

ROUTLEDGE RESEARCH IN ARCHITECTURE

A HISTORY OF ARCHITECTURE AND TRADE

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6 An anachronism of trade

The Mercato Nuovo in Florence (1546–1551)

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In recent years, late medieval loggias used for mercantile purposes have received attention as venues in which architecture and evolving economic practices coincided. Indeed, this building type has been seen as a formidable measure of the potency of mercantile commerce across cultures that were, or had become, monetized. As Olivia Constable noted in *Housing the Stranger in the Mediterranean World*, during the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, loggias became the site of choice for communal lodging, storage, and trade, in part because their confined yet liminal space made it easy for local officials to monitor, control, and tax the commercial transactions that took place there.¹ For such reasons, in the middle of the thirteenth century, when the Genoese reaffirmed their commercial privileges in Constantinople, the Byzantine magistrates gave them legal access to a loggia.² Trade loggias became increasingly common during the thirteenth century, in Italy itself and for communities of Italians in both Byzantium and in territories in the eastern Mediterranean. The Venetian merchant Emmanuel Piloti commented that in Famagusta, one of the main commercial streets was “filled with magnificent loggias belonging to every Christian nation with power.”³

Yet by the end of the fifteenth century, many types of loggias (including mercantile ones), along with porticoed spaces, had fallen out of favor. While family loggias continued to be used, and some new ones were even built (witness the papal Piccolomini Loggia in Siena, built 1460–62, and the Rucellai Loggia in Florence, built after 1463), loggias built purposely for civic ceremony and trade became noticeably less popular during this period.⁴ In Rome, arcades (*porticati*) were targeted in the urban statutes of 1452 as being “dangerous to public welfare.”⁵ Echoing the remarks of a sixteenth-century chronicler who implied that in his day, loggias appeared less frequently,⁶ Jacob Burckhardt, author of the influential *Architecture of the Italian Ren*, remarked, “By the sixteenth century the custom [of building family loggias] obviously had gone out.”⁷ Benedetto Varchi noted that in sixteenth-century Florence, only twenty-six loggias and porticos, which had once been a prominent aspect of the medieval environment, remained.⁸ His contemporary, Vincenzo Borghini would put that number at fifteen.⁹



Figure 6.1 Giovanni Battista del Tasso, Mercato Nuovo Loggia, Florence, 1546–51.

Source: Ralph Lieberman.

At times, loggias were even purposely destroyed or covered over. A well-known example is the once-accessible corner loggia of the Palazzo Medici, which was walled up with dressed masonry under the direction of Michelangelo circa 1518. The architectural historian Charles Burroughs has written that the elimination of loggias and porticos during the Renaissance had a significant implication: their absence “clarified and emphasized the articulation between the space of the house itself and that of the street or piazza, [or] what we have come to call the distinction between public and private.”¹⁰

Curiously, however, by the middle of the sixteenth century the mercantile loggia had reemerged in Florence as a building type that was once again used to spatially demarcate places of commerce. This essay builds on recent analyses of medieval mercantile loggias, examining the afterlife of the loggia through a focus on the loggia in Florence’s Mercato Nuovo, built 1546–51 (Figure. 6.1).¹¹ Stressing the historicism and deep referential power of this monumental structure, this chapter insists that it was designed and constructed to be deliberately anachronistic—specifically, atavistic—in its modality.

The Mercato Nuovo: "*Il più frequentato luogo della città*"¹²

To this day, the Mercato Nuovo in Florence is defined by the loggia designed by Giovan Battista di Marco del Tasso (d. 1555) and built under the patronage of Cosimo I (1519–74), a member of the Medici family.¹³ Cosimo unexpectedly came to power as the head of the Florentine government at the young age of seventeen, due to the assassination of his relative, Duke Alessandro de' Medici. While Florentine factionalism and legal questions about what he rightfully possessed initially stripped Cosimo of the wealth that his predecessor had enjoyed, the new appointee eventually reinvigorated Florence's position within the political hierarchy of Europe. Over the course of his tenure as leader of the city, Cosimo cultivated and positioned permanent officials of the new regime and other magistrates so that the republican administration was controlled from the top.¹⁴ He consolidated Florence's scattered territories, expanded the city's domain well beyond the present size of Tuscany, and asserted near-absolute rule over the city.¹⁵ In undertaking the work on the Mercato Nuovo, Cosimo reaffirmed the endurance of Medicean political ambition by yoking his rule to that of the Florentine Republic, making his duchy a seemingly inevitable culmination of tradition and using a doubly referential iconography to underscore his and Florence's power.¹⁶ Other scholars have seen Cosimo's patronage as deeply invested in invoking Florence's republican past in his architectural and artistic commissions. As Howard Burns has written, Cosimo "had himself represented as a ruler who embodied continuity with the traditions of the Florentine Republic, but the creation of a distinctive Tuscan, Florentine and Medicean architecture."¹⁷ The Mercato Nuovo should be situated within that orbit.¹⁸

Historically, Florence's Mercato Nuovo was the site where local, as opposed to international, banking occurred. The piazza surrounding it gives access to another area important to Renaissance banking, the Via Porto Rosso, a street that connects the Mercato Nuovo to Piazza della Signoria and its Palazzo, the center of Florentine government. Attesting to the type of commercial activities that took place at the Mercato Nuovo, in the middle of the fifteenth century the mendicant preacher San Bernardino da Siena specifically targeted the Mercato Nuovo in a Lenten sermon as the depraved Florentine locale where the city's bankers, like flies, drank the blood of the poor, little by little.¹⁹

While the Mercato Nuovo's association with filthy lucre might not have been entirely erased, Cosimo's new loggia was embedded in a project of attempting to bolster Florence's economy and its reputation as a producer and consumer of goods. As Eric Cochrane has written, Cosimo "was willing to do all he could for the economic recovery of his dominions," although the success of his endeavors is debated.²⁰ He reissued regulations originally approved in 1476 and 1487 that strove to maintain the ancient reputation of manufactured trade goods; he fixed prices; and he banned foreign coins from circulating within Florence's territories.²¹ At Cosimo's

instigation, the Mercato Nuovo itself became the city's central location for exchanging both gold and silk, specifically.²² (Silk had become an important component of Florentine trade during the second half of the fifteenth century, when it was added to wool as one of the textile goods sold in large quantities in Florence or exported elsewhere.) When Tasso's loggia began in 1546, Florence was in the midst of a decade of strong economic growth that would last until the onset of war with Siena in 1552, at which point the city redirected its resources and took on large debts to finance the military conflict.²³

Both Cosimo's administrative reorganization and his architectural and urban projects took as their goal the ambition of making Florence a locale that the principate could manage in both political and spatial terms, and the Mercato Nuovo's loggia was key to those ambitions.²⁴ The loggia aligns with many of Cosimo's other urban projects that, considered as a whole, were an explicit means of bolstering economic interests while simultaneously constructing a Medicean visual identity for the city. Indeed, Giorgio Spini has written of an "architecture of the regime" that was meant to promote its political totality.²⁵ Under Cosimo, key changes and embellishments were made to the Palazzo della Signoria, motivated by Cosimo's transfer of his official residence there from the Palazzo Medici, on the Via Larga. A related project was the construction of the Uffizi, which allowed Cosimo to consolidate the meeting places of various arms of the Florentine government, on the one hand reinforcing certain elements of Florence's conventional system of governance and on the other allowing for a centralized bureaucracy overseen by the Medici. Eight magistracies and five guilds were given offices in the newly built Uffizi.²⁶ Corporate bodies, including the bankers' guild, the silk guild, and the merchants' guild, which had all previously maintained meeting halls around Orsanmichele, the Mercato Vecchio, and the Mercato Nuovo, were uprooted and rehoused in the Uffizi, underscoring the weakened stature of Florence's once potent guild structure.²⁷

Other restructuring projects ranged from regrouping Florence's fourteen minor guilds into four *università*, compelling the wool and silk guilds to rewrite their statutes, and taking extensive surveys that were finalized in 1551 and 1562 and measured everything from the consumption of meat and grain to population statistics, as a means of both understanding the Tuscan domain, and being able to more efficiently tax it.²⁸ The loggia at the Mercato Nuovo was implicated in such policies, in both a symbolic and a physical sense: the level of the building between its vaulting and the roof, prized for its secure location, was intended for the state's archive of notarial documents, the *Archivio degli Atti originali Notariali*.²⁹ In this function, the Mercato Nuovo's loggia evokes precedents such as Rovigo's Loggia dei Notari, where local notaries used the upper floor of the town's loggia for transactions.³⁰ With the Mercato Nuovo project, Cosimo fully recognized the value of mythologizing Tuscan history, showing that he understood the uses of that history as a way to create meaning in the present.³¹

The cost of the construction of the loggia was partially covered by a new tax on a number of guilds, including the guild of the bankers, the wool sellers and workers, the doctors and pharmacists, and the merchants.³² Florentine merchants living elsewhere were also asked to help cover the costs of the loggia; however, consortia of Florentine merchants in Lyon, Naples, Rome, Venice, and elsewhere protested that they were not able to contribute to the cause.³³ Yet the inscription that is repeated on the east and west sides of the building does little to acknowledge the contributions of the guilds; instead, it links Cosimo to the loggia and lauds the magnificent and salubrious columned portico.³⁴ The inscriptions also praise the loggia for its openness, which provides views in all directions while protecting merchants. Finally, bosses in each ceiling vault, sculpted with Medici rings and their motto, “*semper*,” also associated the building with the Medici (Figure 6.2).

The de facto leaders of many of the collaborative artistic enterprises undertaken in conjunction with Medici patronage, including several projects at the Palazzo Vecchio, were Tasso (the architect of the loggia) and Niccolò Tribolo, a favored artisan who was not connected to the Mercato Nuovo project.³⁵ Tasso was a masterful woodcarver who made poop decks for the



Figure 6.2 Giovanni Battista del Tasso, Boss in the Mercato Nuovo Loggia, Florence, 1546–51 (Photo by Author).

Genovese naval hero Andrea Doria, the ceiling and benches for Michelangelo's Biblioteca Laurenziana, and, purportedly, a bed for the goldsmith Benvenuto Cellini.³⁶ His first venture into architecture seems to have been generating the idea and partial execution of a project that unified the eastern wall of Palazzo Vecchio along Via dei Leoni and the design of a monumental portal on that side of the building.³⁷ Vasari later commemorated Tasso as architect of the Mercato Nuovo loggia on a tondo in a ceiling alcove at the Palazzo Vecchio, structured to assert Cosimo's liberality towards the arts and the city within an overall program that was meant to be a propagandistic image of statecraft demonstrating the supremacy of Tuscany (Figure 6.3a).³⁸ Tasso is shown holding a model of the loggia with an inscription affirming his authorial link to the building (Figure 6.3b).³⁹ Vasari's frescoed representation of the Mercato Nuovo building largely parallels the material structure as executed. The image accurately depicts the loggia's physical space as a rectangular edifice, three bays wide and four bays deep. The monumental shed-like structure has piers with niches that encase an inner building, which has monolithic columns that carry arches defining the bays, each containing a domical vault, typically Brunelleschian and thereby Florentine by association, and these two points—that the building is seemingly encased and the deep referentiality of its structure—are issues that I will focus on for the remainder of this essay.⁴⁰



Figure 6.3 Left (a): Giorgio Vasari, *Cosimo I de' Medici seated among architects and engineers*, Sala di Cosimo I, Palazzo Vecchio, Florence, 1559. Right (b): Giorgio Vasari, *Detail of Cosimo I de' Medici seated among architects and engineers*, Sala di Cosimo I, Palazzo Vecchio, Florence, 1559.

Source: Scala/Art Resource, NY.

Architectural atavism

While it has been generally neglected in literature on Florentine buildings, Tasso's structure has received attention from Henk van Veen, who sees the loggia as one of several projects that demonstrate Cosimo's interest in cultivating an "emphatically . . . dynastic and territorial imagery" in the early years of his political tenure, though his interest shifted course radically as his rule became more secure and he began to identify his reign with republican concepts of virtue and the "good commune."⁴¹ Van Veen writes:

Cosimo's conception of the Piazza della Signoria and its environs bespeaks a thoroughly antagonistic attitude toward the architectural heritage of Florence. Nor is it the only evidence of the new ruler's opposition of the city's administrative, political, and cultural past. The Mercato Nuovo . . . evoke[s] the same princely grandeur. The Mercato Nuovo was . . . an expression of royal magnificence.⁴²

At the outset of the passage, van Veen alludes to a scheme developed by Baccio Bandinelli and Giuliano di Baccio d'Agnolo (but that probably was never presented to Cosimo) to radically alter the piazza and the neighborhood surrounding the Palazzo della Signoria.⁴³ He then moves on to note that the loggia at the Mercato Nuovo embodied Cosimo's desire to ignore Florentine building tradition. I suggest that we can add nuance to van Veen's recognition by addressing the materiality of the loggia and the history of the formal articulation of the piazza. What emerges is a building that is atavistic in its form and typology and that complicates reading the loggia as a synecdoche for Cosimo's antagonism to the historicism of Florence's built heritage. The Mercato Nuovo loggia shows a marked cultural desire to affirm and appropriate the legacy of Florentine architecture and the form of the loggia itself.

Florence had a tradition of constructing improved loggias near to or atop older structures, as might have occurred at Orsanmichele, where it has been speculated that a smaller loggia for the city's grain merchants served as a precursor to the larger monumental oratory that was built later during the fourteenth century (1336 to circa 1390).⁴⁴ While no specific documentary evidence has surfaced to support the idea that Tasso's loggia replaced and thereby referred to an earlier informal structure on the piazza, and we therefore do not know what such a building might have looked like, it remains possible that the new loggia was built in relationship to a previous loggia on the piazza.⁴⁵ If indeed Tasso's new loggia for the Mercato Nuovo replaced an older structure, that would be another reason to see the new loggia as a measure of continuity. But in the absence of such evidence, the mercantile building traditions and the structure and form of the building for which we do have evidence speak loudly enough.⁴⁶

The articulation of Tasso's loggia situates it within a strong, if generic, tradition of semi-enclosed spaces erected to create a designated place for

mercantile exchange.⁴⁷ As Kim Sexton has demonstrated, the spread of the loggia and arched portico in Italy coincides with the affirmation of the liberal commune and self-governing rule; these structures were among the first that were built and paid for by independent communes.⁴⁸ It was probably this class of loggias, rather than private ones belonging to the nobility, alongside antecedent classical forms, as well as early medieval *laubiae*, meant to frame judiciary spectacles, that then became the model for Italian public loggias.⁴⁹ Early loggias built into the underbellies of communal palaces were a conscious index of commercial productivity, as is demonstrated by the loggias and brolettos erected in Bergamo (ca. 1185–98), Brescia (began 1198), Pavia (1198–99) Cremona (1206), Como (1215), Padua (1218), Milan (1218), and Monza (1293).⁵⁰ At this stage, loggias were commonly appended to the Palazzo Comunale or at least positioned close to it. Barring exceptions such as the Palazzo del Comune in Todi, completed in 1206, loggias in general appeared in central Italy roughly half a century after they became distinct buildings in northern Italy.⁵¹ Though perhaps linked in form to a possible previous loggia on the piazza, Tasso's loggia at the Mercato Nuovo was, equally, a revival of older form. It is a reinsertion of a building type that had dwindled in appeal.

Though it is more complex in its articulation, the building for the Mercato Nuovo ought to be seen beside another proximate commercial loggia in Florence, Giorgio Vasari's nine-bay-long structure, constructed for the sale of fish, that once stood in the Mercato Vecchio (Figure 6.4).⁵² Significantly, while the built form of the Florentine loggia in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries

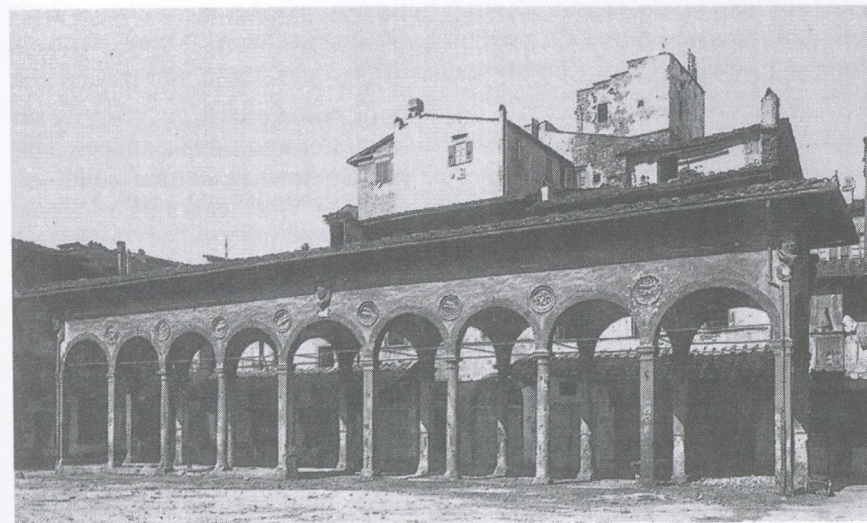


Figure 6.4 Giorgio Vasari, The Loggia del Pesce in the Piazza dei Ciompi, Florence, 1568.

Source: Alinari Archives, Florence.

demonstrated a tendency towards intercity and interinstitutional competition—as witnessed for example in the distinctive forms of Orsanmichele (1337–67), the Bigallo (1352–58), and the Loggia della Signoria (1378–81)—under the Medici's sixteenth-century domination of Florence, the material form of commercial loggias was naturalized, iterating a common identity with the Medici.

Both Florentine loggias were part of a larger project undertaken by Cosimo to systematize a number of spaces in towns controlled by Florence: new or restored loggias became part of the city fabric in Barga built for the sale of silk and salt (1546); Castiglion Fiorentino (1513, restored 1571); Lari (1565); Montepulciano (by 1570); Monte San Savino (1517–20 and ca. 1550–55?); and Savona (after 1572), for example.⁵³ Some of these projects, notably, involved submitting a petition to the Florentines for permission to repair or alter the structure.⁵⁴ At Castiglion Fiorentino, the community requested permission in 1560 to repair their mercantile loggia.⁵⁵ When the restorations were completed in 1571, a Medici stemma was added.⁵⁶ Cosimo visited Savona in 1572, after which time a number of modifications were made to the Loggia del Palazzo Bourbon del Monte there.⁵⁷

While it is clearly a Medicean project, the spatial and architectural logic of Tasso's structure is firmly rooted in Florentine architectural tradition, as Caroline Elam and Howard Burns have recognized, suggesting that the commission was meant to resonate deeply along a historical continuum.⁵⁸ In a departure from the pictorial representation of the loggia, which suggests that it is of a unified stone, the inner zone of the building is constructed largely of pietra serena (a material that celebrates a multiplicity of Florentine projects, ranging from the Ospedale degli Innocenti to the Old Sacristy, as well as Michelangelo's work for the Medici at San Lorenzo), but these pietra serena columns are enfolded in a structure of yellow-ochre pietra forte, the sandstone common to so many Florentine palaces and public edifices. This alludes to a material duality witnessed in numerous Florentine buildings, often seen in plays between exterior and interior. The loggia's pietra serena columns and its monumentally massed shell are joined abruptly, highlighting the disjunction between shell and support. Cosimo tightly controlled the use of pietra serena; in *The Lives of the Artists*, Vasari writes that it was reserved for use on public buildings unless special sanction was given and that Cosimo owned a major pietra serena quarry near San Martino, encouraging its use in several projects executed under his reign, including Baccio Bandinelli's audience hall in the Palazzo della Signoria, the Udienna.⁵⁹ The liminal space of the open loggia, then, built with the pietra serena so closely associated with Cosimo, provides telling structural support for the pietra forte commercial loggia, the traditional mark of the republican commune.

By way of conclusion, it is useful to note that a reproduction does not just reproduce an object. Instead, the process of mimesis transforms an imagined "original" to create something that can be experienced by analogy. This is a useful framework for considering the Mercato Nuovo. I suggest that the



Figure 6.5 Gold coins, Cosimo I, 1536–55 (1995,0706.24, Courtesy of The Trustees of the British Museum).

loggia there was anchored in the present while simultaneously replicating a temporarily repressed architectural form. As a replica, it was meant to evoke the economic potency of a stage of commercial power that was not yet entirely bygone, visibly signifying and appropriating the past life and historic vitality of Florentine architecture and trade. Somewhat perversely, the same might be said of the coins that flowed through the hands of the bankers and merchants who practiced in and around Tasso's loggia. Under Cosimo's regime, gold Florentine florins were imprinted with the Medici's vivid familial coat of arms (Figure 6.5). This new imagery on an "old" coin—also a type of replica—was a striking departure from the specie issued over the course of the Republic, which depicted an image of St. John the Baptist on its verso. As replicas, Tasso's loggia and the coins that moved through it were designed to evoke a specific temporal stage of Florentine economic power, visibly signifying the past life of the community, but emptying the form of the political orientation of the medieval corporate body.

Notes

- 1 Olivia Remie Constable, *Housing the Stranger in the Mediterranean World: Lodging, Trade, and Travel in Late Antiquity and the Middle Ages* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2003), 156, 311.
- 2 Ibid., 155.
- 3 Emmanuel Piloti, *Traité d'Emmanuel Piloti sur le Passage en Terre Sainte* (1420) (Louvain and Paris: Editions E. Nauwelaerts, 1958), 76.
- 4 Francis William Kent, *Household and Lineage in Renaissance Florence: The Family Life of the Capponi, Ginori, and Rucellai* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1977), 244 n. 57; Charles Burroughs, "Spaces of Arbitration,"

- in *Medieval Practices of Space*, ed. Barbara Hanawalt and Michal Kobialka (Minneapolis and London: University of Minnesota Press, 2000), n. 66.
- 5 Manfredo Tafuri, *Interpreting the Renaissance: Princes, Cities, Architects* (Cambridge, MA: Yale University Press in association with Harvard University Graduate School of Design, 2006), 33.
 - 6 "Nelle loggie, che in questi tempi qualche poco ancor si frequentavano," in Filippo Nerli, *Commentari dei fatti civili occorsi dentro la città di Firenze dall'anno 1215 al 1537*, vol. 1 (Florence, 1859), 62. As quoted in Richard A. Goldthwaite, "The Florentine Palace as Domestic Architecture," *The American Historical Review* 77, no. 4 (1972), 988–989.
 - 7 Jacob Burckhardt, *The Architecture of the Italian Renaissance*, trans. James Palmes, rev. ed. (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1985), 154.
 - 8 As cited in Burroughs, "Spaces of Arbitration," 76.
 - 9 F. Becchi, "Marzo: Delle logge e dei fanali," in *L'illustratore fiorentino, calendario per l'anno 1838* (Florence: Tipografia Galileiana, 1837), 22.
 - 10 Burroughs, "Spaces of Arbitration," 86.
 - 11 For literature on the loggia, see Kim Susan Sexton, "A History of Renaissance Civic Loggias in Italy from the Loggia dei Lanzi to Sansovino's Loggetta" (PhD thesis, Yale University, 1997); Constable, *Housing the Stranger in the Mediterranean World: Lodging, Trade, and Travel in Late Antiquity and the Middle Ages*; Sexton, "Justice Seen: Loggias and Ethnicity in Early Medieval Italy," *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians* 68, no. 3 (2009); Sexton, "Political Portico: Exhibiting Self-Rule in Early Communal Italy," *The Art Bulletin* 97, no. 3 (2015). On the loggia of Mercato Nuovo, see Emanuele Barletti, "Ipotesi di lavoro su Giovan Battista del Tasso," *Critica d'arte* 55 (1990), 55–61; Andrew Morrogh, *Disegni di architetti fiorentini, 1540–1640: Catalogo* (Florence: L.S. Olschki, 1985), 30–31, cat. 9; Caroline Elam, "Firenze 1500–50," in *Il primo Cinquecento*, ed. Arnaldo Bruschi (Milan: Electa, 2002), 230–32, 239 n. 129; and Howard Burns, "The 1540s: A Turning Point in the Development of European Architecture," in *Les années 1540: regards croisés sur les arts et les lettres*, ed. Lorenz Baumer, Frédéric Elsig, and Sabine Frommel (New York: Peter Lang, 2015), 40–42.
 - 12 Federico Fantozzi, *Nuova guida, ovvero descrizione storico-artistico-critica della città e contorni di Firenze* (Florence: Gius. e fratelli Ducci, 1842), 582.
 - 13 Elam, "Firenze 1500–50," 232.
 - 14 R. Burr Litchfield, *Emergence of a Bureaucracy: The Florentine Patricians, 1530–1790* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1986), 77–83.
 - 15 Elizabeth Pilliod, "Cosimo I and the Arts," in *Florence*, ed. Francis Ames-Lewis (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012), 330–31.
 - 16 The literature on Medician political ideology and patronage is vast. See in particular: Kurt W. Forster, "Metaphors of Rule: Political Ideology and History in the Portraits of Cosimo I De' Medici," *Mitteilungen des Kunsthistorischen Institutes in Florenz* 15, no. 1 (1971), 65–104; Roger Crum, "Lessons from the Past: The Palazzo Medici as Political 'Mentor' in Sixteenth-Century Florence," in *The Cultural Politics of Duke Cosimo I de' Medici*, ed. Konrad Eisenbichler (Burlington: Ashgate, 2001), 47–62; Pilliod, "Cosimo I and the Arts," 330–73.
 - 17 Burns, "The 1540s: A Turning Point in the Development of European Architecture," 40.
 - 18 Janet Cox-Rearick, *Dynasty and Destiny in Medici Art: Pontormo, Leo X, and the Two Cosimos* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1984), 6; Crum, "Lessons from the Past: The Palazzo Medici as Political 'Mentor' in Sixteenth-Century Florence," 50.
 - 19 Bernardino da Siena, *Le prediche volgari*, ed. Ciro Cannarozzi, vol. I (Pistoia: Alberto Pacinotti, 1934), 113–15.
 - 20 Eric W. Cochrane, *Florence in the Forgotten Centuries, 1527–1800; A History of Florence and the Florentines in the Age of the Grand Dukes* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1973), 54.
 - 21 Ibid., 55.
 - 22 Ferdinando Leopoldo del Migliore, *Firenze città nobilissima* (Florence: Stamp. della Stella, 1684), 562; Franco Borsi, *Firenze del cinquecento* (Rome: Editalia, 1974), 100–03; Morrogh, *Disegni di architetti fiorentini, 1540–1640*, 30–31; Leon Satkowski, *Giorgio Vasari: Architect and Courtier* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1993), 28; Adrienne Atwell, "Ritual Trading: Florentine Wool-Cloth Botteghe," in *Renaissance Florence: A Social History*, ed. Roger Crum and John Paoletti (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2006), 202 and n. 76.
 - 23 Arnaldo d'Addario, "Burocrazia, economia e finanze dello stato fiorentino alla metà del cinquecento," *Archivio Storico Italiano* 121 (1963), 382; Cochrane, *Florence in the Forgotten Centuries, 1527–1800; A History of Florence and the Florentines in the Age of the Grand Dukes*, 53–56.
 - 24 Donatella Calabi, *The Market and the City: Square, Street and Architecture in Early Modern Europe* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2004), 61.
 - 25 Giorgio Spini, "Architettura e politica nel principato Mediceo del cinquecento," *Rivista Storica Italiana* 83, no. 4 (1971), 795, 801; Donatella Calabi, *Il Mercato e la città: piazze, strade, architetture d'europa in età moderna* (Venice: Marsilio, 1993), 169.
 - 26 D'Addario, "Burocrazia, economia e finanze dello stato fiorentino alla metà del cinquecento"; Furio Diaz, *Il Granducato di Toscana: i Medici* (Turin: UTET, 1976); Carlo M. Cipolla, *Money in Sixteenth-century Florence* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1989); Richard A. Goldthwaite, *The Economy of Renaissance Florence* (Baltimore, MD: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2009), 491. The Uffizi also became the place of residence for thirteen of the city's administrative arms, which had formerly been dispersed throughout Florence. The branches consolidated included the nine Conservatori (whose subdivisions included the Scriptori, the Audienza and the Cancelleria), the Tribunale commerciale, the offices of the Milizia, the Conservatori dei Leggi, the Pupilli, the Grascia, the Decime, and the Vendite.
 - 27 Calabi, *The Market and the City: Square, Street and Architecture in Early Modern Europe*, 61.
 - 28 D'Addario, "Burocrazia, economia e finanze dello stato fiorentino alla metà del cinquecento," 366; Goldthwaite, *The Economy of Renaissance Florence*, 491.
 - 29 Fantozzi, *Nuova guida, ovvero descrizione storico-artistico-critica della città e contorni di Firenze*.
 - 30 Leobaldo Traniello, *Rovigo: Ritratto di una città* (Padua: Edizioni Minelliana, 1988), 92; Olivia Remie Constable, *Medieval Iberia: Readings from Christian, Muslim, and Jewish Sources* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1997), 187; Sexton, "A History of Renaissance Civic Loggias in Italy from the Loggia dei Lanzi to Sansovino's Loggetta," 105.
 - 31 Forster, "Metaphors of Rule: Political Ideology and History in the Portraits of Cosimo I De' Medici," 67.
 - 32 *Archivio di Stato di Firenze*, Mediceo 629, c., 1 v., 23 November 1546.
 - 33 *Archivio di Stato di Firenze*, Medici Archive Project, 20201, 659a, fols. 228–234.
 - 34 The inscription reads: COSMVS MEDICES FLOREN. DVX II / PVBLICAE MAGNIFICENTIAE ET SALVBREITATIS / ERGO PORTICVM TRANSVERSO COLUMNARVM / ORDINE VNDIQUE PERMEABILEM / ADVERSVS OMNEN COELI / CONTVMELIAM / NEGOCIANTIBVS IN FORO CIVIBVS SVIS / EXTRVXIT MDXLVIII.
 - 35 Fantozzi, *Nuova guida, ovvero descrizione storico-artistico-critica della città e contorni di Firenze*, 581–83; Borsi, *Firenze del cinquecento*, 99; Claudia Conforti,

- Vasari *architetto* (Milan: Electa, 1993), 48, 70, 74; Satkowski, *Giorgio Vasari: Architect and Courtier*, 25–28, 51. Tasso likely received the commission because the favored Medici architect, Tribolo, was preoccupied with projects for diverting rivers, building bridges in and outside of Florence.
- 36 Pilliod, “Cosimo I and the Arts,” 338. As Pilliod notes, Vasari offered occasional comments about Tasso in the *Lives of the Artists*, most of which were negative, including the charge that he controlled Cosimo’s advisor and secretary, Pierfrancesco Riccio. It is likely this was because of Vasari’s jealousy; Tasso occupied posts that Vasari would only assume after Tasso’s death.
- 37 Barletti, “Ipotesi di lavoro su Giovan Battista del Tasso,” 55–57.
- 38 Forster, “Metaphors of Rule: Political Ideology and History in the Portraits of Cosimo I de’ Medici,” 96, 102. For the dating and commentary identifying the artists, see William Chandler Kirwin, “Vasari’s Tondo of ‘Cosimo I with His Architects, Engineers and Sculptors’ in the Palazzo Vecchio,” *Mitteilungen des Kunsthistorischen Institutes in Florenz* 15, no. 1 (1971), 105–22; Charles Davis, “Benvenuto Cellini and the Scuola Fiorentina: Notes on Florentine Sculpture around 1550 for the 500th Anniversary of Michelangelo’s Birth,” *North Carolina Museum of Art Bulletin* 13, no. 4 (1976), 65–67; Elizabeth Pilliod, “Representation, Misrepresentation, and Non-Representation, Vasari and his Competitors,” in *Vasari’s Florence, Artists and Literati at the Medicean Court*, ed. Philip Jacks (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998), 46.
- 39 The inscription reads: IL T . . . ARCHITETTO; GIANBATI.; DEL.; TASSO, see Kirwin, “Vasari’s Tondo of ‘Cosimo I with His Architects, Engineers and Sculptors’ in the Palazzo Vecchio,” 116, n. 34.
- 40 Piero and Ennio Guarnieri Bargellini, *Le strade di Firenze*, vol. 3 (Florence: Bonechi, 1985), 185.
- 41 Henk Th. van Veen, *Cosimo I de’ Medici and His Self-Representation in Florentine Art and Culture* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2006), 5.
- 42 Ibid., 12–13.
- 43 It remains possible that the Mercato Nuovo was the only realized component of the new precinct surrounding Palazzo della Signoria; see Giorgio Vasari, *Le opere di Giorgio Vasari*, ed. Gaetano Milanesi, 6 (Florence: Sansoni, 1881), 171–72; Satkowski, *Giorgio Vasari: Architect and Courtier*, 26–28.
- 44 Atwell, “Ritual Trading: Florentine Wool-Cloth Botteghe,” 189–90.
- 45 Bargellini, *Le strade di Firenze*, vol. 3, 184; Mariano Bianca, *I mercati nella storia di Firenze* (Florence: Tipografia Polistampa di Firenze, 1995), 75.
- 46 Atwell, “Ritual Trading: Florentine Wool-Cloth Botteghe,” 189–90.
- 47 Giancarlo Cataldi, *Logge e/y Lonjas*, ed. Giancarlo Cataldi and Roberto Corona (Florence: Alinea Editrice, 2002), 9.
- 48 Sexton, “A History of Renaissance Civic Loggias in Italy from the Loggia dei Lanzi to Sansovino’s Loggetta,” 81–82; Sexton, “Political Portico: Exhibiting Self-Rule in Early Communal Italy,” 258.
- 49 Sexton, “A History of Renaissance Civic Loggias in Italy from the Loggia dei Lanzi to Sansovino’s Loggetta,” 132; Sexton, “Justice Seen: Loggias and Ethnicity in early Medieval Italy,” 329–30.
- 50 Laura and Gaia Rinaldi Ferrario, “Le logge mercantili del Granducato di Toscana: campionature a confronto,” in *Logge e/y Lonjas: i luoghi del commercio nella storia della città*, ed. Giancarlo Cataldi e Roberto Corona (Florence: Alinea, 2002), 161.
- 51 Sexton, “Political Portico: Exhibiting Self-Rule in Early Communal Italy,” 268; Sexton, “Justice Seen: Loggias and Ethnicity in Early Medieval Italy,” 259.
- 52 Atwell, “Ritual Trading: Florentine Wool-Cloth Botteghe,” 191.
- 53 Spini, “Architettura e politica nel principato Mediceo del cinquecento,” 799; Ferrario, “Le logge mercantili del Granducato di Toscana: campionature a confronto,” 161.

- 54 Ferrario, “Le logge mercantili del Granducato di Toscana: campionature a confronto,” 162, 164.
- 55 Ibid., 176.
- 56 Sexton, “A History of Renaissance Civic Loggias in Italy from the Loggia dei Lanzi to Sansovino’s Loggetta,” 214. As Sexton notes, such loggias were constructed in Certaldo, Cutigliano, Castelfranco di Sopra, Pescia, and Batignano, where they were used as a place for a foreign magistrate (the *podestà*) to administer justice, hand down sentences, make pronouncements, explain new legislation or treatises, and as places for leisure activities. This strategy of domination evoked a similar practice seen in the trecento when Florence provisioned some of its subject towns with self-contained loggias that were modeled on the civic loggias of larger cities.
- 57 Ferrario, “Le logge mercantili del Granducato di Toscana: campionature a confronto,” 176.
- 58 Elam, “Firenze 1500–50,” 232; Burns, “The 1540s: A Turning Point in the Development of European Architecture,” 41–42.
- 59 Giorgio Vasari, *Le Vite de’ più eccellenti pittori, scultori, ed architetti* (Florence: Heirs of Filippo da Giunta, 1568), 1, 125–26; Satkowski, *Giorgio Vasari: Architect and Courtier* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1994), 40.