

ART AND POLITICS AT THE MEDICI COURT I: THE FUNERAL OF COSIMO I DE' MEDICI

by *Eve Borsook*

When Cosimo, the first Grand Duke of Tuscany, died in the Spring of 1574 he was given a spectacular funeral which was without precedent in the family history. A century before, the first Cosimo de' Medici had according to his wishes been simply buried in a wooden coffin. Only afterwards was he given the honorary title of *Pater Patriae* as a civic tribute.¹ More elaborate was the rich lying-in-state arranged in 1515 for Giuliano de' Medici the Duke of Nemours and brother of Pope Leo X. The body dressed in armour with a crimson satin cap, held in place by a golden circlet was laid on a catafalque of gold brocade surrounded by the banners of the Signoria, the Parte Guelfa and the guilds.² But Cosimo I's funeral resembled none of these. The result as much of politics as filial piety it was more than a funeral, it was, as we shall see, an apotheosis.

Cosimo's funeral was a landmark in the political and artistic history of Florence. To appreciate its character one must turn first to Cosimo's political aspirations and to the two prototypes on which his funeral was based.

During the 1550's Medici rule was extended over most of Tuscany. Cosimo devoted the remaining years of his life to obtain a title which would consolidate his authority and recognize his sovereign rights to a territory hitherto only his as a Spanish fief.³ Much of Cosimo's later career was based upon the manner in which Emperor Charles V had conducted his affairs. Cosimo was proud of the fact that his horoscope, which was ascendant in Capricorn, was the same as that claimed for Augustus and Charles V.⁴ Those who arranged Cosimo's funeral remembered the style of the emperor's staged in Brussels in 1558 and its Florentine sequel — Michelangelo's obsequies of 1564. The Brussels affair became the model of what all princely funerals should be. This was only fitting, for the Spanish court under Charles V and Philip II gave a new importance to court ceremonial. Ceremony on a grand scale meant giving symbolic form to an empire vaster than that of Charlemagne or Julius Caesar.⁵ Both Charles and his son made much of the ancient parallels. Charles was regarded as the second Charlemagne and in the diplomatic language of the day "Caesar" was synonymous with the Emperor.

The funeral Philip celebrated for his father in Brussels was meant to show all the states of Europe just how mighty and magnificent the Spanish monarchy was and how trivial were

¹ *Alison M. Brown*, The Humanist Portrait of Cosimo de' Medici Pater Patriae, *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* XXIV, 1961, 186-94.

² *D. M. Mami*, Osservazioni... circa i sigilli Antichi de' Secoli Bassi, vol. XXX, Florence, 1786, pp. 20-23. — *Domenico Moreni*, Pompe funebri celebrate nell'Imp. e Real Basilica di San Lorenzo dal secolo XIII a tutto il regno Mediceo, Florence, 1827, pp. 29-31.

³ For the story of Cosimo's acquisition of the title see *Luigi Carcereri*, *Cosimo Primo Granduca*, 2 vols., Verona, 1926 — a masterly account of Florentine foreign policy.

⁴ *Vasari-Milanesi* VIII, p. 530 ff. — *Paolo Giovio*, Dialogo dell'Imprese militari et amorose, Lyons, 1574, p. 58. — *Alois Heiss*, Les médailleurs de la Renaissance: Florence et la Toscane sous les Médicis, Paris, 1892, Part II, p. 15, n. 1.

⁵ Cf. *Frances A. Yates*, Charles Quint et l'idée d'empire, in: "Les Fêtes de la Renaissance" II, Fêtes et cérémonies au temps de Charles Quint, ed. *Jean Jacquot*, Paris, 1960, pp. 57-97.



1 Explanation of the *Cappella ardente* accompanying the print illustrated in Fig. 2.

matters such as threatened bankruptcy and rebellion. Charles' body lay in Spain in the remote monastery of Yuste. A great European pilgrimage for a funeral there could not have been realized. Brussels, on the other hand, lay in the middle of the Empire and courts and republics sent emissaries to attend the ceremony. What they saw was an immense production in which Spanish solemnity merged with pagan splendor. Philip II engaged Hans Vredeman de Vries to design the decor.⁶ On the cathedral steps stood a triumphal ship (*nave trionfale*) drawn by sea monsters. Aboard this allegorical ship of state were Faith, Hope and Charity with pennants of the Spanish provinces and twelve pictures of Charles' conquests. In the nave there was a great catafalque covered in cloth of gold on which lay the imperial crown and sceptre. Over it stood a baldachin twenty feet high supporting a pyramid of candelabra ablaze with three thousand candles (Figs. 1 and 2). Catafalque and baldachin became the familiar centrepiece of many great funerals — including Michelangelo's and Cosimo I's. A vivid account of the spectacle was sent home by the Florentine ambassador, Bernardetto Minerbetti, the Bishop of Arezzo.⁷ Soon the whole of Europe could study the details in print. Christophe Plantin's press brought out a copiously illustrated commemorative book in Latin, French,

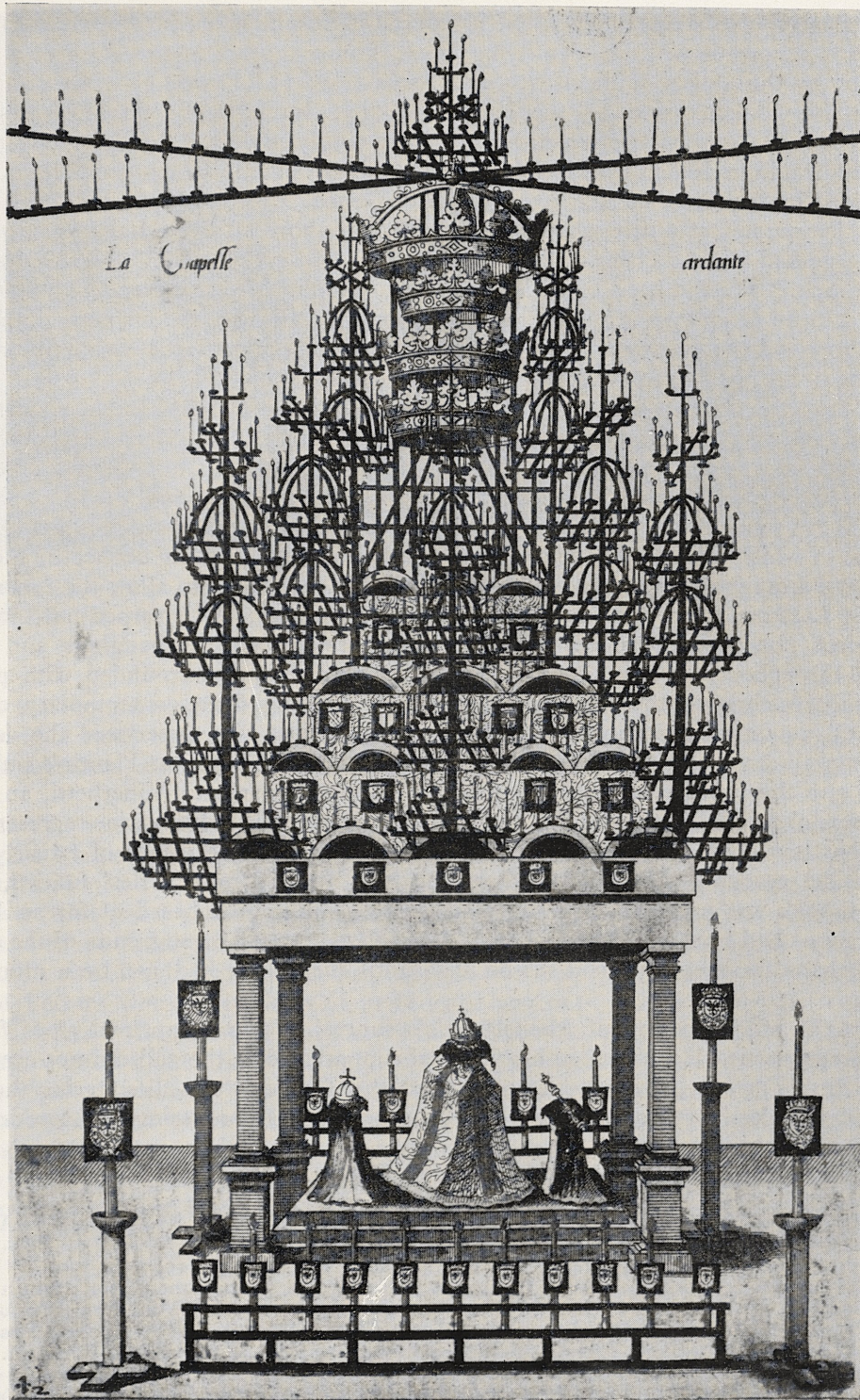
Flemish and Italian editions.⁸ Not only were the decorations reproduced; so was the funeral cortege which was spread across many pages. Pasted together, as they sometimes were on the walls of private houses and public places⁹, these pages form an interesting document on

⁶ A. von Wurzbach, *Niederländisches Künstler-Lexikon*, vol. I, Vienna and Leipzig, 1906, pp. 303-04.

⁷ Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale di Firenze (from now on referred to in the notes as BNCF), Pal. M. 2.E.22, no. 9, Bernardetto Minerbetti, *L'essequie di Carlo Quinto Imperatore fatto nella villa di Bruscelles, Florence, Torrentino, 1559*. This little publication reproduces the letter originally sent to Cosimo I.

⁸ The Latin edition of 1558 preceded the Italian of 1559 (see F. W. H. Hollstein, *Dutch and Flemish Engravings and Woodcuts*, ca. 1450-1700, vol. V, Amsterdam, 1954, p. 254). The Italian edition, of which a coloured set of the prints exists in the Gabinetto Disegni e Stampe degli Uffizi (Stampe in Volume 5271-94), is entitled: *La Magnifica, e sontuosa Pompa Funerale fatte in Burselle il di XXIX di Dicembre l'Anno M.D.LVIII nell'Essequie dello Nuittissimo Carlo Quinto, Imperadore Massimo*, Antwerp, 1559. The 34 pages of prints by Johannes and Lucas Duetecum (or Doetechum) were based on drawings by Hieronymus Cock one of which is in the British Museum (see A. E. Popham, *Catalogue of Drawings by Dutch and Flemish Artists etc.* in the British Museum, vol. V, 1932, p. 150, plate XLVIII. Cf. Thieme-Becker, *Allgemeines Lexikon der bildenden Künstler*, Leipzig, 1913, vol. IX, p. 378.

⁹ Ernest Vinet, *Bibliographie Méthodique et Raisonnée des Beaux-Arts*, Paris, 1874, No. 556. The fact that many of the prints were pasted on to the walls of private houses and public places may explain the rarity of the surviving prints. In 1619, the original plates, which had been inherited by Henricus Hondius, were reprinted in a new edition with the costumes brought up to date. Such is the set in the Bibliothèque Royale in Brussels and in the Kupferstich-Kabinett in Berlin.



2 Catafalque and baldachin used in the funeral for Charles V in Brussels, 1558. J. and L. Duetecum after Vredeman de Vries.

court precedence. The status enjoyed by the courts of Europe is set before our eyes because each figure is a portrait with an identifying label. Philip appears in the guise of a penitent accompanied by the Dukes of Brunswick and Arcos (Fig. 3) followed by a Spanish grandee and the premier Italian prince — the Duke of Savoy. Interestingly, no Florentine figures in the procession. Neither Cosimo nor any of his family attended the ceremony probably because they would in Italian eyes have cut a very meagre figure. They would certainly have been preceded by the Duke of Savoy and Doria of Genoa. Cosimo, at the time was about to embark on his pursuit of a title which would raise him above all these Italian princes whose ancient lineage had a juster claim to high rank than his. In 1560 he tried and failed to obtain the title of king.¹⁰ On the basis of family prestige and political service rendered, Cosimo felt he deserved to be more than a mere duke. For years he had been the financial prop to both the Hapsburgs and the papacy and by taking advantage of the contest for supreme authority between them he finally achieved his goal.

In 1564 though only forty-seven, Cosimo, following the example of Charles V, turned over the reins of government to his son Francesco.¹¹ This left him free to concentrate his remaining energy on his scheme for high rank and its ensuing prerogatives. A few months before his official retirement, the greatest Florentine of the age died in Rome. Michelangelo was a European figure sought after by popes, kings, and princes and the newly founded *Accademia del Disegno*, of which Cosimo was the patron, decided to stage a fitting service in Florence.¹² The body was brought back to the city and Cosimo was persuaded to allow the funeral to be held in San Lorenzo, a privilege normally reserved for princes. As it turned out, no Medici had ever been honoured by so imposing an affair. Aside from the hangings and torches distributed throughout the church, there was a great catafalque surrounded with paintings and sculpture celebrating the artist's achievements. Judging from contemporary comment this was still an unfamiliar spectacle in Florence.¹³ Vasari, who supervised the decorative scheme, certainly knew of the details of the Brussels funeral. There was Plantin's publication to refer to and there was even an eye-witness on hand: Bernardetto Minerbetti, an admirer of Michelangelo's who had attended Charles' obsequies as the official Florentine representative.¹⁴ Clearly, what was good for an emperor was none too good for the prince of artists, and the prestige of the academy soared with Michelangelo's. Just as for Charles' funeral, a commemorative book was printed. This was a *spagnolismo* hitherto unheard of for an Italian.¹⁵ Funeral orations had been published, but not descriptive accounts as souvenirs of the splendid sight — perhaps for the very good reason that until then there had not been much worth describing.

Although the official patron of Michelangelo's funeral, Cosimo remained aloof from the elaborate preparations. He stinted in his financial support and in the end did not even attend the affair. In his defense, it has been pointed out that Cosimo was still suffering the loss of his wife and sons dead just two years and that he was engaged in preparing for his retirement.¹⁶

¹⁰ *Carceneri*, op. cit., vol. I, pp. 20, 129 ff.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, p. 176 ff.

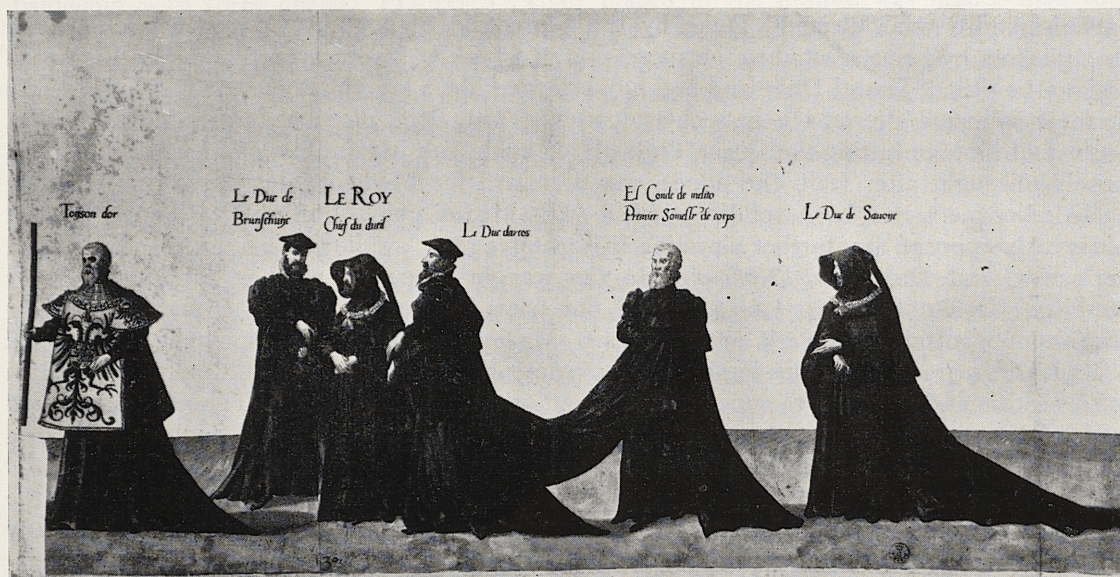
¹² See the full account in *R. and M. Wittkower*, *The Divine Michelangelo: The Florentine Academy's Homage on his Death in 1564*, London, 1964.

¹³ Cf. *Agostino Lapini*, *Diario Fiorentino*, ed. *G. O. Corazzini*, Florence, 1900, p. 139.

¹⁴ Vasari had met Hieronymus Cock who had made the drawings of the funeral for Plantin's engravers; *Wurzbach*, op. cit., vol. I, p. 303. For Minerbetti's interest in Michelangelo's funeral see *Wittkower*, op. cit., pp. 20, 46. Minerbetti also served as Florentine ambassador in Spain at the court of Philip II. He was a translator of Virgil and founder of the *Accademia degli Umidi*. He died late in 1574. See *Francesco Inghirami*, *Storia della Toscana*, vol. XIII, Fiesole, 1844, p. 420.

¹⁵ *Wittkower*, op. cit., p. 33. The only other Italian funeral books printed in Italy before this date were all devoted to commemorating the death of Charles V.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 18.



3 Detail of the funeral cortege in Brussels, 1558: Philip II accompanied by the Dukes of Brunswick and Arcos.

But it is hard to underestimate the fact that Cosimo had to watch a former subject (and a very unruly one at that) receive a demonstration of homage the likes of which had never been accorded members of his own family. As with the funeral of Charles V, Cosimo chose to absent himself.

Meanwhile, he negotiated for a princess to marry Francesco who was to assume the regency. Although a Medici girl, Catherine, had been accepted as a fine match for a French dauphin (the future Henry II), Medici men in their search for royal wives hitherto had to content themselves with lesser royalty legitimate and illegitimate.¹⁷ After he was refused a Spanish princess, Cosimo finally obtained for his son the hand of Joan of Austria one of Emperor Ferdinand's five daughters. To get her, Cosimo was involved in fierce competition with the Duke of Ferrara whose just claim of precedence was only satisfied when he was given one of Joan's sisters.¹⁸ But the year Cosimo got his princess he was refused the title of archduke.¹⁹

Cosimo wanted higher rank not only to enjoy the status of superior precedence and the right to royal matches. It was only via a greater title conferred by the Pope that he could hope to free himself of imperial claims on Tuscany and so gain sovereign rights. Cosimo owed much to Spain whose vassal he agreed to be when Philip II invested him in 1557 with the authority over Siena, Elba and the Maremma. The ducal title itself was the gift of Charles V who conferred it upon Alessandro de' Medici in 1531. The original ducal diploma legitimized Medici rule of Florence under Spanish sanction and the emperor so devised the proceedings

¹⁷ One of Lorenzo the Magnificent's sons, Giuliano (later Duke of Nemours), married Philiberte of Savoy, the young aunt of Francis I. Lorenzo, the son of Piero de' Medici (Lorenzo became the Duke of Urbino) and Alfonsina Orsini, had Madeleine de la Tour d'Auvergne as his bride. Alessandro de' Medici was given Charles V's illegitimate daughter, Margherita.

¹⁸ *Carceneri*, op. cit., vol. I, pp. 20 ff., 30 ff., 129, 136 ff.

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, vol. I, pp. 167 ff., 220 ff.

that Alessandro was "elected" Duke by the Florentine Signoria.²⁰ Cosimo himself gained the Dukedom by being elected to the succession in 1536. At last in 1569, Pope Pius V granted Cosimo the title of Grand Duke and had him crowned like a king in Rome. It was a deliberate act to show papal supremacy in secular matters. The Pope dispensed with the traditional courtesy of first consulting the Curia, Philip II of Spain and Maximilian of Austria. The title, entirely unsought after (said the pope), was a reward for Medici piety. It was well known that Medici piety had been solidly fortified with Medici gold. Philip II, although he had consistently opposed any further elevation in Cosimo's rank, swallowed his pride and accepted the new Grand Duke *faut-de-mieux*. He too was in desperate need of Medici money.²¹ Tactfully, Cosimo for the time being did not press the matter of his sovereign rights or recognition of all his diplomatic prerogatives.²² Maximilian of Austria responded to the papal bull with less grace and considerable embarrassment. Not until 1576 did he finally accept Cosimo's title and its claim to superiority over all other grand duchies.²³ The now out-ranked Duke of Ferrara, of course, protested that the Medici as mere vassals of Spain and Austria could only obtain legitimate titles from either the Emperor or the King of Spain.²⁴

This is how matters stood in April 1574 when Cosimo died. His heir, Francesco, used the funeral as the official, public occasion to confirm his dynastic rights to the rule of Tuscany and the legitimacy of the new title.

Cosimo died in the Palazzo Pitti on April the 21st.²⁵ That day, after informing Bernardetto Minerbetti, Francesco banished his unfortunate step-mother Camilla Martelli to the Convent of the Murate. Before Cosimo's body was taken to San Lorenzo for embalming it was displayed for three days on a catafalque in the Palazzo Pitti. The ornaments for this preliminary lying-in-state must have been a hastily put together affair, for a master upholsterer and nine assistants worked night and day making the pillows, the hangings for the catafalque and its baldachin, and the black taffeta fly swatters.²⁶

On April 23rd, a curious ceremony was held in the Palazzo Vecchio.²⁷ All the forty-eight councillors, representatives of the Tuscan towns and a few foreign states (including, surprisingly, an emissary from Ferrara) attended an "election" of Francesco to the succession of the Grand Duchy. The *Salone dei Cinquecento* was draped in black. At the *tribuna* end there was a black

²⁰ Gaetano Pieraccini, *La Stirpe de' Medici di Cafaggiolo*, Florence, 1924, vol. I, p. 403.

²¹ *Carcereri*, op. cit., vol. I, pp. xlix f.

²² Riguccio Galluzzi, *Istoria del Granducato di Toscana*, 2nd ed., Livorno, 1781, vol. II, p. 353. Apparently, Philip II did not take it for granted that Francesco inherited the rights to Siena, Elba, and the Maremma ports, for he did not send the diploma of re-investiture for them until May 19th 1575; see Archivio di Stato, Firenze (from now on referred to as ASF), Manoscritti, *Diario del Settimanni*, vol. 129, c. 33: *A Madrid in Spagna furono spediti li Diplomi dell' Investiture di Siena, e Portoferraio a favore del Granduca Francesco rinnovate a sua Altezza della Maestà Cattolica di Filippo 2º Re delle Spagne con altri giuramenti*. Francesco was not officially congratulated to the succession by Spain and Venice until 1578; *Ibid.*, cc. 28, 39. See also note 102.

²³ *Ibid.*, c. 49, 11th November 1575: *L'Imperator Massimiliano 2º trovandosi in questo tempo alla Dieta di Ratisbona per ivi fare eleggere il suo figliuolo Ridolfo in Re de' Romani, accordò finalmente con Giovambatista di Bartolommeo Concini Ambasciatore del Granduca Francesco, dopo infinite difficoltà incontrate nel maneggio di questo scabrosissimo Negozio, di fare un Diploma Imperiale col quale concederebbe ancora la Maestà Sua il titolo di Granduca alla prefata Altezza Serenissima*. The diploma was finally issued in Vienna on January 26th 1576 (cf. *Lapini*, op. cit., p. 130).

²⁴ *Carcereri*, op. cit., vol. III, pp. 181 ff.; *Galluzzi*, op. cit., vol. III, p. 136; *Heiss*, op. cit., p. 12.

²⁵ BNCF, MS., Nuovi Acquisti 1025, cc. 2 ff. This unpublished account of Cosimo's funeral also includes notes on his coronation in Rome. The manuscript, perhaps by Don Vincenzo Borghini, was brought to my attention by the kindness of Dottorressa *Eugenia Levi* of the Sala dei Manoscritti.

²⁶ *Ibid.*, c. 6; ASF, Depositeria Generale 1499, c. 2 recto; and in the same archive: *Miscellanea Medicea* 810, c. 65 verso; cf. Francesco Bocchi's letter to the Abate Porzio of May 6th 1574, in: *Lorenzo Cantini*, *Vita di Cosimo de' Medici primo Gran-Duca di Toscana*, Florence, 1805, p. 672-675.

²⁷ BNCF, Nuovi Acquisti 1025, c. 5; *Lapini*, op. cit., p. 184.

baldachin with three chairs. Francesco's chair placed in the middle was higher than those of his brother Don Pietro and the papal nunzio who sat on either side of him. After Paolo Vinta read a confirmation of the succession (*il partito de' consiglieri*) all the forty-eight councillors went up to Francesco offering their condolences and congratulating him on his new office. There was also an oration by Lelio Torelli urging all the subjects to be loyal and obedient. "And thus", writes an eye-witness of the affair, "was concluded the ceremony of the new prince's election."

The funeral itself was postponed for almost a month in order to prepare the decorations and allow time for all the guests to arrive. Invitations were sent to all the subject towns, to all the Medici relatives and to the principle lords of Italy.²⁸ The ceremony in San Lorenzo set for May 17th was to be the culminating event of a four day celebration.²⁹ The arrangements were left to four men: Don Vincenzo Borghini (the prior of the *Ospedale degli Innocenti*), Tommaso di Jacopo de' Medici, Agnolo di Girolamo Guicciardini, and Giulio d'Antonio de' Nobili.³⁰ Of this group, Borghini interests us most because he was mainly concerned with artistic matters. With Giorgio Vasari he was the guiding spirit of the *Accademia del Disegno*, an adept inventor of allegorical themes for the Medici court with vast experience in organizing festivities of all kinds.³¹ With Vasari he had arranged Michelangelo's funeral and recently the two men had collaborated in the pictorial scheme for the cupola of Santa Maria del Fiore. Whether Vasari was occupied with the painting of the dome or because he was already mortally ill, he did not participate in Cosimo's obsequies. But many of his pupils and others who had worked on the decor for Michelangelo's funeral were now mobilized for Cosimo's. The designer of the entire scheme was the painter Alessandro Allori who was assisted in his negotiations by Francesco Buti.³² The execution of the architectural props was supervised by Giovanni Caccini.³³

A lying-in-state in the Palazzo Vecchio preceded the ceremony in San Lorenzo. The *ringhiera* was hung in black and the as yet unfinished fountain of Ammannati was boarded up.³⁴ On May

²⁸ ASF, *Diario del Settimanni*, vol. 129, c. 3; emissaries announcing Cosimo's death were sent to Pope Gregory XIII, to Emperor Maximilian and to the King of Poland, to Charles IX of France, to the Duke of Savoy, and to Genoa, Lucca, Ferrara, Mantua, and to the viceroy of Naples. Cf. *Galuzzi*, op. cit., vol. III, p. 58.

²⁹ BNCF, Nuovi Acquisti 1025, c. 6 recto.

³⁰ *Descrizione della Pompa Funerale fatte nelle Essequie del Ser.mo Sig. Cosimo de' Medici*, Firenze, Giunti, 1574.

³¹ Many of Borghini's papers are collected in the Magliabechiana collection of the Biblioteca Nazionale in Florence. See also Piero Ginori Conti, *L'Apparato per le Nozze di Francesco de' Medici e di Giovanna d'Austria*, Florence, 1936; A. Legrenzi, *Vincenzo Borghini studio critico*, Udine, 1910; A. Lorenzoni, *Carteggio artistico inedito di D. Vinc. Borghini*, vol. I, Florence, 1912. Another of the funeral directors, Angelo Guicciardini, later fell into disgrace due to the influence of Bianca Cappello. He had also been ambassador to Charles V, Pius IV, to the Queen of France and to the Republic of Venice. He died on September 29th, 1581 (ASF, *Diario del Settimanni*, vol. 129, c. 251).

³² ASF, Depositeria Generale 1499, c. 12 verso (4th June 1574): *Molto Magnifico messer Napoleone Cambi Depositario di Sua Altezza per... pagare a Alessandro allori pittore scudi venti di moneta che tanti selo donono per sua mercede per haver fatto tutti e' disegno del apparato di san lorenzo et stato continuamente in persona a far fare detto apparato, e' ponete a spese delle esequie che al quaderno tenuto per detto conto vi se ne è dato credito*. See also note 77.

For Buti's assistance see *Ibid.*, c. 4 recto where he is paid 13 scudi on May 28th ...*per haver servito continuamente con di molta fatica al negozii di dette esequie*.

³³ ASF, *Miscellanea Medicea*, 810, c. 10 verso and 71 verso: *Gio: caccini che haveva Cura dell'Apparato della Chiesa di Sa. Lzo etc.* If this was Giovanni Battista Caccini, the sculptor and architect, he was at the time only 18 years old. There was, however, another Giovanni Caccini — an older man who quarried marble for Michelangelo's tomb in Santa Croce (see *Paola Barocchi*, *Giorgio Vasari: La Vita di Michelangelo*, Milan/Naples, 1962, vol. IV, pp. 2229, 2231.). This or a third man of the same name was in 1565 paid for his services in the decorations in Florence made for the wedding of Francesco de' Medici and Joan of Austria (ASF, Depositeria Generale 985, Fascicolo I, c. 94).

³⁴ BNCF, Nuovi Acquisti 1025, c. 6 verso.

13th the *cortile* was hung in black.³⁵ On the morning of the 17th, all the officials, clergy and visiting dignitaries took their places inside the Loggia dei Lanzi and on benches placed around the *cortile*.³⁶ Near the entrance door stood the catafalque with its baldachin of gold brocade framing Cosimo's effigy dressed in royal vestments with the crown, sceptre, and staff.³⁷ The face and hands of the figure were made of wax — the work of the dead Grand Duke's favourite sculptor : Giambologna.³⁸ Opposite the catafalque, beneath another baldachin mounted on a raised platform, sat Francesco once again flanked by the papal nunzio and Don Pietro de' Medici.³⁹ After a Latin oration delivered by the court historian, Giovanni Batista Adriani⁴⁰, the crowd processed towards San Lorenzo.⁴¹ First came six trumpeters dressed in scarlet and mounted on horseback. They wore black hats and their muted instruments were covered in black. Then came a hundred wax torches each carried by a porter with a great cross held in the middle of the group. Behind them was the Bishop of Cesarea in the pontifical garments in which he was to conduct the funeral mass. He was followed by thirteen great banners mounted on frames with four candles. After these came the thirteen principle magistrates of Florence. Next in line were six of Cosimo's most powerful horses. They came riderless with black plumes fixed to their heads and saddled with trailing black cloths. These were followed by the wax effigy of Cosimo on its bed of gold brocade. The litter and its baldachin (also of gold brocade) were carried by fifty young nobles who were members of the Order of Santo Stefano. At last came Francesco de' Medici. Marching among his guard of lancers, he wore a costume much like Philip II's — a long, hooded black gown hid his face from view. With him were two bishops, Don Pietro de' Medici and his brother-in-law Paolo Giordano Orsini. Cosimo's collar of the Order of the Golden Fleece was borne by a special courier unnamed in the accounts. Then came the members of the household and emissaries from the Tuscan towns, Lucca, and Bologna. Among the emissaries were Alessandro Bentivoglio, Raffaello Riario, Aurelio Fregoso, and Sforza Appiano of Aragon.⁴² No mention is made of legates from Spain, France, or Austria. By chance, Prince Ernest of Bavaria found himself in Florence shortly after Cosimo's death, but he did not stay for the funeral and went on to Rome.⁴³ The Ferrarese ambassador excused himself from the ceremony pleading indisposition.⁴⁴

³⁵ *Ibid.*, c. 6 recto. Francesco Buti was reimbursed by the Depositeria for 15 scudi spent on *spese minute* for the decorations in the cortile (ASF, Depositeria Generale 1499, c. 2 recto).

³⁶ BNCF, Nuovi Acquisti 1025, c. 6 verso; *Descrizione*, op. cit., 10th and 11th pages of unnumbered text.

³⁷ BNCF, Nuovi Acquisti 1025, c. 6 verso : ...*parato il letto nel medesimo modo* (as in the Palazzo Pitti lying-in-state), *et la statua vestita nel medesimo modo, che era stato vestito il corpo con la veste reale in dosso, La Corona In testa, In destra lo sceptro, et nella sinistra lo stocco, ma aggiuntoli à capo su'l guanciale un bel crocifassetto d'oro massiccio, et à piedi un morione, ed e' pennoni dorate, et era In mezzo à sei imbastiti, ed le banderuole nere*, etc. Cf. *Descrizione*, loc. cit.

³⁸ *Idem.* : *In su la Porta del Palazo stava il Corpo morto del Duca et perquello una statua finta che le somigliava la quale statua giaceva in sul medesimo letto nel medesimo modo* etc. ASF, Miscellanea Medicea 810, (June 3, 1574) : *Gesso et una Catinella per formare la testa di Sua Altezza — lire 1.6.8. A maestro Marco di Pro. scultore per il ritratto di Sua Altezza... lire 7. A Giovanni bologna scultore per havere formato la testa et mani di sua altezza — lire 8.6.* From this it seems that the wax effigy was based upon a death mask of plaster (*gesso*).

³⁹ BNCF, Nuovi Acquisti 1025, loc. cit.

⁴⁰ *Descrizione*, op. cit., 11th page. Adriani's oration was also printed by Giunti in 1574 : *Orazione di M. Gio. Batista Adriani Fatta in Latino all'Essequie del Sereniss. Cosimo De Medici ecc.*

⁴¹ *Descrizione*, op. cit., 19th page; BNCF, Nuovi Acquisti 1025, c. 11 verso.

⁴² *Descrizione*, op. cit., 20th to 24th page; and BNCF, Nuovi Acquisti 1025, loc. cit.

⁴³ *Ibid.*, c. 2. The young man, a bishop, was the son of the Duke of Bavaria. He left Florence on May 3rd.

⁴⁴ *Descrizione*, loc. cit.; BNCF, Nuovi Acquisti 1025, c. 8 verso. Concerning the Ferrarese ambassador there is a discrepancy between the two accounts. The *Descrizione* remarks his absence (*essendosi trovato quel di Ferrara, a chi toccava questo luogo, indisposto di malattia...*).

The dozens of framed banners (*drappelloni*) carried in the procession were painted and gilded with insignae and the images of patron saints for the various guilds, regiments, departments and towns. Scattered throughout the accounts are payments to the artists who made them. Among these were two of Vasari's pupils, "Il Poppi" and Cesare da Vinci.⁴⁵ Poppi painted eighty-eight of them for which he received the considerable sum of 204 scudi.⁴⁶

On arrival at the church the procession beheld a transformed San Lorenzo. The entire facade of rough masonry was covered from top to bottom with black hangings and an illusion of fine architecture made of wood, paint, and cloth. Each of the three doors was framed by pilasters, architraves, friezes, cornices, and pediments all painted in perspective on canvas.⁴⁷ Death's heads were set inside the pediments and above each hung the Grand Ducal arms painted in grisaille. The central coat of arms also had the Grand Ducal crown (which contemporaries liked to refer to as the "*Corona Reale*") and the collar of the Golden Fleece. The entire centerpiece was supported by four female allegorical figures in attitudes of mourning.⁴⁸ For installing all these decorations, which was described as a dangerous job, a mason (one Maestro Giovanni di Bartolomeo) was paid eight scudi for nineteen days labour.⁴⁹

To hold back the crowds, barricades were set up around the piazza so that the procession could enter San Lorenzo in an orderly fashion.⁵⁰ Inside was a view of sinister splendour. All of Brunelleschi's white and blue-green architecture was covered in black. The columns were draped in black with the Grand Ducal arms fixed to each one. All the chapels in the aisles were sealed off by black hangings against which were hung painted medallions with Grand Ducal mottoes. Between each chapel stood mourning skeletons carrying inscribed scrolls.⁵¹ The only focus of brilliance was the catafalque surrounded by hundreds of candles at the end of the nave in the crossing. The funeral cortege took their places on tiers of seats set inside the chapels of the transept. Francesco de' Medici sat inside the chancel beneath a black baldachin. Overhead was a large oval picture painted in grisaille to resemble a medal. On it was Aeneas fleeing Troy carrying his aged father Anchises on his back with the motto FELIX NATI PIETATE.⁵² The subject was an obvious reference to the years of Francesco's

⁴⁵ For payments to "Il Poppi" (Francesco Morandini, 1547-97) see ASF, Depositeria Generale 1499, cc. 1 verso, 2 verso, 3 recto, 11 verso; ASF, Miscellanea Medicea 810, c. 12 recto. For payments to Cesare da Vinci (Cesare Fabbrini, died 1593) see ASF, Depositeria Generale, 1499, cc. 2 verso, 3 verso, 7 recto. Another banner painter was Piero di Domenico del Cammello (died 1596) who painted the *drappelloni* for the *Capitani di Parte*; *Ibid.*, c. 2 verso, 3 verso, 7 recto (Cf. *D. E. Colnaghi*, *A Dictionary of Florentine Painters*, London, 1928, p. 64).

⁴⁶ ASF, Depositeria Generale 1499, c. 12 recto: *...creditore francesco di ser stefano morandini sopra detto: di scudi dugento quatro di moneta lire due et sono per havere fatto 88 drappelloni cioe dipinti a lire 16.5 del uno come per conto. Cf. Descrizione, op. cit., 12th page: i Drappelloni sono una spetie d'ornamento, che in honore de' Morti si sospendono nelle chiese per le solennità, come le Coltri a Napoli, et in molti altri luoghi; & sono pezzi di drappi dorati, e ottimamente dipinti, con l'armi per lo più del morto, & con l'immagini di diversi Santi, ma massimamente de' Protettori di quella famiglia, o del Santo, del cui nome soleva chiamarsi il morto.*

⁴⁷ ASF, Miscellanea Medicea 810, c. 72 recto: *3 porte in prospettiva di tela servite alle dette (tre porte della chiesa); cf. ASF, Diario del Settimanni, vol. 129, c. 10 verso: era parata detta Chiesa di fuori nella facciata di rasce nere, e le tre porte ornate di pilastri, architravi, fregi, cornici, e frontispizj con molte pitture di chiaro scuro.*

⁴⁸ BNCF, Nuovi Acquisti 1025, c. 12 verso; *Descrizione, op. cit., 23rd and 24th page.*

⁴⁹ ASF, Depositeria Generale 1499, c. 11 verso: *Maestro Giovanni di Bartolommeo muratore... per andare sulla facciata et in su cornicioni et luoghi pericolosi per conto di detto apparato.*

⁵⁰ BNCF, Nuovi Acquisti 1025, loc. cit.

⁵¹ *Descrizione, loc. cit.*

⁵² *Ibid.*, 32nd page; BNCF, Nuovi Acquisti 1025, cc. 12 verso, 13 recto, 15 verso. A picture of Aeneas carrying Anchises attributed to Allori exists in the former Galleria Ferroni in Florence. The gallery, shut since the war, is still inaccessible.

regency when he virtuously bore the burden of Cosimo's duties. Again there was a Spanish precedent: in 1557 Philip II had had a medal struck with the same theme to symbolize his own regency.⁵³

Above the entrances to the chapels on either side of the chancel were more mottoes and emblems. To the left were the double anchors with the mottoes DUABUS and FREMA STATIONE based upon a medal struck during Cosimo's reign. This medal was interpreted in two different ways. One version had it that the ship of state anchored by divine protection and human prudence had under Cosimo been finally brought to a secure and tranquil harbour.⁵⁴ But the court historian, Paolo Giovio, thought the device signified Florence enjoying the protection of Charles V and the strength of Cosimo's dominion.⁵⁵ The chapel to the right of the chancel displayed a tortoise with a sail with the mottoes PER VARIOS CASUS and MATURA TARDE signifying restraint and initiative which together lead slowly to success after weathering all kinds of storms.⁵⁶ The columns below were draped in black and accompanied by the ubiquitous skeletons with their scrolls inscribed with suitable words of mourning and hope for immortality through virtue.⁵⁷ Each skeleton stood in a different attitude of meditation. One leaning on a greath scyth held the motto QUI EGI VIVIT. VIVETQ. SEMPER.⁵⁸ None of the payments specify the artists who were responsible for these bizarre figures which stood about the transept and lurked in the aisles of the nave. But their designer was certainly Allori who ten years earlier had already made a name for himself with similar figures for Michelangelo's funeral.⁵⁹

Since the Council of Trent, the macabre in funeral decor had been a fast growing fashion in Italy. Not a trace of it appeared in the obsequies for Charles V.⁶⁰ Mortality, corruption of the flesh, and capering skeletons had until then been limited to the province of secular festivities, book illustrations, popular prints, and occasional murals.⁶¹ But the year after the last session of the Catholic reformers at Trent, this changed. Figures of death already assumed an important role in Michelangelo's funeral as they did again in the obsequies for the king of

⁵³ *I. B. Supino*, *Il Medagliere Mediceo*, Florence, 1899, p. 244, no. 833.

⁵⁴ *Descrizione*, op. cit., 33rd page; this account gives the motto as FIDA STATIONE while the manuscript (BNCF, Nuovi Acquisti 1025) gives it FREMA STATIONE. — DUABUS and the two anchors appear on a medal struck for Cosimo probably before 1547. Cf. *Supino*, op. cit., pp. 97, 100, nos. 258, 260. These medals are attributed to Domenico di Polo. The medallist died in 1547. Cf. *Heiss*, op. cit., p. 17, Plate I, no. 12.

⁵⁵ The second interpretation of the emblem is supplied by *Giovio*, op. cit., p. 230.

⁵⁶ BNCF, Nuovi Acquisti 1025, c. 13 recto; *Descrizione*, loc. cit. Usually in the case of Cosimo I, the device of the tortoise and the sail was accompanied by the motto FESTINALENTE.

⁵⁷ Loc. cit.

⁵⁸ Loc. cit.: ... *Le Morti havevano varj brevi et detti in mano de quali uno diceva QUID EGIT. VIVIT. VIVETQ. SEMPER, un'altra diceva SIETAS NEE MITIGAT. ULLA: una'altra diceva O QUAM PRECIPITI et una'altra diceva STATUTUM EST*, etc. Cf. *Descrizione*, op. cit., 24th page.

⁵⁹ Cf. *Moreni*, op. cit. (see note 2), p. 116-17. The distribution of the skeletons in the transept and in the nave arcade appears to have been the same as that in Michelangelo's funeral (Cf. *Wittkower*, op. cit., pp. 118-19, 121, 162). The author of Michelangelo's funeral book attributes to Vasari the invention of these macabre figures. See also *Anna Forlani*, catalogue to the exhibition of drawings in the Uffizi entitled "I Fondatori dell'Accademia delle Arti del Disegno", Florence, 1963, pp. 46-47.

⁶⁰ Some decades after Charles V's death, Johannes Baptista Duetecum (or Doetechum; the son of one of the engravers of Charles V's funeral book; see note 8) made a print mocking the Emperor. Charles appears in caricature amidst a procession of skeletons with various headgear. Hondius, in his revised edition of the original 34 funeral prints (see note 9), inserted this new composition as the concluding plate (reproduced in *Fêtes et Cérémonies au Temps de Charles Quint*, op. cit., vol. II, Plate XLV, no. 2.).

⁶¹ Aside from illustrations for Petrarch's Triumph of Death, the best known Italian prints with macabre themes are Agostino Veneziano's of 1518 (Uffizi, Gabinetto di Disegni e Stampe, Stampe Sciolte 511) and Giorgio Ghisi's Resurrection of 1554 (*Marcel Brion*, *Art Fantastique*, Paris, 1961, fig. 22). Cf. *Émile Mâle*, *L'Art religieux après le Concile de Trente*, Paris, 1932, p. 206 ff.

Poland held in Rome in 1572.⁶² Cosimo's funeral confirmed the trend and, as time went on, funeral decor in Florence became ever more bizarre.⁶³ This coincided with the insatiable taste of the court for the grotesque, the exotic, and the amusing. In the hands of Buontalenti and Giulio Parigi court funerals became a theatrical *tour de force* reaching a climax in the second decade of the next century.⁶⁴

Buontalenti already had a hand in Cosimo's funeral. He was paid for working on the ornament for the catafalque set in front of the high altar.⁶⁵ A sketch of it has survived in a manuscript recently acquired by the National Library in Florence (Fig. 4). Buontalenti probably not only decorated the baldachin and the catafalque, he was probably its designer. For a comparison between the drawing and an engraving of the structure he made for Francesco I's funeral shows them to be almost identical (Fig. 5).⁶⁶ The catafalque and the baldachin were, of course, the centrepiece of the entire decorative scheme. It was a version of the Spanish *Cappella Ardente* consisting of a raised platform with four piers supporting the baldachin and a pyramid of candles.^{66a} The drawing supplies us with details neglected in the printed accounts. Figures of *pleurants* were used as herms on each corner of the baldachin. This was a motive traditional to Flanders as yet uncommon in Italy.⁶⁷ Above the frieze, figures reclined upon inverted volutes — a Michelangelism borrowed directly from the nearby Medici Chapel (or New Sacristy). Save for the pyramidal roof, the entire structure was painted black even to the orb and cross at the very top. The tiered roof, which was compared to the pyramid of Cestius⁶⁸, was painted gold so as to reflect the light of the hundreds of candles and so amplify their brilliance. Around the frieze were inscriptions painted in white. Emblems and coats of arms, painted either in grisaille or gilt and coloured, were set around the cornice. Inside the baldachin, a dark red cloth was stretched between the piers so as to

⁶² Sigismund Augustus' funeral was held in San Lorenzo in Damaso. An engraving of its decor exists in the Vatican (Ibid., p. 217-18).

⁶³ From 1568 onwards, there were increasing numbers of illustrated books published on the theme of the "Historia della Morte... horrenda e sacra." See Paul Kristeller, *Early Florentine Woodcuts*, London, 1897, p. 113. Dottoressa Anna Omodeo of the Biblioteca Nazionale in Florence has been good enough to point out to me the changing significance of the skeleton before and after the Council of Trent in Northern Europe and Italy. The changes which the interpretation of symbols underwent in this period is one of Dr. Omodeo's specialities. The skeleton used in Northern Europe during the Reformation stood not only for mortality but above all else for sin. In anti-Church propaganda, the Pope and Sin-Death were often represented together. In self-defense, the Counter Reformation took over the skeleton but removed its critical sting. Instead of sin, the figure of death represented penitence and it is in this guise that the skeletons were used in the funerals of Michelangelo and Cosimo I.

⁶⁴ An excellent bibliography is contained in the catalogue of L. S. Olschki, "Mort, Funérailles, Danse Macabre," *Choix de Livres Anciens*, Florence, 1928-30, vol. VII, nos. 10451-10674.

⁶⁵ ASF, Miscellanea Medicea, 810, c. 12 recto (May 28th 1574): *Fare Debitore Donativi di scudi settanta-cinque di moneta a lire iii.vj.vij sono per braccia xxxj 1/3 di velluto nero che stette atorno al catafalco a lire 11.10 (per braccio) et per otto arme di teletta si ragionano a scudi 3 di moneta l'una Ho per ordine di Sua Altezza Serenissima si dono a Bernardo bontalenti pittore sotto di 18 detto - scudi 75.3.6.8.*

⁶⁶ The drawing like the Ms. (Bibl. Naz. Centr., Manoscritti, Nuovi Acquisti no. 1025, c. 15) was executed in brown ink. The engraving is from *Giovambattista Strozzi*, *Essequie del Serenissimo Don Francesco Medici Gran Duca di Toscana III*, Firenze, Sermartelli, 1587. Buontalenti is referred to as the baldacchino's architect by *Lapini*, op. cit., pp. 262-63; ASF, *Diario del Settimanni*, vol. 129, c. 465 verso.

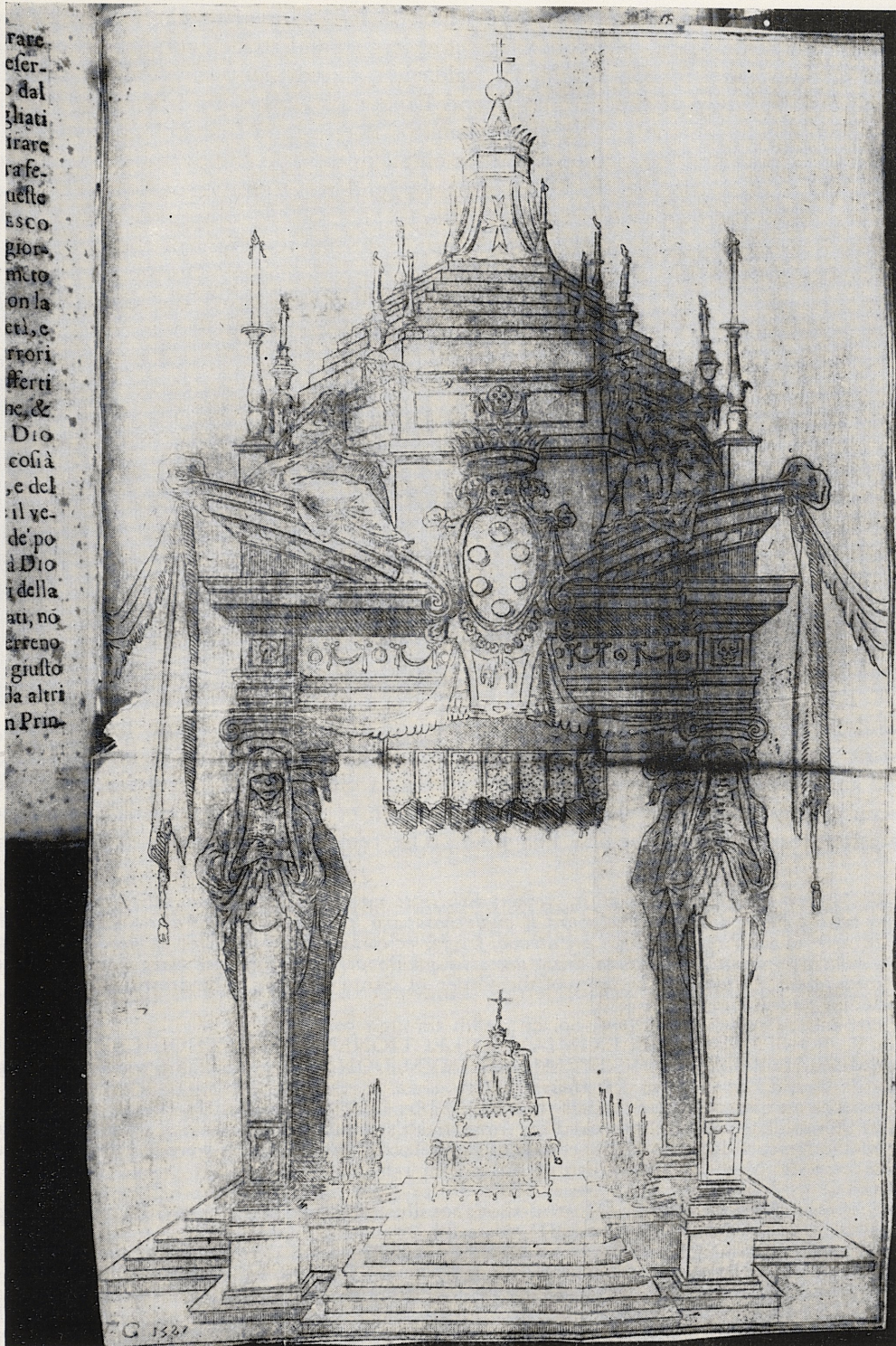
^{66a} The *Cappella Ardente* was regarded as a Spanish custom even thirteen years later. In an account of Francesco I's funeral (in which Cosimo's catafalque was probably in large part re-used), a contemporary witness comments: *Il catafalco che degli ecclesiastici Campo di duolo, ed in Spagna Cappella ardente è nominato...* *Diario del Settimanni*, vol. 129, op. cit., c. 464 recto.

⁶⁷ A typical Flemish use of *pleurants* as herms appears in Hieronymus Cock's *Pictores, Statuarii, Architecti, La Tomi, et Quicunque Principum Magnificorum*, Antwerp, 1563. The prints were based on designs of Joannes Vredemann de Vries (Uffizi, *Stampe in Volume*, 10686).

⁶⁸ *Descrizione*, op. cit., 33rd page.



4 Drawing of the baldachin for the funeral of Cosimo I. Florence, Bibl. Naz.



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5 Bernardo Buontalenti, baldachin and catafalque for the funeral of Francesco I. Engraved by "T.C."

form a ceiling directly over the catafalque which rested on a great cloth of gold.⁶⁹ Brass candelabra from Santa Maria del Fiore were set at its feet and at each corner of the baldachin.

Just as in the funeral for Charles V, the baldachin served many functions. Not only was it a frame for the effigy of the defunct Grand Duke and a giant candelabra as well; it was also the armature for all the territorial emblems of the realm. Inscriptions associated with the dead ruler proclaimed his virtues and titles on all sides.⁷⁰ At the pyramid's base were the five principal coats of arms. Raised above the rest and painted in grisaille to imitate stone, was the Grand Ducal crown with the collar of the Golden Fleece. Lower down were the red lily of Florence, the wolf of Siena, the gold cross of Pisa and the cross of the Order of Santo Stefano of which Cosimo had been the founder and grand master. On the frieze facing the nave was the inscription taken from the bull of Pius V granting the Grand Ducal title which was also engraved inside the Grand Ducal crown.⁷¹ Facing Francesco in the chancel were the mottoes OPTIMO PRINCIPI and PATRI PATRIAE followed by further inscriptions referring to Siena, Pisa, and the knights of Santo Stefano. On the remaining sides of the baldachin facing either arm of the transept, there were no further inscriptions; only the badges of the bishoprics and the arms of the other Tuscan towns.

The theme of the Duke's achievements was set forth in the nave. These were not history pictures in the strict sense such as those used on the triumphal funeral ship of Charles V, or in the decor for Michelangelo's obsequies. They were grisailles based on medals struck during Cosimo's reign.⁷² Set inside oval frames they were hung against the black curtains concealing the chapels. The ancient Roman style of this decor suited the Augustan character attributed to Cosimo by some who mourned him.⁷³ There were twenty of these medallions celebrating him as the empire builder, the bringer of peace and prosperity to Tuscany. Twelve reproduced the medals struck in 1569 by Pier Paolo Galeotti on Cosimo's coronation in Rome.⁷⁴ These commemorated the unification of the Tuscan states, the construction of aqueducts and fortifications, the transport of an ancient column from Rome to Florence as a monument to justice, the building of the Palazzo Pitti, the expansion of the Laurentian Library, and the foundation of the Order of Santo Stefano. At least two more pictures (representing the building of the Uffizi and the union of Florence and Siena) were based on medals struck earlier by Domenico Poggini.⁷⁵ The remaining medallions recalled Cosimo's

⁶⁹ BNCF, Nuovi Acquisti 1025, c. 13 verso: *Era fatto un palco quadro che saliva tre scalini d'ogni intorno tutto coperto di accotonato sopra il quale posavano 4. colonne quadre à uso di pilastri di legno tinte In nero le quali reggevano un architrave, fregio, et cornice tinto In nero, et nel mezzo di sotto à detto Architrave per fare il cielo era tirata una tela quadra di Color tané nel mezzo della quale era una croce rossa larga...* This was the cross of the Order of Santo Stefano. The drawing, however, shows the Medici *palle* (Fig. 4).

⁷⁰ Loc. cit. and 14 recto; *Descriptione*, op. cit., 48th through 50th page.

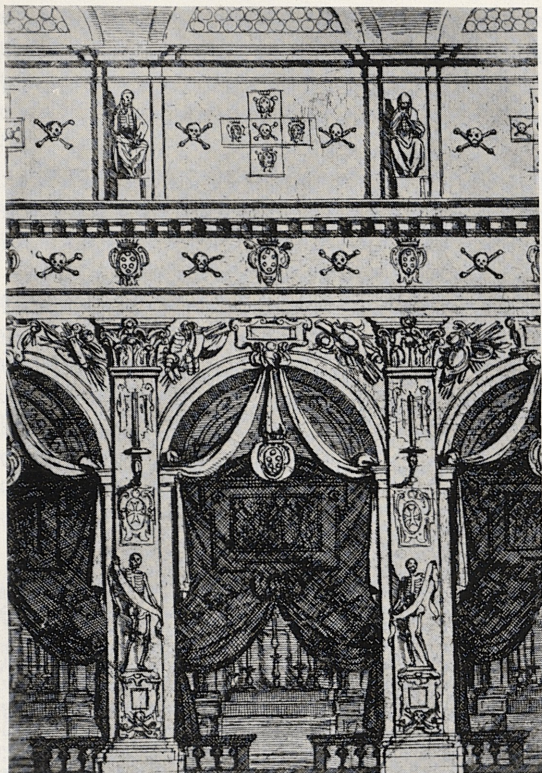
⁷¹ PIVS V. PONT. MAX. OB EXIMIAM DILECTIONEM ET CATHOLICAI RELIGIONIS ZELUM PRAECIPVVMQ. IVSTITIAE STVDIVM DONAVIT. The same words were engraved inside the Grand Ducal crown; cf. *Heiss*, op. cit., p. 12.

⁷² The mottoes on many of these medals were devised by Lodovico Domenichi (1514?-1564) and Paolo Giovio. Some of them were also used on Ammannati's fountain in the Piazza della Signoria and in some of the frescoed lunettes in the cortile of the Palazzo Vecchio which were painted for the arrival of Francesco de' Medici's bride, Joan of Austria, in 1565.

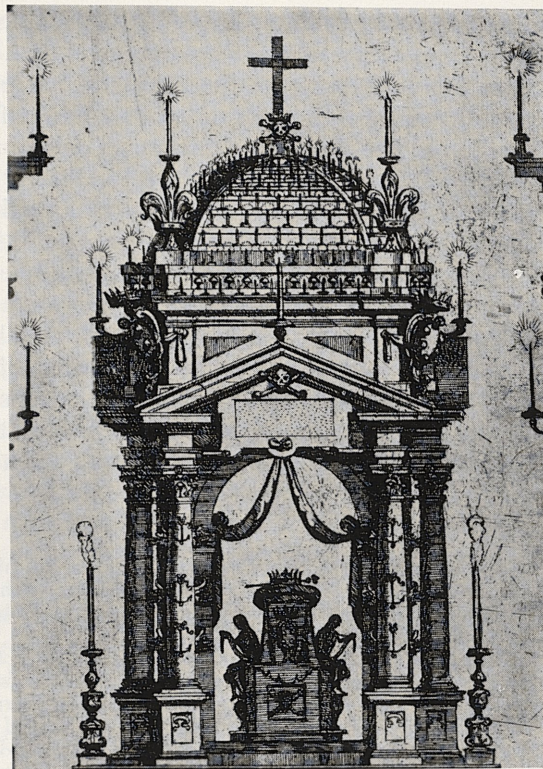
⁷³ See note 4.

⁷⁴ *Vasari-Milanesi VII*, pp. 542-43. Most of these are illustrated in *Pompeo Litta*, *Famiglie Celebre Italiane*, Prima Serie, Milano, 1839, vol. III, plate 87.

⁷⁵ Many of Galeotti's medals repeated earlier ones originally struck by Poggini in the years in which the various events commemorated on the medals occurred. Poggini, who was master of the Florentine mint until 1561, then went to Spain where he was in the service of Philip II; see *Heiss*, op. cit., pp. 41, 52; Plates IV, nos. 4, 5, 6; *Supino*, op. cit., pp. 149-50; and *Giovio*, op. cit., p. 251). The grisaille medallions in San Lorenzo, which were probably drawn from Poggini's models, were the Union of Florence and Siena (Concord seated between the lion and the wolf with the motto HETRURIA PACATA) and the construction of the Uffizi (PUBLICAE COMMODITATI).



6 Print based on Cigoli's decor for the funeral of Ferdinando I in San Lorenzo held in Florence in 1609.



7 Print based on Cigoli's drawing for the "Capella ardente" of Ferdinando I, 1609.

personal virtues: his piety, liberality, courage, devotion to public welfare, and defense of the faith.⁷⁶

To carry out all the decorations in the church Allori and Caccini had at their disposal at least thirty odd painters, sculptors, and craftsmen. The total made from the available documents comes to this number but there may well have been many more.⁷⁷ Those who worked on the skeletons and coats of arms included Giovanni Maria Butteri, Bastiano del Bestia, Giovanni

⁷⁶ These included the following pictures: the Cross above an altar (PIETAS PRINCIPIS), the Laurel crown (AUCTO IMPERIO), the closed hand with the raised forefinger (FIDES PUBLICA), the oaken crown with capricorn (OB. CIVES. SERVATOS — a motto also used by Lorenzo the Magnificent; *Supino*, op. cit., p. 38, no. 67), the figure of Liberality (LIBERALITAS PRINCIPIS), a victory with two crowns (SEV. PACEM. SEV. BELLA GERA). For most of these I can find no prototypes among coins and medals.

⁷⁷ See ASF, Miscellanea Mediceo 810, cc. 9-12 verso, 65 verso, 72 recto; ASF, Depositeria Generale 1499, cc. 1 verso-12 verso. This volume bears the superscript: *Copie dei mandati e polize Per lessequie del Serenissimo cosimo medici gran.duca. di toscana*. I have been unable to find the original copies of these orders and receipts if they still exist. The artists mentioned by name in these two volumes include the following: *Piero di Domenico pittore (del Cammello?)*, *Baccio di Tomaso dello scheggia pittore*, *messer giovanni Caccini*, *Alessandro del bronzino pittore*, *Giovanni maria di Piero Butteri*, *maestro Bastiano del Bestia Pittore*, *Antonio Campanini*, *Cencio di Giovanni maria*, *Alessandro di Benedetto della Impruneta*, *Giovanni Bizzelli*, *Fabiano di Santa Fiore*, *vico da cigoli*, *Maestro Giovanni fiammingo*, *Cesare da Vinci*, *Bernardo Buontalenti pittore*, *Francesco Morandini pittore (Il Poppi)*, *Maestro Marco di Pietro scultore*, *Giovanni Bologna scultore*, *Girolamo di Domenico pittore*.

Buzzelli, and a Fleming referred to as Maestro Giovanni (this may have been Stradanus).⁷⁸ Of the group no one was more energetic than Allori's devoted pupil, the fifteen year old Ludovico Cigoli.⁷⁹ Cosimo's funeral marks his artistic début as far as his prolific career is known to us. It was also the first of several Medici funerals in which he was to participate — eventually to become the artistic director of one himself (Figs. 6 and 7).⁸⁰

Materials for the decorations were gathered in haste from sources near and far. Candle wax was imported from Venice.⁸¹ Twenty thousand pieces of gold leaf were urgently requested from Bologna because of a shortage in Florence.⁸² A hundred and six timbers were purchased from the *Opera del Duomo*.⁸³ Paints, brushes, linseed oil and sponges were bought from a pharmacist on the Ponte Vecchio.⁸⁴ Fifty-five volumes of large sheets of strong paper were procured "to make cartoons for the decorations in the church".⁸⁵ The word "cartoni" for cartoons here probably was not meant in the usual sense of preliminary drawings, but rather as large heavy sheets (or cardboard) for the temporary props which were intended to last only for the duration of the obsequies. Such may have been the material of which Cosimo's arms and medallions were made. After the funeral was over, a list of the permanent props was made and con-

⁷⁸ Allori paid *maestro Giovanni fiammingo* for 16 pieces of work; ASF, Miscellanea Medicea 810, c. 11 verso. Stradanus had been assisting Vasari with the paintings in the Palazzo Vecchio. He had often participated in festive decorations including Michelangelo's funeral and the welcome to Joan of Austria; *Colnaghi*, op. cit., pp. 258-59.

⁷⁹ ASF, Miscellanea Medicea 810, loc. cit.: *A vico da cigoli opere 18 a scudi 25 l'una*. Cigoli was born in 1559. It is known that he worked in Allori's studio between 1572 and 1576. Allori was particularly eager that his pupils study anatomy and had them do dissections — excellent preparation for painting the skeletons for princely funerals. Cigoli is said to have made clay and wax models of skeletons, as well as drawings (*Mario Bucci* in the *Catalogo della Mostra del Cigoli*, S. Miniato al Tedesco, 1959, p. 29; *Inghirami*, op. cit., p. 454.). From the descriptions of Cosimo's funeral it is not clear if the skeletons were three-dimensional painted figures or mere paintings on paper or canvas.

A notice in the records of the Accademia del Disegno informs us that four years after Cosimo's funeral, Cigoli was among the participants in the celebrations for the Academy's patron Saint, Saint Luke (usually Cigoli is thought to have been absent from Florence between 1576 and 1579, but this notice makes it clear that he was already back and busy in the city by October 1578). The celebration was held in Cestello. Cigoli painted for it a canvas representing Cain Killing Abel which won the prize. Other pictures cited are: the Creation of Man by Franco di Cosimo Gamberucci, Noah's Celebration of the End of the Flood by Goro di Francesco di Goro, the Drunkenness of Noah by Aurelio Lomi, Apelles at Work by Raffaello Navesi, and another picture by Giovan Maria Casini; Florence, ASF, Accademia del Disegno, "Giornale e Ricordi," Filza 26, c. 9 recto. Lomi's and Casini's pictures were already known to *Colnaghi*, op. cit., pp. 67, 157.

⁸⁰ Cigoli designed the funeral decor for Ferdinando I in 1609; *Catalogo della Mostra del Cigoli*, op. cit., pp. 113-58. See Figs. 6 and 7; these are separate prints based on drawings by Cigoli in the Uffizi. The prints are in a folder devoted to festival decor. The drawings in the Uffizi are Nos. 2655A, 2602A, 431 Orn. Already in 1598, Cigoli contributed designs for the funeral of Philip II celebrated in San Lorenzo. See Uffizi, Gabinetto di Disegni e Stampe Nos. 434 Orn., 2653A recto and verso, 2654A recto and verso.

⁸¹ ASF, Depositeria Generale 1499, c. 12 verso.

⁸² *Ibid.*, c. 1 verso: *Al molto magnifico depositario. Per che qui in fiorenza la gran' mancamente d'oro da dipintorj a questi mia magri. deputati sopra l'esequie pare che e si mandi a bologna per venti mila pezzi d'oro ordinario da dorare et pero S.V. sia contenta mandar subito la comissione perche ci sia mandate quanto prima et consegnato qui alla guardaroba del granduca... etc.*

⁸³ *Ibid.*, 10 recto. The 106 pieces of timber consigned to Giovanni Caccini cost 1,450 lire (about 207 scudi).

⁸⁴ ASF, Misc. Medic. 810, c. 11 verso. The materials, costing just over 18 scudi, were purchased from one *Raffaello ser Guglielmi* of a firm of pharmacists (*speciali*) on the Ponte Vecchio. The description of the materials is interesting: *Biacca, Terra nera, Indaco fine, laca in palle, Zafferana, Pennelli di piu sorte, Linbellucci per colla, cinabrese macinato, spugnie, smalto di fiandra, Pomella, matita nera, Pagonazo di sale, gesso volterrano, Nero di carbone, olio di linseme.*

⁸⁵ ASF, Depositeria Generale 1499, c. 10 verso, one *Bartolomeo fontani cartolaio* was paid a little over 10 scudi (70 lire soldi 6.4) for *55 quaderni di fogli imperiali et quaderni di fogli ordinari... per fare cartoni per l'apparato della Chiesa di San Lorenzo.*

signed by Caccini to the keeper of the *Castello* of Florence which stored such things.⁸⁶ Among these were the timbers, much of the baldachin, the frames for four of the pictures (from which the canvas was removed), and most of the fictive architecture and sculpture used on the facade.⁸⁷ The black hangings and many of the banners were left in the hands of the prior of San Lorenzo.

So much for the description of the decor and what we know of its fabrication. The political significance of the entire ceremony and its decorative scheme will become clear after we follow the proceedings of the funeral to their conclusion.

After the coffin was set beneath the baldachin and everyone had been seated, the archbishop of Cesarea⁸⁸ assisted by four bishops and other clerics performed the funeral mass. Next came Piero Vettori's oration⁸⁹ delivered from the black draped pulpit. All the standards carried in the procession were massed about the catafalque. After Vettori had finished, the choir sang a number of responses during which the coffin was censed again and again, and sprinkled with holy water.⁹⁰ The church service ended, the cortege filed out of the church and marched back to the Palazzo Vecchio in a cheerful mood. Francesco now walked bare-headed and Cosimo's Grand Ducal flag was unfurled. The crowd greeted the new Grand Duke with cheers and it was all the officers could do to restrain their men from shooting off their archibuses.⁹¹

During the service in San Lorenzo, all the funeral decorations were removed from the *ringhiera* and the *cortile* of the Palazzo Vecchio.⁹² When the cortege returned, they found that Cosimo's arms had vanished from over the entrance door. As Francesco paused beneath it, a cord was pulled, some canvas fell away, and the arms of the new Grand Duke were revealed. The new shield had the familiar Medici *palle* but omitted the collar of the Golden Fleece which Francesco did not receive until 1585.⁹³ The motto stated simply FRANCISCUS. MED: HETRURIE MAGNUS DUX SECUNDUS. As Francesco stood on the *ringhiera*, all his officials, the cavalry, and infantry gathered before him with lowered lances and right hands raised to swear allegiance. Entering the *cortile* Francesco received the oath of loyalty and obedience from all the ambassadors of the subject Tuscan towns. And after this he led the crowd of dignitaries upstairs to a banquet laid out in the *Salone dei Cinquecento*.

In San Lorenzo, as soon as everyone had gone, Cosimo's coffin was taken to the Old Sacristy, and a few days later it was immured with that of Eleonora of Toledo his first wife.

⁸⁶ ASF, Miscellanea Medicea 810, cc. 71 verso-72 recto: *Nota che Gio. Caccini che haveva Cura dell'apparato della Chiesa di San Lorenzo Ha rimandato in Castello à Gio: di Ser Jacopo provveditore tutto el legname che era in opera in detta chiesa di san lorenzo — in di 26 maggio 1574 et sono li appresso —*:

8 pilastri con le loro base et capitelli del catafalco
 quatro cornicioni col fregio di tela
 4 telai per di sotto à cornicioni levatone le tele
 4 fregi serviti per di sopra a' cornicioni con tela, ed arme dipintovi
 3 Arme Grande ducale servite sopra le tre porte della chiesa
 3 porte in prospettiva di tela servite alle dette
 14 pietre bucate per fermare li stendardi.

⁸⁷ A comparison of the drawing of Cosimo's "Cappella Ardente" (fig. 2) to the engraving of that used in Francesco I's own funeral leads one to suspect that the structure built for Cosimo was re-used in 1587 (Fig. 5).

⁸⁸ *Descrizione*, op. cit., 36th page. The Archbishop of Cesarea was Antonio Lorenzino (or Lorenzini) who was also the suffragan of the Archbishop of Pisa. L. Schmitz-Kallenberg, *Hierarchia Catholica*, Regensburg, 1923, vol. III, p. 144.

⁸⁹ *Descrizione*, loc. cit.

⁹⁰ BNCF, Nuovi Acquisti 1025, cc. 15-16.

⁹¹ Loc. cit., and *Descrizione*, op. cit., 37th page.

⁹² Loc. cit.

⁹³ ASF, *Diario del Settimanni*, vol. 129, c. 376. The mandate from Philip II arrived in Florence on July 3, 1585. Francesco was formally invested with the Collar of the Order of the Golden Fleece by the Duke of Sulmona in Florence Cathedral.

The ceremony and decor used for Cosimo's funeral followed a scheme which learned contemporaries called an apotheosis. Don Vincenzo Borghini, one of the four directors of the funeral, himself famous for his scholarship, certainly knew all about this ceremony and current thought on it. A treatise on the subject appeared in the very year of Cosimo's death. Its author was an Aretine, Tommaso Porcacchi. His book, printed in Venice, with copper engravings by Girolamo Porro of Padua, was entitled *Funerali Antichi di diversi Popoli, et Nationi; Forma, Ordine, et Pompa di sepulture, di essequie di Consecrationi antiche ed altro*.⁹⁴ It was a handbook for those who planned princely funerals. The author stated that the ceremony was first introduced by Augustus and then renewed by Tiberius. His account of the proceedings is almost exactly that observed in Florence for Cosimo's funeral. Here is the description of the lying-in-state preceding the funeral which was held at the vestibule of the palace, the golden baldachin, the waxen effigy surrounded by imperial officials dressed in black.⁹⁵ Afterwards, we are told how fifty of the noblest youths were chosen from the ranks of senators and knights to carry the catafalque upon their shoulders to the forum. This was the precedent for the fifty young knights from the Order of Santo Stefano who carried Cosimo's bier to San Lorenzo. In the forum, Porcacchi continues, was built a wooden platform which had the appearance of stone on which was mounted a baldachin adorned with ivory and gold. Beneath it was a catafalque adorned with purple and golden stuffs.⁹⁶ On this was laid the waxen effigy carried in triumph from the palace. Beside it stood a boy with a fan of peacock feathers to chase away the flies as if the emperor were only asleep.⁹⁷ From the forum, the cortege went on to the Campo Marzio carrying with them statues of illustrious Romans and bronze images of all the subject towns and provinces. The Florentine counterpart for these were the gilded *drappelloni*. The living emperor then rose to eulogize his dead predecessor before an altar. In the centre of the Campo Marzio was a square pergola in the form of a tiered tabernacle, pyramidal in shape (Fig. 8). The populace brought incense to this funeral pyre, for such it was, and then the new emperor set the whole edifice on fire.⁹⁸ This is the ancient prototype for the *Cappella Ardente* revived

⁹⁴ A copy exists in the Biblioteca Marucelliana, R.a.59. The engravings were re-used by Francesco Perucci in *Pompe Funebri di Tutte le Nationi del Mondo*, Verona, 1646. Aside from the description of the apotheosis, Porcacchi also gives an account of the origin of equestrian statues and pyramids (pp. 49-50). Many details of Porro's prints are elaborations on those illustrating "Apotheosis" and "anciliscudi" used earlier in *Giovanni Pierio Valeriano*, *Hieroglyphica*, Basel, 1556, cc. 139, 312-13. I owe this very interesting reference to Dottoressa *Omodeo*. The book was dedicated to Cosimo de' Medici and was reprinted in Basel in 1575. Valeriano died in 1560. Cf. *J. C. Brunet*, *Manuel du libraire*, vol. V, Paris, 1864, col. 1041-2.

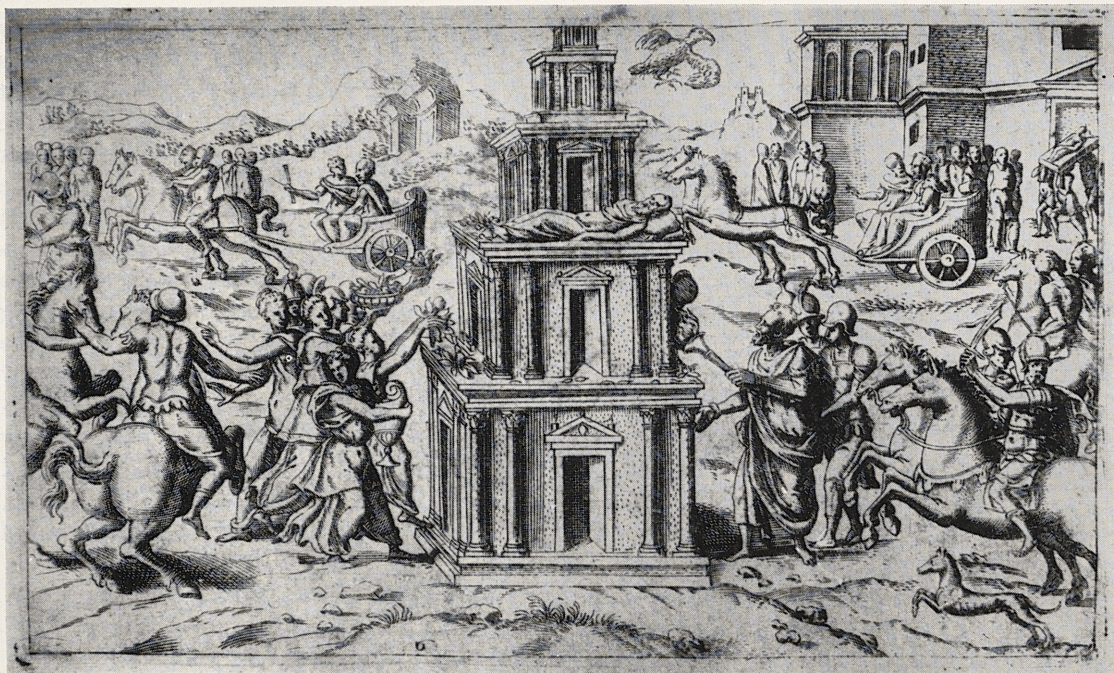
⁹⁵ *Porcacchi*, op. cit., pp. 28-29.

⁹⁶ There may be earlier Renaissance literature on which Porcacchi's book was based, but such sources are unknown to me. The use of cloth of gold on the bier as an ancient custom was already recognized in 1515 by those who organized the obsequies for the Duke of Nemours; *Moreni*, op. cit., p. 31; cf. *Manni*, op. cit., p. 22.

⁹⁷ *Porcacchi*, loc. cit.: *Era nel foro Romano edificato un tribunal di legno, che pareva di pietra: sopra'l quale v'era stato lavorato un certo edificio, che d'ogni intorno era sustentato da colonne & era diversamente ornato d'avorio & d'oro. Sopra questo era stato portato un'altro letto consimile, con ornamenti di porpora & d'oro intessuti: e intorno haveva capi di diversi animali della terra & del mare. Ora in questo letto mettevano quella immagine di cera ornata trionfalmente, che dal Palazzo vi havevan portato: & quivi stava un fanciullo molto bello con pene di pavone a cacciargli le mosche, come se l'Imperator dormisse.*

⁹⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 31: *s'inalzava un pergolo quadro co' lati equali, fatto in forma di tabernacolo solamente di legnami grossi: ma dentro era tutto pieno di materie secche, & di fuori era coperto d'arazzi forniti d'oro, con ornamenti di varie figure, cosi dipinte, come scolpite in avorio. Sopra questo n'usciva un'altro minore ma di forma & d'ornamento simile con porte, che stavano aperte. Da questo secondo n'usciva il terzo minore, & poi il quarto assai piu piccolo. et piu stretto, et di mano in mano altri pergoletti finche venivano alla cima, ch'era piu piccola di tutti... Herodiano assomiglia la forma di questo edificio a quelle torri, che poste ne porti di mare, tengono la notte il lume in cima per drizzare i marinari a sicuro ricetta: et volgarmente son chiamate Fari.*

The comparison of the pyre to a lighthouse would have been particularly apt for the Florentine who



8 The lighting of the imperial funeral pyre with the eagle or soul of the dead emperor flying away. Engraving by Girolamo Porro from Porcacchi's "Funerali Antichi", 1574.

by Philip II with its thousand candles. The ancient imperial funeral pyre now became a part of the court ceremonial of Roman Catholic kings. Porcacchi went on to say that the moment the pyre was lit the emperor became a god — this was the apotheosis.⁹⁹

Even some of the ornamental detail used in the account of ancient funerary custom was taken over in the decor in San Lorenzo. The grisailed medallions set in their oval frames had their prototype in the oval *ancili* or *scudi* (Fig. 9) which Porcacchi says were hung on the columns of ancient funerary monuments — Livy, Plutarch and an Antonine medal are cited as sources.¹⁰⁰

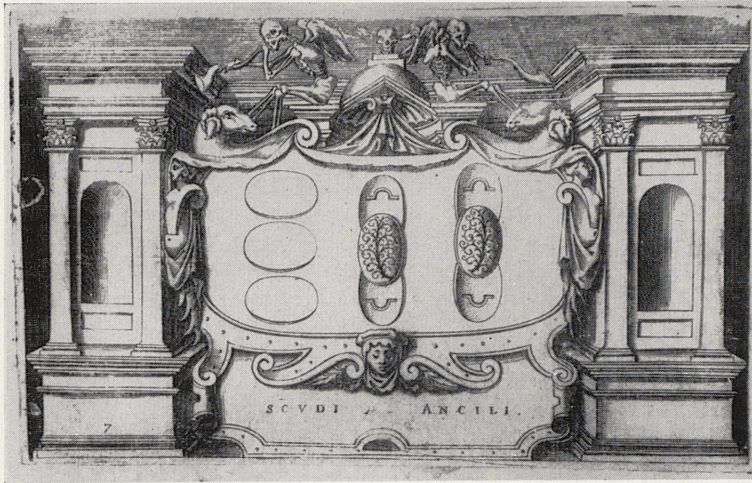
The apotheosis, Porcacchi informs us, was a ceremony used among the ancients to deify those emperors who left behind sons who were heirs to the empire.¹⁰¹ In brief, it was a ceremony whereby the rights to imperial succession were confirmed. The fact that the apotheosis exactly suited the dynastic situation in Tuscany clearly did not escape the learned organizers of Cosimo's funeral. They combined the ancient pagan custom with Spanish pomp and a dash of post-Trentine piety. Cosimo's heir was as familiar with Spanish court ceremonial as the courtiers who planned his father's funeral. He may well have told them just what he wanted. He was, after all, the son of Eleonora of Toledo. As a boy of seven, he was sent to Genoa to meet the future Philip II, and when he came of age in 1562 Francesco travelled to Spain with

in San Lorenzo gave such an important place in the transept to the double anchor with the motto DUABUS signifying that Cosimo had guided his ship of state to a safe port.

⁹⁹ Ibid., p. 32.

¹⁰⁰ Ibid., pp. 47-48.

¹⁰¹ Ibid., pp. 28-29: *questo uso di deificare fu introdotto prima da Augusto Cesare: et poi da Tiberio fu rinovato: et si consecravano quelli Imperatori, che dopo morte havessero lasciate figliuoli vivi, & successori nell' Imperio...*



9 Ornament used in the apotheosis. Engraving by Porro from Porcacchi's "Funerali Antichi", 1574.

a great and magnificently furnished retinue. On this occasion Philip's comment to the young man was "the prince of Florence to be a king lacks nothing but the crown".¹⁰² This was really a wry bit of cynicism as Cosimo had just failed to obtain a crown and Philip was doing everything he could to see that he never got one. But by 1574, Francesco, having inherited a crown after all, saw to it that his father, who had made a kingdom of Tuscany, got a funeral in the imperial style.

APPENDIX

Since these notes were sent to the printer, two drawings (Figs. 10 and 11) associated with Cosimo's funeral appeared in London.¹⁰³ These elegant sketches by the same hand are variations of an architectural scheme commemorating the first Grand Duke. One of them (Fig. 11) bears a cartouche inscribed with "MAG. COSM. ETRVR." Both include the Medici arms, the ruler's bust, and an urn or sarcophagus as well as scenes and figures celebrating his achievements and virtues. The richer of the two drawings (Fig. 11) also includes river gods and personifications of Tuscan towns. On this sheet are sketched the ground plan and notes of the subjects to be represented.¹⁰⁴ The plan describes a free standing structure adorned with statuary and scenes distributed around all four sides. The inclusion of the sarcophagus (or urn), the

¹⁰² ASF, *Diario del Settimanni*, vol. 129, c. 463; *Scipione Ammirato*, *Orazione... fatta nella Morte di Don Francesco de Medici*, Firenze, Giunti, 1587, p. 9. With the title of Grand Duke, the Medici understood, went the form of address "Serenissimo". Even as late as 1579, Philip II refused to so address the Tuscan Grand Duke. In a letter of April 1579 we get an idea of what these diplomatic exasperations could be like (ASF, *Diario del Settimanni*, vol. 129, c. 172): *Il Sig. Luigi Dovara Ambasciatore del Granduca alla Corte del Re di Spagna con sua lettera del 2 di detto mese diede avviso alla Segreteria di Stato di Sua Altezza Serenissima che nel licenziarsi da Sua Maestà per restituirsi appresso dell'Altezza Sua, il Re aveva fatto regalare nell'istessa conformità per l'appunto praticata con gli Ambasciatori Regi colla medesima Lettera il detto Dovara Rese avvisato, che il Re di Spagna riflettendo non esser più adeguato per Sua Altezza il titolo di Messer Illustrre Gran Duque: aveva risoluto di trattarlo di Illustrissimo e detto trattamento cominciò in detto mese di Aprile.*

¹⁰³ Both drawings, kindly brought to my attention by Professor Ulrich Middeldorf, are cited in: *Exhibition of Seventeenth and Eighteenth Century Italian Sculpture*, P. & D. Colnaghi & Co. Ltd., London, 19th February to 17th March 1965, No. 25, Plate XV (which reproduces our Fig. 10). Both drawings come from a private collection in Rome. Fig. 10 measures 15 5/8" x 10 3/4"; no measurements are given for the second drawing which is here published for the first time (Fig. 11). For permission to reproduce both sketches, grateful acknowledgment is made to Mr. J. Byam Shaw. Both drawings were done in pen and brown ink with a brown wash over black chalk.

¹⁰⁴ On the first tier were to go statues representing *Fiorenza*, *Siena*, *Pisa*, and *Carrara*. On the second tier, large pictures illustrating scenes from Cosimo's life were to appear. That shown in the elevation represents Cosimo's Coronation as Grand Duke. Notes on the four sides of the ground plan

inscription "D.O.M." (Fig. 10), and the many lighted torches and tapers all suggest that this structure was to be a temporary monument in a church or chapel. It is open to question, however, whether these drawings were made for Cosimo's funeral in San Lorenzo.

The project set forth in the drawings does not correspond at all with the *Cappella Ardente* actually carried out for the San Lorenzo *essequie*. For political reasons, the planners of the funeral decided upon a catafalque of the imperial type established by the obsequies for Charles V. In it the entire structure is a frame for the dead ruler's effigy with great emphasis given to the idea of apotheosis expressed by the pyramid of candles.¹⁰⁵ The project described in the drawings left no room for a catafalque with an effigy and there was no pyramid with, or without, candles. If the drawings were originally meant for the San Lorenzo funeral, the structure they propose must have been rejected early on in the planning probably just because they lacked all the necessary imperial connotations.

Other elements argue against the drawings having been intended for Cosimo's funeral in San Lorenzo. Mortality and grief are not stressed. Not only is there no catafalque, there are no mourning figures and no skeletons. The skull and cross-bones noted on the sarcophagus in one of the drawings (Fig. 11) is only a conventional feature of such objects. It is the ruler's achievements, his virtues, and the extent of his realm which dominate the scheme. In brief, the proposed structure has more the character of a cenotaph or mock-tomb rather than a funeral decoration — as would have been appropriate for a commemorative monument to be raised elsewhere than in the vicinity of Cosimo's corpse in San Lorenzo.

There were many ceremonies honouring Cosimo at his death besides the official funeral. The Florentine Academy honoured him, functions were held in Pisa at the cathedral and in the church of the Knights of Santo Stefano, and as far away as Rome, Lyons, and Paris.¹⁰⁶ Perhaps the London drawings were made for one of these ceremonies by a member of the Florentine Academy. They have been described as "close in style to Vasari or a follower such as Francesco Morandini, called il Poppi..."¹⁰⁷ Vasari died shortly after Cosimo and the attribution to Poppi seems the most likely one despite similarities to some of Poccetti's drawings.¹⁰⁸ Both Poppi and Poccetti studied with Buontalenti who was the actual architect of Cosimo's *Cappella Ardente*, and a Buontalentic feature occupies an important place in one of the London drawings (Fig. 11). In the simpler version (Fig. 10), the ruler's bust is set between two volutes much in the manner of Michelangelo's in the tomb at Santa Croce. In the more elaborate sketch, however, the bust appears in the midst of a broken pediment. According to Settimanni who described the funerals of Cosimo and his son in great detail, this motif had special reference

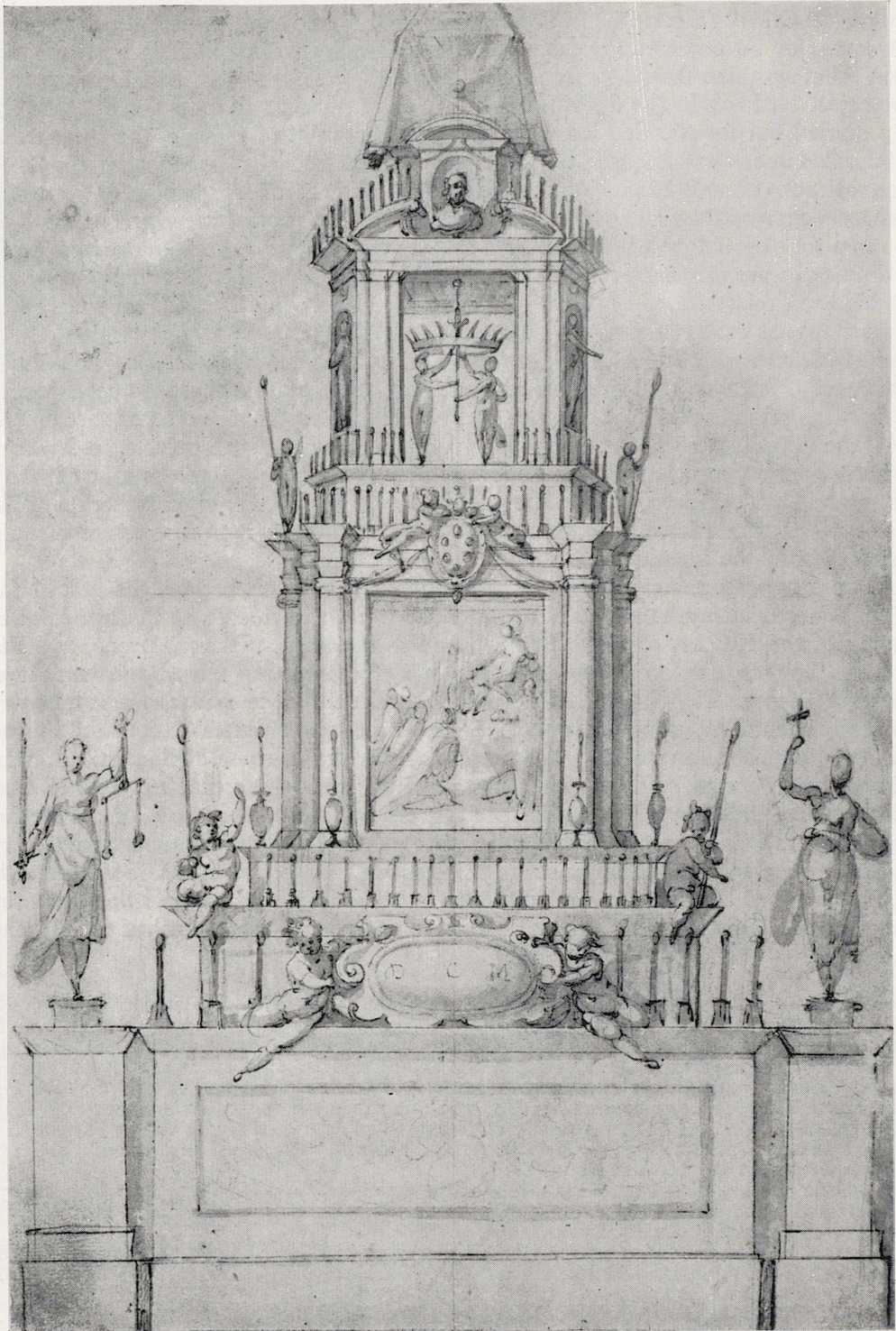
cite: *Coronatione, Cavalieri* (or the Knights of Santo Stefano — the order of naval knights founded by Cosimo), *Creatione* with reference to Cosimo's creation as Duke of Florence in 1537, and *Trionfo* (the victory over Siena?). Save for the *Cavalieri*, the same scenes appear on the base of Giambologna's free standing monument to Cosimo in the Piazza della Signoria. In the third storey of the structure described in the drawing were to go personifications of *Justitia*, *Liberalità*, *Carità* and *Prudentia* all set inside niches. In the other drawing (Fig. 10), the scheme is somewhat different with figures of Justice and Faith set at the lowermost tier and unspecified figures in niches on the third level which surround an open space containing the Grand Ducal crown. The scene here appears to be that of Cosimo's Elevation to the Dukedom.

¹⁰⁵ Not even the obelisque is suggested in either of the drawings. The obelisque as well as the pyramid were accepted symbols of apotheosis; cf. *Claude François Menestrier*, *Traite des Tournois Iovstes, Carrouvels et autres Spectacles*, Lyons, 1669, p. 12.

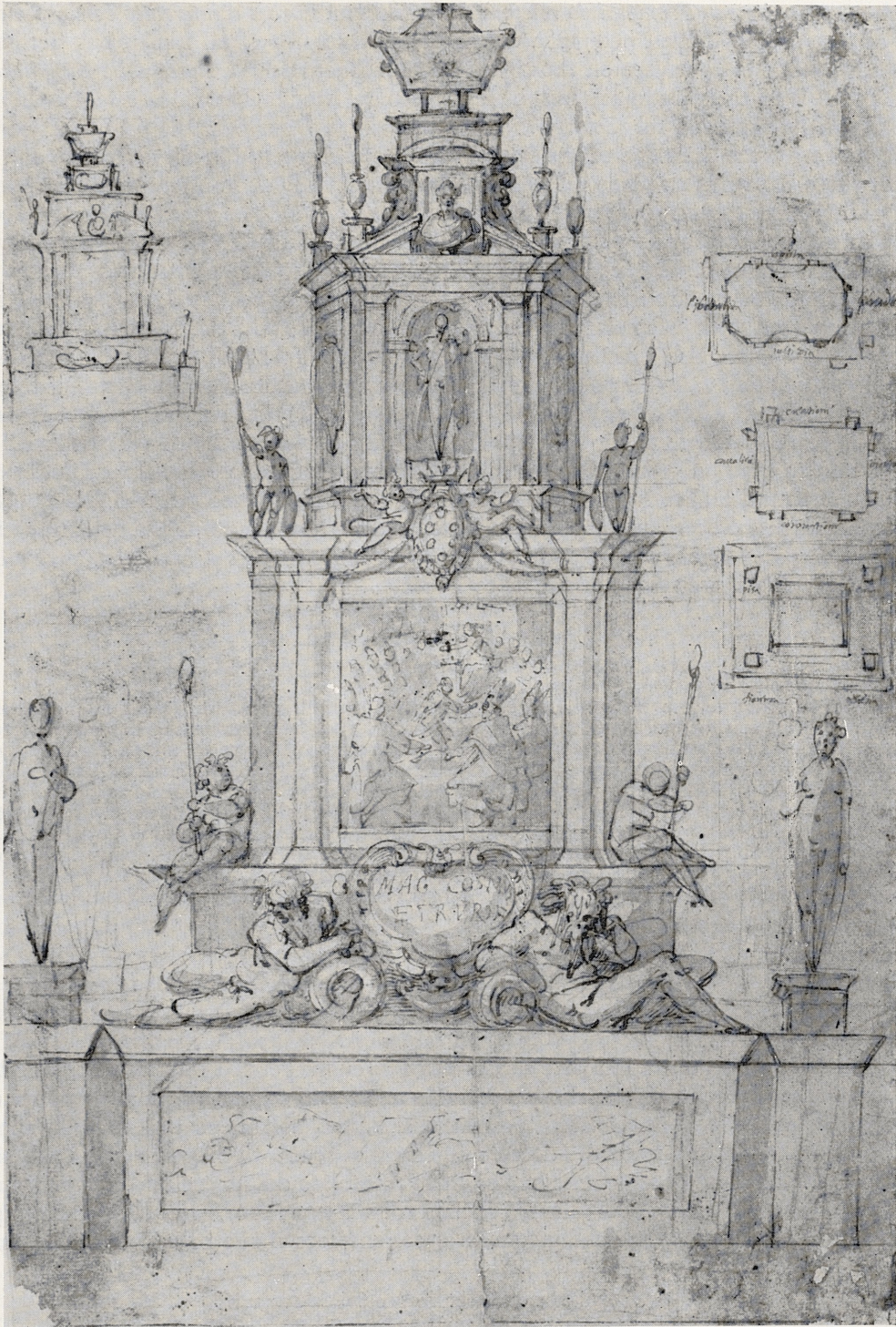
¹⁰⁶ For these ceremonies as well as reference to other *essequie* in Florence itself, see *Lorenzo Cantini*, *op. cit.*, p. 493. The especially grand ceremony staged in Cosimo's honour in Paris by Catherine de' Medici is described in *Galluzzi*, *op. cit.*, vol. II, pp. 177-78.

¹⁰⁷ *Exhibition of Seventeenth and Eighteenth Century Italian Sculpture*, *loc. cit.*

¹⁰⁸ See especially Uffizi, *Gabinetto dei Disegni e Stampe*, 930 E and 167 ORN. Poccetti was born between 1542 and 1548. He was matriculated in the *Compania di S. Luca* in 1573; cf. *U. Galletti and E. Camesasca*, *Enciclopedia della Pittura Italiana*, Cernusco sul Naviglio, 1951, vol. III, p. 1986.



10 Project for a decoration commemorating Cosimo I attributed to "Il Poppi".



11 Another version for the same decoration attributed to "Il Poppi".

to death : *la Cornice con Frontespizio rotto, indizio di disavventura e d'interrotto corso di Vita...*¹⁰⁹ Later, of course, the broken pediment was used in structures of all kinds, but Settimanni's remark causes one to speculate on the significance of Buontalenti's *Porte delle Suppliche* built around 1580. Was, then, Bandini's bust of Francesco de' Medici inserted as a memorial instead of one originally intended for Cosimo?

Were it not for the presence of the lighted candles and torches in the drawings one might interpret these drawings as plans for a permanent memorial. It is interesting that such free standing monuments had not yet made their appearance in Florence and a quarter of a century was to pass before one was raised in honour of the Medici : Giambologna's equestrian monument in Piazza della Signoria. But perhaps sketches such as these show what was already in the wind. The form of monument described by the drawings belongs to a type found in two sketches connected with Michelangelo's funeral : that in the Codex Resta in Milan and in Munich.¹¹⁰ The latter also consists of a free standing monument or apotheosis and does not include a catafalque.¹¹¹ As far as we know, however, no permanent free standing tomb was planned for Cosimo. After his death, the body was temporarily buried in the crypt of San Lorenzo while plans materialized for the *Cappella dei Principi* which was already conceived before Cosimo's death. The only project known for Cosimo's tomb before the final solution in the chapel of the Grand Dukes is a red-chalk sketch in the Uffizi (Gabinetto dei Disegni, Santarelli 1599). This, however, was not a free standing affair but a tomb niche with three female personifications of Justice, Peace, and Abundance standing upon a sarcophagus with three weeping putti. This drawing is ascribed to Poccetti.

¹⁰⁹ *Settimanni*, vol. 129, op. cit., f. 464 verso.

¹¹⁰ *Wittkower*, op. cit., Figs. 8-9, pp. 153 ff., 160-61.

¹¹¹ The Milan drawing, as the *Wittkowers'* note, represents a tomb structure rather than a catafalque. The same can be said of the London drawings. *Ibid.*, p. 154. It is interesting that the reverse of the Munich drawing shows an equestrian monument, which as a type of memorial was usually free standing; An equestrian monument served as a funeral decoration in 1593 in Santa Maria in Aracoeli in Rome for Duke Alessandro Farnese. It was built by Giacomo della Porta and included paintings by Cesare d'Arpino (a copy of the print is to be found in Florence, Bibl. Marucelliana, Coll. di Stampe, vol. CVII, No. 31). As far as we know, no equestrian monument was ever proposed for any of the decorations commemorating Cosimo's death. But such schemes for a free standing structure honouring him as those proposed by the London drawings belong to the backlog of ideas which lay behind Giambologna's design for the bronze equestrian monument eventually raised in the Piazza della Signoria.

RIASSUNTO

Con il funerale allestito per la morte di Cosimo I si onorò per la prima volta un Medici regnante, mediante un cerimoniale elaborato secondo uno schema pittorico, impostato, per motivi politici, su di uno stile imperiale. Il programma si basava sull'antico concetto di "apoteosi" e sull'insediamento di una linea di successione con particolare riecheggiamento delle esequie di Carlo V, realizzando il concetto che loro si erano formulato dei funerali degli antichi imperatori Romani. Con Bernardo Buontalenti collaborarono Alessandro Allori, il Giambologna ed il giovanissimo Ludovico Cigoli che in questa occasione fece il suo primo ingresso nel mondo artistico.