

1 Cigoli, Sketch for the façade of S. Lorenzo and the catafalque at S. Maria Novella. Uff. 2654 A recto.

## ART AND POLITICS AT THE MEDICI COURT \*

### III: FUNERAL DECOR FOR PHILIP II OF SPAIN

by Eve Borsook

The funeral of Philip II of Spain was a move in a political chess game. Although the affair was a massive artistic production little was intended for posterity. By chance, thirteen *chiaroscuro* canvases used in this funeral survive in the Uffizi Deposit. There are also numbers of drawings — several for canvases and many more of the ornamental props. All kinds of artists were involved in the project, some obscure, others well remembered. By themselves, these sagging canvases are feeble creations. Yet, they constitute the earliest surviving example of a type of monumental history painting which might be classed as pictorial biography.

\* See "Mitteilungen" xii, 1965/66, pp. 31-54, and 366-371; xiii, 1967/68, pp. 95-114. The material for this article was presented in the form of a lecture at the annual meeting of the College Art Association, January 1968, St. Louis, Missouri.



Before 1550, history painting concerned with the life and achievements of an individual who was not a saint were rare in Italy. In his study of the subject, Werner Hager cites only two surviving examples: the early fourteenth century murals in the castle at Angera and Pinturicchio's pageant devoted to Pius II in the cathedral library of Siena.<sup>1</sup> Between 1528 and 1536 history scenes were painted for Charles V's triumphal entries into Messina, Naples, Rome, Florence and Bologna. Charles' conquests were also painted for the allegorical ship of state built as part of the funeral decor in Brussels in 1558. These may have been based on the twelve battle scenes designed by Martin van Heemskerck which in 1556 were engraved by Hieronymus Cock and were of some importance to later painters.<sup>2</sup> After 1560, *dynastic* cycles begin to appear, such as Tintoretto's for the Gonzaga at Mantua<sup>3</sup> and Zuccari's for the Farnese at Caprarola. But none of these were really biographical in the sense that they illustrated the lives of their subjects from the cradle to the grave.

In Florence, the earliest essays in this genre were those painted for the funerals, in 1564 and 1587, of Michelangelo and Francesco I.<sup>4</sup> None of these pictures survive; there are only a few drawings for some of the scenes used in Michelangelo's obsequies which are a mixture of allegory and history. The early 17th century decor in the Casa Buonarroti echoes some of the subjects of these lost canvases if not their design.<sup>5</sup> The same is true of the jasper and gold reliefs designed by Giambologna for the casket in the Museo degli Argenti of Palazzo Pitti which antedate Francesco's death in 1587.<sup>6</sup> Florentine funeral decor established the vogue for such subjects but no painted examples survive until Philip II's funeral late in 1598.

Although never beloved in Tuscany, the state funeral held in his honor was intended to be worthy of a Grand Duke. Officially, the Medici owed their ducal title to Philip's father Charles V and were vassals to the Spanish crown. Spanish monarchs had been godfathers to Medici heirs, but they also exacted heavy "loans" as well as troops. It was not forgotten that Spain had refused a Medici a Spanish bride and continued to withhold the "*Serenissimo*", the form of address elsewhere deemed suitable to the Grand Ducal title. The Spanish court, wrote Francesco Guicciardini, was *più pieno di uomini superbi che per avventura prudenti*.<sup>7</sup> Spanish prestige had not recovered from the defeat of the Armada ten years before, but Ferdinando wisely did not capitalize on Iberian misfortunes; he was bent on a conciliatory policy between France and Spain over which prosperous Tuscany presided. A few months before Philip's death, the Grand Duke had been instrumental in arranging the peace of Vervins between France and Spain. Furthermore, just at the moment when he was exasperated with

<sup>1</sup> Werner Hager, *Das geschichtliche Ereignisbild*, Munich, 1939, pp. 101-103.

<sup>2</sup> André Chastel, *Les Entrées de Charles Quint en Italie*, in: *Les Fêtes de la Renaissance II: Fêtes et cérémonies au temps de Charles Quint*, Paris, 1960, pp. 197-206. Chastel connects van Heemskerck's compositions with those devised for the arch of the Palazzo San Marco in Rome on the occasion of the emperor's triumphal entry in 1536.

<sup>3</sup> Alessandro Luzio, *Fasti Gonzagheschi dipinti dal Tintoretto*, in: *Archivio storico dell'arte*, iii, 1890, p. 398; Hans Tietze, *Tintoretto: Gemälde und Zeichnungen*, London, 1948, p. 356.

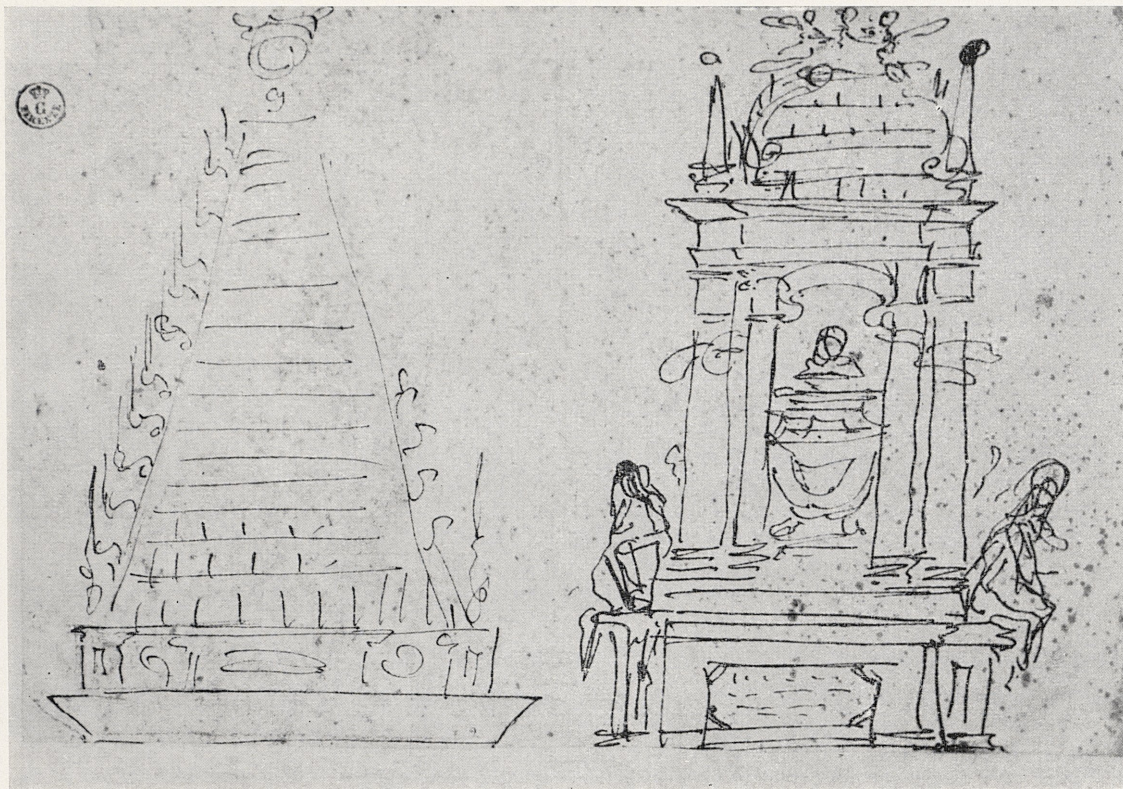
<sup>4</sup> Rudolf and Margot Wittkower, *The Divine Michelangelo: the Florentine Academy's Homage on his Death in 1564*, London, 1964; and Luciano Berti, *Il Principe dello Studiolo. Francesco I dei Medici e la fine del Rinascimento fiorentino*, Florence, 1967, pp. 197 ff.

<sup>5</sup> Wittkower, *op. cit.*, p. 27, plates 22-32; and Ugo Procacci, *La Casa Buonarroti a Firenze*, Milan, 1965, pp. 10-13, 173-176, 219-223.

<sup>6</sup> Detlef Heikamp, *Zur Geschichte der Uffizien-Tribuna und der Kunstschränke in Florenz und Deutschland*, in: *Zeitschrift für Kunstgeschichte*, xxvi, 1963, pp. 210 ff.; see especially figs. 30-34, 37-38, 40-42; Cristina Piacenti Aschengreen, *Il Museo degli Argenti*, Milan, 1967, p. 142: "*Pietre-Dure*", N. 264.

<sup>7</sup> Philip II had also opposed Ferdinando's marriage to Cristina of Lorraine in 1589; Riguccio Galluzzi, *Istoria del Granducato di Toscana sotto il governo della Casa Medici*, nuova ed., Florence, 1822, vol. V, p. 40; Ida Masetti-Bencini, *Omaggi e doni di Ferdinando I di Toscana alla famiglia reale di Spagna*, in: *Archivio storico italiano*, Quinta Serie, xlv, 1909, p. 135.





2 Cigoli, Sketch of the pyramid of candles from the catafalque at San Lorenzo and the catafalque at Santa Maria Novella. Uff. 2653 A verso.

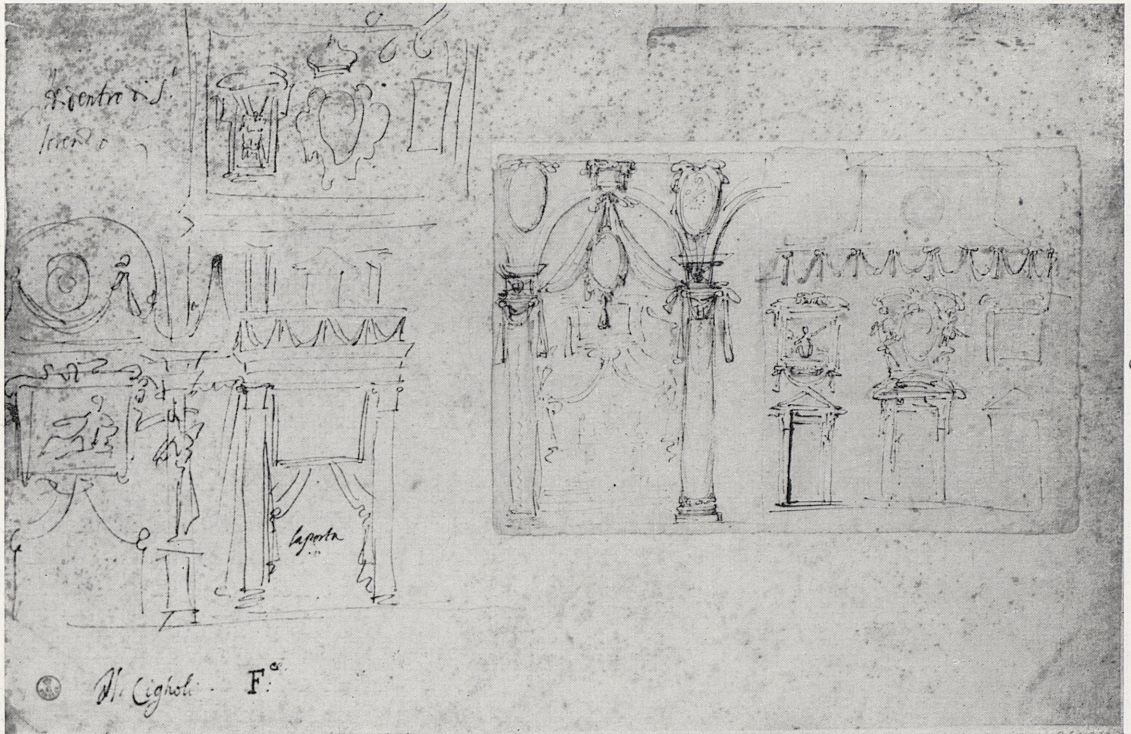
Henry IV over Chateau d'Iff and the control of Marseilles, Ferdinando wanted from Spain the official investiture of Siena for his half brother Don Giovanni whom he sent off to Madrid with condolences and congratulations to Philip III.<sup>8</sup>

All this was sufficient justification for making a grandiose gesture of humble devotion to Philip's memory. But still another factor entered: Ferrara, Tuscany's old rival in the matter of imperial court precedence, was planning a spectacular funeral for Philip scheduled for mid-October with the Pope and an Austrian princess in attendance.<sup>9</sup> Margherita of Austria was on her way to Spain; but soon after the funeral she was to be wed by proxy to Philip II's son and heir in Ferrara.

<sup>8</sup> Ibid., pp. 138-139; *Galluzzi*, op. cit., vol. V, pp. 182-214. Ferdinando held the islands of Pomègue and Iff as a guarantee for a loan of 3,600,000 *lire tornesi* to Henry for his fight against the League; *Gustavo Uzielli*, *Cenni storici sulle imprese scientifiche, marittime e coloniali di Ferdinando I. Gran Duca di Toscana*, Florence, 1901, pp. 24-25.

<sup>9</sup> *Antonio Frizzi*, *Memorie per la storia di Ferrara*, vol. V, Ferrara, 1809, pp. 31-32. The funeral in Ferrara was celebrated in the cathedral on October 14th, just a month after Philip's death. The marriage occurred soon afterwards and was a double wedding; the other couple being Philip III's sister, Isabella, and Archduke Albert of Austria.





3 Cigoli, View of the entrance wall, section of the nave arcade, and façade of S. Lorenzo. Uff. 2653 A recto.

Not to be outdone, Ferdinando ordered his superintendent of fortresses, Donato dell'Antella, to organize the funeral in San Lorenzo and meanwhile sent off Count Alessandro di Pitigliano to Ferrara with a silver service from the Medici Guardaroba *per prevalersene et honorarsene in quel servitio per meza liberalita verso il vicario di Christo et verso l'honore d'una Regina con la quale come vassallo haveva fatto far' complimenti di rallegranza et professar servitu et obligatione...*<sup>10</sup>

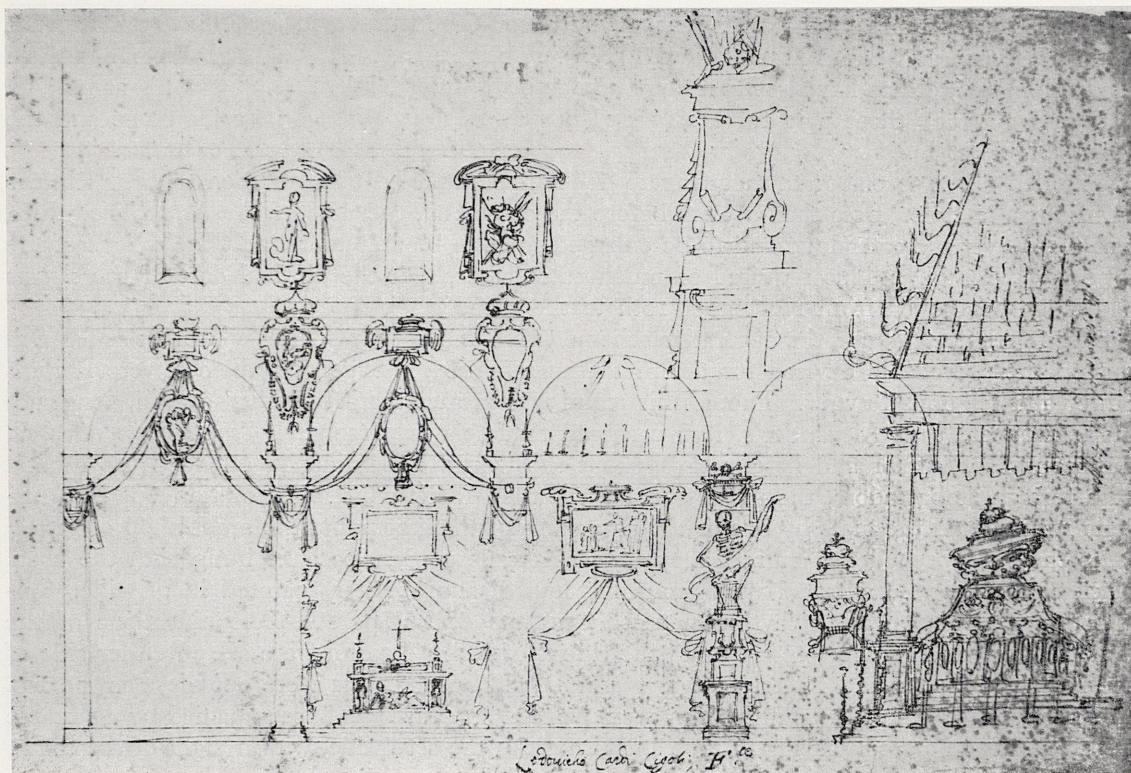
For the funeral Ferdinando ordered Donato dell'Antella *di imitare il fatto* [l'apparato] *nella morte dell'Imperatore Carlo V.*<sup>11</sup> A search was made through the records at San Lorenzo for an account of what the Florentines had done to honor the emperor's memory in 1558, but the funeral committee was apparently unable to find any accounts of an elaborate *apparato*.<sup>12</sup>

<sup>10</sup> Archivio di Stato, Florence (A.S.F.), *Carte Stroziane Serie I<sup>a</sup>*, filza 53, cc. 107 recto and verso, 108 recto ("Vita del Gran Duca Ferdinando" by Domizio Peroni da S. Gimignano Canonico di Pisa, stato suo Segretario nella Corte del Papa e del Rè di Spagna) which is an undated Ms.

<sup>11</sup> A.S.F., *Scrittoio delle Fabbriche Mediceo*, filza 122, ("Memoriale e Ricordanze A"), c. 3 verso; this is contained in the copy of an order from Ferdinando to Donato dell'Antella dated October 6th 1598.

<sup>12</sup> A.S.F., *Archivio Mediceo*, filza 887, c. 335, letter of Vincenzo Giugni to Belissario Vinta, the Grand Duke's Secretary of State: *Dite a Monsignore Arcivescovo di Pisa che io non trovo fino Adesso altro per cento di Essequie che al Libro B, c. 31 della entrata e Uscita della Com del Capitolo di san lorenzo che alle 10 di Dicembre 1558 fu fatto l'essequie di Carlo quinto solennemente Comparare tutta la chiesa... cerchero di nuovo in qualche altro lato...* Settimanni's account of the funeral on December 8th is limited to: *si fecero in Firenze l'Essequie di Carlo Quinto nella chiesa di San Lorenzo con grandissima pompa; alle quali intervenne il Duca con li Consiglieri, e tutti li Magistrati della Città; e l'Orazione delle sue Lodi fu detta dal Marcellino*; A.S.F., *Diario del Settimanni*, vol. 128, c. 129 verso.





4 Cigoli, View of nave arcade and catafalque of San Lorenzo. Uff. 2654 A verso.

Perhaps, Ferdinando's order had been misunderstood; the Grand Duke may not have been thinking of any Florentine funeral for Charles V, but rather of the famous, much publicized one celebrated in Brussels which was the model of the Grand Ducal funerals of 1574 and 1587.

Philip II died in the Escorial on September 13th 1598. The date of the obsequies to be held in Florence was set for November 10th and plans were underway during late September and early October. This left a scant six weeks to fabricate many decorations. The artistic supervisor was Ludovico Cardi, known as Cigoli. As a boy of fifteen, he had already worked on the decor for Cosimo I's funeral in 1574.<sup>13</sup> Baldinucci informs us that Cigoli studied with Buontalenti, Francesco I's chief architect and engineer, and had collaborated with him on a variety of festive decorations.<sup>14</sup> Under Ferdinando I, while Buontalenti's star waned, Cigoli was given ample opportunity to demonstrate his talent as "painter-architect".<sup>15</sup>

<sup>13</sup> E. Borsook, *Art and Politics at the Medici Court I: The Funeral of Cosimo I de' Medici*, in: *Mitteilungen des Kunsthistorischen Institutes in Florenz*, xii, 1965/66, p. 46.

<sup>14</sup> Filippo Baldinucci, *Notizie dei professori del disegno da Cimabue in qua, Vita del Cigoli*, ed. F. Ranalli, Florence, 1846, vol. III, pp. 237-239.

<sup>15</sup> Berti, *op. cit.*, p. 206; *Idem*, *Architettura del Cigoli*, in: *Mostra del Cigoli e del suo ambiente, San Miniato al Tedesco (Pisa)*, 1959, pp. 167-184.



A series of sketches in the Uffizi shows the decor Cigoli designed for Philip II's funerals at San Lorenzo and Santa Maria Novella (Figs. 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6).<sup>16</sup> Although several of these are well known, others have not to my knowledge been published before.<sup>17</sup> Cigoli's name does not appear among those paid for the funeral decor but the drawings bear his name and the stamp of his style.

The decor was so elaborate that Donato dell'Antella doubled the workmen to complete the furnishings in time. Less than a week before the ceremony, the base of the *baldachino* which was to go over the catafalque had to be enlarged so as to be able to support the weight of the towering pyramid.<sup>18</sup> This required so much extra labor, that the original date of the *esequie* had to be postponed from November 10th to the 12th.<sup>19</sup>

Save for the catafalque, the decorative scheme was based not on Charles V's Brussels funeral, but on the precedents devised for the first Gran Dukes. The general themes were Philip's power and religious fervour. Though his realm was greater than Augustus' and his longevity more fortunate than Alexander's, it was agreed that he was a monarch "*santamente vissuto*", the scourge of infidel and heretic throughout the world.<sup>20</sup> Ferdinando attended the funeral with foreign ambassadors, the papal nunzio, and the Medici court. The oration was by Marcello Adriani and the mass by one of the organizers of the ceremony, the archbishop of Pisa.<sup>21</sup>

As they approached the church, they saw the façade of San Lorenzo hung with the usual black cloths (Fig. 1) adorned with mourning figures appropriately painted in grisaille. Lugalubrious skeletons bearing scythes pranced over the central portal. Personifications of the four quarters of the globe, referring to the extent of Philip's realm were set on either side of the façade's exterior and interior (Figs. 1 and 3); Africa and Asia were outside, Europe and America within. All of these *chiaroscuro* were painted on canvas and accompanied by a suitable inscription from sacred texts.<sup>22</sup> Europe and America were set inside, within sight of the coffin, because they had been under Philip's closer control.<sup>23</sup>

<sup>16</sup> The ceremony at Santa Maria Novella was celebrated on December 22nd for the benefit of the Spanish colony in Florence; (*Antonio Folchi*) Orazione di Antonio Folchi sopra le Lodi della Cattolica Maesta del Re di Spagna Don Filippo II, Florence, Giunti, 1599. Sketches for the decor there are included on the right half of Uffizi 2654 A recto and on 2653 A verso (Figs. 1 and 2).

<sup>17</sup> *Vincenzo Fasolo*, Un Pittore Architetto: Il Cigoli, in: Quaderni dell'Istituto di Storia dell'Architettura, 1, 1953, p. 7; Uffizi 2653 A and 2654 A are cited as for Philip's funeral. These are mentioned again by *A. Forlani*, in: Mostra del Cigoli, op. cit., p. 145, n. 82. Uffizi 434 F is also mentioned by *Forlani* but not in the context of Philip's funeral; *Cesare Molinari*, L'attività teatrale di Lodovico Cigoli 2, in: Critica d'Arte Nuova viii, no. 48, Nov.-Dec. 1961, pp. 67-69, figs. 9-10 - published Uff. 2654 A and 2653 A erroneously identified as for the funeral of Philip III. Uffizi 6873 A is a newcomer to this group of drawings.

<sup>18</sup> Letter of Donato dell'Antella addressed to the Grand Duke on November 7th; A.S.F., *Archivio Mediceo*, filza 888, c. 23: *Con fare multiplicare li lavoranti assistenti... fare lavorar di notte... Conoscendo cosj bisognare rispetto alla Capanna di nuovo ordinata, la quale spero che fara Bellissima mostra tanto che sara forse il meglio d'ogn'altra Cosa che si faccia. Et con tutte le diffcultà che si rappresentono vogliamo tuttj noj che intervenghiamo sperar' che fa l'effetto dell'esser' In ordine per martedj possa succedere et non si ommettera Cosa alcuna, Non dimeno questa Capanna o Catafalco. Mj ha fatto et fa qualche volta temere perche con effetto per Una Macchina Come fu ordinato, saria stato Imprendenza grandissima confidar' dell'ossatura dj sotto perche era Impossibilissimo che fusse bastante a ricever' quel che si andava sopra oltre che Conveniva ancora. Come advertj Monsignore Arcivescovo allargare et allungare alquanto la pianta et sollevartj da terra, primo et stato bisogno fare tutto dj nuovo ricorrer all'opera [del Duomo], segar' legni che ancor' sene sega per metter in atto, che tutte son cose che ricercon(o) con gran tempo...*

<sup>19</sup> Loc. cit.: *fu comandato Da Sua Altezza per sua del 3, che l'Essequie fussero in ordine per poter' farsi, Martedj prox(i)mo allj 20...;* cf. *Vincenzo Pitti*, Essequie della Sacra Cattolica Real Maestà del Re di Spagna D. Filippo II. D'Austria celebrate dal Serenissimo D. Ferdinando Medici Gran Duca di Toscana nella Città di Firenze, Florence, Sermartelli, 1598, p. 7.

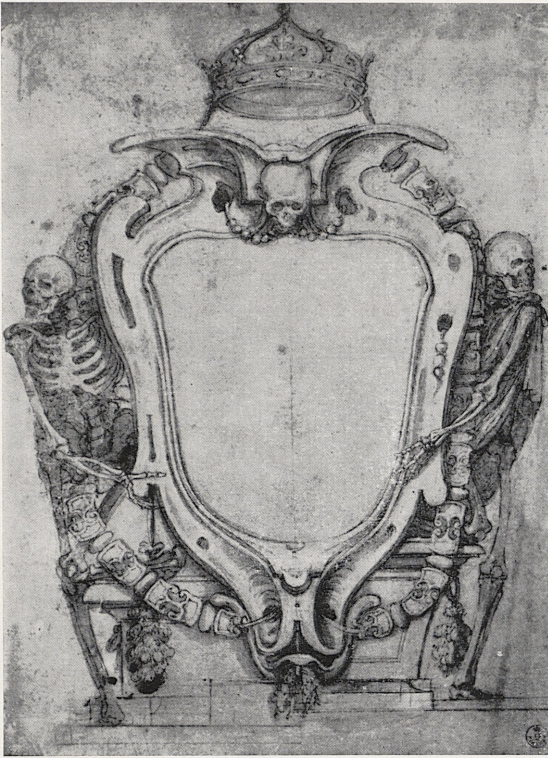
<sup>20</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 5-6; *Masetti-Bencini*, op. cit., p. 129; A.S.F., *Carte Stroziane Serie I<sup>a</sup>*, op. cit., filza 53, cc. 107 verso - 108 recto.

<sup>21</sup> See notes 12 and 19. A.S.F., *Diario del Settimani*, vol. 131, c. 114 recto.

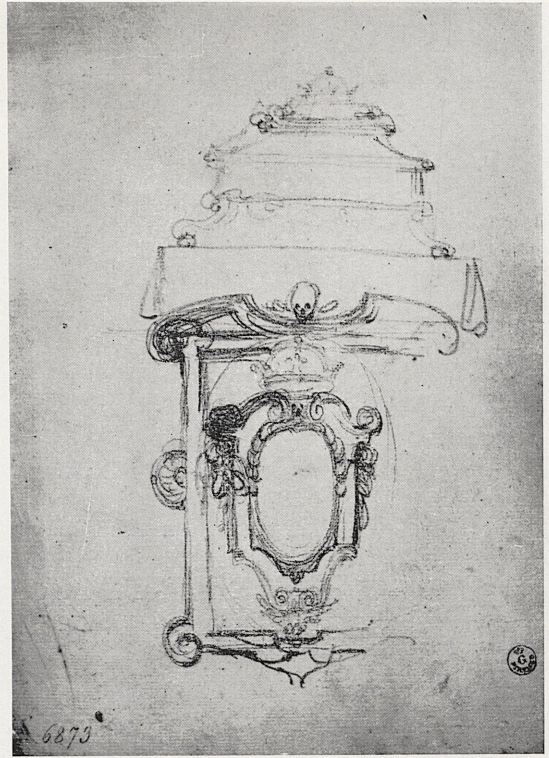
<sup>22</sup> *Pitti*, op. cit., pp. 8-12.

<sup>23</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 13.





5 Cigoli, Coat of arms of Philip II for San Lorenzo. Uff. 434 Orn.



6 Cigoli, Study for the bier of Philip II. Uff. 6873 A.

High above these (Fig. 3), over the central door, were Philip's coats of arms. Cigoli made a detailed drawing of this: the arms surmounted by the Spanish crown are held up by two skeletons, with the collar of the Order of the Golden Fleece wound around the boney cartouche of a frame reminiscent of Buontalenti at his most bizarre (Fig. 5). Even the collar of the Golden Fleece has a vertebral character. Twenty-two more skeletons were set along the nave arcade (Fig. 4). Some of these life-size figures were originally made for the funeral of Francesco I, the remainder were new.<sup>24</sup> The twenty-two altar frontals with reclining skeletons on black backgrounds were painted by Alessandro Allori.<sup>25</sup> Distributed around the head of the church at the crossing and transepts were over life-size angels painted to simulate bronze statuary — together they constituted what was described as “*il Coro delle Virtù*”.<sup>26</sup>

<sup>24</sup> A.S.F., *Sindaci*, filza 30, inserto 36: *Addi 12 di Febbraio 1598* (st. f.) ... *sedici morte grande e n(umer)o 22 morte in aovati quale non hanno notato al lor libro d'Inventario atteso che sono di quelle vecchie fatte sin' al tempo dell'Essequie del Gran Duca Francesco e di piu numero 26 tavolette figuratovi teste di morte che loro ne hanno numero 38...* Mentioned earlier in the same passage are fictive porphyry door frames of wood and canvas which were used on the outer façade. This may have been kept as a standard prop from Francesco's funeral. A.S.F., *Scrittoio delle Fabbriche Mediceo*, filza 122, op. cit., cc. 10 verso-11 recto: *Numero sedici Morte grande che erano restaurate ; — e più numero sei Morte nuovi erano a pilastri.*

<sup>25</sup> *Ibid.*, c. 10 verso: *e più numero ventidue paliotti da Altare di tela nera dipinto un Morto fatte dal bronzino pittore.*

<sup>26</sup> Pitti, op. cit., pp. 58-60.





7 Anonymous Florentine, *The Education of Philip II*. Uffizi Deposit.

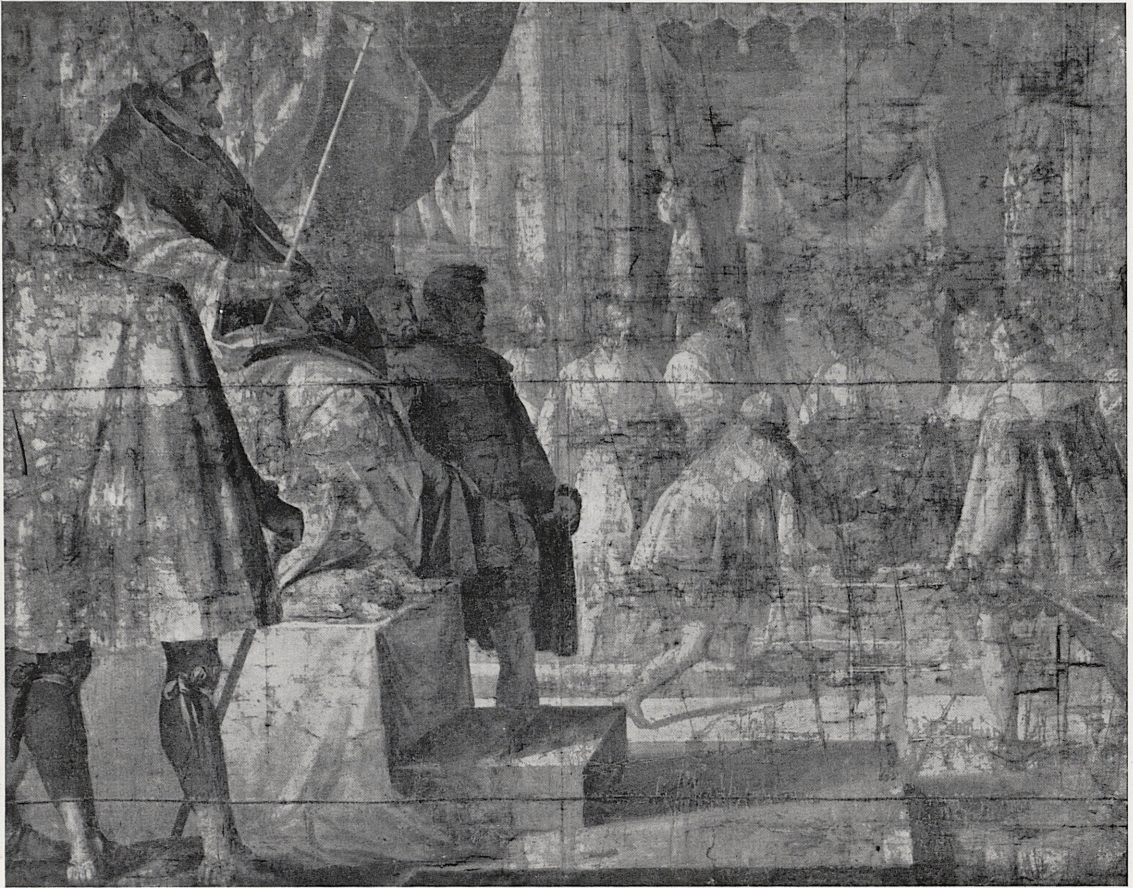
The centrepiece of the entire decor was, as always, the catafalque (Fig. 4). It rose from the floor via a “*rialto*” raised on three steps. The base was fifteen *braccia* long by twelve wide. Four Ionic columns ten *braccia* high supported the rich cornice on which rested the sixteen *braccia* high pyramid surmounted by the world.<sup>27</sup> Around the cornice were the arms of the thirty-eight kingdoms of Philip’s domain. Gold brocade formed a canopy over the coffin which shimmered with the light from 1200 torches arranged so that the catafalque appeared like a *sole luminosissimo*.<sup>28</sup> That this sight was intended to be more than a mere decorator’s cliché was made evident in the ornament of the choir where Pontormo’s murals were partly concealed by dark hangings adorned with giant skeletons and the king’s arms. On the altar wall, Philip’s emblem, the *Carro del Sole* (or Apollo driving the quadriga over the sea) was set against a brilliant oval ground with the words *IAM ILLUSTRABIT OMNIA* — Philip’s power, like the rays of the sun reached every part of the world.<sup>29</sup>

<sup>27</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 64-69.

<sup>28</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 69.

<sup>29</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 28. The emblem first appears on a medal struck in 1555 by Jacopo Nizzola da Trezzo; *I. B. Supino*, *Il medagliere Mediceo*, Florence, 1899, p. 141, no. 413. The motto, according to Ruscelli,



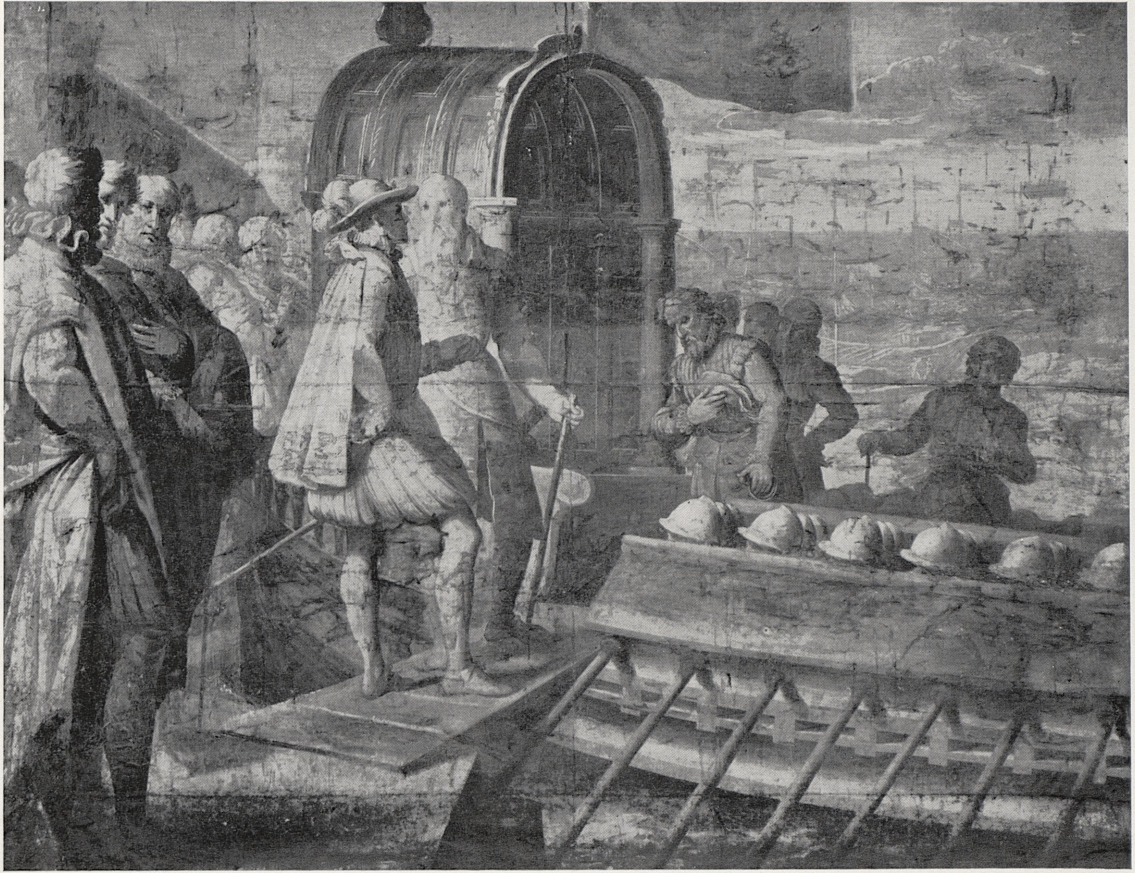


8 Anonymous Florentine, Charles V watches the Nobles of Spain swearing Allegiance to Philip. Uffizi Deposit.

Cigoli's longitudinal cross-section of the nave (Fig. 4) includes views of the catafalque seen from the side as well as head on. None of these drawings seem to be plans, they were made after the decor was completed — one sketch (Fig. 1) even informs us: *catafalco fatto*. This explains why details from the decor from San Lorenzo and Santa Maria Novella appear side by side on the same sheet; thus the façade of San Lorenzo is set next to the catafalque of Santa Maria Novella which had mourning figures of the four quarters of the globe set at each corner (Fig. 1), and on another sheet the pyramid of candles at San Lorenzo was hastily jotted down beside the Santa Maria Novella catafalque (Fig. 2). The slightly different version of the catafalque designed by Cigoli for Santa Maria Novella already has some of the same features (the mourning figures and the rounded roof of the ciborium) which were used in 1609

alludes to Psalm XXXIII; *Jerónimo Ruscelli*, *Le Imprese Illustri*, Venice, 1584, p. 191. Philip's emblem also alluded to his likeness to Alexander; see Primaticcio's drawing in the Uffizi (1505 E) where the emblem appears with Alexander supervising the construction of Alexandria. For a view of the choir decor see *Charles de Tolnay*, *Les fresques de Pontormo dans le chœur de San Lorenzo à Florence*, in: *Critica d'Arte*, 3<sup>a</sup> ser., vol. ix, no. 33, May 1950, pp. 39, 51 note 11, fig. 37. Cf. notes 51, 52, 53.





9 Anonymous Florentine, Departure of Philip from Barcellona for Flanders. Uffizi Deposit.

for his funeral decor honoring Ferdinando I at San Giovanni de' Fiorentini in Rome.<sup>30</sup>

It is uncertain for which of the two schemes a black chalk drawing of the bier and its ornament was intended (Fig. 6). This sketch has hitherto been classified under Buontalenti whose style it closely resembles. However, the presence of the Spanish crown and its similarity to the biers in the other drawings connected with Philip II's funeral seems to justify reattribution to Cigoli.

The view of San Lorenzo in section (Fig. 4) also shows where the *chiaroscuro* history paintings were installed; as in Francesco I's funeral, these canvases were hung across the draped chapel entrances in the side aisles and transept. Thirteen of the original set of twenty-four scenes survive. The cycle began at the façade end of the church in the left aisle, continued around the crossing and back down the right aisle. The total cost of these paintings was 435 *scudi*.<sup>31</sup> Each canvas varied from 22 to 15 *scudi* in price, but unfortunately the payments are

<sup>30</sup> Borsook, *op. cit.*, Fig. 7 — wrongly identified as for San Lorenzo; *Molinari*, *op. cit.*, pp. 67-69, figs. 9-10, also unaware that the catafalque was actually carried out in Rome. Cf. notes 17 and 62.

<sup>31</sup> A.S.F., *Sindaci*, filza 30, *op. cit.*, unnumbered pages. A bill dated February 20th 1598 (Florentine style) from Donato dell'Antella; on the next page is the list of the prices for the history pictures. On the verso, the cost for all the paintings in the decoration (skeletons, angels, skulls, allegorical figures, etc.) is cited as 1,323 *scudi*.





10 Anonymous Florentine, Philip Greeted by the Doge of Genoa. Uffizi Deposit.

listed according to subjects rather than their artists. Pitti, in his souvenir booklet of the affair, declared that the pictures were by the best artists in Florence.<sup>32</sup> Good painters may have planned them, but they were carried out by studio hacks.

We have not reproduced the first scene, *Philip's Birth in Valladolid*, because of its poor condition, but begin with the canvases for the next four episodes: the *Young Prince at His Studies*, the *Nobles of Spain Swearing Allegiance to the Sixteen Year Old King*<sup>33</sup>, *Philip's Departure for Flanders from Barcellona*, and *Philip Welcomed by the Doge of Genoa in 1548* (Figs. 7, 8, 9, and 10). The last episode was remembered in Tuscany as the occasion on which the seven year old Prince Francesco de' Medici had been sent to greet Philip on his first Italian

<sup>32</sup> Pitti, op. cit., pp. 35-36: ... le pitture... le quali per mano de' più eccellenti Pittori della Città, di chiaro oscuro dipinte, al naturale...

<sup>33</sup> Charles V is seated on the left watching as the ambassadors of all the cities of the realm swear allegiance to Philip who at the time was only sixteen; Paolo Giovio, *La seconda Parte dell' Istorie del suo tempo*, tradotta per Lodovico Domenichi, ed. Girolamo Ruscelli, Venice, 1560, Bk. 42, p. 680. Charles V's costume is much like that illustrated in Niccolo Nelli's engraving of 1566 contained in Ruscelli, op. cit. (1584), pp. 108-109.



visit.<sup>34</sup> The same subject appeared in the funeral decor for Francesco I and one wonders whether this canvas, like another, may have been used again for Philip II's *esequie*.<sup>35</sup>

The next two scenes were the triumphal entries into Milan and Brussels, both of which are lost.<sup>36</sup> A drawing probably for the lost Milan entry is in the Uffizi with the name of Fabrizio Boschi inscribed in the lower left-hand corner (Fig. 11).<sup>37</sup> Horse and rider are in much the same posture as the mounted king on the canvas of the Lisbon entry (Fig. 18), but the old man in the drawing who offers Philip something corresponds to the account of Ferrante Gonzaga presenting the keys of the city.<sup>38</sup>

The eighth episode was *Philip's Marriage to Mary Tudor at Winchester* (Fig. 12). On the same day, Philip was named King of England and to this Charles the V. added the kingdom of Naples.<sup>39</sup> Not much sympathy is wasted on the queen in the picture: a serious middle-aged woman marries a smiling boy. The bride in another marriage scene in the series received better treatment (Fig. 13). This, the fourteenth scene, shows *Philip Marrying Anne of Austria*. Its composition is also more elegant: there is hint of an appropriate setting with the action set in the rear while repoussoir figures watch the proceedings from a suitable distance. The monkey, on the other hand, seems more interested in the beholders inside San Lorenzo. The handsome youth on the right is a stock figure in late 16th century Florentine painting — there are versions of him on the ceiling of Santo Stefano dei Cavalieri in Pisa and in several drawings in the Uffizi.<sup>40</sup>

The canvases for episodes nine through thirteen are lost; these consisted of *Charles V Investing Philip with the Rule of Flanders*, the *Battle of St. Quentin*, *Philip inspecting the Model of the Escorial*, *Consulting with Alba and the Dispatch of new Governors to Italy*, and the *Liberation of Oran*. For the eleventh episode there is a squared modello by Goro Pagani for *Philip approving the Plan for the Escorial* (Fig. 14). For some reason, two separate grid systems were laid over the composition. The subject had special relevance for Florence because the Accademia del Disegno had been asked to go over the plans.<sup>41</sup> The facade of the church of San Lorenzo of the Escorial looms in the background of the drawing. Philip had initiated this vast project to commemorate his victory of St. Quentin which had been fought on the feast day of St. Lawrence. Pagani, a friend of Cigoli's, was according to Baldinucci also a good architect.<sup>42</sup>

<sup>34</sup> A.S.F., *Diario del Settimanni*, op. cit., vol. 129, c. 463 verso.

<sup>35</sup> A.S.F., *Miscellanea Medicea*, filza 477, c. 46 recto contains the payment of 22 *scudi* to Stefano Pieri for this scene.

<sup>36</sup> Pitti, op. cit., p. 40-41.

<sup>37</sup> Fabrizio Boschi (1570-1642) later collaborated in the painting of the life of Michelangelo in the Casa Buonarroti; cf. *Mina Gregori*, *Artisti operanti nell'ambiente del Cigoli*, in: *Mostra del Cigoli*, op. cit., pp. 215-216. The entry into Milan is thus described in an inventory of 1825 in the Uffizi (1825. Catalogo generale della R. Galleria di Firenze, Classe I., Pitture, Tomo I, No. 421): *Ingresso di Filippo II. in Milano. Arriva da sinistra il Re a cavallo sotto un baldacchino portato da quattro giovanetti: gli viene incontro un Barone accennando un'uomo che porta le chiavi della città in un bacino: a destra presso la porta della città sta un giovane guerriero tenendo con la destra le redini di un cavallo, e appoggiando la sinistra a uno scudo con l'impresa dei Visconti*. In the drawing the horseman and groom appear on the left rather than the right and the Visconti coat of arms is absent. The scene cannot be the lost canvas of the *Entry into Brussels* (the second of the three entry scenes in the series) because here magistrates with lighted torches came out to greet the monarch who entered from the right; cf.: 1825, Catalogo generale etc., op. cit., no. 404.

<sup>38</sup> Pitti, op. cit., p. 40.

<sup>39</sup> *Sheila Himswoth*, *The Marriage of Philip II of Spain with Mary Tudor*, in: *Proceedings of the Hampshire Field Club*, xxii, 1962, pp. 82-100.

<sup>40</sup> See, for instance, Poccetti's drawing for a very similar figure in the Annunziata cloister murals; Uffizi 878 E and Uffizi 3464 F by Empoli.

<sup>41</sup> *Scipione Ammirato*, *Orazione... fatta nella morte di Don Francesco de' Medici*, Florence, 1587, p. 15; *Galluzzi*, op. cit., vol. III, p. 248; Philip sent the plans to Florence via Cardinal Granvela.

<sup>42</sup> *Baldinucci*, op. cit., vol. III, pp. 46-47.





11 Fabrizio Boschi, probably a study for Philip's Arrival in Milan. Uff. 9470 F.

The *Marriage with Anne of Austria* (Fig. 13) was the fourteenth scene. The following episode, the *Victory of Lepanto*, is lost but the next survives. This is the *Occupation of Tunis* with Spanish troops and galleys visible on land and sea (Fig. 15). Then comes *Philip's Claim to the Kingdom of Portugal* (Fig. 16). The ageing king points to a genealogical chart held by a page while venerable ministers laden with books and draperies stand by in approval. On the death of the Portuguese king in 1580, Philip was nominated to succeed him. Fearing that there would be opposition, the King of Spain mustered arms and because his finances were in dire straits as a result of the wars in Flanders he charged Francesco de' Medici to procure 4,000 soldiers and a loan of 400,000 scudi. Francesco gave him 250,000.<sup>43</sup> The next three scenes were devoted to the Portuguese campaign: the *Siege of Lisbon* (Fig. 17), *Philip's Clemency at Lisbon* (Fig. 18), and his *Coronation as King of Portugal* (Fig. 19).

<sup>43</sup> Galluzzi, *op. cit.*, vol IV, p. 111; cf. Berti, *op. cit.* (1967), pp. 304-305; this source claims that Francesco loaned Philip 900,000 ducats!





12 Anonymous Florentine, Marriage of Philip to Mary Tudor at Winchester. Uffizi Deposit.

This group was followed by *Philip receiving Emissaries from the New World* (Fig. 20).<sup>44</sup> In the lower left hand corner is a monogram which may form “Al. Fei”, for Alessandro Fei who died in 1592. For Francesco I’s funeral he painted the Grand Duke receiving emissaries from Japan.<sup>45</sup> We know that other props from the funeral of 1587 were used again for the *esequie* of Philip II and it may be that this canvas was simply reworked for the occasion.<sup>46</sup> Little would have had to be done — merely exchanging Francesco’s head for Philip’s and transforming the orientals into Latin American Indians.

<sup>44</sup> *Berti*, op. cit., fig. 209 — published as “scuola fiorentina”.

<sup>45</sup> The payment of 21 *scudi* to Fei for this picture is in A.S.F., *Miscellanea Medicea*, filza 477, c. 46 recto: *A di* [December 24th 1587] *aless(andro) fei La passata di dua principi indianj*. The Japanese princes who came to Florence in 1584 had also been received by the Pope and Philip II. On the same page as the payment to Fei for this scene, an earlier paragraph refers to him as having been paid for eleven of the twelve scenes in the series. Yet, in the list of scenes many different artists are cited. Are we to understand from this that Fei simply was the hack who painted the compositions designed by the others?

<sup>46</sup> See note 24.





13 Anonymous Florentine, Marriage of Philip II to Anne of Austria. Uffizi Deposit.

The last three canvases in the cycle are lost. According to the Uffizi inventory of 1825 the *Conquest of the Canaries* (or “*le isole fortunate*”, as they were called) was the work of Scipione Strada. The reason this subject was of interest to Florence too was that it was believed that 14 million *scudi* would pass via the Azores and the Canaries and that Tuscany, along with many other creditors of the Spanish crown, might profit from Philip’s good fortune.<sup>47</sup> *The Siege and Conquest of Antwerp* is attributed by the same inventory to Giovanni Stradano.

The final scene was the *Peace Between Spain and France* — the peace settled at Vervins earlier in the year in which Ferdinando de’ Medici had assumed such an important role. The concluding paragraph of Vincenzo Pitti’s official account of the *esequie* confirms the suspicion that the glory and magnanimity of the Tuscan Grand Duke was as much the subject of the decorations as the commemoration of Philip II: ... *era esaltata la Magnificenza del Gran Duca, il quale senza alcun’ ritegno di spesa haveva voluto così magnificamente eseguire questo honore,*

<sup>47</sup> A.S.F., *Diario del Settimanni*, op. cit., vol. 129, c. 308 recto.



*nel quale haveva ben' dimostrato Animo veramente di Principe... più che gli altri Principi d'Italia per la copia degl'huomini esperti, hà agevolezza maggiore di potere con tal' grandezza simili cose esercitare...*<sup>48</sup>

The total expenses of the *esequie* came to a little more than 3,200 *scudi*, about a quarter of the amount which Ferdinando had spent on his older brother's funeral in 1587.<sup>49</sup> By the 22nd of November, many of the props (the painted wooden membering of the façade, the skeletons, catafalque, altar frontals, etc.) went back into storage — to the Uffizi, to San Giovannino in Camaldoli, and the Fortezza da Basso.<sup>50</sup> But before the decor in San Lorenzo was dismantled, detailed drawings must have been made of various views of the church because Giovanni Battista Mossi was able to engrave six plates of them for which he was paid early the following January.<sup>51</sup> After consulting with the Grand Duke, Alessandro Pieroni informed Donato dell'Antella that instead of having all the historical pictures engraved, only the main sections of the *apparato* should be reproduced.<sup>52</sup> These must be the six views cited by Tolnay in the Topographical Collection of the Albertina of which only the view of the choir has been reproduced.<sup>53</sup>

Vincenzo Pitti's account of the *esequie* is without illustrations and appeared early in 1599. His description provoked some highly critical remarks on the part of an unnamed censor. In reaction to which Pitti wrote a long letter to Donato dell'Antella which is really a rebuttal of all the censor's criticisms which are enumerated. In reply to the statement that he had interpreted the decor arbitrarily, Pitti said that he had only described what was there and if fault was to be found it lay in the nature of the scheme and not in his account of it.<sup>54</sup> The censor complained that America was unsuitably dressed for the land discovered by Amerigo Vespucci,

<sup>48</sup> Pitti, op. cit., p. 75.

<sup>49</sup> A.S.F., *Sindaci*, filza 30, op. cit., inserto 36, the sum of 3,218 *scudi* was paid out by the Depositeria Generale. Francesco I's funeral cost 12,000 *scudi*; cf. *Agostino Lapini*, *Diario fiorentino*, ed. *Giuseppe Odoardo Corazzini*, Florence, 1900, pp. 263-264; A.S.F., *Diario del Settimanni*, vol. 129, c. 465 verso.

<sup>50</sup> A.S.F., *Sindaci*, filza 30, inserto 36; *Scrittoio delle Fabbriche Medicee*, filza 122, cc. 7 recto, 11 recto.

<sup>51</sup> A.S.F., *Scrittoio delle Fabbriche Medicee*, filza 122, c. 27 verso. Mossi was paid 38 *scudi* on January 5th 1599. The artist was to give a certain number to Donato dell'Antella, before commencing to make prints from the plates at his own expense.

<sup>52</sup> Loc. cit., copy of a letter written by Pieroni to Donato dell'Antella on February 9th 1599: ... *et domanda... se voleva che l'apparato, et pitture fatte si mettissino In stampa, mi domando dell' Modo, gli dissi che Intagliandosi con acqua forte sarebbe cosa da farsi presto e di non Molto spesa, e che il pittore domandava otto scudi dell'una e tutte sua spese di Rame, et fattura, e che facendo solo sei carte dell'apparato le principali parte crederei che bastassi, senza fare tutte le historie, e che pensano che per sei scudi dell' una le harebbe fatte; e che mi rispose insino in quaranta scudi mi Contento, che si spendino, e vadino a spese della fortezza, e di poi si puo dare i rami Intagliati, anno stampatore che le stampi, che venda senza pensare ad altro...*

<sup>53</sup> See note 29. For information concerning Mossi, who seems to have been unreliable as a painter, see *Dominic Ellis Colnaghi*, *A Dictionary of Florentine Painters*, London, 1928, p. 187. *Tolnay*, op. cit., p. 51 note 11, refers to six prints made of the *esequie* by an unknown engraver; these consist all of views: the façade, the entrance wall, the choir (which *Tolnay* reproduced), and either side of the nave arcade. Although I have written the Albertina for photographs of these views, it proved impossible to locate the prints.

<sup>54</sup> *Domenico Moreni*, *Pompe funebri celebrate nell'Imp. e Real Basilica di San Lorenzo dal secolo XIII a tutto il Regno Mediceo*, Florence, 1827, p. 167, note 1; Biblioteca Nazionale, Florence, Cod. Magl. Cl. XXVII, 105, cc. 51-60, *Vincenzo Pitti*, "Risposta alle censure fatta sopra l'Essequie del Re Cattolica", addressed to Donato dell'Antella, dated February 16th 1598. The censor (c. 51 verso) stated that *Gl'errori sono del Pitti, et non del Disponentore dell'essequie, quali Vincenzo interpetra a' suo modo... to which Pitti on the same page counters with: Come se tutte le censure da lui fatte riguardassero, et Biasimassero la descrizione solamente, et non, o' l'inventione delle Cose, o' i Motti, o' l'inseratione, o, le parole latine, o' l'attioni, et sino à i mancamenti occorse nello stampatore...*" On c. 53 recto Pitti further declares of the censor that *le parole siano contrarie al offitio che ha preso a fare quest'huomo; appartengono quella (?) lunghe elle si siano, al opera; et non à me descrittore di essa... and Che io poi con l'interpretatione mi sia partito dal Inventione di essi Il(lust)re autori... (53 verso).*





14 Goro Pagani, Modello for Philip approving the Model for the Escorial. Uff. 10 504 F.

and in honor of him as well as the New World, gold, silver and jewels would have been more suitable than feathers and rattles.<sup>55</sup> Who the inventor of the *apparato* was is unknown. No Borghini-like expert figures in the preparations; he, for instance, had he still been alive, would have known all about the funeral of Charles V on which the Grand Duke wanted to model Philip's funeral. The caustic letter of Pitti's addressed to Donato dell'Antella on February 16th 1599 also complains that the censor challenged the historical accuracy of the scenes as well as the distribution of the subjects — blaming Pitti for all the errors. To which Pitti again said that not he but the “*Inventione*” was to blame and that, furthermore, the text of his *Descrizione* had been submitted first to several proper judges (including Don Giovanni de' Medici) before being released to the printer.<sup>56</sup> As for the *Arrival in Genoa* (Fig. 10), as an event worthy of representation, the censor regarded it as altogether superfluous in view of the fact that the Spanish had sacked the city only shortly before.<sup>57</sup> On top of everything else, the censor found Pitti's account of the affair gloomy and unclear, to which Pitti wittily countered that all would

<sup>55</sup> Ibid., c. 52 recto.

<sup>56</sup> Ibid., c. 51 recto: ... *mi dava pensiero che simili censurie, 'o' altre potessero al opera pregiudicare perche havendo hauto il parere di molti intendenti, co' i quali prima che io la pubblicassi volle conferare et in particolare l'ottimo giudizio di V.S. l'insieme con l'approvazione del Ill.mo et ecc.mo Sigr. Don Giov. Medici...*

<sup>57</sup> Ibid., c. 52 recto.





15 Anonymous Florentine, *The Battle of Tunis*. Uffizi Deposit.

seem brighter if his antagonist would put on his spectacles.<sup>58</sup> The censor had a strong anti-Spanish bias (as did the majority of the Grand Duke's subjects); thus his comment on the flattering inscription *Conservato i popoli, et gli stati in somma pace con tranquillita* reads: *Dai, Dai l'altercationi di fiandra, le Rebellioni, l'alzamento dei portoghesi et aragonesi*, all actions which, according to Pitti, the Spanish were justified in doing in defense of the Faith.<sup>59</sup>

These bickerings behind the scenes notwithstanding, Ferdinando had fulfilled his diplomatic duty. Philip III promised the investiture of Siena to Don Giovanni although six years passed before the event actually took place.<sup>60</sup> While maintaining friendly relations with both Spain and France, he was free to pursue an independent course. Compared to the great powers of Europe which were drained by wars and virtual bankruptcy, the Medici were rich and prosperous.

<sup>58</sup> Ibid., c. 55 recto: the censor says: *Tutta questa descrizione pende al fosco; a travaglia sue che l'ho veduta, et me ne ricordo, et credo che altra che non l'hanno vista non l'intenderano*. Pitti replies: ... *Anzi havendola intesa gli altri, et non egli se nepuo cavare un altra conclusione... che non gli riesca fosca... leggala non dove sia poch' aria; ma a buon lume o, mettasi gli occhiali; et non gli riuscirà fosca altrimenti...*

<sup>59</sup> Ibid., c. 59 recto and verso.

<sup>60</sup> *Masetti-Bencini*, op. cit., pp. 138-139.





16 Anonymous Florentine, Philip II justifying his Claim to the Crown of Portugal. Uffizi Deposit.

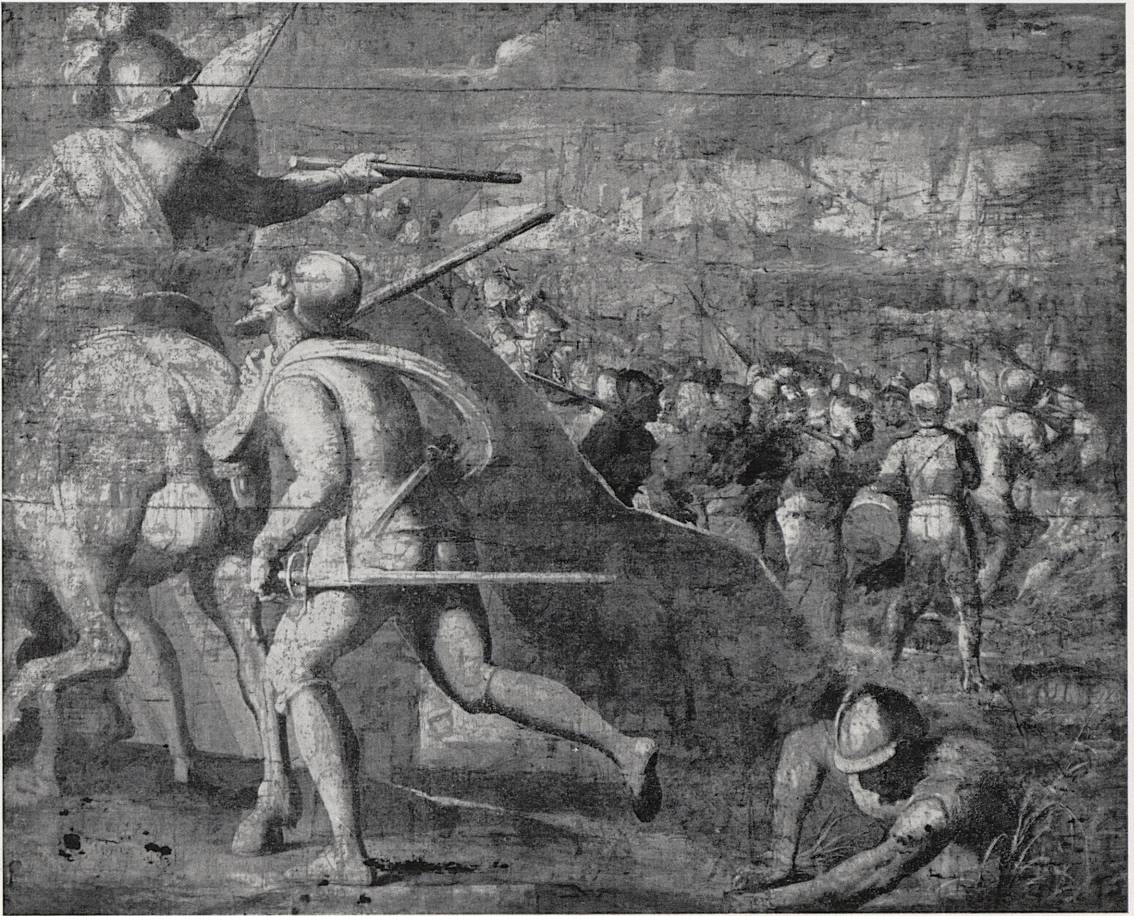
As extravagant as the Grand Duke was in celebrating rulers of other lands or members of his own family, he was comparatively modest concerning similar expenditures on himself. Before his death in 1609, he left orders that his own funeral was to be kept simple and that the money usually spent on such ceremonies be used instead for dowerless maidens.<sup>61</sup> Florence obeyed his command, but in Rome an elaborate *apparato* was prepared in San Giovanni dei Fiorentini where Cigoli devised the ornaments.<sup>62</sup> Judging from one of the prints in the booklet commemorating this affair, there were history paintings here too and one wonders if these might have been the models for some of the prints engraved by Callot a few years later.<sup>63</sup>

<sup>61</sup> A.S.F., *Carte Strozzi*, Serie I<sup>a</sup>, filza 53, c. 217 verso; Bibl. Naz., *Fondo Capponi* No. 261, vol. I, c. 243 recto; *Dom. Moreni*, *Continuazione delle Memorie storiche...* di S. Lorenzo, vol. I, Florence, 1816, pp. 358-359.

<sup>62</sup> *Descrizione delle Esequie fatte in Roma dalla Nazione fiorentina al Serenissimo Granduca di Toscana il di 22 di Giugno 1609*, Rome, 1609; cf. Cigoli's drawings in the *Gabinetto dei Disegni e Stampe*, Nos. 2655 A, 2602 A, 431 Orn. Cf. *Luisa Marcucci*, *Mostra di disegni d'arte decorativa* (*Gabinetto Disegni e Stampe degli Uffizi*), Florence, 1951, p. 13.

<sup>63</sup> *Borsook*, op. cit., figs. 6 and 7.





17 Anonymous Florentine, *The Siege of Lisbon*. Uffizi Deposit.

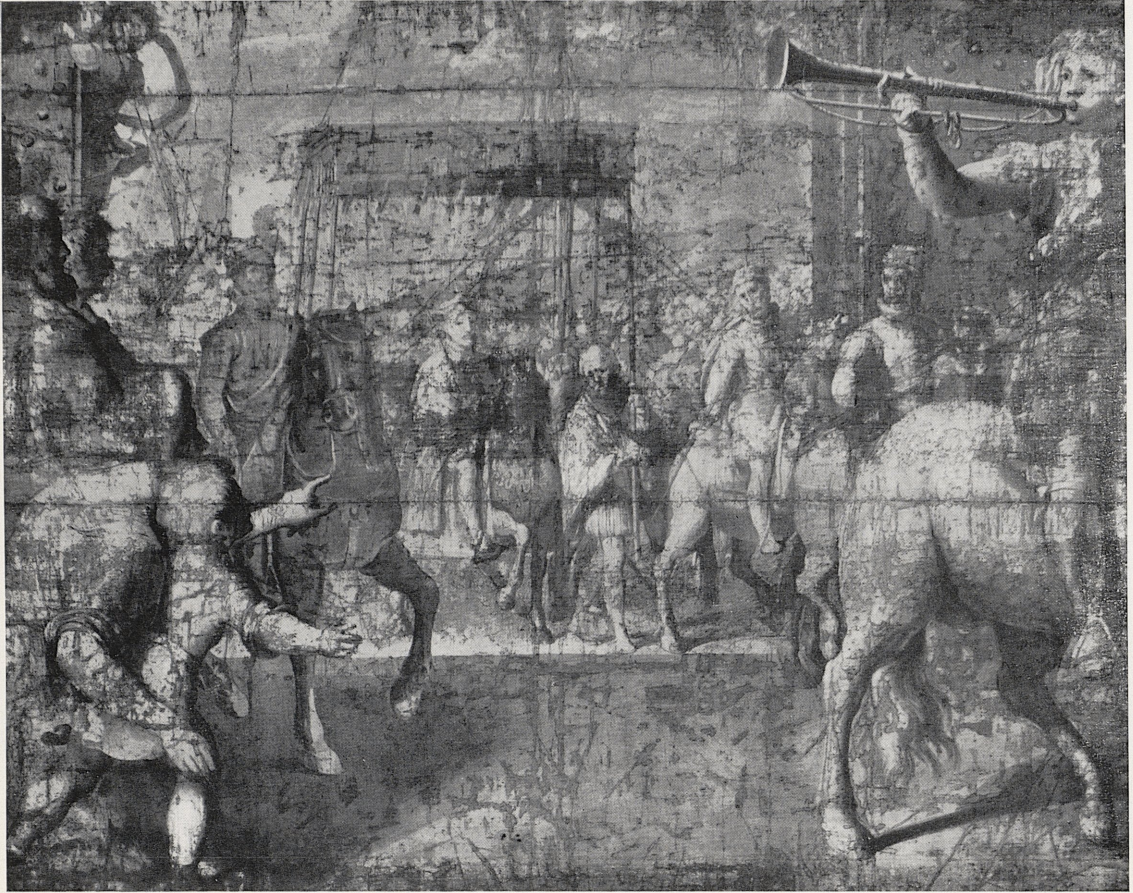
None of the canvases from the series are known but some frescoes in Florence by Rosselli, Empoli, and Poccetti may reflect the lost pictures.<sup>64</sup>

As for the canvases illustrating the life of Philip II: some of these were considered for re-use—not in a funeral but on triumphal arches for the wedding decor of 1608 celebrating the marriage of Ferdinando's heir, Prince Cosimo, and Maria Maddalena d'Austria.<sup>65</sup> At first, the

<sup>64</sup> Callot was commissioned by Cosimo II to do a suite of prints on the life of Ferdinando. Some of the compositions were based on murals in the Casino di San Marco. Since the Roman pictorial biography precedes these, it may be that the frescoes like the prints were at least in part dependant upon the pictures used for the Roman funeral. Cf. *Edouard Meaume*, *Recherches sur la vie et les ouvrages de Jacques Callot*, Paris, 1860, vol. II, pp. 252 ff.; *Charles Le Blanc*, *Manuel de l'Amateur d'Estampes*, Paris, 1854, vol. I, p. 569; *Daniel Ternois*, *Jacques Callot. Catalogue complet de son oeuvre dessiné*, Paris, 1962, pp. 39-40.

<sup>65</sup> A.S.F. *Miscellanea Medicea*, filza 484, "Memoriale de' Signori Deputati sopra la venuta della Serenis-





18 Anonymous Florentine, Philip's Entry and Clemency at Lisbon. Uffizi Deposit.

sima Sposa del Serenissimo Principe di Toscana". The comments concerning our canvases are so interesting for the nature of Medici *fiesta* planning that it seems worth while to quote these passages in full. It will be noted that the committee of four deputies charged with the arrangements in 1607-08, included Donato dell'Antella and Vincenzo Giugni who also planned Philip's *esequie*. Cigoli, again, was one of the leading contributors to these decorations. c. 8 verso - 9 recto: (*Memoriale fatto da... Agostino Dini per conto delli Archi...*): ... *per risparmio ci, è sovvenuto che ci potremmo valere fino a numero di 28 quadri che 24 sono d'una misura medesima et quattro altri di un'altra, che sono quelli, che si fecero nell'esequie del Re Filippo, et si trovano nel corridore a quali si darebbe di Mestica, et vi si potrebbero dipignere l'histoire et Imprese che occorreranno. Ma senza l'expressa dichiarazione dell'Altezza Serenissima non ci sarebbe ardisse toccarli...*" (Further down on c. 9 recto is the reply): *le Storie che vanno nelli Archi si faccino di chiaro scuro et Agostino Dini (one of the deputies) si vaglia delli 28 quadri, che sono nel Corridore. Ma ammonisca, che dove si possono appropriare le storie senza dare di Mestica si faccia poiche tutte sono cose di Casa di Austria...*

The mention here of four more pictures from Philip II's *esequie* which were of a different size than the 24 *Pitti* describes, makes one wonder what subjects they represented. If these were vertical canvases, a drawing in the Uffizi attributed to Jacopo da Empoli comes to mind (Uffizi 9358 F). The aged Philip seems to be represented here but what adds to the difficulty of identifying the scene are the old-fashioned costumes of the men before him and the presence of a dome in the background which resembles the *cupola* of the Duomo in Florence.





19 Anonymous Florentine, *Coronation of Philip II as King of Portugal*. Uffizi Deposit.

planners only wanted to make use of the canvases as supports for new paintings because they were just the right size; but later, out of respect to the Austrian bride (who was sister to Margherita, the Queen of Spain and daughter-in-law of the late Philip II), they were advised to use them as they were.<sup>66</sup> Probably, it is due to this family feeling that the canvases have come down to us at all. Until the turn of the century they hung along Vasari's corridor between the Uffizi and the Pitti.<sup>67</sup>

<sup>66</sup> Whether the canvases were actually reused is uncertain. One subject (*Philip's Coronation as King of Portugal*), which also figured in the suite of *chiaroscuro* for the *esequie*, appears on the pentagonal arch at the corner of the Canto de' Nelli. But the printed accounts of the *Nozze* decor do not inform us of other Philipine subjects; cf. *Cammillo Rinuccini*, *Descrizione delle feste fatte nelle reali nozze de' Serenissimi Principi di Toscana D. Cosimo de' Medici e Maria Maddalena Arciduchessa d'Austria*, Florence, Giunti, 1608, p. 11.

<sup>67</sup> A.S.F., *Sindaci*, filza 30, inserto 36. Apparently the scenes were already consigned to Vasari's corridor immediately after the funeral: *Tutti li quadri di pitture imprese et arme del morto Rè sono and(a)ti nel corridore di V. A. dove di presente sono...* (11th February 1598 st. f.).





20 Alessandro Fei (?), Philip II receiving Emissaries from the New World. Uffizi Deposit.

## APPENDIX

### *The Chiaroscuro from the Funeral of Philip II*

(listed in order of the chronological sequence of events ; the inventories are in the Uffizi<sup>68</sup> ; \* means lost)

Subject	Inv. 1825	Inv. 1890
1. Birth at Valladolid	400	7834
2. Education of the Prince	401	7835
3. Nobles of Spain Swearing Allegiance	407	7839
4. Departure for Flanders from Barcellona	419	7845
5. Arrival in Genoa	420	7846
6. * Reception in Milan	421	—
7. * Entry into Brussels	404	—

<sup>68</sup> For indispensable help amongst the Uffizi inventories special thanks to the ever resourceful Signora Fausta Pucci and Signor Silio Sensi.



8. Marriage with Mary Tudor at Winchester	403	7837
9. * Charles V invests Philip with the Rule of Flanders	405	—
10. * The Siege of St. Quentin	409	—
11. * Philip Inspecting the Model for the Escorial	423	—
12. * Reassumption of the Rule of Italy	422	—
13. * Liberation of Oran	414	—
14. Marriage of Anne of Austria in Madrid	402	7836
15. * Victory of the Holy League against the Turks	417	—
16. Occupation of Tunis	418	7844
17. Justification of the Claim to Portugal	408	7840
18. Siege of Lisbon	413	7842
19. Philip's Clemency at Lisbon	410	7841
20. Coronation as King of Portugal	406	7838
21. Reception of Emissaries from the New World	416	7843
22. * Conquest of the Canary Islands	415	—
23. * Siege and Conquest of Antwerp	412	—
24. * Peace between Spain and France	411	—

### RIASSUNTO

Le esequie celebrate in Firenze per Filippo II, re di Spagna, nell'autunno del 1598 furono un avvenimento d'importanza tanto artistica quanto politica. L'apparato funebre fu affidato a Ludovico Cigoli, architetto e ingegnere delle esequie, che fedelmente riprese lo schema generale già stabilito per i funerali dei primi due gran duchi di Toscana, celebrate nel 1574 e 1587. La parte più significativa della decorazione consisté in una serie di quadri illustranti gli episodi più importanti della vita del defunto. Sappiamo che altri cicli del genere furono fatti per Michelangelo e per Francesco I, ma tutti i quadri eseguiti in tali occasioni sono andati perduti. Il più antico esempio di questa, che potremmo chiamare « biografia pittorica », è costituito dalle 13 tele del funerale di Filippo II, attualmente nei depositi degli Uffizi. I pittori, assai rozzi, di questi chiaroscuri sono in gran parte sconosciuti, anche se diversi disegni furono forniti da Goro Pagani, Fabrizio Boschi e altri pittori della corte granducale. Fu proprio dalle feste medicee e dalle esequie in particolare, che questo nuovo genere di pittura si diffuse ben presto negli ambienti di corte dell'Europa settentrionale, dove assunsero forme più monumentali e permanenti.

### Photo Credits:

*Soprintendenza alle Gallerie, Florence: Figs. 1-20. — For permission to undertake the photography, some five years ago, of the ruined canvases for Philip's funeral, I must thank Dr. Anna Maria Ciaranfi (Directress of the Galleria Palatina) and Professor Luciano Berti (chief of the Gabinetto Fotografico at that time) who generously encouraged my studies by placing his chief photographer, Signor Nadir Tronci, at the project's disposal.*