

1 View of the decorations inside San Lorenzo for the Funeral of Henry IV. Uffizi, St. sc. 2324.

ART AND POLITICS AT THE MEDICI COURT * IV: FUNERAL DECOR FOR HENRY IV OF FRANCE

by *Eve Borsook*

When Henry IV of France was assassinated on May 14th 1610, the precarious peace between France, Spain, and Austria was on the verge of shattering. Henry was killed on the eve of his departure for Germany where he planned to fight over the succession of Jülich and Cleves.

* See "Mitteilungen", xii, 1965/66, pp. 31-54, and 366-371; xiii, 1967/68, pp. 95-114; xiv, 1969/70, pp. 91-114.

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The Hapsburgs in Austria and Spain were already allied against him.¹ Providentially, his wife, Maria de' Medici, had been crowned the day before so that she could assume the regency in her husband's absence.

As far as marriage ties were concerned, the position of Tuscany in this situation might have been awkward. For the young Grand Ducal couple were related to the royal houses of Austria and Spain as well as France. Maria Maddalena, Cosimo II's wife, was an Austrian princess whose sister was Queen of Spain. Cosimo's cousin was now Queen regent of France. However, for the preceding twenty years the conciliatory policy of Tuscany in European affairs had consistently supported France as the bulwark against Hapsburg pre-eminence. Cosimo's father, Ferdinando I, had been instrumental in securing Henry IV's authority by maneuvering his more or less graceful return to the Church (for to rule France "the Most Christian King" had to be Catholic) and by lending him huge sums of money to pursue his fight against the Holy League. In 1600, Ferdinando even sent Henry a wife — his orphaned niece Maria who had been brought up by the Grand Duchess Cristina of Lorraine. This lady, the dowager Grand Duchess, was now the real power at the Medici court and although she came from a house which formerly opposed Henry of France, she loyally supported his Queen.

News of the assassination reached Florence on May 23rd.² The entire court went into mourning³ and two days later the twenty year old Grand Duke (Fig. 2) appointed a committee to prepare the *esequie*.⁴ The members were Raffaello de' Medici, Giovanni Antonio Popoleschi, Niccolò dell'Antella and Agnolo Niccolini. Considerable effort went into the planning of this affair. It surely was not forgotten that elaborate decorations had been devised ten years earlier when Henry IV married Maria by proxy in the cathedral of Florence.⁵ The *esequie* were scheduled long in advance for September 15th in San Lorenzo. This left three and a half months to devote to the plans and fabrication of the decor instead of the scant six weeks which was all that had been available to prepare a similar funeral for Philip II of Spain in 1598.⁶ As the Grand Duke had no experience with such projects, it was explained to him

¹ Carl J. Friedrich, *The Age of the Baroque, 1610-1660*, New York, 1962, pp. 125 ff.

² Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale Firenze (hereafter referred to as BNCF), Manoscritti, *Fondo Gino Capponi*, No. 261, vol. I, "Diario di Ferdinando I° G[ran] D[uca] di Toscana fatta da Cesare Tinghi suo Ajutante di Camera", c. 290 v; Archivio di Stato Firenze (hereafter referred to as ASF), *MS. Settimmanni*, "Diario Fiorentino", vol. 132, c. 36.

³ BNCF, Manoscritti, *Fondo Gino Capponi*, No. 261, op. cit., c. 291 r; dark clothing was prescribed *da Bruno et di Brunato*.

⁴ ASF, *Miscellanea Medicea*, filza 487 ("Per l'Essequie del Cristianis[sim]o Re di Francia 1610"), unnumbered sheet in the first *inserto* and c. 1 verso of the second *inserto*. Cf. *Giuliano Givaldi*, *Esequie d'Arrigo quarto, Cristianissimo Re di Francia e di Navarra, celebrate in Firenze dal Serenissimo Don Cosimo II Granduca di Toscana*, Florence, Sermartelli, 1610, p. 5; *Domenico Moreni*, *Continuazione delle Memorie storiche . . . di S. Lorenzo di Firenze*, Florence, 1817, vol. II, p. 5; *Idem*, *Pompe funebri celebrate nell'Imp. e Real Basilica di San Lorenzo ecc.*, Florence, 1827, p. 173, n. 1. The drawing here reproduced is tentatively proposed as a portrait of the young Grand Duke. It was originally published by *Anna Forlani* (*Mostra di Disegni di Jacopo da Empoli*, Florence, 1962, no. 25, p. 27, Fig. 16) as a study for an unidentified subject dateable between 1602 and 1605. These dates would more or less coincide with the age of Cosimo as the sitter; the young prince in 1605 would have been fifteen years of age and had not yet grown the moustache characteristic of later portraits of him. The young man in the drawing looks between fifteen and seventeen years old.

⁵ The richest account of the decorations is in *Michelangelo Buonarroti* (il Giovane), *Descrizione delle felicissime Nozze della Cristianissima Maestà di Madama Maria Medici Regina di Francia e di Navarra*, Florence, Marescotti, 1600 (reprinted in: *Opere di Michelangelo Buonarroti il Giovane*, ed. *Pietro Fanfani*, vol. II, Florence, 1863, pp. 403-454); for other publications devoted to the event see those listed in the bibliography collected by *P. A. Bigazzi*, *Firenze e Contorni*, Florence, 1893, items 3404, 3514, 3531-3533; Cf. *Angelo Solerti*, *Musica, ballo e drammatica alla Corte Medicea dal 1600 al 1637*, Florence, 1905, pp. 23-27. — The total cost of the street decorations came to 16,300 *scudi*: ASF, *Sindaci F.* 30, inserto 58.

⁶ *Borsook*, *Mitteilungen* xiv, 1969/70, p. 95.



2 Jacopo da Empoli, idealized portrait of Prince Cosimo (?), later Cosimo II. Uff. 3451 F.

that the financing was usually done by the *Depositeria Generale* (the Grand Ducal treasury) through the Castello da Basso and that to start work the *Provveditore* there would need an advance of 500 *scudi*.⁷ The four man funeral committee collaborated with the *Magistrato di*

⁷ ASF, *Miscellanea Medicea*, filza 487, op. cit., c. 41 recto: *La spesa in simili occasioni è stata solita farsi per via del Castello da basso, et suo Provveditore il quale provvede i legnami, e lasie, et altro, et p(er) sua mano, et di quel Camarlingo si pagano tutti i lavori che ci vanno, che però parendo à V(ostra) A(ltezza) che si faccia nel medesimo modo potrà ordinare che li sieno summini stati denari dalla Depositeria q(ua)le per questo conto, et per hora crediamo che possa bastare un mandato di [scudi] 500 à buon' conto, et di mano in mano, che occorreranno denaro segli farà sapere...*



3 A. Rosaccio, Henry as a Child playing at Arms. After Giraldi.

Nove.⁸ On May 27th, Giulio Parigi was elected by this group to be *Ingegnere et Architetto* for the ceremony.⁹ A week later the *Magistrato di Nove* informed the Grand Duke that Parigi would proceed with the work as soon as he received the *invenzione*, or thematic plan of the decorations.¹⁰ The known sources do not inform us who was responsible for this. In the meantime, the thrifty officials proposed re-using the canvases of 1598 illustrating the life of Philip II — which had been painted for that monarch's *esequie*.¹¹ This was the second attempt to put these pictures to further use. In 1608 they had been proposed for the decoration of a triumphal arch in the wedding festivities for Cosimo and Maria Maddalena d'Austria.¹² But in 1610, just as two years earlier, it appears that a sense of tact and dynastic feeling again ruled against what would have been second hand canvases. Instead, twenty-six new ones were painted in *chiaroscuro* illustrating the main events of Henry's life.

A partial draft of the choice of subjects to be included is to be found in a volume of miscellaneous papers concerning the preparations for the funeral.¹³ There is a curious note there referring to Caterina de' Medici:

⁸ Ibid., unnumbered page in first *inserto*; the four deputies in replying to the Grand Duke after their appointment refer to their meeting with the *Magistrato di Nove*: (May 27th 1610) *Rendiamo humilissimi grati alla infinita benignità di V. A. Ser.ma sendosi compiaciuta di fare eletione delle persone n(ost)re per preparare, et ordinare la celebratione dell'essequie in honore della Maestà del Re Christianissimo . . . et per obedire, et servirla con' ogni maggiore affeto . . . ci siamo adunati questa mattina tutti insieme nel Mag(istrato) de Novi . . .* Reports of other meetings of the deputies also are signed as from the *Magistrato di Nove*.

⁹ Ibid., c. 2: *Item elessero per Ingegnere et architetto p(er) le dette Essequie Giulio Parigi.*

¹⁰ Ibid., c. 41 r: (June 3rd 1610) . . . *et Giulio Parigi in conformità del cenno di V. A. ci attenderà per l'invenzione, et disposizione dell'Apparato, et noi del continuo assisteremo, et penseremo à quanto bisognerà con ottima volontà di servire, come siamo in obbligo.*

¹¹ Loc. cit.: *Habbiamo riveduto molto tele di pittura, che furno fatte nell'occasione dell'essequie, che si celebrorno l'anno 1598 in Memoria della M(aes)ta Catt(oli)ca, che potranno servire in queste con rifiorirne quelle, che haranno bisogno mutando, et variando, qualcosa, che sarà di risparmio et di facilità...*

¹² Borsook, op. cit., p. 110-112.

¹³ ASF, *Miscellanea Medicea*, filza 487, op. cit., unnumbered page in first *inserto*; seven subjects are pro-



4 A. Rosaccio, Henry's Magnanimity towards Prisoners. After Giraldi.



5 A. Rosaccio, Hommage to Henry near Paris after Henry III's Death. After Giraldi.

Quando si habbia a rappresentare actione alcuna dove Intervenissi la Regina M(a)dre Caterina pare non si possa uscire di quella quando d(ett)a Regina si abboccò per p(er)suaderlo alla pace, et alla quiete del Regno, et con il Re di Navarra abboccam(en)to segui...¹⁴

Evidently there was embarrassment at the prospect of representing the queen, Henry's old enemy, Medici though she was, and perhaps this is why the subject in the end was not included among the *storie* actually painted.

One wonders who supplied the funeral committee with the information concerning Henry's life and achievements. Although the Medici kept an agent in Paris (Andrea Cioli), we do not know whether the French maintained an emissary in Florence.¹⁵ In any case, such a personage is not cited in the known documents. There was, however, considerable traffic between Florence and the French court artistic and otherwise. Francavilla had been summoned to Paris in 1604.¹⁶ At the same time, Giambologna began the equestrian monument of Henry IV which was eventually completed by Tacca with the help of Cigoli.¹⁷ Then there was Costantino de' Servi, a designer of many talents, of whom one would like to know more because he worked at courts all over Europe.¹⁸ In 1600 he is mentioned as *ingenieur de Roy* to Henry IV

posed: (listed in order of their appearance in the text) *la giornata di Putras'*, when, according to the text, Henry overcame the Duke of Savoy who died in the battle; Henry III promises to support Henry of Navarre against the League; Henry of Navarre promises vengeance against the assassins of Henry III and awaits to be officially recognized as his successor; the battle of Arques near Dieppe; the siege of Paris; the battle of Ivry; the capture of Mantes. Of these, the first, second, and seventh subjects were not represented in the cycle actually painted.

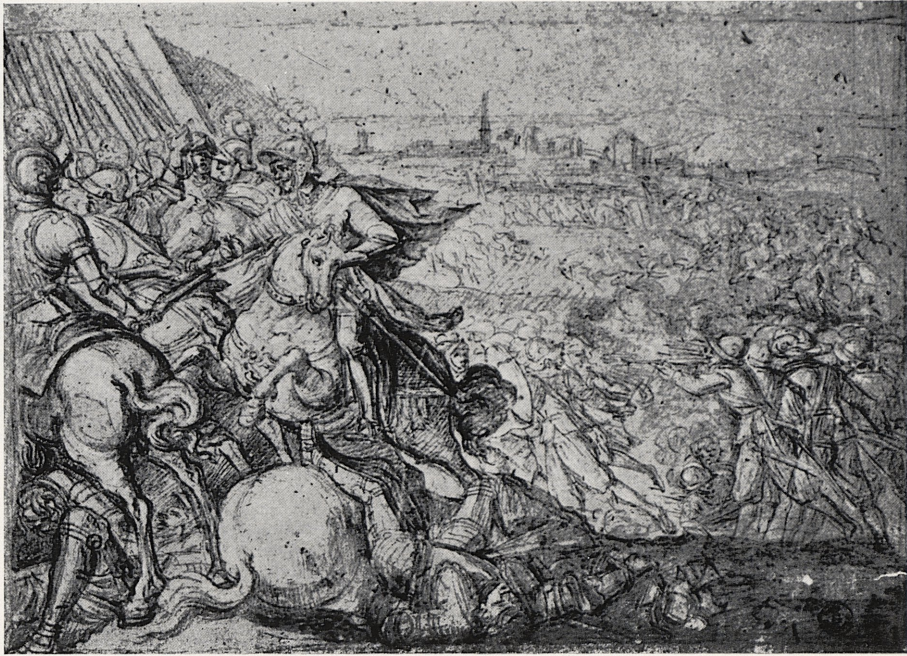
¹⁴ Loc. cit.

¹⁵ ASF, *Archivio Mediceo*, 4872, cc. 114-115, 219, 240, 250; Garrett Mattingly, *Renaissance Diplomacy*, London, 1962, pp. 206, 312, note 12.

¹⁶ Hans Vollmer, "Franqueville", in: *Thieme-Becker*, vol. XII, Leipzig, 1916, p. 385.

¹⁷ Filippo Baldinucci, *Notizie dei professori del disegno da Cimabue in qua*, ed. F. Ranalli, Florence, 1846, vol. III, p. 259; vol. IV, p. 81; Roseline Bacou and Jacob Bean, *Disegni Fiorentini del Museo del Louvre dalla collezione di Filippo Baldinucci*, Rome, 1959, no. 32, pp. 51-52, pl. 33. Cf. Vincenzo Fasolo, *Un Pittore Architetto: Il Cigoli*, in: *Quaderni dell'Istituto di Storia dell'Architettura*, n. 2, Sept. 1953, p. 13.

¹⁸ Baldinucci, op. cit., vol. III, pp. 207-229; Dominic E. Colnaghi, *A Dictionary of Florentine Painters*, London, 1928, pp. 245-246. Cf. *Thieme-Becker*, vol. XXX, 1936, pp. 527-528. Costantino also was expert in *pietre-dure* work and as such received Cosimo II's permission to go the court of the Shah of Persia in 1609. Whether he actually went is uncertain, but he was in Florence again before the end of 1610.



6 Attributed to Matteo Rosselli, drawing of the Battle of Arques near Dieppe. Uff. 9809 F.

and may have been responsible for some of the decorations at Avignon and Lyons celebrating Maria de' Medici's visits there.¹⁹ Both these festivities praised Henry's achievements and books were published commemorating all the details.²⁰ These and other volumes in praise of Henry of Bourbon almost certainly were widely circulated and may well have been at the disposal of the Florentine planners.²¹ Costantino himself was back in Florence in 1608 when he was put forth as a candidate for the post of *Ingegnere* of the rich decor for Cosimo II's marriage.²²

¹⁹ Servi is cited in this capacity by *André Valladier*, *Labyrinthe Royal de l'Hercule Gaulois Triomphant*, Avignon, 1601, 3rd unnumbered page. For an account of the decorations in Lyons and Avignon see *Corrado Vivanti*, *Henry IV, the Gallic Hercules*, in: *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes*, xxx, 1967, pp. 176-197.

²⁰ Aside from the festivities of 1600 see other contemporary accounts celebrating Henry's achievements in the festival books commemorating his triumphal entries into Lyons in 1595, and Rouen in 1596. Three volumes by the learned *Pierre Matthieu* are devoted to Henry's triumphs: "L'Entrée de très grand . . . Henry III, Roy de France & de Navarre En sa bonne ville de Lyon . . . contenant l'ordre & la description des magnificiences dressées pour ceste occasion. . .", Lyons, 1595; "Les Deux plus grandes, plus célèbres et mémorables resjouissances de la ville de Lyon, la première pour l'entrée de . . . Henry III . . . la seconde, pour l'heureuse publication de la paix, avec le cours & la suite des guerres entre les deux maisons de France & d'Autriche", Lyons, 1598; "L'Entrée de la Reine à Lyon, le III décembre MDC", Lyons, 1600. The same author wrote more than a dozen other volumes devoted to Henry and his queen (see *Jacques-Charles Brunet*, *Manuel du libraire*, Paris s. d., vol. III, coll. 1529-1532).

²¹ For other titles see *Vivanti*, op. cit., 1967, passim.

²² ASF, *Miscellanea Medicea*, filza 484, c. 2 r. The deputies for the decorations proposed Costantino as "Ingegnere" for the occasion as an alternative to Gherardo Mechini. Costantino did not remain long in Florence. For in January 1612 Vinta wrote Cioli from Pisa thus: *Mando una lettera di Costantino de servi sfortunato. che in questa Morte del Sr. principe d'Inghilterra si raccomanda alla somma carita di V.A.A.*; ASF, *Archivio Mediceo* 1698, unnumbered page dated January 12, 1612.



7 H. Cock after Marten van Heemskerck, Francis I captured by Charles V at Pavia, 1556.



8 H. Cock after Marten van Heemskerck, The Siege of Vienna, 1556.

Costantino de' Servi's name does not appear among those who worked on the *esequie* of 1610. These included some of the leading artists at the Medici court: besides Parigi and Cantagallina, there were Poccetti, Bilivert, Jacopo da Empoli, Matteo Rosselli, Giovanni Nigetti, and Nicodemo Ferrucci.²³ Disappointingly the accounts do not indicate the specific items each artist was responsible for. It may be only coincidence, but the number of names exactly corresponds to the number of history scenes actually painted. Of the twenty-six in the set, sixteen survive.²⁴ Roughly 500 *scudi* were spent on them — almost the same amount was paid for the twenty-four canvases illustrating Philip II's life twelve years earlier.²⁵ This was hardly extravagant if one considers that 800 *scudi* were thought insufficient for the cost of stage settings proposed for another production involving Parigi in the Spring of 1611.²⁶

During the preparations for the *esequie*, there was some anxiety concerning the succession of Henry's children by Queen Maria. The Dauphin was an uncrowned child and his legitimacy

²³ ASF, *Miscellanea Medicea*, filza 487, op. cit., unnumbered sheet in first *inserto*; the following additional names appear: Agnolo Ciampelli, Benedetto Velli, Cosimo Gamberucci, Francesco Mati, Francesco Curradi, Lodovico Buti, Michelangelo Cinghanelli, Pietro Sori, Pompeo Caccini, Stefano Pieri, Tiberio Titi, Valerio Marucelli, Fabrizio Boschi, Filippo Tarchiani, Ulisse Gniochi, Giuseppe Schitti, Bernardino Monaldi, Domenico Croci, Zanobi Rosi.

²⁴ The canvases average in size: 2,14 × 2,75 m. Although belonging to the Uffizi, these pictures have for several decades been stored in the Pitti. See Appendix. The existence of surviving canvases from the series has been noted by *Bacou and Bean*, op. cit., pp. 47, 57-58; and *Mina Bacci*, *Jacopo Ligozzi e la sua posizione nella pittura fiorentina*, in: *Proporzioni*, iv, 1963, pp. 78-79, note 25. Cf. *Adriaan W. Vliegthart*, *De Galleria Buonarroti. Michelangelo en Michelangelo il Giovane*, Rotterdam, 1969, p. 86.

²⁵ ASF, *Miscellanea Medicea*, filza 487, op. cit., cc. 41 v and 42 r (August 25th 1610); most of the 500 *scudi* went to the painters: *alla maggior parte de Pittori per le storie et pagati altri lavori d'arme, Morte et altro che si sono fatti*. The committee estimated that another 1000 *scudi* would be needed for other trimmings, the most costly item among which was wax for the candles. Cf. *Borsook*, op. cit., p. 100, for the cost of the pictures for Philip II's funeral.

²⁶ ASF, *Archivio Mediceo*, filza 1226, c. 18 (March 15th 1610 st. f.): Giovanni Villafranchi the poet and madrigalist writes that he has just been with Giulio Parigi regarding a *Commedia* for *Intermedzi* and that at least 800 *scudi* would be needed for it. Earlier in the year, Parigi and Ottavio Rinuccini produced the marine *mascherata* first performed in the Pitti on February 14th. Cf. *A. M. Nagler*, *Theatre Festivals of the Medici 1539-1637*, New Haven and London, 1964, pp. 116-118; *A. Solerti*, op. cit. (see note 5), pp. 61-62. But Villafranchi apparently was not involved in this spectacle. For his activities see *Ibid.*, pp. 67, 69, 70, 120, and *Nagler*, op. cit., pp. 119-120. For a *Commedia* performed for the Gran Ducal court in Pisa in January 1612, 480 *scudi* were spent; ASF, *Archivio Mediceo* 1698, op. cit., letter of Vinta to Cioli on unnumbered page dated January 16, 1612.

was being challenged by Condé who claimed the succession for himself or, it was rumoured, for the child born to his wife (Henriette-Charlotte de Montmorency) from her not so clandestine relations with the dead king.²⁷ Cristina of Lorraine was so anxious, that despite the happy arrival of an heir to her own son, Cosimo II, on June 14th she wrote on the very same day a worried letter to Cioli in Paris urging him to keep her closely informed of the nefarious doings there.²⁸ In this light, Henry's funeral in Florence, like that of the first Grand Duke in 1574, must be understood in that aspect of the apotheosis the ceremonial significance of which was meant to confirm the legitimacy of the succession.²⁹

On the morning of the *esequie* the church was opened for the populace to witness the ceremony and *goder della vista dell'apparato*.³⁰ The entire Grand Ducal family and all the magistrates attended and listened to the funeral oration delivered by Francesco Venturi, a cathedral canon who had also pronounced a similar speech commemorating the late Medici pope, Leo XI, who had been a former archbishop of Florence.³¹ From all accounts the church was adorned *colla maggior magnificenza immaginabile*.³² The splendid sight notwithstanding, certain props saved from earlier *esequie* were most probably used again here: for instance, the façade decor with the now well known fictive porphyry frame for the central portal.³³ As for the interior (Fig. 1), it looks as if Allori's reclining *morti* on the altar frontals are the same ones used in the funeral of Philip II.³⁴ The doors as well as the history paintings were surmounted by the traditional motif of the broken pediment — an invention of Buontalenti (and possibly Borghini) symbolizing death.³⁵

The view of the church interior engraved by an unidentified hand³⁶ shows that Giulio Parigi's decorative scheme was fairly traditional. It is merely an enrichment of the plan originally conceived by Buontalenti for the funeral of Francesco I which was more or less repeated by Cigoli in the *esequie* for Philip II in 1598. Parigi was, in fact, the same kind of all-round court architect and decorator that Buontalenti had been for the first two Grand Dukes. Cristina of Lorraine had long been his patron. According to Baldinucci, she appointed Parigi

²⁷ Friedrich, *op. cit.* (see note 1), p. 130.

²⁸ ASF, *Archivio Mediceo*, filza 4872, *op. cit.*, c. 240 (June 14th 1610): . . . *Drento alla stampa della relazione della morte de Re dice che quello [Henry] scelerato era maritato in Brusselles, però desideriamo sapere se e il vero, et che di più ha' anche figli due in Brusselles*. Henriette-Charlotte, Henry's mistress, was in Brussels in the custody of Archduke Albert of Austria; Friedrich, *op. cit.* (see note 1), pp. 125 ff. At the same time, Cristina and Cosimo II ordered Cioli to do what he could to obtain the bishopric of Metz for Cristina's third son, Prince Carlo, in preference to Henry's bastards: ASF, *Archivio Mediceo*, filza 4872, *op. cit.*, c. 115 (instructions to Andrea Cioli, the Grand Duke's secretary of state in Paris): . . . *et in particolare significare alla M(aes)tà della Regina la Grande obligatione, che loro Alt(èz)ze con tutta loro Casa gli terrebbono in perpetuo . . .*

²⁹ 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. 49.

³⁰ Giraldi, *op. cit.* (see note 4), p. 5.

³¹ ASF, *Miscellanea Medicea*, filza 487, *op. cit.*, unnumbered page in first *inserto*; BNCF, *Fondo Gino Capponi*, No. 261, *op. cit.*, cc. 302 v - 303 r; ASF, *MS. Settimanni*, vol. 132, *op. cit.*, c. 44 r.

³² ASF, *MS. Settimanni*, vol. 132, *loc. cit.*

³³ Giraldi, *op. cit.*, p. 7: . . . *il telaio della porta maggiore appariva di porfido: i piedestalli delle colonne di color paonazzo. Le base, e i capitelli di marmo giallo, le colonne di serpentino, la cornice, l'architrave, e'l frontispizio rotto nel mezzo, erano di porfido . . .* The skeleton, continues Giraldi, sat on either side of the broken pediment from the center of which rose the king's coats of arms. The fictive architecture of the façade with its simulated porphyry membering corresponds with the account given of that originally made for Francesco I's funeral which was saved and re-used in the *esequie* for Philip II; Borsook, *op. cit.* (1969), p. 97, note 24.

³⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 97, note 25; p. 106, note 50.

³⁵ Giraldi, *op. cit.*, pp. 7, 17; Borsook, *op. cit.* (1965), p. 54.

³⁶ *Stampe sciolte* No. 2324. *Gabinetto di Disegni e Stampe degli Uffizi*. The date 1610 appears on the inscribed plaque set over the central door of the nave; the print has been mistakenly attributed to Stefano della Bella who was born in 1610. The *scheda* in the Uffizi bears a note that the print may be by Francesco Cecchi-Conti who made engravings after Giulio Parigi.



9 Anonymous Florentine, The Siege of Paris. Uffizi Deposit.

to teach her young sons architecture, mathematics, and drawing.³⁷ He was declared *ingegnere del Granduca* to Ferdinando I and as such in 1608 designed decorations for the *Commedia*, the wedding banquet and the splendid river spectacle known as the *Argonautica*.³⁸ Cosimo II's love of festive extravaganzas must have owed a great deal to Giulio Parigi's instruction. Moreover, Giulio's capacity as a teacher of mathematics must have been considerable too for it was sufficient to arouse in the young Cosimo appreciation of Galileo despite the fact that his father, Ferdinando II favoured more old fashioned scientific notions.³⁹ In the Spring of 1610, Galileo dedicated his discovery of the satellites of Jupiter (*Medicea sidera*) to Cosimo and a few months later, during the time when preparations were underway for Henry IV's *esequie*. Cosimo encouraged the great physicist to leave his chair at Padua and return to Florence.⁴⁰ Even before his arrival an optical instrument to be made by Galileo was ordered

³⁷ Baldinucci, *op. cit.*, vol. IV, p. 123.

³⁸ *Loc. cit.*; Nagler, *op. cit.*, pp. 101-115.

³⁹ Ferdinando I, for instance, remained faithful to the Ptolemaic theory of the universe. A monument to this belief was his commission in 1593 of a gigantic, gilt armillary sphere which cost over 1000 scudi. This object, the most elaborate model of the Ptolemaic universe ever made, still exists — filling up most of a room in the Museo Nazionale di Storia delle Scienze in Florence.

⁴⁰ Galileo accepted Cosimo's invitation to return to Florence in July 1610.



10 Francesco Curradi (?), *The Battle of Coutras*. Palazzo Montecitorio, Rome.

for the mourning French Queen.⁴¹ One wonders whether Galileo was present in San Lorenzo with the rest of the court to witness the spectacular funeral in mid-September.

Judging from the printed view of the interior of San Lorenzo and various accounts of the decorations, the only novel features were the gigantic proportions of the skeletons propped up beside the doorways inside and outside the façade.⁴² More bizarre versions of these figures were developed by Parigi in subsequent *esequie* in 1612.⁴³ Apparently in 1610 it was the pictorial biography of Henry's life which impressed contemporaries the most. It was, in fact, the largest biographical cycle yet produced in Florence; Francesco I's *esequie* had twelve scenes and Philip II's had twenty-four. Although the canvases celebrating Philip II's career

⁴¹ ASF, *Archivio Mediceo*, filza 4872, op. cit., c. 219 (August 23rd 1610): *uno occhiale grande del Galilei . . . et come egli sarà quà, che ci si aspetta presto, la Maesta della Regina potrà comandare, se ella voglia di detti occhiali più in una forma, che in un'altra, che si faranno à posta per suo gusto*. The letter is from Belisario Vinta to Cioli in Paris.

⁴² Giraldi, op. cit., pp. 9, 15-16. The two skeletons inside the entrance wall are described thus: . . . *straordinaria grandezza, le quali, con la falce levata in alto, in segno di lor vittoria tutte orgogliose, mostravano insuperbirsi per questa novella preda, più che per verun'altra che mai facessero*. In the aisles, others: . . . *si vedevano sopra base alte quanto mezzo il pilastro, ritratti di spaventose Morti, levate in piedi, le quali con la grandezza loro, arrivavano all'architrave . . .*

⁴³ For the *esequie* of the Queen of Spain (the Grand Duchess' sister) in 1612 and for the Emperor Matthias in 1619.



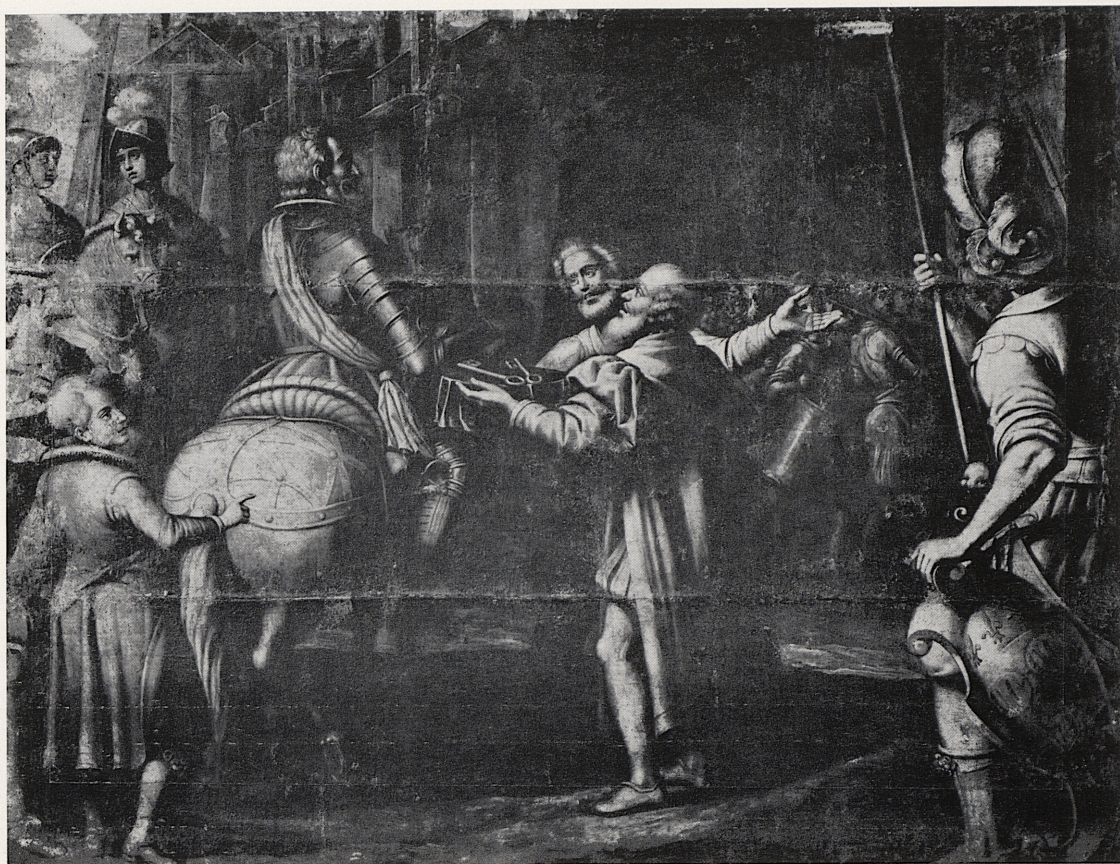
11 Anonymous Florentine, *The Battle of Ivry*. Palazzo Montecitorio, Rome.

had not been engraved for the funeral book of 1598, Giralaldi's volume commemorating the *esequie* of Henry IV is essentially a picture book.⁴⁴ After a brief description of the decor as a whole, the text consists of little more than captions for the prints based upon the twenty-six *storie*. Indeed Giralaldi explained that the function of the decor was to *mettere avanti agli occhi di quei che vivono le virtuose sperazioni de' trapassati, sene rinfresca negli animi la memoria, e s'accende la brama dell'imitargli, si commuovono anche pietosamente gli affetti, sì che il giusto tributo di dolore...*⁴⁵ The subjects of these scenes included many battles as did Philip II's cycle. But unlike the earlier series, here the King's valour is contrasted with his mercy and piety as the paragon of the good monarch. The engravings were by Alovio Rosaccio, a Florentine of the school of Tempesta whose monogram AR is on many of the prints.⁴⁶ Judging from these prints, as well as from the paintings themselves, the battle scenes were

⁴⁴ *Giralaldi*, passim.

⁴⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 4-5.

⁴⁶ Rosaccio was a Florentine engraver as well as merchant of prints; *Pietro Zani*, *Enciclopedia metodica critico-ragionata delle belle arti*, parte prima, vol. XVI, Parma, 1823, p. 198; cf. *Otto Georg von Simson*, *Zur Genealogie der weltlichen Apotheose im Barock, besonders der Medicigalerie des P. P. Rubens*, Strasbourg, 1936, p. 329. *G. K. Nagler*, *Die Monogrammisten*, vol. I, München and Leipzig, 1858, pp. 10-11; *Nagler* refers to thirty-two prints for the Henry IV cycle, but the copies of Giralaldi I have seen contain only twenty-six.



12 Anonymous Florentine, Henry's Entry into Chartres. Uffizi Deposit.

based on compositions formulated earlier by Heemskerck, Vasari, and Stradano which were popularized by the engraved reproductions of Philip Galle and Tempesta.⁴⁷

The distribution of the scenes inside the church followed the by now traditional scheme hung across the draped chapel entrances with the story beginning at the eastern end of the church. In the print (Fig. 1) one notices that Donatello's reliefs on the two pulpits were covered. Sixteen of the original set of twenty-six canvases are stored in the Uffizi Deposit in the Pitti.⁴⁸ The first picture, now lost (Fig. 3), showed *Henry as a Child playing at Arms*. The next two canvases, also lost, are known only from the prints (Figs. 4 and 5). These show *Henry's Magnanimity towards Prisoners* and the *Hommage given him near Paris by Soldiers after Henry III's Death*.⁴⁹ Parts of the composition of the latter as well as that of the fourth scene, the *Battle of Arques near Dieppe* (Fig. 6), are based on details of Heemskerck's designs

⁴⁷ Heemskerck's compositions probably influenced Vasari's battle scenes on the ceiling of the Sala dei Cinquecento in the Palazzo Vecchio; *Catherine Monbeig-Goguel*, Giorgio Vasari: Dessinateur et collectionneur, Catalogue du Musée du Louvre, Paris, 1965, p. 24.

⁴⁸ See Appendix.

⁴⁹ *Giraldi*, op. cit., pp. 20 and 22.



13 After Jacopo da Empoli (?), *The Retreat at Caudebec*. Uffizi Deposit.

for *Charles V's Capture of Francis I at Pavia* (Fig. 7) and the *Siege of Vienna* (Fig. 8).⁵⁰ The canvas for the *Battle of Arques* still exists but we have preferred to reproduce a drawing of it in the Uffizi (Fig. 6) which is attributed to Matteo Rosselli. In the absence of other evidence, it is difficult to be certain if the drawing is a *modello* or a copy. The battle, fought on September 21st 1589 forced the far greater army of the Holy League led by the Duke of Mayenne to retreat and for Henry opened the road to Paris. The next canvas shows the *Siege* of that city which occurred in October and November (Fig. 9). As in the Heemskercks and in Tintoretto's battle scenes painted for the Gonzaga, the chief protagonists in the foreground are shown against a broad view explaining the site. The contrast in scale and the dramatic lighting confer a sense of power and masterfulness on the heroes involved. Slightly over a decade later details from the *Siege of Paris* and the *Battle of Arques* reappear in the frescoed lunette of the *Siege of Vienna* painted by a member of Rosselli's shop in the Villa of Poggio Imperiale.

⁵⁰ Compare especially the two armed equestrian figures on the left to those in the *Capture of Francis I at Pavia* and the fallen horse to that in the *Siege of Vienna* (Figs. 7 and 8).



14 H. Cock after Marten van Heemskerck, Charles V near Ingelheim, 1556.

The next scene, the *Battle of Coutras* (Fig. 10), now hangs in the Palazzo di Montecitorio in Rome.⁵¹ Giraldi relates that although Henry would have been ready to make peace at Paris, his enemies refused and so a series of battles ensued all of which Henry won. The subject of this canvas is supposed to be one of these although the battle of Coutras was actually fought some years earlier (October 20th 1587) and was among Henry's first victories against the League. Neither Giraldi nor the planners seem to have been aware of this and the king is shown as a veritable Alexander amidst a crowd of warriors disposed in the manner of a Roman relief.⁵² The Uffizi inventory of 1890 attributes this picture to Francesco Curradi.

The *Battle of Ivry* (Fig. 11), which should follow the *Siege of Paris* according to the actual order of events, in Giraldi's sequence comes after the scene at Coutras. This canvas, also in Montecitorio, represents the great battle fought against the Duke of Mayenne in mid-March 1590.⁵³

The eighth and ninth episodes were the *Entry into Chartres* (Fig. 12) and the *Retreat at Caudebec* (Fig. 13). In the latter, the figure of the king with his soldiers seems to be the reverse of a similar group in Heemskerck's composition for *Charles V near Ingelheim* (Fig. 14). An

⁵¹ I am indebted to Dr. Marco Chiarini, Director of the Galleria Palatina, Florence, who told me that there were grisaille history scenes from the Uffizi hanging in the Palazzo Montecitorio. Uffizi no. 7814; Montecitorio Inv. No. 620. The picture has been in Rome since 1925.

⁵² Giraldi, op. cit., pp. 24-25. Henry was described as an Alexander by Valladier, op. cit., unnumbered page which would correspond to 1 v; *Vivanti*, op. cit., p. 182. Coutras, fought in October 1587, was won by Henry's strategic advantage against superior forces. In the battle, Anne Duc de Joyeuse and his younger brother, Charles de Saint-Sauveur were killed.

⁵³ Montecitorio Inv. No. 621. Giraldi, op. cit (see note 4), p. 26.



15 Attributed to Jacopo da Empoli, study for the *Retreat at Caudebec*. Uff. 1592 Santarelli.

early 19th century inventory in the Uffizi refers to Francesco Curradi's signature in the lower left hand corner of the *Retreat at Caudebec* which is no longer visible. There are several drawings in the Uffizi which are related to this picture. The lancer on the left appears in a sketch of three soldiers done in black chalk heightened in white on buff paper (Fig. 15) attributed to Bernardino Poccetti. Curiously, another sketch done in the same style and medium and



16 Attributed to Jacopo da Empoli, study of a Soldier.
Uff. 3465 F.

on exactly the same paper (Fig. 16) is attributed to Jacopo da Empoli. This single figure does not appear in the canvas. For the soldier musicians on the right of the scene there is a drawing in red and black chalk on buff paper by a heavier, less facile hand (Fig. 17) which is labeled as Matteo Rosselli. Its style and quality, however, hardly come up to two other drawings attributed to Rosselli used for a different scene (Figs. 29 and 30).⁵⁴ At this point one is left to wonder how many artists were involved in the planning and execution of this single subject. The quick, elegant, sparkling style of the lancers and the single soldier (Figs. 15 and 16) are

⁵⁴ Cf. Louvre, Cabinet des Dessins Inv. 1567 r and v.



17 Copy of soldiers by Matteo Rosselli (?) from the *Retreat at Caudebec*. Uff. 1884 Santarelli.

like other drawings attributed to Empoli.⁵⁵ The fact that not all of the figures appear on the canvas makes it seem likely that both of these drawings are studies for the composition. As for the much weaker sketch of the musicians, this is probably a copy drawn from the finished painting.⁵⁶ All this leads one to suspect that the canvas was executed by Francesco Curradi, or someone else, on the basis of drawings provided by Jacopo da Empoli.

⁵⁵ See also in the *Gabinetto Disegni e Stampe* of the Uffizi: nos. 3445 F, 9385 F; Musée Wicar, Lille, no. 1307 (Gernsheim photo 18 016).

⁵⁶ It has been pointed out to me that the artist responsible for the drawing of the drum did not understand this instrument's construction as well as the painter of the picture did.



18 A. Rosaccio, Henry's Return to the Church. After Giraldi.



19 Anonymous Florentine, Henry receiving the Governors of Meaux, Orleans, Lyons, and Aix. Uffizi Deposit.

The next episode in the cycle was *Henry's Return to the Church* which occurred in July 1593. We know the composition only from Rosaccio's print (Fig. 18). The king is shown kneeling before the Bishop of Bourges aided, Giraldi tells us, by the Cardinal of Bourbon, the Archbishop of Rohan and nine other bishops.⁵⁷ Towards this event the Tuscan Grand Duke, Ferdinando I, had long laboured with all the powers of persuasion (and his experience in the curia as a former cardinal) that could be mustered.⁵⁸

The canvas of *Henry receiving the Governors of Meaux, Orleans, Lyons and Aix* (Fig. 19) still exists. Here Henry's head is set ominously in the deepest shadow. As in audience scenes in Philip II's cycle the dog appears as a ubiquitous prop.

Henry's peaceful Entry into Paris (Fig. 20) which finally took place in March 1594 portrays the king in the background where he appears on horseback entering the gates of the city.

⁵⁷ *Giraldi*, op. cit., p. 29.

⁵⁸ *Gustavo Uzielli*, *Cenni storici sulle imprese scientifiche, marittime e coloniali di Ferdinando I. Gran Duca di Toscana (1587-1609)*, Florence, 1901, p. 24. In 1593, Ferdinando was the principal advisor and intermediary between Henry and Rome. Henry was not declared officially converted until 1595.



20 Anonymous Florentine, *Henry's Peaceful Entry into Paris*. Uffizi Deposit.

The *Surrender of Laon* (Fig. 21) — July 1594 — once again shows Henry's clemency; the defeated populace is shown fleeing out of the city unmolested. The equestrian figure on the right who holds back the curtain to reveal the view is in the rhetorical tradition of epic allegory. The horse may have been drawn from Stradano's *Battle of Scanagallo* composed some thirty years earlier.⁵⁹ Quite baroque already is the bold foreshortening of the horse and the dramatic contrasts of bright lights on flesh, metal, and wind-blown hair. The same is true of the dark warrior seen low down in the center of the picture who is set against the bright field in order to emphasize the frieze of marching figures in the distance.

The *Battle of Fontaine-Française* (June 1595) we know only from Rosaccio's print (Fig. 22). But its sequel, the *Surrender of the Duke of Mayenne* (Fig. 23) survives. Fontaine-Française was one of Henry's most brilliant conquests. With only 300 men, he routed 1200 horse led by the military leader of the League. This victory and the capture of Amiens forced Henry's opponents to give in leading to the Peace of Vervins in 1598. The monogram "F. T." was once visible at the bottom center of the *Surrender of the Duke of Mayenne* which would correspond to Filippo Tarchiani cited in the list of artists responsible for the decorations.⁶⁰ The style of blurred contours confers a misty atmosphere on the scene.

⁵⁹ Lionello G. Boccia, *Un inedito dello Stradano: la "rotella Odescalchi"*, in: *L'Arte*, n. s., v, 1969, fig. 9, p. 103.

⁶⁰ See note 23. The Uffizi inventory of 1825 attributes the scene to Francesco Furini who is not cited in the documents as having contributed to the decorations. The monogram, no longer visible, is cited and drawn in the same inventory. Regarding Tarchiani see *Paolo Dal Poggetto, Arte in Valdelsa* (Catalogue of the Exhibition, Certaldo, 1963), Florence, 1963, p. 102.



21 Anonymous Florentine, *The Surrender of Laon*. Uffizi Deposit.



22 A. Rosaccio, *The Battle of Fontaine-Française*. After Giraldi.



23 Filippo Tarchiani (?), *Surrender of the Duke of Mayenne at Fontaine-Française*. Uffizi Deposit.



24 After Jacopo da Empoli, Henry signing his Peace with the Church. Uffizi Deposit.

For *Henry signing his Peace with the Church* (1595) we have both the canvas and Jacopo da Empoli's squared drawing for it (Figs. 24 and 25). The king appears between two Florentines: Cardinal Gondi and Alessandro de' Medici (then the papal nunzio and later Pope Leo XI) who finally bring him the papal absolution which confirmed Henry's legitimate claim to the crown of France. Empoli here resorted to the same composition he used so often for marriage scenes.⁶¹ The event evidently was regarded to be of sufficient historical importance to merit several drawn copies of the picture.⁶²

One of the very weakest paintings, *Henry in Flanders* (Fig. 26), flaunts the latinized signature of Bernardino Monaldi. A somewhat better effort is the *Surrender at Amiens* (Fig. 27) which occurred on September 19th 1597. The view of Henry on horseback in strict profile is very much like the pose of horse and rider on the equestrian monument of the king then being completed in Florence by Tacca.⁶³

⁶¹ Cf. Uffizi, *Gabinetto Disegni e Stampe*, 940 F and 941 F. Both are reproduced by *Anthony Blunt*, *A Series of Paintings illustrating the History of the Medici Family* executed for Marie de Médicis, in: *The Burlington Magazine*, cix, 1967, pp. 492-498, 562-566 (p. 560, figs. 17 and 18); see also figs. 16 and 21. Cf. *A. W. Vliegenthart*, *op. cit.* (see note 24), p. 88, note 355.

⁶² Uffizi, *Gabinetto Disegni e Stampe*, Santarelli 2351 is by a weaker follower of Empoli's; the copy in the British Museum (1886-10-12-540) formerly attributed there to Cigoli (Gernsheim photo 420) is partly squared and somewhat closer to the painting than the Santarelli drawing; cf. *Blunt*, *op. cit.*, who suggests that the British Museum copy is by Empoli himself and may have been intended for another cycle planned but not executed by Maria for the Luxembourg.

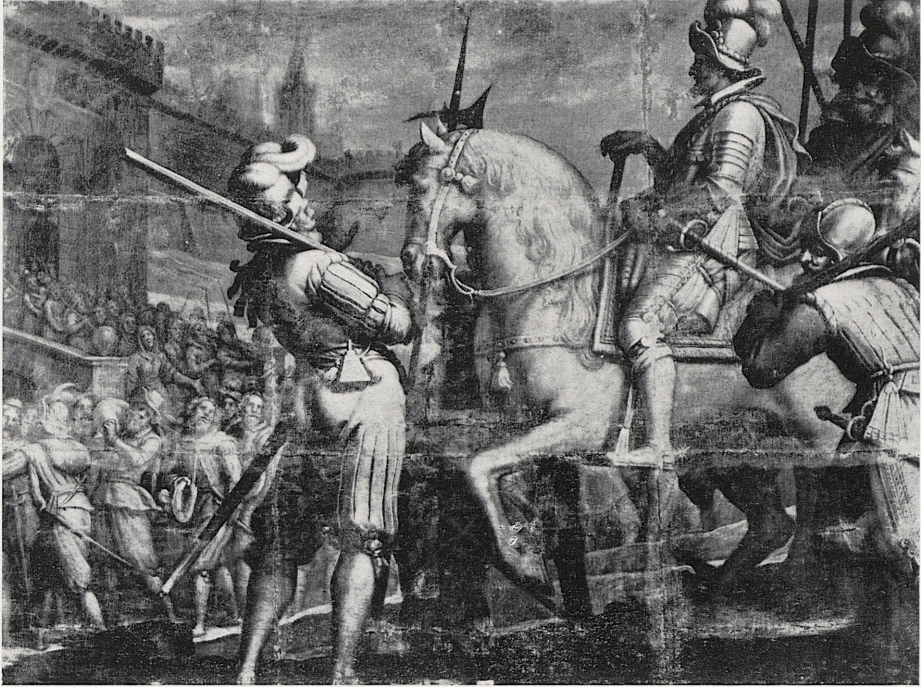
⁶³ Cf. *Bacou and Bean*, *op. cit.*, pp. 51-52, pl. 33.



25 Jacopo da Empoli, modello for Henry signing his Peace with the Church. Uff. 959 F.



26 Bernardino Monaldi, Henry in Flanders. Uffizi Deposit.



27 Anonymous Florentine, *The Surrender of Amiens*. Uffizi Deposit.



28 After Matteo Rosselli, *Henry's Entry into Nantes*. Uffizi Deposit.



29 Matteo Rosselli, modello for Henry's Entry into Nantes. Louvre, Cabinet des Dessins, Inv. 1567 r.



30 Matteo Rosselli, study for Henry's Entry into Nantes. Louvre, Cabinet des Dessins, Inv. 1567 v.

For the *Entry into Nantes* in 1598 we have the canvas as well as Matteo Rosselli's squared modello for it (Figs. 28 and 29).⁶⁴ The drawing, now in the Louvre, belonged to Baldinucci who attributed it to Rosselli whose career he carefully followed.⁶⁵ On the verso there is another pen study probably for the same subject (Fig. 30). The suggestion that this is a sketch for the *Retreat at Caudebec* (Fig. 13) seems unlikely because the group in the drawing is involved in an entry.⁶⁶ The king wears no armour and his escort on foot wears the same costume as a similar figure in the modello on the recto.

It is hard to imagine that Bernardino Poccetti whose initials appear at the lower right of the *Celebration of Peace with the Church in Notre-Dame* (Fig. 31) was actually responsible for the finished painting. The picture is merely a stiff simplification of the fine pen and ink drawing (Fig. 32), also from the Baldinucci collection, now in the Louvre which Walter Vitzthum recognized as a study for the canvas.⁶⁷ The officiating cardinal in the scene was Cardinal Gondi who here makes his second appearance in the cycle.

The next two pictures were devoted to the final military campaign of Henry's career: the struggle with the Duke of Savoy late in 1600. The *Surrender at Momigliano* (Fig. 33) vaguely recalls Heemskerck's *Surrender of the Duke of Saxony* (Fig. 34). *Henry preparing to Engage the Duke of Savoy* (Fig. 35) we know from Rosaccio's print. This battle frustrated the Duke's attack on Brescia. The composition resembles that of the *Surrender of Loan* (Fig. 21) — again repoussoir figures frame a broad view and are seen in sharp light and shadow.

⁶⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 57-58, Fig. 49 (printed in reverse!); Louvre, Cabinet des Dessins, Inv. 1567.

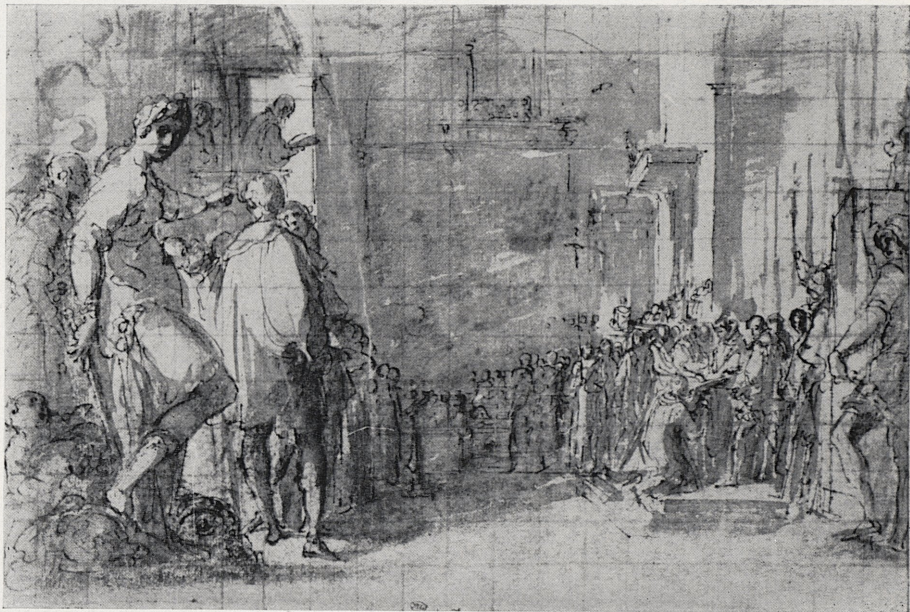
⁶⁵ *Loc. cit.*

⁶⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 58.

⁶⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 47, Fig. 23; published in color in *Roseline Bacou*, *Drawings in the Louvre: the Italian Drawings*, London, 1968, No. 69. Cf. *Giraldi*, *op. cit.*, p. 40.



31 Anonymous Florentine, Celebration of Peace with the Church in Notre-Dame. Uffizi Deposit.



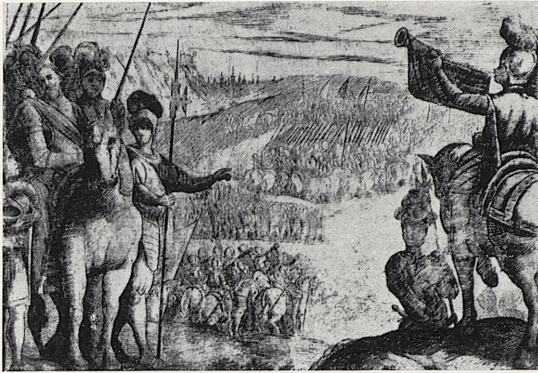
32 Bernardino Poccetti, modello for the Celebration of Peace with the Church in Notre-Dame. Louvre, Cabinet des Dessins, Inv. 1464.



33 Anonymous Florentine, *The Surrender at Momigliano*. Uffizi Deposit.



34 H. Cock after Marten van Heemskerck, *The Surrender of the Duke of Saxony, 1566*.



35 A. Rosaccio, Henry preparing to Engage the Duke of Savoy. After Giraldi.



36 A. Rosaccio, The Meeting of Henry and Maria de' Medici at Lyons. After Giraldi.

The canvases for the last four scenes are all lost and we must rely on the prints for their composition. The *Meeting of Henry and Maria de' Medici at Lyons* in 1600 (Fig. 36) also celebrated Henry's victory over Duke Charles Emmanuel of Savoy. Appropriately, Maria was referred to in the festivities there as "*la fille de la Paix*".⁶⁸ On this occasion, Cardinal Aldobrandini the papal legate, greeted Henry and his bride with the words (in Latin):

"Gaul rejoices, Italy exults, the whole Christian world applauds, for the cruel time of a wicked age is fled, and peace with its benefits is united with the new and truly golden age..."⁶⁹

A detail in this composition shows how very academic Florentine painting had become. The female courtier in the background with the hand raised over her quilted bodice is a stock figure in compositions by Jacopo da Empoli.⁷⁰ There is a study by Empoli for her in the Uffizi (Fig. 37) which the designer of our scene may well have consulted.

Maria and Henry declaring Catholicism the State Religion (Fig. 38) again includes the familiar dog in the foreground. Another appears in *Henry's Delegates Obtain Rights to the Holy Sepulchre* (Fig. 39) which vaguely recalls Philip II's reception of the Indians.⁷¹ This subject logically follows its predecessor in strengthening the view it gives of Henry's piety and power as "the Most Christian King". At one time it was hoped that the king would crusade against the Turks and re-establish the empire of Charlemagne.⁷² These two pictures reflect how effective French propagandists were in showing Henry as the bringer of a new golden age in which peace, political as well as religious, were attained in what Corrado Vivanti has so well described as a "purified Christian climate."⁷³ A red chalk drawing attributed to Matteo

⁶⁸ O. G. von Simson, op. cit., p. 313, note 1. "La fille de la Paix, que la Tuscanne mande" cited from Jacques de Meirier, *Le Triomphe des Noces du grand Henry quatriesme e de tres illustre Dame Marie de Medicis*, Lyons, 1600.

⁶⁹ Vivanti, op. cit. (1967, see note 19), pp. 190-191.

⁷⁰ Anna Forlani, op. cit. (see note 4), p. 26, No. 23, Fig. 7 (Uffizi 1734 S).

⁷¹ Borsook, op. cit. (1969), p. 113, Fig. 20; cf. Luciano Berti, *Il principe dello Studiolo*, Florence, 1967, Fig. 209.

⁷² Vivanti, op. cit. (1967), pp. 178-180.

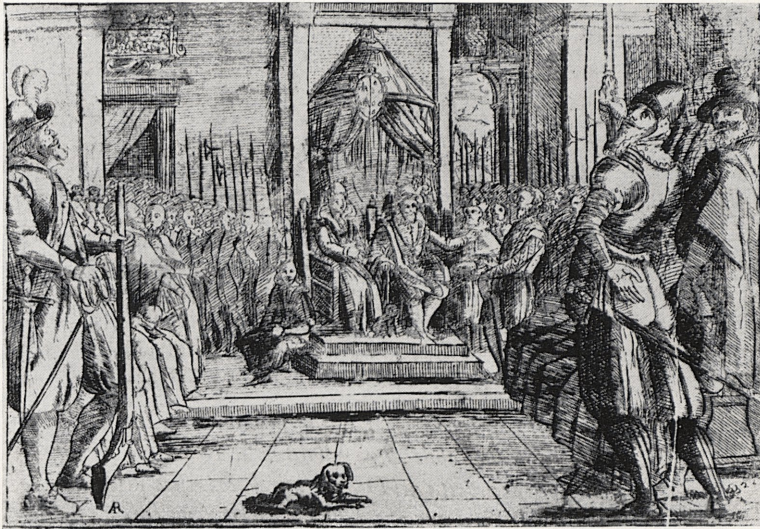
⁷³ Loc. cit.



37 Jacopo da Empoli, study for a Lady from a Medici marriage scene. Uff. 1734 Santarelli.

Rosselli in the collection of Dr. Fröhlich-Bum in London may be a sketch for the cession of the rights to the Holy Sepulchre.⁷⁴

⁷⁴ A photograph of this drawing is in the photographic collection (under Matteo Rosselli) of the Kunsthistorisches Institut, Florence.



38 A. Rosaccio, Maria and Henry declaring Catholicism the State Religion. After Giraldi.

The cycle appropriately concludes with the *Coronation of Maria de' Medici* on the feast day of St. Denis (Fig. 40). Politically, the queen was more conciliatory than Henry. After his assassination, she promoted the cause of peace by betrothing two of their children to members of the Spanish royal family.⁷⁵ In Florence, despite diplomatic protest to Spain for the lesser titles still used to address the Grand Ducal family⁷⁶, the tenor of Tuscan-Hispanic relations was also a conciliatory one. While work was being completed on the funeral decor for Henry IV, pictures were being painted for the Queen of Spain.⁷⁷ And in November, Bernardino de Mendoza, the able Spanish ambassador came to attend the baptism of a Medici princess.⁷⁸

⁷⁵ Francesco Inghirami, *Storia della Toscana*, Fiesole, 1843, vol. X, pp. 355-356.

⁷⁶ ASF, *Aquisti e Doni*, No. 259, inserto 56 (from letter of Belisario Vinta to Count Orso, the Tuscan resident in Madrid, July 7th 1610): *In proposito del Titolo non dato alla Gran Duchessa madre dalla Signora nuova V[ostro?] Regina di Napoli; mando duplicato un copi[hole in page] la della mia lettera de 27 del passato contenente la querela intorno à ciò, et debbo aggiungere, che nella trattazione del matrimonio fù ragionato in quel principio dè dare il titolo di Serenissimo et di Serenità al Signore Principe Sposo [Cosimo] et non al Serenissimo Gran Ferdinando; onde quell'A[tezza?] si scandalizò et si dichiarò espressamente, che lo voleva per se, e per i suoi successori et così si ha ad intendere tal concessione, che i Gran Duchè della medesima Casa con honoranza di Serenissimo: et di serenità, talche tanto più viene ad esser dovuto à madama la Gr(an)duchessa madre o(l)tra i meriti della Casa sua, per esser ella nella Casa de Medici, et Granduchessa di Toscana; et a Vostra Illustrissima che è intelligentissima d'ogni cosa, et in particolare di queste cose fatte matterie, sorverranno anche altre maggiori ragioni di queste... cf. Borsook, op. cit. (1965), p. 50, note 102; Idem (1967), p. 114; Idem (1969), p. 92.*

⁷⁷ ASF, *Aquisti e Doni*, No. 259, inserto 56, op. cit. (September 5th 1610): *... Faccia sapere alla maestà della Regina, che quei quadri, che deti dare per quel suo monasterio, essendovi si messo' a lavorare quanti Pittori son quà, si vanno finendo con grandissima sollecitudine, et no sono fatti bona parte, et si manderanno tutti insieme. A year later we hear of them in Spain when there is a note of their shipment on August 6th 1611: ASF, *Depositeria Generale*, filza 645, inserto 61: *E a di 6 detto [scudi?] 77 tanti per un carro, che condusse da Madrid all'escuriale il detto fantoni con le tre casse delle pitture dove si trova la su detta.* The note further explains that these are the pictures sent by the Grand Duchess to her sister.*

⁷⁸ ASF, *Diario del Settimanni*, vol. 132, op. cit., cc. 49 r and v, 50 r, 53 r, baptism of Princess Cristina; Bernardino di Mendoza stood as proxy for Philip III of Spain who was the god-father.

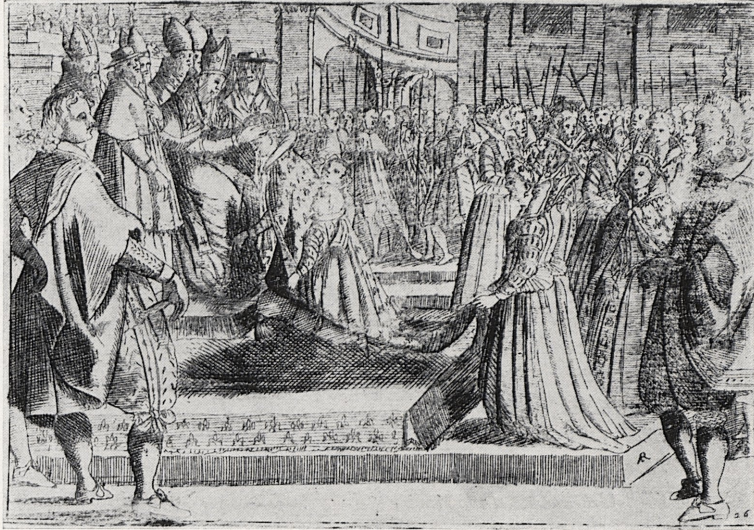


39 A. Rosaccio, Henry's Delegates obtain Rights to the Holy Sepulchre. After Giraldi.

Compared to earlier funerals at the Medici court, the *esequie* for Henry IV in spirit had more in common with that honoring Cosimo I than those devised during Ferdinando I's reign. Although there were skeletons and mournful inscriptions galore in the funeral of the first Grand Duke, there lay behind the entire programme the pagan theme of triumph and apotheosis. The *esequie* for Francesco I and for Philip II of Spain, by contrast, reeked of penance and moral pedantry to the extent that the pictorial biographies introduced into both these schemes did not assume the dominating role enjoyed in the *apparato* for Henry IV. The more pious character of the *esequie* produced under Ferdinando I undoubtedly suited his taste and stature; after all, he was an ex-cardinal who disapproved of the private and public activities of his elder brother, and he was morally as well as politically obliged to honor that paragon of Catholic militance, Philip II, unpopular though he was in Tuscany.⁷⁹ Ferdinando's son, Cosimo II, had a less earnest nature and was also young. Perhaps because of this the spirit of triumph and worldly fame were allowed to dominate the *esequie* of 1610 (Giraldi's pious introductory remarks notwithstanding!). Even the giant skeletons were figures of bizarre festivity rather than macabre solemnity. In Florentine religious ceremonial it seems that the fantastic and the bizarre here began to replace the veiled paganism still possible in the reigns of Cosimo and Francesco I but no longer tenable in the victorious spirit of the Counter Reformation of the early Seicento.

Giraldi's illustrated book recording the scenes in Henry's *esequie* helped to disseminate the taste for pictorial biography throughout Europe. A mixture of history and apotheosis was just what suited great rulers who had only recently emerged as masters of nations and even empires. Pictorial biography as it was developed in the funerals of the Medici court also encouraged a vogue for history painting in general. In a sense, such pictures were the

⁷⁹ Borsook, *op. cit.* (1969), pp. 92-93, 108; one wonders whether one of the peace makers in Paris in 1598, Cardinal Gondi, did not urge the Grand Duke to make a proper occasion of the *esequie* for Philip II.



40 A. Rosaccio, Coronation of Maria de' Medici. After Giraldi.

equivalent of the modern newsreel or a campaign of public relations. Many of the same artists engaged in the funeral decor for the *esequie* of Philip II and Henry IV also contributed to those allegorical histories — the murals in the Sala di Bona of the Palazzo Pitti, the Casino Mediceo and the Villa at Poggio Imperiale.⁸⁰

It has been noticed by von Simson that Rubens knew at least one of the scenes used in Henry's Florentine *esequie* (the *Meeting of Maria and Henry at Lyons*, Fig. 36) when he was commissioned by the French Queen to decorate two rooms in the Palais Luxembourg with scenes devoted to herself and Henry IV.⁸¹ Eight of the same subjects were included in Rubens' cycle⁸², but with his racing brush he transformed a stiff pictorial chronicle into an epic, quasi-mythological panorama of royal achievement.

Although Rubens was engaged by Maria, she continued to turn to Florence for painters of history scenes. As Anthony Blunt has recently shown, she ordered a set of Medici marriage pictures from her native city⁸³, and interestingly enough several of the same painters involved with this commission had supplied designs for her husband's funeral there in 1610.

The festival decor of the Medici court glorified the status of the Grand Duchy in the eyes of its subjects and exalted its ties with the great powers. Giraldi even said of his patron, young and untried though he was, that the most important thing about the funeral decor in 1610 was:

⁸⁰ *Anna Rosa Masetti*, *Il Casino Mediceo e la pittura fiorentina del Seicento*, in: *Critica d'Arte*, n. s., ix, 1962, Marzo-Aprile, pp. 1-27; Settembre-Ottobre, pp. 77-109.

⁸¹ *Von Simson*, *passim* and pp. 313, n. 1; 329, fig. 6; *Ingrid Jost*, *Bemerkungen zur Heinrichsgalerie des P. P. Rubens*, in: *Nederlands Kunsthistorisch Jaarboek*, xv, 1964, pp. 175-219; see also *A. Blunt*, *op. cit.*, pp. 492-498; 562-566.

⁸² *The Battle of Arques, Siege of Paris, Battle of Coutras, Victory at Ivry, Peaceful Entry into Paris, Meeting at Lyons, Attack of Savoy, and Crowning of Maria*.

⁸³ See note 81.

*Ma innanzi ad ogni altro s'apparteneva egli [Henry] à D. Cosimo Secondo, Gran Duca di Toscana, Principe sovrano, ed eroico, nel quale non è punto meno eminente, e ereditaria la magnanimità, che lo'imperio, e col morto Re, per novella, e per antica affintà congiuntissimo.*⁸⁴

Characteristically, Florentine political expediency and native talent conspired to invent decorative schemes for this and other ceremonies which often set the pattern for the rest of Europe.

⁸⁴ *Giraldi*, op. cit., p. 4.

APPENDIX

The Chiaroscuro from the Funeral of Henry IV

(listed in order of their sequence in *Giraldi*; the inventories are in the *Uffizi*; * means lost)

Subject	Inv. 1890	Inv. 1825	Inv. 1784	Inv. 1769	
1) * Henry as a Child playing at Arms	—				
2) * Henry's Magnanimity towards Prisoners	—				
3) * Hommage to Henry near Paris after Henry III's Death	—				
4) Battle of Arques near Dieppe	7815	432	746/45	4087	This number included the entire group
5) Siege of Paris	7806	424	746/39	»	
6) Battle of Coutras	7814	431	746/48	»	
7) Battle of Ivry	7813	430	746/46	»	
8) Entry into Chartres	7817	434	746/47	»	
9) The Retreat at Caudebec	7816	433	746/49	»	
10) * Henry's Return to the Church	7807	425	746/38		
11) Henry receiving the Governors of Meaux, Orleans, Lyons, and Aix	2710	437	746/34	»	
12) Henry's Peaceful Entry into Paris	7808	426	746/37	»	
13) Surrender of Laon	7819	436	746/71	»	
14) * Battle of Fontaine-Française	—				
15) Surrender of the Duke of Mayenne at Fontaine-Française	7821	439	746/44	»	
16) Henry signing his Peace with the Church	7811	428	746/42	»	
17) Henry in Flanders	7812	429	746/43	»	
18) Surrender of Amiens	7809	427	746/40	»	
19) Entry into Nantes	7820	438	746/73	»	
20) Celebration of Peace with the Church in Notre-Dame	7822	440	746/72	»	
21) Surrender at Momigliano	7818	435	746/70	»	
22) * Henry preparing to Engage the Duke of Savoy	—				
23) * Meeting of Henry and Maria de' Medici at Lyons	—				
24) * Maria and Henry declaring Catholicism the State Religion	—				
25) * Henry's Delegates obtain Rights to the Holy Sepulchre	—				
26) * Coronation of Maria de' Medici	—				

The lost pictures may have been already missing in 1784 as these subjects do not appear in the list of these and other funeral chiaroscuro in the inventory of that year.

RIASSUNTO

I ventisei chiaroscuri che illustrano la vita del defunto Re Enrico IV di Francia eseguiti per l'esequie in San Lorenzo a Firenze nel 1610 sono di qualità assai superiore a quelli eseguiti nel 1598 per commemorare Filippo II di Spagna. Questo ciclo posteriore fu dovuto agli intimi legami politici-dinastici fra la corte Granducale e la monarchia francese. Giulio Parigi fu "l'ingegnere" dell'apparato e fra i pittori che prepararono i modelli per il ciclo di scene si ricordano Jacopo da Empoli, Bernardino Poccetti, Matteo Rosselli e Filippo Tarchiani. In parte, queste composizioni di battaglie e cerimonie furono basate su prototipi ideati dallo Heemskerck, dal Vasari, e dallo Stradano. Per la prima volta a Firenze, il ciclo intero di scene fu conservato per i posteri attraverso le illustrazioni incise da Alovisio Rosaccio per il libro sulle esequie di Giuliano Giraldi. Queste composizioni avevano quindi larga eco in Toscana e anche all'estero. Evidentemente Rubens, per esempio, ebbe tra le mani una copia del libro quando progettò il ciclo sulla vita del medesimo re per il Palais Luxembourg. A Firenze è visibile l'influenza dei chiaroscuri per più di un decennio forse già nella Sala di Bona in Palazzo Pitti e certamente nel Casino Mediceo a San Marco e in diverse stanze nella villa di Poggio Imperiale affrescate dal Rosselli e altri che probabilmente hanno collaborato alle decorazioni per l'esequie del 1610. Nella organizzazione generale delle decorazioni, l'apparato del 1610 segue sempre lo schema stabilito più di tre decenni prima dal Borghini e dal Buontalenti, ma nello stile annuncia già lo spirito di trionfo terrestre e bizzaria festosa che caratterizza il barocco toscano.

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