered, is prominent in the overall conception of Naccherino's best works, the influence of Giambologna manifests itself on the level of minute detail. This influence is discernible in the peculiar naturalistic touches, such as the clear definition of cuticles in delineating the shape of nails of Naccherino's figures,[582] the slight yet perceptible unease with which draperies relate to nude bodies,[583] and the double parting of the beard in the figure of the tortured Christ.[584] Lacking in the visual fluidity characteristic of Giambologna's style, Naccherino's figures do not speak his former teacher's sculptural language as clearly as do the works of Pietro Tacca and Francavilla. Subtle yet telling reminders of his early training in Giambologna's studio, however, permeate Naccherino's style at all stages of its development.

In some important ways, Naccherino's statuary departs from the compositional and stylistic principles developed by Bandinelli and Giambologna, thus manifesting the individual manner of its creator. The original features of Naccherino's style are manifest in the composition of his standing figures. His statuary shows a decided predilection for frontal articulation, although, unlike Bandinelli, the sculptor does not attempt to make the lateral views of his figures entirely satisfactory. For this reason Naccherino's statues usually have awkward side profiles.[585] The planar composition is also partially responsible for the stiffness generally characteristic of his statuary.[586] A sparing yet effective use of detail often gives Naccherino's works a monumental quality [plate 115].

The most peculiar feature of Naccherino's style, which became increasingly prominent towards the end of his career, is the tendency to avoid *contrapposto.* As a result, most of his figures are shown in static yet unstable attitudes [cf. plate 115].[587] This compositional peculiarity, which sets Naccherino's statuary apart from the

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[582] Cf. Naccherino's *Christ at the column* (1616-17) in the sacristy of SS. Quirico e Lucia, Montelupo, and Giambologna's *Ocean* in the Museo Nazionale del Bargello in Florence.
[583] Cf. Naccherino's statue of *Neptune* on the *Fontana Medina* in Naples (c. 1600) and Giambologna's *Crucifix* in the SS. Annunziata in Florence.
[584] Cf. Naccherino's *Crucifix* in the Church of S. Carlo all' Arena in Naples and Giambologna's *Crucifix* in the SS. Annunziata in Florence.
[585] Cf. the side views of the group of *Adam and Eve* in the Boboli gardens in Florence.
[586] Bilardo, for example, emphasised "la rigida quadratura del blocco marmoreo" that characterised the composition of Naccherino's *Madonna and Child* in Castroreale (Bilardo 1969-71, p. 242).
[587] Cf. the stance of Naccherino's figures of Adam and Eve in the Boboli gardens in Florence (c. 1616), or the statue Christ in Montelupo, where the visual stability of the composition is sustained by the massive column, rather incongruous with the figure.

output of Giambologna's studio as well as the work of Bandinelli's disciples, was a common feature in the work of sculptors active in Naples in the late 16th century.

Scholars have proposed three separate versions of Naccherino's involvement with the *Fontana Pretoria.* Firstly, it was suggested that the "original fountain" was a collaborative project of Francesco Camilliani and Naccherino, and both sculptors were employed by Don Luigi from the very beginning. This version of events was favoured by the majority of scholars who studied the *Fontana Pretoria.*[588] Secondly, Naccherino could have arrived in Sicily together with Camillo Camilliani, having been employed by the Palermitan Senate on similar conditions. This theory was put forward by Di Marzo, who pointed out that the presence of the statue of the *Madonna and Child,* signed by Naccherino, in the Church of S. Agata in the Sicilian town of Castroreale, was a definite indication of the sculptor's visit to the island.[589] These two theories, namely, the view that Naccherino collaborated with Francesco Camilliani in Florence and the possibility of him coming to assist Camillo Camilliani in Palermo, are not mutually exclusive. It is likely that Naccherino would have been invited to Palermo to help with the erection of the *Fontana Pretoria* if he had already worked on this fountain in Florence.[590] Thirdly, it is possible that Naccherino's statuary was executed in Naples, where the sculptor was based from 1574 onwards, and subsequently shipped to Sicily. His work would then have come with the second consignment, which arrived in Palermo shortly before 22nd March 1577. Naccherino's statuary then would have been integrated into the design of the *Fontana Pretoria* after it was found to be in keeping with the size and style of the other pieces. This version of events was proposed by Bilardo and recently accepted by Kuhlemann.[591]

The theory of collaboration between Naccherino and Francesco Camilliani in Florence is implausible for two reasons. Firstly, Naccherino's birth on 6th March 1550 makes him an unlikely candidate for the commission that was allocated in the early 1550s.[592] The idea that he could have joined Francesco Camilliani's workshop as an

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[588] Cf. Samonà 1931-33, p. 230; Wiles 1933, p. 69; Russo 1961, pp. 15 and 22; Parronchi 1965, p. 16; Negri Arnoldi 1974, pp. 217-81; Davì and Grasso 1983, p. 75; Garstang 1984, pp. 14-15; Giunta 1985, p. 23; Hernando 1994, p. 527; Garstang 1996, p. 525; Negri Arnoldi 1997, p. 108; and Hernando 1998, p. 149

[589] Di Marzo 1880 and 1883, 1, p. 813; Ruggieri Tricoli 1984, p. 62

[590] Di Marzo 1864, pp. 157-58; Di Marzo 1880 and 1883, 1, p. 813. Di Marzo's hypothesis was supported by Maresca di Serracapriola, who suggested that the statue was executed between 1573 and 1576 (Maresca 1924, pp. 18-21), and Bottari (Bottari 1962, p. 102).

[591] Bilardo 1969-71, pp. 238-39; Kuhlemann 1999, p. 29

[592] For the date of Naccherino's birth see Kuhlemann 1999, pp. 15 and 255.

apprentice at a later stage is at odds with the fact that he was allowed to leave his signature on two of the sculptures that now decorate the *Fontana Pretoria.* Secondly, neither of the two figures that were signed by Naccherino featured in the inventory of the components of the "original fountain" that were received in Palermo on 26th May 1574. This indicates that they were not part of the "original fountain."[593]

Di Marzo's suggestion that Naccherino arrived in Palermo to assist Camillo Camilliani with the erection of the *Fontana Pretoria* is also unsustainable. Firstly, in the contract that Camillo Camilliani drew up with the authorities of Palermo, he specifically requested that no other artist should be involved in the commission. Although this condition was crossed out in the final draft, it is unlikely that Camillo would have made such a demand if he was summoned to Sicily together with Naccherino to work on the same project. Secondly, it was demonstrated by Bilardo that the Castroreale group of the *Madonna and Child* was purchased from Naccherino's workshop in Naples in 1601 as opposed to being commissioned locally.[594] This removes the one piece of evidence that could have testified to Naccherino's presence in Sicily.[595]

The most plausible explanation of the presence of Naccherino's figures among the statuary of the *Fontana Pretoria* is that they arrived in Palermo shortly before 22nd March 1577 with the second consignment of fountain components, having been executed in the sculptor's workshop in Naples.[596] The question remains whether Naccherino was in fact responsible for all of the statuary that was delivered in the second consignment, and for this reason did not feature in the inventory of 1574. The style of tritons and nereids, which presumably arrived together with Naccherino's figures, manifests, however, three distinct manners. The figures of nereids on the right of the *Maredolce/Parnassus* and the *Papireto* appear to be the products of the same workshop. Stylistic analogies to their expressionless faces with square chins, thick eye-lids, broad hips, and a schematic approach to the definition of the human body,

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[593] Cf. Bilardo 1969-71, p. 240

[594] See Bilardo 1969-71, p. 236

[595] Pedone's view that if the possibility of Naccherino's stay in Palermo has to be rejected, the statuary of the *Fontana Pretoria* that he signed must have been executed in Florence, contradicts the records of the sculptor's presence in Naples from 1574 onwards.

[596] Cf. Bilardo 1969-71, p. 241. Although Kuhlemann followed Bilardo in rejecting the theory that Naccherino collaborated with Francesco Camilliani in the execution of the "original fountain" in Florence and the view that he assisted Camillo Camilliani in Palermo, he expressed uncertainty as to the exact provenance of his figures (Kuhlemann 1999, p. 26). Since Naccherino's presence in Naples from 1574 onwards is documented, this over-cautiousness on Kuhlemann's part appears unnecessary.

could be found the work of Geronimo D'Auria.[597] These statues are closely related to their accompanying figures of tritons, characterised by identical headgear in the form of large sea-shells, bland modelling, and very awkward poses. The tritons on the side of the *Arno/Oreto* and *Mugnone/Gabriele,* manifest yet another style. Their well-defined musculature and exaggerated facial features find analogies in the male figures on the early 17th-century *Fontana di S. Lucia* and the *Fontana di Immacolatella* in Naples.[598] The grotesque quality of these figures, which Parronchi thought was typical of both De' Rossi's statuary and of some of the animal heads decorating the *Fontana Pretoria,* does not seem to characterise Naccherino's output. The only documented works by the sculptor that could be regarded as grotesque are the two stylised masks in the Grotto of Adam and Eve in the Boboli gardens in Florence. These masks appear laboured in both conception and execution, perhaps resulting from the forced effort on the part of a sculptor who was oblivious to the very concept of wit [plate 117]. The irredeemable seriousness of these masks is at variance with the gentle humour that permeates the formidable yet benevolent monsters executed by Francesco Camilliani to guard the bastions of the Fortress of S. Barbara in Siena [plate 116].

During our previous discussion of the "original fountain," we left unanswered one important question. It remains unclear whether the drawing sent by Don Garcia de Toledo sent to Palermo, which was presumably executed by Camillo Camilliani,[599] and the drawing now preserved in the Biblioteca Nazionale in Naples, were two different versions of one and the same image. The fact that the Naples drawing was a copy of a sketch retained by the notary Antonio Carasi as a legal document seems to confirm this supposition. In this case, the Naples drawing represents the design of the "original fountain." The situation, however, is complicated by the fact that Don Luigi's fountain was incomplete at the time of its sale.

The contract between Don Garcia de Toledo and the authorities of Palermo drawn up on 8th January 1573 clearly states that the fountain owned by Don Luigi was

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[597] Cf. the figures of *Justice* and *Prudence* flanking the tomb of Fabrizio Brancaccio in S. Maria delle Grazie a Caponapoli in Naples, attributed to Geronimo D'Auria.

[598] *Fontana di S. Lucia,* dated 1606-9, was designed by the architect Alessandro Ciminiello. Its sculpture was executed by Naccherino, Tommaso Montani, and Geronimo d'Auria (Nappi 1980, p. 217). Originally executed for the area of S. Lucia near the seafront, the fountain was moved to Villa Comunale in 1898. The *Fontana di Immacolatella* is dated 1601. The statues of the caryatides that decorate it are attributed to Naccherino, while the male figures are supposed to be the work of Pietro Bernini.

[599] On his arrival in Palermo Camillo Camilliani stated that he had executed certain drawings related to the erection of the fountain in Piazza Pretoria (ASP, Notaio Carasi Antonio 1573-1574, 6295; Di Marzo 1880-83, 2, p. 440).

sold in its entirety as represented in the drawing kept by Antonio Carasi.[600] The same phrasing was repeated in the inventory of fountain components that arrived in Palermo on 26th May 1574.[601] Since neither of the documents stipulate that the fountain represented in the drawing was incomplete, Don Garcia's customers might not have known that they were acquiring an unfinished structure. If that was the case, it is odd that this fact was not acknowledged by the Palermitan authorities, unless they procured a tacit agreement from Don Luigi to supply the missing pieces.

Such an agreement would explain the peculiar fact that the additional statuary for the fountain in Piazza Pretoria that arrived in 1577 was delivered from outside Sicily as opposed to being executed locally. Further questions are raised by the terms on which these figures were received in Palermo. Shortly after their arrival, the Palermitan Senate declared that it was prepared to withhold payment and even spend additional money on purchasing necessary replacements if these new figures did not match the statues that had arrived previously.[602] It is curious that the senators took evident risks by ordering statuary of unspecified size and quality, though they seem to have paid less than these figures would have otherwise cost. It is even stranger that the Senate apparently did not provide the relevant measurements for the statuary. These inconsistencies seem to imply that the Senate was not the party that ordered the additional figures. In this regard, it is perhaps significant that Don Luigi had not received some parts of payment for his fountain by 31st August 1583, by which stage he was threatening the Palermitan Senate with charges of interest.[603] A plausible explanation is that the additional statuary for the *Fontana Pretoria* was ordered by Don Luigi partially at his own expense to compensate for the incomplete state of the "original fountain."

It is reasonable to imagine that the Palermitan authorities might have wanted to keep the figures of the fountain stylistically uniform and for this reason did not involve local masters in the project. The balustrade that now surrounds the *Fontana Pretoria* was, however, commissioned from Vincenzo Gagini.[604] It might well have been executed in Palermo since it was not intended to be part of the "original

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[600] ASP, Real Segreteria, no. 1; Pedone 1986, documents section, unpaginated
[601] ASP, Notaio Carasi Antonio 1573-1574, 6295; Pedone 1986, documents section, unpaginated
[602] ACP, Consigli Civici 1573-1583, no. 69, fol. 162; Samonà 1931-33, p. 271
[603] ACP, Consigli Civici 1573-1583; Pedone 1986, documents section, unpaginated
[604] Vincenzo Gagini was the son of the more famous Antonello Gagini, and was active in Palermo as a sculptor in the last quarter of the 16th century.

fountain," which was to be surrounded by a low parapet. Don Luigi was therefore under no legal obligation to provide it.

After 1574 Don Luigi was resident in Naples. The fact that the second consignment contained two statues signed by Naccherino suggests that they were also executed there. The stylistic affinities between the statuary that arrived in this consignment and the work of other sculptors active in Naples in the last quarter of the 16th century, such as Geronimo D'Auria, gives further support to this supposition. The connection between Naccherino and Don Luigi in Naples is documented, since on 18th August 1594 the sculptor received payment for four marble figures intended to decorate a pond in Don Luigi's garden at Pizzofalcone.[605] Their acquaintance, however, might have begun considerably earlier. We can therefore speculate that it was Don Luigi who invited the young and relatively unknown Florentine expatriate to work on some of the additional statuary for the fountain that he had sold to the city of Palermo.[606] If this was the case, the patronage of Don Luigi de Toledo might have played as important a role in the career of Michelangelo Naccherino as it did in that of Camillo Camilliani.

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[605] D'Addosio 1917, pp. 109-10; Kuhlemann 1999, p. 291
[606] Cf. Bilardo 1969-71, pp. 240-41

CHAPTER 3: THE ARTIST: Francesco Camilliani, "sculptor to the illustrious Don Luigi de Toledo"

3.1 Francesco Camilliani: an outline of career

The information about the early phases of Francesco Camilliani's career is found in the writings of Cosimo Bartoli.[607] Bartoli was an important figure in the cultural life of 16th-century Florence. He was a member of the *Accademia degli Umidi,* and his numerous publications included an Italian translation of Alberti's treatise on architecture, which was published in 1550. In 1549, Bartoli collaborated with Vasari on the first edition of the *Vite di più eccellenti pittori, scultori e architetti;* his contribution was of editorial nature.[608] In a letter to Vasari dated 5th April 1550, Bartoli proposed Camilliani as a possible candidate for the sculptural decoration of the Del Monte chapel in S. Pietro in Montorio in Rome.[609] The commission was instigated by Pope Julius III soon after his election to create a memorial to Antonio and Fabiano del Monte, respectively the Pope's uncle and grandfather.[610] In the end of March 1550, Vasari was put in charge of the project,[611] while Michelangelo was assigned the honorary function of its general supervision.[612] Despite Bartoli's recommendation of Camilliani, in the work on the Del Monte Vasari preferred to collaborate with his own Florentine protégé Ammannati,[613] who was awarded this commission shortly before 28th May 1550.[614]

Bartoli's letter to Vasari is significant on account of two facts. Firstly, it indicates that Vasari had seen Camilliani's work before leaving for Rome in the end

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[607] For Cosimo Bartoli (1503-72) see Bryce 1983. In 1544, Bartoli became the Provost of S. Giovanni in Florence (ASF, Mediceo del Principato, 365, fol. 294; MAP, Doc. sources, no. 2216). In later life, from 1562 until his death in 1572, Bartoli served Cosimo I as a diplomatic agent in Venice.

[608] Bryce 1983, p. 54. In the biography of Piero di Cosimo Vasari refers to Bartoli as "mio amicissimo" (Vasari-Milanesi, 2, p. 590). In the early 1550, Bartoli was in regular contact Vasari, reminding the artist about the painting that he was supposed to execute for the Martelli chapel in S. Lorenzo in Florence. Bartoli was involved in drawing up the contract for this commission (Vasari-Milanesi, 7, p. 691; Frey 1923-30, 1, p. 269, and 2, pp. 868-9).

[609] Frey 1923, 1, p. 281

[610] For the account of the commission, see Vasari-Milanesi, 7, pp. 226-7.

[611] Frey 1923, 1, p. 283, note 1

[612] Vasari-Milanesi, 6, p. 308

[613] Frey 1923, 1, p. 283, note 4

[614] Frey 1923, 1, p. 288. The contract drawn on 3rd June 1550 names Ammannati as the sculptor hired to execute one effigy and one allegorical figure in the Del Monte chapel. Ammannati was eventually allocated the entire sculptural part of the commission (Vasari-Milanesi, 7, p. 521).

of 1549,[615] which suggests that by that stage Camilliani had already been active as an independent sculptor. Secondly, Bartoli states that Camilliani had spent part of the previous year staying with Raffaello di Montelupo.[616] The year in Florence was reckoned to begin on 25th March, the feast day of the Annunciation, so Camilliani's sojourn in Rome took place in either 1549 or early 1550.

Raffaello da Montelupo was a Florentine expatriate, who between 1542 and 1554 ran a large workshop in Rome.[617] Although a relatively important sculptor, he was mainly active as a restorer and dealer of antiquities. Bartoli's suggestion that Raffaello could have testified to Camilliani's professional capabilities seems to indicate that during his stay in Rome Camilliani not only lodged with Raffaello, but also took part in the activities of the latter's workshop, which included antique restoration.[618]

Raffaello was a pupil of the Florentine sculptor Lorenzo Lotti, better known as Lorenzetto. According to Vasari, Lorenzetto was the first sculptor who made the restoration of antiquities his main professional occupation.[619] He frequently included fragments of antique statuary and various architectural members (such as columns, bases, capitals, and even pieces of sarcophagi) in his architectural designs, the most famous of which was the garden façade of the palace of Cardinal Della Valle.[620] In the 16th century, the restoration of antique statuary involved its transformation rather than archaeologically correct reconstruction.[621] Damaged statues were supplied with whatever members they were missing, and disparate fragments were combined to

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[615] Vasari left Florence towards the very end of 1549, returning briefly after the election of Julius III on 8th February 1550 (Vasari-Milanesi, 7, 693).

[616] Frey 1923, 1, p. 281

[617] Thieme-Becker, 25, p. 87. For Raffaello da Montelupo see Verellen 1986.

[618] During the late 1540s, Raffaello's workshop was joined by two young Florentine sculptors, Valerio Cioli (who had by that stage completed his apprenticeship with Tribolo) and Giovanni Antonio Dosio. Cioli remained in Rome throughout the 1550s, working together with his father Simone on the restoration of antiquities of the Villa d'Este on the Quirinal (Venturi 1890, pp. 196-206). In about 1564, he was employed by Cosimo I to work in the garden of the Palazzo Pitti, where his functions also included antique restoration. Most of the antiquities that Cioli worked on were acquired in Rome and were transported to Florence by water via Pisa (cf. ASF, Scrittoio delle fortezze e fabbricche, Fabbricche Medicee, 49, fol. 72).

[619] Vasari-Milanesi, 4, pp. 579-80

[620] In the façade of the palace of Cardinal Della Valle, Lorenzetto combined miscellaneous fragments of antique reliefs to form a continuous frieze, which was still in its place in Vasari's time (Vasari-Milanesi, 4, p. 579).

[621] Cf. MacDougall 1994, p. 30. The principles of restoring antiquities, characteristic of the 16th century, remained practically unchanged in the 17th century; cf. Montagu 1989, p. 151: "In the 17th century the antique was valued, but not as a fragment. [...] Broken and fragmentary marbled were avidly hunted, collected, and then, more often than not, kept in store-rooms; for in a sculpture gallery, on a staircase, in a loggia or in the garden, only complete statues were judged for display."

form new figures. In some cases, antique fragments were given the appearance of the recognisable subjects and were provided with the relevant attributes. They could also be altered to make them suitable for a specific need, for there is evidence that some statues were drilled and plumbed to accommodate them to fountain use.[622] Thus transformed antiquities, according to Vasari, had "more grace than those mutilated trunks, bodies without heads, or figures in any other way mutilated and defective."[623] They also had a greater commercial value, which made their restoration a relatively stable and lucrative business. The ability to restore antique fragments was therefore a useful and desirable skill for a young sculptor to have.[624] The description of some of the objects that Francesco Camilliani proposed to Cosimo I as prizes for a small lottery in August 1562, which included the busts of three antique subjects and two polished octagonal slabs (one of coloured marble and the other of black *paragone* stone),[625] suggests that they were restored antiquities. The nature and prices of these objects find analogies in the list of antiquities that Raffaello da Montelupo sold for the decoration of the Villa Giulia on 25th June 1553 and 18th October 1554.[626]

The information about Camilliani's activities after his Roman sojourn is found in Cosimo Bartoli's book entitled *Ragionamenti accademici sopra alcuni luoghi difficili di Dante.*[627] Published in Venice in 1567, it might have been written in Florence some years earlier.[628] As Bartoli explained in the dedication to his book, it was based on the seven lectures on Dante's *Divina Commedia,* which he delivered at the *Accademia degli Umidi* between 1541 and 1548. In Bartoli's text, these discourses were given the form of five dialogues that involved different interlocutors and were set in various locations. The discussion of Dante was thus integrated in a rather informal conversational context, full of anecdotal detail, forming a sort of framework

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[622] Cf. Venturi 1890, p. 198; MacDougall 1994, p. 30

[623] Vasari-Milanesi, 4, pp. 579-80 (my translation)

[624] Cf. Montagu 1989, p. 151

[625] According to Baldinucci, *paragone* was used in antiquity as a sculpture material (Baldinucci 1985, p. 118).

[626] The three busts were evaluated by Camilliani at 20 *scudi* each; the two octagonal slabs of coloured marble and *paragone* were worth respectively 80 and 40 *scudi* (ASF, Otto di Guardia e Balia, 2241, no. 19; Parronchi 1965, p. 28, note 19). The objects sold by Raffaello for the decoration of the Villa Giulia included a torso and two marble heads (presumably fragments rather than fully restored pieces), for which the sculptor received 12 *scudi,* and an octagonal slab, for which he was paid 88 *scudi* (Lanciani 1990, 3, pp. 31-32).

[627] Bartoli's book was known to art historians from the late 19th century (Sokolowski 1885, p. 422, note 49; Biehl 1911). In the two articles published in 1975, Charles David revived scholarly attention to this text as an important source of information on Florentine architecture and sculpture of the mid-16th century (Davis 1975A; Davis 1975B). In the context of 16th-century garden design, Bartoli's text was discussed by J. B. Bury (Bury, J.B. 1982).

[628] Cf. Davis 1975A, p. 266

or *cornice* for each of the dialogues. The purpose of this devise was to give the text a more literary quality, increase its readability, and provide a relief from the seriousness and intensity of the main subject. The *cornice* also allowed the reader to put these imaginary conversations in the concrete circumstances of place and time.[629]

The setting of the first dialogue was the garden of Giovanni Battista Ricasoli, Bishop of Cortona, located in Via San Gallo in Florence.[630] Its participants included Bartoli himself and two Florentine patricians, Vincenzo Martelli and Angelo della Stufa. Martelli had recently returned to Florence after a long period of exile in Naples and Sicily, and Bartoli volunteered to introduce him to some of the most noteworthy sites that had been created in the city during Martelli's absence.[631] Since the dialogue was given the appearance of a concrete historical episode that involved real individuals as its protagonists and provided a lot of circumstantial evidence, dating the events described by Bartoli presents a feasible task. Some indications in the text allow us to place the events described in the dialogue during the late summer or early autumn of 1550.[632]

Giovanni Battista Ricasoli's property, formerly a convent, was bequeathed to him by his uncle Giuliano in 1538.[633] Although in need of major rebuilding, the house

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[629] Bryce 1983, p. 253

[630] For Ricasoli see Passerini 1861, pp. 73-80. Giovanni Battista Ricasoli (1504-73) had a long and eventful career in the service to the Medici, first in Rome as a courtier to Clement VII and Cardinal Ippolito de' Medici, and later in Florence, where he joined the court of Alessandro de' Medici. After Alessandro's assassination, he became a trusted associate of Cosimo I, holding appointments to the key diplomatic positions in Rome and at the Imperial court. In October 1538, Ricasoli was nominated Bishop of Cortona; in February 1560, he transferred to the bishopric of Pistoia. He died in 1573.

[631] Vincenzo Martelli was a republican partisan, who went into exile after a period of imprisonment by the Medici. He died in 1556, a few years after his return to Florence (Litta 1902, 1st series, 2, Martelli di Firenze, table 2).

[632] Davis placed the events of the dialogue between the end of May 1550 and 21st October 1552 (Davis 1975B, p. 266). As the *terminus ante quem* he suggested the death of Luca Alamanni, who died on 21st October 1552; in the dialogue, however, he still features as the Prior of the Ospedale degli Innocenti in Florence (Bartoli, fol. 20r-v). The *terminus post quem* suggested by Davis was the allocation of the Del Monte commission to Ammannati in late May 1550, which Bartoli described as a very recent event (Bartoli 1565, fol. 19v). Bryce attempted to narrow down the chronological framework suggested by Davis, proposing that Vincenzo Martelli could arrive in Florence only after November 1551, when his master Ferrante Sanseverino, Prince of Salerno, had fled from Naples (Bryce 1983, pp. 253-54). Martelli, however, was already back in Florence on 8th March 1550, when he was asking Bartoli about the time of Vasari's return from Rome (the artist had to fulfil his obligations with regard to the altarpiece he was commissioned for the Martelli in S. Maria Novella) (Frey 1923-30, 1, p. 269). Bartoli's dialogue also contains frequent references to heat, suggesting that the visit to Ricasoli's garden that it described took place during the hot season. The heat and the reference to the allocation of the Del Monte commission to Ammannati allow us to place the events of the dialogue in the late summer-early autumn of 1550.

[633] Bryce 1983, p. 268.

remained unaltered for over ten years.[634] In the end of 1548, Ricasoli accompanied the seven-year old Prince Francesco de' Medici on a visit to Genoa,[635] where he had an opportunity to admire the garden of Andrea Doria's villa at Fassolo that had been laid by Montorsoli a few years previously.[636] The sculptural decoration of this garden included a marble marine monster spouting water, which stood in a pond, and a giant stucco figure of *Neptune* holding a trident.[637] Soon after his return, Ricasoli conceived the idea of creating a similar garden for his almost abandoned house in Florence, the decision that was probably prompted to him by his recent trip.

The rebuilding of the house, design of the garden, and general supervision of the work were entrusted to Cosimo Bartoli, who for a number of years was closely associated with Ricasoli.[638] While the house had to be redesigned as an urban residence, the garden was an entirely new undertaking. Bartoli's involvement with the project thus went beyond the standard functions of an artistic advisor: he had to determine not only the programme for the overall decorative scheme, but also the nature, materials, size, and placement of the sculpture that he wanted to use in the garden.[639] The text of his dialogue contains important references to the house and its location, the layout of the garden, and the nature of its intended sculptural decoration.

The sculptural part of the commission was allocated by Bartoli to Francesco Camilliani. The sculptural decoration of the villa presented a combination of antique and modern statuary; at the time of the dialogue, none of it was yet in its intended location. Bartoli's text is particularly rich in detail describing the sculpture that was

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[634] The building fell in a dilapidated state in the 18th and 19th centuries. In 1973, it was restored by a team of Italian architects who used the information provided by Bartoli's (see Poli et al. 1973). The location of Ricasoli's property described by Bartoli, however, became a matter of confusion in scholarly literature. Since the building was often referred to as a villa, it was presumed to be located outside Florence (cf. Bury, J.B. 1982, p. 17; Tagliolini 1988, p.176; Zangheri 1998, p. 130; and Zangheri 1999, p. 17). It was thus erroneously identified the Villa Lappeggi, which Giovanbattista Ricasoli acquired in 1560 (Zangheri 1998, p. 130; and Zangheri 1999, p. 17).

[635] The purpose of the journey was to greet the Prince Philip of Spain, who was visiting Genoa with a host Spanish courtiers. Francesco de Medici's visit there took place from late September until early December 1548 (ASF, Mediceo del Principato, 5084).

[636] For the history of the villa and its garden, see Gorse 1980 and Gorse 1985. Vasari is the main source for the attribution of Andrea Doria's gardens to Montorsoli (Gorse 1980, p. 26). The work on the garden followed the work on the interior decoration of the church of S. Matteo, completed in 1545, and must have been finished before 1547, when Montorsoli's presence was recorded in Rome (Gaye 1839-40, 2, p. 365).

[637] Vasari-Milanesi, 7, pp. 645-6

[638] There is evidence that in the late 1540s Bartoli acted as Ricasoli's agent in Florence. In a letter addressed to Cosimo I, dated 24th December 1549, Bartoli tried to secure Ricasoli a certain ecclesiastical benefice (ASF, Mediceo del Principato, 395, fol. 288). On 21st October 1547, Bartoli took part in some financial arrangements concerning Ricasoli, who at the time was in France (ASF, Mediceo del Principato, 638, fol. 179).

[639] For the role of artistic advisors in the Renaissance see Hope 1981.

yet to be executed, providing a criterion for distinguishing between the finished and only projected works. Since the restoration of the antiquities acquired by Ricasoli was one of the main tasks assigned to Camilliani, the experience that he had gained in Rome in the workshop of Raffaello da Montelupo must have proved crucial to his choice as the sculptor in charge of the commission.

Bartoli conceived the house and the garden as one integral complex. To emphasise their relationship, he tried to coordinate garden vistas with the views from various rooms inside the building.[640] The façade of the villa, stretched along Via San Gallo, was supposed to be decorated with a series of *finestre inginocchiate*, which became popular after Michelangelo's rebuilding of the ground floor of the Palazzo Medici in Via Larga.[641] The main entrance to the building was going to be flanked by pillars of grey sandstone,[642] which Bartoli intended to carve in relatively high relief to represent two herms, one of which was male and another female.[643] Their description was particularly detailed, suggesting that their execution had not yet begun.[644] The function of these figures was to protect the property: the male herm was supposed to keep away everything bad, coarse, or violent, while the female was intended to make the Bishop's visitors leave all their ignoble desires before entering the house.[645]

The antiquities acquired for the decoration of the house and the garden had to be artistically transformed to take the appearance desired by Bartoli. They included a large female head supposedly representing Portia, destined for a large niche over the principal doorway of the open loggia at the back of the house facing the garden, and two other figures intended for the centres of the two courtyards either side of the main entrance to the building.[646] One of them, the statue of a beautiful woman exquisitely clothed but lacking both arms and the head, was chosen by Bartoli to represent Letizia; it was given to Ricasoli by Stefano del Bufalo, whose garden in Rome,

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[640] Cf. Bartoli 1567, fols. 4r-v, 19r
[641] Bartoli 1567, fol. 4v
[642] Vasari-Milanesi, 1, p. 125
[643] Bartoli 1567, fol. 2v
[644] Angelo della Stufa in fact asked Bartoli whether the figures were going to be male or female (Bartoli 1567, fol. 3v). The male herm was to have big and rough muscles, like a peasant, and the face of a barbarian, fantastic and bizarre, without anything pleasing about it, looking angry and gritting his teeth (Bartoli 1567, fol. 3r). Its female companion was envisaged by Bartoli as having a "delicately finished" body, with one of her hands raised above the head to support her plaited hair (cf. the gesture of Francesco Camilliani's *Andromeda*, executed for an entirely different project [plates 48 and 50]). With her other hand, she was pulling the slightest veil that covered her body, as if willing to demonstrate not only her beauty but also playfulness (Bartoli 1567, fols. 3r-v).
[645] Bartoli 1567, fol. 3v
[646] Bartoli 1567, fol. 17v

located in the area of the future Trevi Fountain, was highly acclaimed at the time.[647] The other figure was to personify the Buono Evento.

The garden was divided into two main areas: the *orto,* a place for growing vegetables and medicinal plants, and the pleasure garden described as a *vigna.* The narrative programme of the garden was based on the contrast between the masculine and the feminine powers as the two aspects of the generative force of nature.[648] They were represented by the figures of Venus and Neptune, which, according to Bartoli, symbolised respectively heat and humidity, whose interaction was the main cause of generation and growth. For this reason, in determining the programme for the garden Bartoli preferred these two figures to the representations of Vertumnus and Pomona, which were more customary in the garden setting. The statues of Neptune and Venice were going to decorate two wall fountains, conceived as the principal features in the garden's layout.

The two fountains, which Bartoli intended to put at the back of the garden, could be reached from the house by going through a pergola; paving slabs below it concealed numerous water-jets ready to pour water on Ricasoli's guests.[649] The location of these *giochi d'acqua* was carefully calculated, since the garden's visitors were going to be drenched while admiring the figures of Neptune and Venus, making their position part of a subtle ploy envisaged by Bartoli.[650] Water from the fountains was to flow in two channels on either side of this main avenue, leading to the oval *vivaio* or fishpond.[651] The earth from digging out this pool was supposed to create an artificial hill decorated with laurel plants and presenting a subtle allusion to Mount Parnassus.[652]

On the exterior, the fountains were going to be decorated with pairs of herms representing the four seasons. The male *Winter,* with an appropriately long beard, and the female *Summer,* were intended to flank the *Fountain of Neptune,* since, as Bartoli explained, during their seasons plants needed more water than at any other time.[653] The other pair of herms, representing spring and autumn, was destined for the *Fountain of Venus.* The herms were to support an entablature spanning a vaulted

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[647] Cf. Borghini 1584, p. 509
[648] Lazzaro 1998, p. 258
[649] Bartoli 1567, fol. 19r
[650] Ibid.
[651] Bartoli 1567, fol. 20v
[652] Ibid.
[653] Bartoli 1567, fols. 20v-21r

niche 2.5 *braccia* (approximately 1.45 m) deep.[654] In the *Fountain of Neptune,* this arrangement was supposed to represent a gate into the open sea, from where Neptune approached the shore. The mighty lord of the seas, whose statue was placed inside the niche, was intended to be shown standing on a large shell pulled by two marble hippocampi and attended by tritons and nereids.[655] These subsidiary figures were going to spout water into the fountain's *tazza,* carried on the shoulders of two marble sea-monsters. The fountain's upper basin, which contained the issue of water, was decorated with the story of the abduction by Neptune of Tyro, daughter of King Salmoneus, carved in low relief.[656] The *Fountain of Venus* was to include the statue of the goddess accompanied by *amorini* and various sea creatures that were holding sea-shells from which water was supposed to gush.[657] From Bartoli's description of the figure of *Venus* it is not entirely clear whether its figure was antique and needed to be restored by Camilliani, or whether it was going to be the sculptor's original work.

Only the statue of *Neptune,* some subsidiary figures of the fountain of Venus, and two of the herms representing the seasons, appeared to be completed at the time when the dialogue was taking place.[658] The figure of *Neptune,* which, according to Bartoli, was the main artistic attraction of Ricasoli's garden,[659] was almost finished and kept in one of the house's rooms. Probably because of its advanced state of completion, we know very little about its actual appearance. Bartoli's guests praised the coherence of its overall conception, beautiful limbs, smooth muscles, and convincing facial expression, noting that had such a statue been found under the Roman ruins in a sufficiently mutilated state, it would have been mistaken for a work of antiquity.[660]

Since both the garden and its sculptural decoration described by Bartoli had perished without trace, scholars expressed doubt as to whether this project had been carried out at all, even in part. Shortly before the work on the garden began, Ricasoli had purchased a large palace located near the Ponte alla Carraia at the junction of Via de' Fossi, Via del Moro, and Via de' Frederighi, which was presumed to be designed

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[654] Bartoli 1567, fol. 18v
[655] Bartoli 1567, fol. 19r
[656] Bartoli 1567, fol. 21r
[657] Bartoli 1567, fol. 18r
[658] Bartoli 1567, fol. 1r
[659] Bartoli 1567, fol. 19r
[660] Ibid.

by Michelozzo.[661] By June 1552, Ricasoli was already entirely absorbed in another costly project, which consisted in commissioning the painter Francesco Pagani to decorate the palace's three façades in monochrome fresco with scenes from Roman history.[662] In order to make Pagani's work fully visible from the river, Ricasoli even decided to demolish the old oratory dedicated to St. Antoninus that had stood near the Ponte alla Carraia.[663] The first portion of the frescoes was revealed on 1st July 1553, causing a sarcastic reaction on part of Bernardetto Minerbetti, Bishop of Arezzo and friend of both Vasari and Don Luigi de Toledo.[664] In the meantime, the work on the villa in Via San Gallo must have come to a standstill; it is unlikely that it could progress much beyond the stage described by Bartoli. On 29th August 1555, Ricasoli, no longer interested in pursuing that project, sold his house in Via San Gallo to the monks of the Florentine Certosa, who on 4th April 1565 ceded it to the nuns of S. Miniato al Ceppo, whose original establishment had been destroyed by the flooding of the Arno.[665] In 1734, their new convent was suppressed by the bull of Pope Clement XII, and the building was divided into rented accommodation gradually falling into the state of dilapidation.

The guidebook to Florence by Francesco Bocchi, published in 1591, contains a detailed description of the works of art, both ancient and modern, that Bocchi saw in the Palazzo Ricasoli at the Ponte alla Carraia. At the time of writing, the palace was in possession of Giuliano Ricasoli, Giovanni Battista's nephew and principal heir.[666] In the palace's courtyard, according Bocchi, stood a statue of Orpheus of antique origin,

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[661] Bartoli 1565, fol. 20v

[662] Francesco Pagani was a pupil of Maturino and Polidoro da Caravaggio and father of Gregorio Pagani, who also became a painter; Francesco Pasgani died in 1561 (Vasari, 6, p. 230; Baldinucci-Rainalli, 2, p. 466).

[663] Cf. Coppi ed. 2000, p. 143: "E addì 20 di detto mese [June 1552] un certo messer vescovo da Ricasoli, al ponte alla Caraia, haveva su la coscia del ponte uno oratorio antichissimo et di grandissima devotione intitolato in Santo Antonino, nè gli parendo havendo tanta casa che lui vi capisse, si messe in mente di farla rovinare et così ottenutola da sua Eccelentia, fu spiantata, cosa veramente degna di lode di un vescovo, il qua[le] havrebbe hauto a farla riguardare; lui fu cagione della sua ruina et di povero prete che uffitiava, et altra causa non diceva salvo che dalle finestre non vedeva Arno a suo modo [...]."

[664] On 1st July 1553, Minerbetti wrote to Vasari, ridiculing the part of the façade of Palazzo Ricasoli that had been uncovered a few days previously. In his opinion, the figures were strangely articulated, the painter was not working properly, and the work was generally disgraceful (Frey 1923-30, 1, p. 358). At that time, Vasari was based in Rome, working on the decoration of the Villa Giulia. Rumours of Minerbetti's sarcasm regarding the façade must have reached Ricasoli by the beginning of August. On 4th August 1553, Minerbetti wrote to Vasari again, informing him that Ricasoli had learned that the work on the façade of his palace had been described as "lunga e brutta" (Frey 1923-30, 1, p. 361). He asked Vasari to contact Ricasoli and clear suspicion that Minerbetti was responsible for such negative views. An amicable exchange of letters between Vasari and Ricasoli followed (see Frey 1923-30, 1, pp. 362 and 365).

[665] ASF, S. Maria Nuova, S. Miniato al Ceppo, no. 78, fol. 126

[666] Bocchi-Cinelli 1677, p. 229

supported by a column of variegated marble, and another figure of Apollo. On top of the stairs, one could find an antique marble head of a female, much larger than life and of "rare beauty," which appears to be the same object as the presumed head of Portia that had once decorated Ricasoli's villa in Via San Gallo. The highlight of this sculptural collection was, however, the statue of Neptune by Francesco Camilliani, which also stood in the courtyard and was described by Bocchi as a "much esteemed" piece.[667] The statue must been moved to the Palazzo Ricasoli before the sale of the property in Via San Gallo.

The fact that Bocchi identified Camilliani's *Neptune* in the Palazzo Ricasoli provides conclusive evidence that the garden complex of the Ricasoli garden in Via San Gallo developed beyond the stage of abstract design, validating Bartoli's account of its progress. The statue, however, no longer features in the palace inventories of 1612.[668] Later guidebooks testify to the presence of only two figures in the courtyard: an *Apollo* by an unknown sculptor and the *Jason* by Pietro Francavilla. While the *Apollo* was almost certainly the figure recorded by Bocchi, Francavilla's *Jason* was originally commissioned for the Zanchini family palace in Via Maggio, presenting a much a later addition to the sculpture collection in the Palazzo Ricasoli.

In the absence of any documentary evidence, we can only speculate about the subsequent history of Camilliani's *Neptune.* The one fact about the statue that might give us a clue regarding its disappearance is the nature of the material from which it was made. In his description of the figure, Bocchi noted that it was carved of *pietra,* which in 16th-century texts usually designated local stone as opposed to marble.[669] In the case of Camilliani's *Neptune,* this stone must have been *pietra bigia,* the material whose use Bartoli had strongly advocated.[670] Some of the sculptural decoration of the

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[667] Bocchi-Cinelli 1677, p. 229

[668] The inventory of the Palazzo Ricasoli dated 26th March 1608 does not mention Camilliani's *Neptune* (ASF, Galli-Tassi, 6, ins. 10, unpaginated). The inventories of the property of Giuliano Ricasoli's son, also called Giuliano, which are dated 20th March 1612, record only an unspecified marble figure and two stucco heads as standing in the courtyard (ASF, Galli-Tassi, 6, ins. 10, unpaginated).

[669] Cf. Vasari's account of the works that Tribolo has executed for the villa of Matteo Strozzi at S. Casciano: "Gli diede a far certi putti di pietra, e poco poi, essendogli quelli molto piaciuti, due di marmo, i quali tengono un delfino che versa acqua in un vivaio, che oggi si vede a San Casciano, luogo lontano da Firenze otto miglia, nella villa del detto messer Matteo" (Vasari-Milanesi, 6, p. 59). The passage seems to suggest that the first pair of putti was executed as a sort of trial for the sculptor's ability; only when their style met the patron's approval, Tribolo was requested to execute another pair in a more "noble" and expensive material. Ammannati's early Paduan *Hercules,* designed for Marco Mantua Benavides, was also executed in local stone. Cf. Vasari-Milanesi, 7, p. 521: "Fece un grandissimo gigante nel suo cortile di un pezzo di pietra." In reality the statue was made of eight pieces of stone (Kinney 1976, p. 120).

[670] Cf. Bartoli 1565, fol. 2v

Ricasoli villa in Via San Gallo, such as the figures of the herms that decorated the door jambs of the main entrance and the Medici/Toledo coat-of-arms, were going to be carved from this material.[671] This fine-grained grey sandstone was quarried in Fiesole in the hills above Florence; it was known as *pietra serena* or *macigno* when pale and *pietra bigia* when it was darker. According to Bartoli, the most valuable type was *pietra bigia,* as it could sustain the exposure to the sun, water, ice, and winds.[672] Although Bartoli maintained that he wanted to use *pietra bigia* mainly on account of its durability, this stone was available in sufficiently large blocks; it was relatively easy to acquire and cheap to transport. The cheapness of *pietra bigia* was probably the crucial factor for Bartoli, who has repeatedly stated in his dialogue that in the design of the house and the garden in Via San Gallo he did his best to spare the Bishop's resources.[673]

In the 15th and 16th centuries, local sandstone was extensively used in Florence as the architectural and sculptural material. Its beautiful grey colour harmonised well with white plaster, and its fine-grained texture allowed sandstone to be crisply carved with elaborate detail. This material, however, was used not only for the production of architectural features that required fine detailing, such as chimney-pieces, coats-of-arms, and carved door portals. Two significant works of sculpture by Donatello, the *Cavalcanti Annunciation* and the *Dovizia* (which had stood on top of a column in the Mercato Vecchio until it was struck by the lightning in 1721), were carved of *pietra serena.*[674] Two *putti* by Jacopo Sansovino that supported the coat-of-arms decorating the Ridolfi palace in Via Maggio were also executed in this material.[675] In the 16th century, sandstone was frequently used for the production of garden statuary. For example, Giovanni Fancelli produced a fountain in the form of the head of a horse that was spouting water, carved of *pietra bigia,* for the garden adjoining the Medici stables in Florence,[676] and Battista Lorenzi executed in *macigno* the figure of a river-god for the garden of the palace of Jacopo Salviati.[677]

The disappearance of Camilliani's *Neptune* from the courtyard of the Palazzo Ricasoli may have been caused by the fact that in the late 1570s Giuliano Ricasoli

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[671] Bartoli 1565, fol. 6r
[672] Bartoli 1567, fol. 2v
[673] Cf. Bartoli 1565, fol. 1v, 2r, and 21r
[674] Janson 1981, p. 353
[675] Bocchi, pp. 173-74
[676] Wiles 1933, p. 137
[677] Borghini 1584, p. 599

started laying out in front of his palace a small garden, stretched along the Arno and connected to the Palazzo Ricasoli by a subterranean passage. The garden was located in the place of the present Piazza Goldoni; work on its decoration was still in progress in the late 1590.[678] In the early 17th-century documents, the garden was described as a plot of land that accommodated a building with a few rooms and a terrace, below which there were two stables.[679] It survived into the 19th century as it was represented in a number of prints of that period. Camilliani's *Neptune* was probably moved there soon after Bocchi saw it in the palace's courtyard. Despite Bartoli's enthusiasm about sandstone's durability, its soft texture tends to flake under exposure, which causes its slow disintegration [cf. plate 110].[680] The considerable erosion of Tribolo's statues of river-gods in the garden of the ducal villa at Castello, which were executed of the same material, necessitated their removal in the late 18th century.[681] The same fate must have awaited Camilliani's *Neptune* in the garden near the Ponte alla Carraia.

The host of visitors that came to Giovanbattista Ricasoli's villa to admire Camilliani's *Neptune* during the late summer of 1550 almost certainly included Don Luigi de Toledo. A year later, Don Luigi decided to buy a large garden in the north-eastern part of Florence, only a few blocks away from Ricasoli's property. Francesco Camilliani's work for this new patron is documented from 1554, as the statue of *Vertumnus* on the *Fontana Pretoria* in Palermo bears that date. Vasari's account of the sculptor's career suggests, however, that Camilliani was responsible not only for the sculptural ornamentation, but also for the layout of Don Luigi's garden.[682] In this case, Camilliani's work on the garden and its fountain complex could have begun as early as the summer of 1551.[683]

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[678] This work is recorded in the account books of Cassandra Capponi, widow of Giuliano Ricasoli. The foundation of the column at the head of the garden was laid before 24th April 1597 (ASF, Galli-Tassi, 11, fol. 74).

[679] ASF, Galli-Tassi, 6, ins. 10, unpaginated

[680] Vasari-Milanesi, 6, p. 77. Vasari thought it was regrettable that Tribolo's statues for Castello were executed in *pietra serena* instead of marble. The reasons for this reaction are not clear: *pietra serena* was excavated in Fiesole, and it was appropriate to represent Fiesole in its local stone.

[681] Wiles 1932, p. 63

[682] Vasari states that "all the architecture and ornaments" of Don Luigi's garden were the work of Camilliani. While the "ornaments" clearly refer to the garden's the sculptural decoration, the meaning of "architecture" is not so straightforward. The garden did not have a house attached to it; apart from the fountains, its only other architectural feature there was a small chapel that Don Luigi wanted to build in 1556 by the wall adjacent to the orchard of the SS. Annunziata. If by "architecture" Vasari understood any of these elements, he would have referred to them more specifically. The use of the expression the "architecture of the garden" therefore seems to refer to its layout.

[683] The question as to who was responsible for the layout and sculptural programme of Don Luigi's garden was raised by Davis, who associated this project with Bartoli (Davis 1975A, p. 264). The connection Bartoli and Don Luigi, however, is undocumented.

The fact that the sculptural complex of Ricasoli's villa was an actual project as opposed to a literary construct explains why Don Luigi decided to allocate his important commission to the young and relatively unknown sculptor. By the time Camilliani started working for Don Luigi, he had already left a mark in the rapidly developing fountain industry and made his first claim to fame by producing the celebrated figure of *Neptune*. From the point of view of his new patron, Camilliani was a promising young artists experienced in garden and fountain design, whereas to the sculptor, the work for Don Luigi offered a prospect of a lucrative and stable, possibly life-long employment in his native city with a member of the ducal family. In the 16th-century Florence, such a commission was a rare opportunity for a sculptor at a relatively early stage in his career.

There was a price to pay for the alluring offer of stability and prestige. The vast nature of the project that Francesco Camilliani embarked on made it impossible for him to take up other professional engagements and advertise his services. For an ambitious or enterprising artist, the employment with Don Luigi would have opened a prospect of making useful connections and attracting interest of important potential patrons. For Camilliani, it seemed to have been an end in itself. Constantly busy with this single ongoing project, he went out of circulation, and when three decades after the beginning of the work on the garden its sculptural complex was dispersed, little was left in Florence to testify to the ostensibly successful career of the sculptor who had worked on its decoration.

Work on Don Luigi's fountain complex continued into the late 1560s and was still was in progress on 5th April 1565;[684] even by that stage, it was still unclear when this project was going to be completed. While working for Don Luigi, Camilliani took part in creating ephemeral decorations for the wedding of Francesco de' Medici and Johanna of Austria, sister of Emperor Maximilian II. The wedding procession was going to enter Florence through the Porta al Prato and then proceed to the Palazzo Vecchio via Borgo Ognissanti.[685] The decorations were thus confined to the three main areas, which included the Porta al Prato, the newly frescoed Palazzo Ricasoli (which closed the vista of the Borgo Ognissanti), and the exterior of the Florentine Duomo. Camilliani was allocated work in all three of these areas. Compared to the assignments given to other sculptors, his contribution, however, was relatively small,

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[684] Bottari-Ticozzi, 1, p. 198
[685] Ginori Conti 1936, p. 8

probably since the work on the fountain complex of Don Luigi de Toledo was still in progress.

Camilliani was mainly involved with the decoration of the Borgo Ognissanti, where he erected two colossal statues representing Austria and Tuscany. The figures were accompanied by two large *putti* holding the imperial crown, which symbolised Austria, and the papal tiara, which stood for Tuscany.[686] The decoration of the façade of the Duomo involved the creation of ten relief panels that represented different episodes from the story of the Virgin executed in wood and then modelled in clay and gold leaf.[687] Camilliani was allocated one of the most important subjects, the Annunciation.

Camilliani's work on the decorations for the wedding of Francesco de' Medici must have demonstrated his ability to work on a colossal scale; two years later, in 1567, he was given another ducal commission that consisted in the execution of two Medici escutcheons for the Fortress of S. Barbara in the recently annexed Siena.[688] The fortress was designed by the architect Baldassarre Lanci;[689] its construction began in about 1561.[690] In 1567, the third of its bastions was close to completion,[691] and Lanci intended to begin the construction on the final fourth bastion.[692] One of the last tasks in the work on the fortress was the installation of two Camilliani's escutcheons on the abutments of the two north-facing bastions, and of the grotesque lion heads above the pyramidal projections on the other side of the fortification.[693] The bastion of Amore still features two figures of bearded men, each holding a club, which was the attribute of Hercules, the mythical protector of Florence [plate 57]. The other bastion, located to the west and less prominent in terms of its position, is decorated with the figures of two youths clearly modelled on Michelangelo's *David* [plate 55]. The inscriptions below these figures state that the fortress was erected by Cosimo I to guarantee the tranquillity and security of the Sienese people. Facing in the direction of

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[686] Ginori Conti 1936, p. 16
[687] Ginori Conti, p. 40
[688] Comune di Siena 1988, p. 7
[689] Baldassare Lanci of Urbino (1510-71) was a pupil of Girolamo Genga. After early work in Lucca, he spent most of his career in the service of Cosimo I, for whom he designed the fortresses of S. Barbara (begun in 1561), Grosseto (begun 1561), and Radicofani (begun 1565) (Pepper and Adams 1986, p. 221, note 6).
[690] Pepper and Adams 1986, pp. 157-8
[691] ASF, Mediceo del Principato, 528, fol. 700
[692] ASF, Mediceo del Principato, 529A, fol. 813
[693] Comune di Siena 1988, p. 7. The two figure groups were wrongly dated by Venturi as 1561, since this is date that that bears the inscription below one of the escutcheons. The inscription, however, refers to the date of the foundation of the fortress as opposed to than that of the execution of the statuary.

Florence, the two Florentine symbols, mythological and artistic, somewhat absently guard the entrance to the subdued city.

The last important artistic commission carried out by Camilliani was allocated to him by the Florentine *Accademia del disegno,* which the sculptor joined in 1563. The commission concerned the decoration of the chapel of St. Luke in the cloister of SS. Annunziata in Florence, which the members of the artists' organisation used for their meetings from 25th June 1565.[694] The distribution of the individual assignments took place on 30th November 1567, when Camilliani was commissioned to execute the statue representing Melchisedech.[695] The sculptor began work before 18th October 1569,[696] finishing the figure by 29th November 1570, when it was carried to the SS. Annunziata by four porters.[697] Camilliani's *Melchisedech* was installed in the chapel on 21st December 1570.[698] The statue, which, unlike many other figures in the chapel, relates to its niche with an astonishing ease, presents a rather serene interpretation of Michelangelo's *Moses,* whose influence is particularly evident in the position of the figure's knees and the turn of the head [cf. plates 52 and 53]. The *Melchisedech* is no longer in its original position and occupies the niche that was initially intended for the figure of St. Mark; its original niche was made into the present entrance.[699]

The record of Camilliani's involvement with the *Accademia del disegno* testifies to his uninterrupted presence in Florence from 1563 and his death in 1586. After 1569, he began to play a particularly active role in the artists' organisation; by that stage, his work on the sculptural complex in the garden of Don Luigi de Toledo must have been finished.

Camilliani held a number offices in the *Accademia del disegno,* where he was elected consul four times in 1564, 1573, 1578, and 1584.[700] In 1573, together with Santi Buglioni and Zanobi Lastricati, he was chosen rectify the accounts of the former *provveditore* Giovanni Fedini.[701] On 29th November 1570, Camilliani was elected the *camerlingo,* replacing in this capacity Giovanni Vincenzo Casali.[702] During this last period of his life, Camilliani's recorded artistic activities included only the creation of

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[694] ASF, Accademia del disegno, 24, fol. 13
[695] Summers 1969, p. 70
[696] ASF, Accademia del disegno, 101, fol. 114; Summers 1969, p. 78, note 32
[697] ASF, Accademia del disegno, 24, fols. 59-60
[698] ASF, Accademia del disegno, 24, fol. 60
[699] Summers 1969, pp. 78-9
[700] Zangheri 2000, p. 61
[701] ASF, Accademia del disegno, 25, fol. 16
[702] ASF, Accademia del disegno, 24, fol. 27

temporary decorations for the chapel of St. Luke in 1580 and 1583, both times on occasion of the feast of the Holy Trinity.[703] It appears that after the completion of his work in the garden of Don Luigi de Toledo, he did he did not seek any other large-scale or prestigious commissions.

On 3rd January 1586, Camilliani remained in bed with fever in the care of his wife and his two daughters.[704] He was still ill on 7th July 1586, when he received financial assistance from the *Accademia del disegno*, delivered to him by Valerio Cioli and Cristofano Altissimo.[705] He died in Florence on 13th October 1586, four months before his sixty-third birthday, and was buried in the artists' crypt in the chapel of S. Luke. The bier for his funeral was borrowed by the *Accademia del disegno* from the *Compagnia del Sacramento* of the Ognissanti.[706]

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[703] ASF, Accademia del disegno, 26, fols. 17 and 33
[704] ASF, Accademia del disegno, 26, fol. 121
[705] ASF, Accademia del disegno, 27, fol. 1
[706] ASF, Accademia del Disegno, 27, fol. 1; Barzman 2000, p. 192

3.2 Francesco Camilliani as a creator of fountain statuary: production methods and style

The unresolved issues regarding Francesco Camilliani's biography and the scarcity of his documented works are among the factors responsible for his relative obscurity as a sculptor. While the nature of Camilliani artistic output is sought in the sculptor's immediate artistic environment, the analysis of his style usually concerns its generic features, focusing on its origins and the influences predominant in its formation. The individual features of Camilliani's work are thus still to receive their comprehensive definition.

Although the impact of Michelangelo's art on the development of Florentine sculpture in the first half of the 16th century was paramount, it became increasingly mediated by other influences after the artist's ultimate departure from Florence in 1534. In the remaining years of his life, which were spent in Rome, Michelangelo acquired a reputation of a living classic that surpassed the ancients and reached the pinnacle of creativity, ingenuity, and technical proficiency in sculpture production.[707] By the time of his death in 1564, Michelangelo's active professional career spanned over 70 years. During this period, his style evolved through different phases, which ranged from the heroic idealism, exemplified by the early *David* and the *ignudi* of the Sistine chapel ceiling, to the contorted forms bursting with emotional strain, manifest in the Pauline chapel frescoes and the late *Pietà* in the Museo dell'Opera del Duomo in Florence. Michelangelo's influence on the younger generation of sculptors, exercised through the medium of this diversified *œuvre,* adopted various forms, as the interest that these sculptors took in his art was inevitably selective.

For many sculptors like Francesco Camilliani, who began their independent careers in the 1540s or 1550s, Michelangelo's influence was mediated by their training in Bandinelli's studio. Bandinelli paid special attention to the teaching of sculpture, styling his workshops in Rome and Florence "academies."[708] He had recorded the activities of his students in two drawings, which were subsequently made into engravings. The analysis of these engravings helps to understand the nature of the

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[707] Cf. Bartoli 1567, fols. 18v-19r; Cellini 1968, p. 450
[708] Bandinelli 1973, pp. 1385-86

knowledge and skills that Camilliani has absorbed during the period of his study in Bandinelli's studio.

The earlier one of Bandinelli's drawings, engraved by Agostino Veneziano, represents the sculptor's academy in Rome and bears the date of 1531 [plate 69].[709] It represents Bandinelli's students sitting at a rectangular table in a small room with a low wooden ceiling. The only source of light in the room is a large candle; standing in the middle of the table, it makes people, statuettes, and large vessels on a shelf cast long shadows on the back wall. Bandinelli's apprentices receive instruction from a bearded man who is holding a statuette, represented on the right. They are involved in drawing from sculpture models, using pens and ink, which comes from a round inkpot on the table.

The other engraving was executed by Enea Vico. Although it bears no date, it reflects a later state in the development of Bandinelli's academy, when the sculptor moved from Rome to Florence [plate 70].[710] As compared to the earlier drawing, the room that now accommodates Bandinelli and his associates is larger, and the number of participants of the scene has notably increased. There is still a table with a candle in the middle, but it is now moved to the right to allow for a large fireplace, which provides an additional source of light. A few statuettes are lying on the floor together with fragments of human skeletons and two skulls. A large shelf above the fireplace contains a few books and a collection of small sculptures, probably antiquities or their copies; it is hard to tell whether they are original works or plaster casts. Bandinelli's students, who are still using pens and ink, are no longer drawing from sculpture models: they appear to be sketching their own inventions. One of them, seated by the fireplace, is shown in the state of intense meditation. A bearded men at the table is involved in a discourse while gesticulating with his right hand. Bandinelli, distinguished by the habit of the Knights of S. Jago, is represented on the extreme right quietly observing the scene.

The two engravings seem to represent not only two separate phases in the development of Bandinelli's academy, but even more so two successive stages in the formation of young sculptors, reflecting the progress they make from copying the work of others to the exercise of their own creativity. While in Veneziano's engraving

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[709] The Illustrated Bartsch, 27, p. 418

[710] The Illustrated Bartsch, 30, p. 69. In this engraving Bandinelli, represented on the extreme right, wears the Cross of S. Jago, the honour that he received in 1536 (Bandinelli 1973, p. 1374).

Bandinelli's academy still resembles a conventional sculptor's workshop, in the later print by Vico it has a definite air of an educational establishment. The principles that underlay Bandinelli's teaching, propagated by both engravings, appear, however, entirely consistent. The sculptor carefully controls the knowledge absorbed by his students and the skills that they learn in the course of their training. They are always shown as engaged in drawing as opposed to modelling or carving, in keeping with Bandinelli's view that artistic creativity was fundamentally an intellectual pursuit. They are not drawing from life, but use artefacts as models: the objects that they study include antiquities and small statuettes, which could be Bandinelli's own works. The natural world in Bandinelli's academy is represented only by the skeletal features scattered on the floor. In the course of this training, Bandinelli's students would acquire excellent drawing skills, good knowledge of antique statuary, and a rather cerebral approach to sculpture production.

Like every 16th-century Florentine sculptor, Bandinelli absorbed the influence Michelangelo utilising his compositional innovations and responding to his creations through the medium of his own works. The characteristic way of rethinking Michelangelo's art, which Bandinelli passed on to his pupils, is evident in the drawing of two fighting men observed by three others, now in the British Museum in London [plate 63].[711] The figures represented in this highly finished study were integrated by Bandinelli in the background of his lost painting of *Leda and the swan.*[712] The arrangement of figures in Bandinelli's drawing is reminiscent of Michelangelo's fresco of *Noah and his sons* on the Sistine Chapel ceiling [plate 62].[713] The central figure of the man involved in fighting appears to be particularly close to its prototype; the proportions of Bandinelli's figure, however, are elongated, the twist of the torso is made less violent, and the position of the arms is changed. As a result of these transformations, the figure's stance loses its stability, and its movement is given a different direction. The other figures in this drawing are either completely reworked or added by the artist, like the man on the extreme right, who was subsequently translated into the figure in a similar position in Bandinelli's preparatory study for the Flagellation scene in the Ashmolean Museum, Oxford [plate 65].[714] In reinterpreting

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[711] For the drawing see Ward 1988, pp. 32-33 (entry no. 13).
[712] Ward 1988, p. 32. For the illustration of the painting see Ward 1988, p. 138, fig. 3.
[713] Stillman 1961, p. 38
[714] Cf. Ward 1988, p. 53. The other engraving representing the same scene, now in the private collection in London [plate 66], is much cruder in style and is probably not by Bandinelli. The marble

Michelangelo's design, Bandinelli changed the relationship between the figures and gave the action an entirely different meaning, transforming a biblical drama into a more trivial fighting scene.[715]

Bandinelli's students have similarly learned to see Michelangelo's art as a repertory of attitudes, gestures, and forms, which could be combined to construct new compositions. For them it was not a challenging area of original experimentation, but a vocabulary of fixed graphic or plastic units, divorced from their original meaning and ready for citation and adaptation.[716]

Michelangelo's influence on the work of Francesco Camilliani took two principal forms. In a superficial way, it manifested itself in direct borrowings of whole figures, or else their attitudes and gestures. Camilliani evidently had an opportunity to examine Michelangelo's Sistine Chapel ceiling frescoes during the time that he spent in Rome. The poses and gestures of some of the figures painted or sculpted by Michelangelo in the first decade of the 16th century often reappear in Camilliani's works executed over half a century later. The two youths on the eastern bastion of the fortress of S. Barbara, foe example, are conceived along the lines of Michelangelo's *David,* which then stood in Piazza della Signoria in Florence [cf. plates 55 and 56]. The bent knees of the *Arno/Oreto* and *Mugnone/Gabriele,* which decorate the *Fontana Pretoria,* to some extent replicate the attitude of Adam in the *Creation of man* fresco of the Sistine ceiling [cf. plates 6, 15, and 60]; to a lesser extent, they are influenced by Michelangelo's model of the river-god, now in the Casa Buonarotti in Florence. The composition of Camilliani's *Melchisedech,* commissioned by the Florentine *Accademia del disegno,* is a close variation on the attitude of

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relief of the *Flagellation of Christ* in the Musée des Beaux Arts in Orléans, which is closely related to the drawing, is also attributed to Bandinelli [plate 64]. Its inferior quality and closeness in style to Francesco Camilliani's relief of the *Drunkenness of Noah* in the Museo Nazionale del Bargello in Florence, discussed in section 3.3.1, makes this attribution questionable.

[715] Cf. the analysis of Bandinelli's drawing in Stillman 1961, p. 38: "The only figure in the London chalk drawing which is a fairly direct copy of one by Michelangelo is the central nude, who in the painting reveals the nakedness of Noah by drawing back the drapery. The remaining figures are reversed, as is common with Bandinelli. Noah is no longer present, having been replaced by a nude youth who turns his back to the viewer. On the other hand, the two standing gesticulating sons have been translated into a self-absorbed, middle-aged man. The figure at the right edge of the drawing is unlike any in the painting. Bandinelli has somewhat elongated his figures as compared to those in the Sistine Ceiling and has emphasised the articulation of their bodies. From a subject filled with such various psychological manifestations as horror, shame, and guilt, Bandinelli has converted this composition by Michelangelo into what could well be used as a study for a battle scene."

[716] Cf. Weil-Garris 1981, p. 235: "Bandinelli drew a further conclusion, particularly from Raphael's prints, that art was a language of form that could be learned, and then be reduced to a limited vocabulary of linear symbols and reproduced at will, much like the text of a printed book. Once this vocabulary had been learned, it could be reused in a infinite number of visual "sentences.""

Michelangelo's *Moses* [cf. plates 52 and 53]. It is significant, however, that in these citations Camilliani responds to Michelangelo's works created during the first decade of the 16th century, which are conceived within the artistic parameters dictated by the moderate classicism of the High Renaissance.

Despite these distinct traces of Michelangelo's influence, Camilliani's figures are decidedly different in conception. Even in the case of direct borrowings from Michelangelo's work, the emotional and narrative undertones of the original figures become fundamentally subverted. Thus, arrested motion is interpreted by Camilliani as repose, tension resolves into balance, and dramatic narrative action becomes mere poise. The attitude of the awakening Adam from the Sistine Chapel ceiling, who, in order to rise, only needs to be touched by the Divinity's finger, is translated by Camilliani into the posture of a reposing river-god effortlessly holding a vase, from which flows water [cf. plates 60 and 15]. The heroic figure of David, who is watching his enemy with a determined yet uneasy look, is adopted for a symmetrical pair of mannered youths, whose hands, instead of holding a sling, elegantly rest on the scrolls of the gigantic Medici emblem, and whose dreamy glances are directed into empty space [cf. plates 56 and 55].

Despite this selective and somewhat superficial response to Michelangelo's art, Camilliani was certainly impressed by the artist's experiments with the *figura serpentinata.* This interest in representing the human body in movement indicates that Michelangelo's influence penetrated the art of his younger contemporary on a much deeper level. The use of the *figura serpentinata* is usually seen as one of the most characteristic features of mannerist sculpture.[717] In the work of Michelangelo, the displacement of masses created by the powerful twist of the body was used to suggest latent power [plate 84]. Misplaced adaptations of the *figura serpentinata,* where exaggerated bodily torsion only suggested unease, permeate, however, the output of 16th-century sculptors of different artistic ability. A direct yet unwarranted quotation from Michelangelo's *Day* in the New Sacristy of S. Lorenzo, for example, is found in the awkwardly crossed legs of Ammannati's figure of the *Arno,* executed for the *Fountain of Juno* [cf. plates 84 and 85].[718] Another example of such misinterpretation

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[717] Cf. Shearman 1967, p. 81: "There is no figure of speech more characteristic of the language of Mannerism than the *figura serpentinata.*"

[718] The unexplained use of this dramatic feature in the otherwise relaxed figure of the reclining river-god was one of the principal criticisms of the fountain, resulting in its relegation from the Sala Grande of the Palazzo Vecchio to a less prestigious location in the ducal villa Pratolino (Heikamp 1997, p.

of the compositional principles developed by Michelangelo is the figure of *St. Luke* by Vincenzo Danti, executed for the chapel of St. Luke in cloister of SS. Annunziata in Florence. The forced serpentine twist of the body of the seated evangelist results in a contrived and unconvincing pose, creating an awkward relationship between the figure and the niche where it is placed.[719]

Francesco Camilliani interest in the *figura serpentinata* primarily concerned not its expressive potential, but its use for composing figures in the round; displayed on a fountain, such figures presented satisfactory aspects from more than one angle [plate 17].[720] Camilliani's aptitude for creating figures with a continuous viewpoint is evident in his works executed on a small scale, such as the nimble *Triton with two dolphins* in Abadía [plates 29 and 30]. The figure is shown in a natural yet fully resolved attitude, with a gently twisted torso and raised left arm. With the emphatic line created by the right leg and raised bent left arm, used as a unifying axis of the composition, the figure manifests the fluid linearity characteristic of Giambologna's statuary. The openings in the mouths of the two dolphins indicate that the statue was designed for fountain decoration.

While the extent of Bandinelli's stylistic influence on his students is clearly testified by their independent works, his importance in their formation as sculptors was not only limited to matters of style. Bandinelli held definite and explicit views on the principles and methods of sculpture production, which were reflected in his autobiographic *Memoriale* and letters. These views, which appear to have evolved in conscious opposition to the principles developed in Michelangelo's art, had certain influence on Bandinelli's students.

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352). Heikamp described this misplaced adaptation of the motif derived from Michelangelo as its "trivialisation" ("banalizzazione"). According to Heikamp, the legs of the *Arno* are also too short, "apparently owing to a miscalculation in the carving of the marble block" (Heikamp 1978, p. 132).

[719] For Danti's *St. Luke* see Summers 1969, pp. 80-81.

[720] In his discussion of the *Fontana Pretoria*, Venturi singled out for his praise the figures that manifested serpentine rhythms in their composition. Cf. Venturi 1936, p. 537: "Due tra le figure migliori anche per l'aggirarsi delle forme tornite, quella della *Abbondanza*, che tiene un vaso e ha dinanzi ai piedi frutta, e l'altra di un *Efebo* [*Vertumnus*] con una corona di frutta e un genietto abbracciato a una gamba, son firmati da Francesco Camilliani, che ha certo sentito come, oltre alla facilità, alla scorrevollezza proprie della sua scultura, al buon impianto delle statue, sia qui riuscito a girarle, forzando a destra il capo, facendo avanzare il corpo verso sinistra, così da raggiungere un gradevole effetto di movimento come intorno a un perno." In the book on the *Fontana Pretoria* that appeared 25 years after Venturi's publication, Russo maintained that such "serpentine" figures, although executed by a sculptor who belonged to the "second [artistic] echelon," had a distinctly Michelangelesque quality (Russo 1961, pp. 23-5). Wiles, on the contrary, noted that Camilliani's use of the serpentine composition was extremely formulaic (Wiles 1933, p. 70).

Bandinelli's disagreement with Michelangelo concerned two principal points. Firstly, Bandinelli openly criticised Michelangelo for allowing his *David* to be displayed in the round, while it was originally conceived as a niche figure.[721] Bandinelli's own statuary was always carefully designed in relation to a series of viewpoints, making some of his free-standing figures resemble two reliefs put back to back. Bandinelli was a prolific draughtsman, who evidently preferred this activity (the whose nature he perceived as intellectual rather than physical) to the execution of sculpture.[722] His predilection for conceiving objects in terms of their appearance on a plane had a certain influence on the way he designed sculpture in the round, which he approached similarly to working in relief.[723] A similar approach to the design of sculpture seems to characterise the composition of Camilliani's *Andromeda* in Abadía. Fully resolved when seen from the right, with beautifully undulating lines, it appears rather clumsy in the front view [cf. plates 48 and 49]. It is tempting to think that the right aspect of the statue was worked out by the sculptor on the basis of a highly finished drawing. The main problem with this statue, however, is that its most successful profile does not correspond to its principal viewpoint, which, since that the *Andromeda* was not designed as a free-standing figure, had to be from the front.

The second fundamental point of Bandinelli's professional disagreement with Michelangelo concerned not the design of statuary, but its production. Early in his career, the sculptor was deeply wounded by Michelangelo's decision to revoke the original plan of collaborating with other sculptors including Bandinelli in the work on the façade of S. Lorenzo in Florence; in the end, the whole project was abandoned.[724]

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[721] Cellini 1968, p. 384

[722] Cf. Weil-Garris 1981, p. 227. Ulrich Middeldorf described Bandinelli as "one of the most outstanding and typical draughtsmen of the period" (Middeldorf 1937, p. 291). According to Bandinelli's own statement, he was taught to draw by his father, goldsmith Michelangelo Brandini (Bandinelli 1973, p. 1369), who was also the teacher of Raffaello da Montelupo (Vasari-Milanesi, 4, p. 553).

[723] According to Weil-Garris, "[Bandinelli's] compositions are, indeed, always governed by considerations of line and plane" (Weil-Garris 1981, p. 227). Cf. Ward's discussion of Bandinelli's drawing of *A seated old man in pseudo-antique costume, pointing to a tablet,* which the scholar regards as a *modello* for a sculptured figure: "There are only three or four gradations between light and dark, suggesting a finished figure whose principal aspect would be noted for its flatness and conspicuous linearity. It is utterly typical of the mind of the sculptor whose approaches to two- and three-dimensional sculpture were really very similar. His *intaglio* method of low relief – an adaptation of the *rilievo schiacciato* technique – disturbed the original plane of the slab as little as possible, while revelation of form from within the block was principally a process of stripping away layers of stone from all four sides rather than excavating the block in a Michelangelesque fashion. The strict frontality of the drawn figure should not, therefore, be construed as a proof that it was made in preparation for the carving of a relief" (Ward 1988, p. 45). For the drawing, see Ward 1988, pp. 45-46 (entry no. 22).

[724] Bottari-Ticozzi, 1, p. 71. Michelangelo was originally supposed to produce models for the sculpture of the façade of S. Lorenzo, which were then going to be executed in marble by other artists. In the end

Michelangelo's inability or unwillingness to accept the assistance from other sculptors in the completion larger projects was regarded by Bandinelli as a fundamentally flawed approach to sculpture production.[725]

Bandinelli's professed approach to sculpture production (to which, admittedly, he did not strictly adhere himself)[726] consisted in regarding each of his projects not as a means of achieving a full realisation of the artist's creative powers, but as a concrete task, which had to be brought to a successful completion. This approach reduced the role of the sculptor to being as the manager of large artistic projects.[727] Bandinelli's view of sculpture production as a goal-directed process justified his use of a large workshop and the technique of piecing, which he regularly practiced.[728]

This approach to sculpture production was particularly relevant in the case of large fountain commissions. Fountain projects not only presupposed the knowledge of the most advanced technical solutions in sculpture (such as the use of the serpentine composition for the creation of figures with a continuous viewpoint); they also put very concrete demands on sculptors, which were not reducible to artistic competence and virtuosity. Fountain production required high speed of execution and ability to complete the work in keeping with the original scheme. Fountains were constantly in

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Michelangelo never produced these large models, but managed to reserve the whole project for himself.

[725] Bandinelli 1973, pp. 1396-97. Cf. Bottari-Ticozzi, 1, p. 71 (Bandinelli to Cosimo I, 7th December 1547): "E sappi vostra ecellenza, che la causa che è [Michelangelo] non ha mai fornito nessuna opera di marmo."

[726] Bandinelli's irregular work practice, which became particularly evident in his handling of the execution of the tombs of the Medici popes Leo X and Clement VII in S. Maria sopra Minerva in Rome, or of the moment to Andrea Doria abandoned Carrara, frequently earned the sculptor extreme displeasure of his patrons.

[727] Michelangelo's poorly worked out routine of sculpture production was clearly, although perhaps unwittingly, described by Wallace: "It seemed that Michelangelo worked slowly because he did not finish one sculpture and then moved on to the next. Rather, he worked simultaneously on more than half-dozen blocks, depending on his fancy and creative urge or problems that temporarily stymied him. And even as figures neared to completion, he tended to keep them in his workshop. The *Moses,* for example, was begun in 1513 but sat on the floor of his Roman studio for more than 30 years. Michelangelo constantly carved and rarely finished" (Wallace 1998, p. 205).

[728] Bandinelli justified his use of a large workshop as the means of completing large artistic projects, such as the execution of the decoration of the choir of the Florentine Duomo. He referred to the authority of Donatello, who, according to Bandinelli, always had 18 or 20 assistants, which enabled him to finish the decoration of the altar of S. Antonio in Padua (cf. Bottari-Ticozzi, 1, p. 70-71). The technique of piecing involved adding pieces of stone to a block from which the figure was supposed to be carved. It has thus contradicted the artistic ideal of monolithic statuary, which in the 16th century was recognised as a hallmark of artistic virtuosity. Bandinelli, according to Vasari, habitually added both large and small pieces of marble to the statues that he was carving. He added one of the heads of Cerberus to his statue of Orpheus, a piece of drapery to the figure of St. Peter in the Duomo, and attached a shoulder and a foot to the figure of Cacus (Vasari-Milanesi, 6, pp. 174-5). The shoulder of Cacus once fell off in 1544 during a procession in Piazza della Signoria on occasion of the feast of St. John the Baptist, killing a peasant who attempted to climb up the statue and causing the sculptor no little embarrassment (Coppi ed. 2000, pp. 41-42).

demand, and their design was frequently altered to satisfy changing fashion. Many fountains, which were integrated into the layout of gardens, underwent considerable transformations in the 16th century together with their respective setting.[729] While other sculptural projects, such as the production of tomb sculpture, could continue for an unlimited number of years, fountain commissions had to be completed within a limited temporal framework; successful time management and good workshop organisation were thus essential in the fulfilment of these vast and time-consuming undertakings. Fountain commissions were focused on the ultimate product, and, although ideally they required stylistic uniformity and even quality of all the elements of the resulting sculptural ensemble, their fulfilment invariably involved a large degree of workshop contribution.

Francesco Camilliani's creative energy was mainly consumed by a vast fountain project. The impressive number of statues incorporated into the design of his fountains made his artistic output very considerable, while their uneven quality suggests that much of the execution was allocated to the sculptor's workshop. The necessity to create a fountain as large as the *Fontana Pretoria* in Palermo with its 16 standing, four reclining, and numerous other figures, perhaps dictated this approach to sculpture production. The uneven quality and formulaic approach manifest in the appearance of some of his figures, however, often led to the negative assessment of Camilliani's work.

Our discussion of Francesco Camilliani's fountain statuary is limited by its poor state of preservation, fragmented condition, and numerous restorations, which many of his surviving pieces have undergone. These factors prevent their close examination in terms of finish and detailing. For this reason, our analysis of Camilliani's statuary will mainly concern its composition.

In general terms, Camilliani's approach to sculpture production manifests two distinct features: the replication of a limited range of compositional formulae and the use of stock attitudes. In terms of composition, the figures that he designed for the decoration of the *Fontana Pretoria* manifest little variety. Their postures are generally

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[729] The layout of the Boboli gardens, for example, has undergone at least three major redesigning campaigns in less than 100 years, between Tribolo and Parigi, which resulted in moving three times Stoldo Lorenzi's *Fountain of Neptune*, and twice Giambologna's *Fountain of Ocean;* the setting of these fountains each time was different. In the case of Lorenzi's fountain, these changes affected its original form. The garden of Andrea Doria in Fassolo, laid out in the 1540s, has also undergone major rebuilding during its expansion under Giovanandrea Doria in the 1580s and 1590s (cf. Gorse 1980, p. 88).

compact showing no strain and no unexplained gestures or movements; their mood is usually that of pensive, even melancholic repose. The sculptor's preferred way of composing a standing figure was by showing it in *contrapposto* with the supporting right leg, flexed left knee, and the active left arm. This formula was used in the composition of most of standing figures of the Fontana Pretoria, including those of *Bacchus, Apollo, Adonis, Mercury, Triptolemus, Venus,* the *Liberality,* and *Ceres* [plates 8, 9, 12, 18, and 21]. While in the case of male figures, their heads are posed frontally, in the female figures of *Venus,* the *Liberality,* and *Ceres,* the same formula that involved the supporting right leg and the bent left knee was slightly modified by showing the head in profile in relation to the body. Even in a fountain as large as the *Fontana Pretoria,* this degree of compositional monotonousness was considerable. Two of the male figures, the now missing *Mercury* and the *Triptolemus,* were shown with a stereotypical gesture of the raised left arm [plate 21], which was probably a response to the devise utilised by Cellini in the composition of his *Perseus.* The statues of *Apollo* and *Adonis* are quite difficult to tell apart [plate 24], since both of them are similarly bland variations on the posture of Cellini's *Apollo,* now in the Museo Nazionale del Bargello in Florence. Probably two of the least inspired figures of the *Fontana Pretoria,* they are typical examples of the generic statuary derided in the 16th century as insipid imitations of classical prototypes.[730]

A slightly more complex formula was employed to articulate the figures of the *Abundance* and *Vertumnus* [plate 25].[731] Both of them were shown in a twisting attitude, with the supporting left leg, the right foot with a bent knee raised on a low pedestal, the head turned to the left, and the left arm brought across the body. This formula was also utilised in the figure of the *Putto* holding a cornucopia, which crowned the fountain [plate 17], and in the headless *Putto riding a marine goat* in Abadía [plates 32 and 33]. In the case of these smaller figures, this generic formula used to articulate their composition was given a more dynamic interpretation. The reverse of this system was utilised in the figure of *Pomona* [plate 20]. Even in the frontally posed figure of *Ceres,* the right hand brought across the body to counterbalance the rightward turn of the head, echoed the same familiar motif.

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[730] Bandinelli's figures of this type, according to Heikamp, were described by contemporaries as "fanciulloni" (Heikamp 1964B, p. 34).

[731] The pairs of clearly matching figures of the Fontana Pretoria, such as the *Abundance* and the *Vertummus,* and the *Apollo* and the *Adonis,* have already been singled out by Venturi (see Venturi 1936, figs. 446-47 on p. 541, and figs. 449-50 on p. 543).

The figures whose articulated deviated from these two established schemes similarly utilised stock formulae and compositional devises. The statue of *Diana,* for example, was one of the few figures of the *Fontana Pretoria* that were not shown by Camilliani in *contrapposto* [plate 19]. The posture of this figure, which firmly stands on both legs, was, however, derived from the stance of Bandinelli's Hercules from the group of *Hercules and Cacus,* as was the positioning of its feet diagonally across the base [plate 58]. This attitude, first used by Donatello in his *St. George* designed for the decoration of Orsanmichele, was revived in the 16th century by Bandinelli. The left hand of Camilliani's *Diana,* which rests on the horn of a stag, and the turn of her head to the left, make his imitation of Bandinelli's figure particularly straightforward.

Another stock attitude could be noted in the posture of Camilliani's *Hercules,* represented as standing with its legs crossed [plate 8]. This devise, intended to suggest a relaxed posture, seems to derive from the attitude of one of the background figures in Michelangelo's *Doni tondo*, now in the Uffizi in Florence. The same formula was used by Zanobi Lastricati in his standing *Mercury,* now in the Walters Museum in Baltimore, and later in the 16th century by Naccherino in the figure of Adam from the group of *Adam and Eve* in the Boboli gardens [plate 115]. Such mannered attitudes were supposed to enliven the composition of sculptured figures, but contributed little to their narrative message and render their mood somewhat superficial.

The evident lack of variation in composition and conception of Camilliani's figures seems to result from two factors. The first was the massive scale of sculpture production, inevitable in creating a work as large as the great fountain in the garden of Don Luigi de Toledo in Florence; the second factor consisted in the predominance of the overall design over its individual elements. To 16th-century viewers, the impact of the fountain as a whole was far more important than the appearance of its individual figures. For Camilliani, the quality of the works that he produced was in a direct correlation with the importance that he assigned to them. The sculptor's best works, which include the *Arno/Oreto,* dated 1555, and the *Melchisedech*, completed in 1569 [plates 6 and 52], offer the key to the praise that Camilliani received from his erudite contemporaries. These figures are characterised by the free and competent handling of plastic volumes, full resolution of attitudes, deep excavation of the surface of the material, and a high degree of characterisation without showing emotional strain. Although the two statues, separated by almost 15 years, are very close stylistically (which is particularly evident in the design of their heads and their facial features [cf.

plates 6 and 54]), the differences between them indicate the direction in which Camilliani's style must have developed, manifest in the increasing ease with which the figure related to the surrounding space.

One of the most original features of Camilliani's style was his interest in the animal world [plate 14]. He was probably the only 16th-century Florentine sculptor of the Renaissance before Giambologna in whose works animals were given as much individual characterisation as humans. They did not only form striking companions of individual figures, such as Diana and Ops [plate 19], but also played an essential role in the design of the main fountain that he produced.

Francesco Camilliani was certainly a very competent sculptor. His failure to develop a style of striking originality appears to result from his dogmatic adherence to the principles of sculpture production that he had learned in Bandinelli's studio. In Camilliani's work, Bandinelli's view of sculpture design as infinite combination of a limited set of gestures, attitudes, and figures, and his approach to sculpture production as a goal-directed process, seem to have found their ultimate realisation. The distance and idealised beauty of Camilliani's sculpture, his preoccupation with the geometry of abstract linear patterns that the forms of the figures create, rarely engages a modern viewer, failing to elicit a strong emotional response. Fashionable and stylish at the time of their production, Camilliani's works seem to have reflected a particular aesthetic sensitivity of the age. Deeply rooted in their immediate artistic and cultural circumstances, his sculpture was not intended to transcend them in terms of its artistic significance, and is mainly interesting now in a historical context.

3.3 Two recent attributions:

3.3.1 The relief of "Noah and his sons"

In the list of objects that Camilliani proposed to Cosimo I in August 1562 as prizes for a small private lottery, an important place was occupied by the relief with story of Noah and his sons, which was displayed in a hazel frame. This work was identified by Alessandro Parronchi with the relief representing the same subject in the Museo Nazionale del Bargello in Florence; although undocumented, it was traditionally attributed to Bandinelli on the ground of style [plate 59].[732] This relief formed part of the granducal collection from at least the early 17th century,[733] as it featured in the inventory of the ducal villa Pratolino compiled in 1638, where it was erroneously described as representing the story of Lot. The size of the Bargello relief and the fact that in the Pratolino inventory it was recorded as inserted in a hazel frame indicates that it is the same object that was mentioned in Camilliani's petition.

Camilliani was known to produce sculpture both in the round and in relief. One of his earliest reliefs, carved on the side of a fountain basin executed for Giovanni Battista Ricasoli, was recorded by Cosimo Bartoli.[734] It represented the story of the abduction by Neptune of Tyro, daughter of Salmoneus, King of Elis.[735] Although in the account of this work Bartoli was mainly concerned with its narrative content, his text suggests that it was executed in low relief, with the central figure of Neptune shown in a complex twisting attitude.[736]

Some marble reliefs associated with Francesco Camilliani are still preserved in Abadía. In terms of their style and technique of execution, they fall into two distinct groups. The larger group includes a series of profile portraits reminiscent of antique coins, carved on large rectangular marble slabs with no defined borders or additional ornamentation [plates 38 and 39]. Executed with the minimal excavation of the

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[732] Inv. 311. According to the museum records, the relief was in the Galleria dell'Accademia until 15th March 1853; until 1825, it was part of the collection of the Uffizi.
[733] Dezzi Bardeschi, Vezzosi, and Zangheri eds. 1986, p. 43
[734] Bartoli 1567, fol. 21r
[735] Ibid.
[736] Cf. Bartoli 1567, fol. 21r: "Nettuno ancora che havendo la amata giovane in braccio, et tenendela stretta, si volgeva con la testa in dietro, quasi ansio & curioso, che Salmoneo non lo arrivasse, & non gliela ritogliesse; & pero sollecitava con il Tridente i suoi Cavagli, & gli altri Tritoni, & Monstri Marini che affrettassino la fuga."

surface of the marble and showing no traces of drilling, these reliefs are characterised by flatness and almost schematic linearity of form, manifesting no attempt at the realistic definition of volume. The stereotypical nature of the facial types that they represent, distinguished by the peculiar definition of facial features where the nose and the forehead were both suggested by a straight line, is perhaps an indication of a somewhat mechanical approach to their execution. The other group of reliefs includes only five works, which are all characterised by the richness of decorative detail, high ornamental quality, and confident excavation of the surface of marble that involved a considerable amount of drilling [plate 40].

The technique of carving used in the creation of these reliefs was learned by Camilliani from Bandinelli's studio. Bandinelli achieved impressive results in of low relief carving: the reliefs intended for the decoration of the choir of the Duomo in Florence, which the sculptor was working on towards the end of his life,[737] were characterised by the minimal excavation of the surface of marble and a competent resolution of volume achieved through linear clarity and technical precision. The draperies of Bandinelli's relief figures do not reveal human forms by tightly adhering to their contours, as they usually do in the Florentine art of the 16th century. Falling in elegant folds, they build the body behind them by the subtle interplay of concave and convex forms, becoming the principal means of defining volume [plate 67].

Although the relief of *Noah and his sons* was attributed to Bandinelli on stylistic grounds, its authorship by Bandinelli is questionable.[738] It is difficult to place this relief in the context of other works in this medium executed by the sculptor, which are generally more shallow and linear [plates 67 and 68]. The modelling of the figures in the Bargello relief is less competent, and their postures are stiffer than they appear to be in analogous works executed by Bandinelli [cf. plates 59 and 68]. The predilection for superficial decorative effects and excessive detalisation (evident in the handling of the draperies, the unnecessarily high definition of the surface of the rock below the central figure, and the preoccupation with the locks of hair of Noah's sons blown by the wind), find no analogies in Bandinelli's reliefs.[739] The composition

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[737] According to Heikamp, Bandinelli executed the total of 88 reliefs for the choir of the Duomo in Florence, although originally he intended to execute 300 (Heikamp 1964B, p. 38).

[738] Venturi considered the relief of *The Drunkenness of Noah* to be the work of Bandinelli, but attributed it to the late period in the life of the sculptor, betraying definite signs of his "decadence" (Venturi 1901-40, 10, ii, pp. 226-27).

[739] Cf. Venturi 1901-40, 10, ii, pp. 227-28. The wind in the Bargello relief, however, seems to be blowing in different directions.

of the Bargello relief is too busy for its relatively small size, making the narrative of the scene particularly confusing.[740]

Some features of the Bargello relief might suggest that it was a work of a relatively inexperienced sculptor. The proportions of the figures are squat; they have large heads, small bodies, and short arms. As each of the figures was studied on its own, the composition lacks unity.[741] Bandinelli's earlier reliefs, such as the work decorating the pedestal of the monument to Giovanni delle Bande Nere in Piazza S. Lorenzo in Florence, are characterised by the more competent command of narrative, where the attitudes of individual figures contribute to the compositional unity of the whole scene. The motif of the barrel on the left of the Bargello relief seems to relate to Andrea del Minga's painting representing Noah as the creator of wine, now in the Galleria Palatina in Florence, which was based on a drawing by Bandinelli [plate 71]. In the composition of the relief, the barrel, however, no longer plays a structural role of supporting the seated figure, and its function is purely decorative.

Scholars have noted that the relief of *Noah and his sons* was strongly influenced by Michelangelo's fresco representing the same subject in the Sistine chapel [plate 62].[742] The relief in fact manifests a number of borrowings from the Sistine ceiling. The torso of Noah and the gesture of his left arm, for example, derive from the posture of Adam in the *Creation of Adam* fresco [plate 60], while the position of the legs of the seated Ham reproduces the attitude of one of the *ignudi* [plate 61]. We have already discussed the way the protagonists of Michelangelo's fresco were re-interpreted by Bandinelli in his drawing of the fighting men [cf. plates 62 and 63].[743] The author of the relief seems to be trying to translate this drawing back into the representation of the original scene. For this reason, the drawing and the relief share certain features that are not found in Michelangelo's fresco. For example, the right arm of the central standing figure is represented by Michelangelo as parallel

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[740] Cf. Venturi 1901-40, 10, ii, p. 228

[741] Cf. Venturi 1901-40, 10, ii, pp. 227, 231

[742] Pio 1992, p. 32

[743] The composition of the relief is unrelated to Bandinelli's numerous drawings of the scene of Drunkenness of Noah, which were originally intended for the bronze panels intended for the decoration of the choir of the Florentine Duomo (cf. Beck 1973, p. 9). For the original programme for these reliefs see Ward 1988, pp. 69-70. Bandinelli's drawings representing the Drunkenness of Noah include a red chalk drawing in the Uffizi (inv. 6912F), a pen and ink drawing in the Städtlische Galerie in Frankfurt am Main (inv. 446), and another drawing in the same medium in the Uffizi, possibly executed by a pupil (inv. 6900F) (see Beck 1973, p. 10, figs. 5, 6, and 7). A much more finished pen and ink drawing in The British Museum, which represents the same subject (inv. 1895-9-15-549), is related to the Bargello relief, according to Ward, "only in a thematic sense" (Ward 1988, pp. 72). For this drawing see Ward 1988, pp. 71-72 (entry no. 40).

to the ground, which is not the case in either the drawing or the relief. Further, the back of the figure on the extreme right in both the relief and the drawing is turned more in the direction of the viewer than it is in the fresco. As soon as Bandinelli's drawing was adapted for the scene of the drunkenness of Noah, the relationship between the two central figures was, however, lost, and the narrative action was reduced to the artificial dialogue of draperies.

The abundance of citations from Michelangelo and their rather formalistic characterise the Bargello relief as the work of Francesco Camilliani. Some of its other stylistic features also confirm this attribution. They include, for example, excessive attention to decorative detail (such as draperies, rocks, the barrel, and wines) and the use of draperies as compositional devices. In Camilliani's statuary, draperies often served to balance the composition of individual figures, as in the case of the *Parnassus/Maredolce* [plate 5]. In the relief of *Noah and his sons,* they help to create linear rhythms that seem to be the only means of unifying the composition [plate 59].

Vasari's account of Francesco Camilliani's career is the only contemporary source that indicates that the sculptor's professional formation took place in Bandinelli's studio. We have already established the close association between the two sculptors on the basis of the similarity of their approach to both sculpture design and production. The relief of *Noah and his sons* seems to confirm this association on stylistic grounds.

3.3.2 The 1998 Bargello acquisition

In the course of the 20th century, the name of Francesco Camilliani was often used as a convenient tag for attributing unidentified works of 16th-century sculpture that were secular in subject and antiquated in appearance. One of such pieces was a small marble group representing *Orpheus, Eurydice, and Cerberus.* In recent decades, it came to the antiquarian market at least twice, in Rome in 1966,[744] and in London in 1984 [plate 111]. Its present location is unknown.

The group is relatively small, with its height not exceeding 1.25 m, unsigned, undocumented, and considerably damaged, with the arms of both standing figures, part of the musical instrument, and the lower jaw of Cerberus missing.[745] The figures are positioned on a slim uneven base of an irregular shape. Orpheus is shown in the act of stepping over Cerberus, whose figure marks the point of transition between the realm of shadows and the world of the living. Eurydice is faithfully following him. The unstable stance of Cerberus, falling over to the side with his front legs crossed, is probably a reference to the magical effect of the sounds produced by Orpheus. The musical instrument that Orpheus holds is not a lyre, but a type of viola, which was often represented as the attribute of the legendary musician in the second half of the 16th century.

The group was conceived in the round and probably designed as a fountain centrepiece, as the broken lower jaw of Cerberus might indicate. This connection with fountain design, together with nudity and antiquated appearance of the figures, however, seem insufficient to ascribe the authorship of the group to Camilliani. The squat proportions of the figures, their roughly hewn hair as opposed to elaborate coiffure, and facial features, find no parallels in the sculptor's documented works.

The situation with the group of *Orpheus, Eurydice, and Cerberus* is analogous to the attribution to Camilliani of the marble group representing a standing nude couple, recently acquired by the Italian government and now displayed in the Museo

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[744] Cf: "Mostra nazionale dell'antiquariato," *Arte figurativa,* 14 (1966), p. 154. Francesco Camilliani, marble. Hight: 125 cm., width: 62 cm. Gasparrini Antiquari, Rome, Via Fontanella Borghese 56/a (stand 30).

[745] In the catalogue of the Kunsthistorisches Institut in Florence, the group it features as actually signed by Camilliani. I am grateful to Dr. Charles Avery, who had an opportunity to examine the piece, for informing me that the group bears no signature.

Nazionale del Bargello in Florence [plate 112].[746] The group is undocumented and unsigned, but conspicuous because of its colossal size.[747]

The explanatory tag placed on the group's pedestal describes it as a pair of river deities commissioned from Francesco Camilliani for a fountain in the garden of a Florentine villa. The colossal size and the frontal articulation of the figures testify, however, against the group's previous use as a fountain centrepiece.

The attribution of the group to Camilliani was proposed on the basis of its vague resemblance to the statuary of the *Fontana Pretoria.*[748] To give the group a more definite provenance, the execution of the group was associated with the main fountain project that Camilliani carried out in Florence. The figures were thus declared part of the original design of the *Fontana Pretoria,* which happened to be refused in the course of the fountain's reassembly in Palermo.[749] Although the group has no identifying attributes and its subject of the group is difficult, the identity of the figures was fixed as a couple of river deities. [750]

There are at least three reasons that make this hypothesis implausible. Firstly, the height of the Bargello group, as recorded in the inventory, is 2,65 meters, which considerably exceeds the average height of standing figures of the *Fontana Pretoria* that does not reach any more than 1,87 metres. Secondly, the fountain's design does not include any other paired figures. Thirdly, the composition of the group is given planar articulation, making it unsuitable for the display in the round, and its current positioning in the Bargello reveals the poorly articulated secondary aspects of the figures.

We have already noted that Camilliani's distinctive was of articulating the composition of standing figures is by showing them in strong *contrapposto.* The awkwardness of the Bargello group, which has little in common with the sculptor's works, finds, however, close analogies of the style of late 16th-century Neapolitan sculpture. The attitude of the female figure, for example, strongly resembles to the posture of the statue of *Andromeda* in the Boboli gardens, usually described as a Neapolitan work [plate 113]. The planar composition and lack of successful side

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[746] The group, which was givent the title of the *Divinità fluviali,* was acquired by the Ministero per i Beni e Attività Culturali for the Museo Nazionale del Bargello of Florence, and recorded as giorn. 6768, inv. 528 (AMNBF, inv. 528).
[747] The height of the group reaches 2,65 meters.
[748] AMNBF, inv. 528
[749] Ibid.
[750] Ibid.

views, which the Bargello group manifests, are characterise the composition of Naccherino's *Adam and Eve* in the Boboli gardens [plate 114]. The group thus might be the work of a late 16th-century sculptor who was most likely based in Naples and was possibly included into the orbit of artistic influence of Michelangelo Naccherino.

CONCLUSION: Francesco Camilliani, Don Luigi de Toledo, and fountain production in Florence in the 16th century

The fountain that now decorates the Piazza Pretoria in Palermo had two distinct phases in its history. The first phase began with its commission in Florence as a garden fountain and was abruptly terminated by its dismantling and shipping to Sicily. The beginning of the second phase was marked by its arrival in Palermo and erection there as a civic monument. In this thesis, my main goal was to demonstrate that the Florentine period in the fountain's history was not a mere prelude to its erection in Palermo.

The three separate stories of the fountain, the patron, and the sculptor, which were reconstructed in this thesis, illustrate multiple aspects of the small yet revealing episode in the cultural history of the 16th century, the creation and dispersal of the fountain complex designed for the Florentine garden of Don Luigi de Toledo. These stories put different perspectives on the course of this commission, the style and location of the surviving statuary, the relative obscurity of the sculptor, and the peculiar historiographic situation that surround the history of his fountains. My hope is that in the end, these stories amount to a comprehensive and illuminating, even if not an entirely coherent picture.

This thesis also indicates two areas of investigation, both potentially interesting and important, which I came across in the course of my work, but could not develop fully. They include the nature of fountain production as a separate branch of sculpture industry in 16th-century Florence and the history of export of Florentine fountains. The exploration of these areas would require extensive further research. The study of Francesco Camilliani and his fountains thus appears to be only the first step towards a larger project that would broaden our understanding of the nature of fountain production in Florence in the 15th and 16th centuries, helping to determine the role that it played in the Italian culture of the Renaissance.

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