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Cosimo I de' Medici, by Agnolo Bronzino.
(Private collection).

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Bronzino's portrait of Cosimo I in armour
ROBERT B. SIMON

Joseph that is unusual in this picture, but the fact that he is portrayed as an athletic, youthful man, at work at his trade; traditionally in Italian *Holy Families* Joseph had played a passive rôle, as an old, inactive man. In the fifteenth century Joseph's image had undergone something of a rehabilitation in northern painting, in which, as a carpenter, he was presented as an *exemplum* of humility and industry.³¹ However, in Italian art such ideas became influential only after the Council of Trent when, for example, the reformer Molanus recommended that Joseph no longer be represented as a weak and aged man but as a robust, youthful worker, and the Jesuits popularised 'Jesus, Joseph, and Mary' as the earthly counterpart of the heavenly Trinity.³² The prominence given to Joseph the carpenter in Pontormo's work, then, emphasises its theme of humility: as the Virgin takes her lowly seat, so Joseph labours at his humble craft.

Because Pontormo's *Madonna* dates well before the codification and popularisation of such Tridentine notions of Joseph's rôle, we may be justified in asking if this uncommon theme in it was introduced in reference to the recipient of the painting – Rossino, the builder of

Pontormo's house. While Rossino was not primarily a carpenter, the building trades were overlapping occupations at the time, and in the very decade in which this *Madonna* was painted the five building guilds (including the *Maestri di Pietra e Legname* to which Rossino must have belonged) were consolidated in the *Arte dei Fabbricanti*, the statutes of which were drawn up in 1542.³³

If the unusual subject of Joseph as carpenter in Pontormo's *Madonna* indeed alluded to Rossino, then the unusual background of the painting may also relate to the circumstances of its creation. The *Madonna* is seated in front of a Florentine cityscape consisting of a jagged row of rooftops punctuated by three towers; to the right, the archway that frames the vignette of Joseph at work is evidently unfinished at its top – could it allude to the entrance of a house in course of building?³⁴

Pontormo's many copyists may thus have found more of interest in his *Madonna* than its – characteristically for the late Pontormo – singular and aberrant beauty. Its urban, manifestly Florentine setting, together with the vernacular piety of its domestic Trinity could well explain the appeal of the picture to the younger painters who so frequently copied it during the Counter-Reformation years.

³¹ See above, n.29. The most fervent advocate of a Joseph cult was Jean Gerson (1363-1429), chancellor of the University of Paris, who emphasised the moral, familial virtues of the saint, his humble trade, his rôle as the 'guardian of the mystery of the incarnation', and his youth (see SHAPIRO, *op. cit.*, pp.184-85). For Joseph the carpenter as an *exemplum* of humility, see also the *Meditations on the Life of Christ*, ed. I. RAGUSA and R. B. GREEN, Princeton [1961], pp.69, 76.

³² MOLANUS: *De picturis et imaginibus sacris*, Louvain [1570], Ch.LXII. For Joseph's glorification in the period of the Counter-Reformation, see L. REAU: *Iconographie de l'Art Chrétien*, Paris [1956], Vol.III, pp.754ff.

³³ See RICHARD A. GOLDTHWAITE: *The Building of Renaissance Florence*, Baltimore and London [1980], pp.249-72. The patron saints of the *Maestri di Pietra e di Legname* were, of course, the *Quattro Coronati*, but the carpenters' guild founded a *Compagnia di San Giuseppe*.

³⁴ Caroline Elam has made the interesting suggestion that the church spire to the far left may be the destroyed spire of S. Piero Maggiore, Pontormo's parish church, and that the other buildings behind the Virgin may also be topographical of his neighbourhood.

ROBERT B. SIMON

Bronzino's portrait of Cosimo I in armour*

THE commission for Bronzino's portrait of *Cosimo I in armour* is mentioned by Vasari immediately following his description of the frescoes in the Chapel of Eleonora di Toledo in the Palazzo Vecchio, works datable to 1540-43:

*Il signor duca, veduta in queste ed altre opere l'eccellenza di questo pittore, e particolarmente che era suo proprio ritrarre dal naturale quanto con più diligenza si può imaginare, fece ritrarre sè, che allora era giovane, armato tutto d'arme bianche e con una mano sopra l'elmo.*¹

There has been considerable confusion (and little consensus) among critics and historians concerning the identity of the picture referred to, its size, the number of replicas made of it, and the authorship of those paint-

ings. Over twenty-five versions, differing only slightly in composition, are known of the portrait; nearly all of these have been considered, at one time or another, to be from the hand of Bronzino, and many have been specifically identified as the primary work cited by Vasari.² The

² Appendix II contains a check list giving basic information, provenance, and references for each version; individual pictures are noted in the text by their check list number in parentheses. With the exception of the coolly erotic (if slightly preposterous) *Cosimo I as Orpheus* now in Philadelphia, Bronzino's portraits of the Duke (and their copies) are of three basic types. The first of these is the subject of the present article and shows the young Duke in armour. A second type, portraying the Duke wearing a doublet, replaced the *Cosimo in armour* as the approved image around 1560. Nearly forty versions of this portrait, which may be called *Cosimo at the age of forty* are known – the most frequently cited being the fine (but not autograph) portraits in the Galleria Borghese in Rome (Inv. 94) and the Galleria Sabauda in Turin (No.123); cf. K. LANGEDIJK: *The Portraits of the Medici*, I, Florence [1981], Nos 27-36. The last portrait, which in turn became the preferred representation, presents Cosimo in final years, seen frontally and often wearing the regalia of his 1569 title of Grand Duke; cf. LANGEDIJK, *op. cit.*, Nos 27-33. On Cosimo's iconography see, above all, LANGEDIJK, *op. cit.*, pp.79-120, 407-530; K. FORSTER: 'Metaphors of Rule; Political Ideology and History in the Portraits of Cosimo I de' Medici', *Mitteilungen des Kunsthistorischen Institutes in Florenz*, XV, 1 [1971], pp.65-104; and P. RICHELSON: 'Studies in the Personal Imagery of Cosimo I de' Medici', unpub. Ph.D. diss., Princeton University, 1973.

*This article is in part derived from my doctoral thesis, 'Bronzino's Portraits of Cosimo I de' Medici' (Columbia University, 1982). Space does not permit my thanking the many people who kindly assisted me in the course of my research, but I would here like to acknowledge the many helpful suggestions of R. J. Berman, David Rosand, and Gustav Jospé.

¹ VASARI-MILANESI, Vol. VII, pp.597-98. For the dating of the Chapel of Eleonora, see J. COX REARICK: 'Les dessins de Bronzino pour la Chapelle d'Eleonora au Palazzo Vecchio', *Revue de l'Art*, 14 [1971], p.11.

recent recovery of another *Cosimo I in armour* (Fig.9; Appendix II, No.19) – this the only autograph full-sized (three-quarter length) version known – has, however, not only brought to light a lost masterpiece, but has led to the resolution of several of the problems associated with the entire group of images.

The 'new' portrait appeared at auction in 1971 as a copy after Bronzino; subsequent cleaning has revealed not only that the picture is in extremely fine condition but that it is unquestionably a work by Bronzino himself.³ The Duke stands in a shallow space before a curtain backdrop of intense ultramarine. His steel-grey suit of parade armour is embellished and articulated by etched surface decorations, golden rivets and hinges, brilliant crimson linings and trimmings, and gleaming reflections of cool, white light. He holds his helmet beneath his right hand, atop a severed tree-trunk that bears the inscription *COSMVS MEDICES · DVX FLOR.* As in all versions of the portrait Cosimo is turned three-quarters to the right as he gazes intently to the left. But unlike most of the other portraits, especially the other three-quarter length versions, this picture is painted with a virtuosity that makes the subtle details of the armour and its reflections wholly convincing; the figure of the Duke – rendered with manifest suavety, clarity, and intensity – creates a vibrant and unforgettable presence.

Although unknown to modern scholars, this is not, in a literal sense, an unpublished work; it has claims in fact to being the first published version of the portrait, having appeared in engraved form in the 1575 illustrated edition of Paolo Giovio's *Elogia virorum bellica virtute illustrium* (Fig.11).⁴ The presence of the portrait in Giovio's book, which functioned in part as a catalogue of the author's renowned collection, points to the unusual circumstance of the picture's provenance being traceable without break from the time of Giovio, who died in 1552, to the present.⁵ The panel remained with Giovio's family until 1860, when a descendant sold it to Prince Napoleon; at his sale at Christie's in 1872 the picture was acquired for Alfred Morrison, whose grandson, Lord Margadale, sold the portrait through the same house in 1971.⁶

³ I am grateful to the owner for permission to study and publish this work. The picture was cleaned by Herbert Lank. The poplar panel has been neither thinned nor cradled; two transverse battens are present. There are no obvious indications of sawing on the edges, although the panel may have been reduced slightly over the years.

⁴ PAOLO GIOVIO: *Elogia virorum bellica virtute illustrium* . . . , Basel [1575], pp.390-91; see note 28 below. A bust-length derivation appears as an illustration to SAMUEL FUCHS: *Metascopia & Ophthalmoscopia*, Strassburg [1615], p.78. See as well K. LANGEDIJK, *op. cit.*, No.27-19a.

⁵ The picture is first referred to in the unillustrated first edition of GIOVIO's *Elogia*, Florence [1551], pp.338-39.

⁶ See the check list for the provenance. The sale of the picture by Giorgio Raimondi Orchi to Prince Napoleon is recorded in G. GIOVIO: *Lari artistici; collezioni*, Como [1881], p.81. (Stefano Della Torre kindly brought this reference to my attention.) The same information is given in the studies on Giovio's collection by N. PONCE DE LEÓN: *The Columbus Gallery*, New York [1893], p.15; E. MÜNTZ: 'Le Musée de Portraits de Paul Jove', *Mémoires de l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres*, XXXVI, 2 [1900-01], pp.273, 331; and L. ROVELLI: *L'opera storica di Paolo Giovio* . . . , Como [1928], p.143, No.143. What is in all likelihood the Bronzino portrait, described as 'un *Cosimo de' Medici d'eccezionale pennello*', is recorded in the collection of Count Paolo Giovio in 1795 (G. B. GIOVIO: *Como e il Lario; commentario*, Como [1795], p.33; Linda Klinger, whose forthcoming dissertation at Princeton University treats Giovio's portrait collection, kindly passed this reference on to me). At the Christie's sale of 1872 the picture was purchased by a certain Holloway, probably not the collector Thomas Holloway, but the firm Holloway & Sons which, at least from 1864 to 1870, operated at Bedford Street, Covent Garden (I am grateful to Jeannie Chapel for

Vasari's mention gives no indication that the portrait was intended as an official representation of the Duke or that more than one version of it had been painted. Yet the number of extant replicas attest both to the work's *de facto* official status and to its currency over a period of several years. Among modern critics the quest for a single 'original', sometimes to the exclusion of the possibility of autograph replicas, seems to have begun with Milanese; he identified as such the three-quarter length portrait rediscovered in the Florentine Guardaroba in the nineteenth century and now in the Pinacoteca Nazionale in Lucca (No.26).⁷ Other critics cited the half-length example in the Pitti (No.16) as autograph, while in their respective monographs on Bronzino Schulze considered the version at Kassel (Fig.12; No.20) primary and McComb held the variant in the Metropolitan Museum in New York (Fig.10; No.21) to be the most likely archetype.⁸ Gamba, in 1925, had meanwhile introduced as '*prototipo originale*' the half-length version now exhibited in the Tribuna of the Uffizi (Fig.13; No.8), that had recently been recovered from the Medici villa at Castello.⁹

The list of candidates has since grown with the recognition of other versions, as well as through confusion caused by the similarity in appearance of many of these pictures.¹⁰ In the broadest survey so far, Karla Langedijk's *The Portraits of the Medici*, thirteen versions of the portrait are listed, of which three (Nos. 12, 16, and 20) are considered autograph; surprisingly, the Tribuna portrait (No.8), which had become the only version generally attributed to Bronzino himself, is there given to the court copyist Luigi Fiammingo.¹¹

Part of the difficulty in understanding the problem of the portrait has to do with the varied sizes and formats of the known versions. The smallest seven, beginning with the tin miniature in the Uffizi (No.1; 15.8 by 12.2 cm), are head-and-shoulders portraits; nine are half-length (Nos. 8-16); and the rest, extending to the larger-than-life panel at Lucca (No.26; 181 by 103 cm), are three-quarter length in format. In considering which of these formats was primary, logic might suggest that the largest was created first, the half-length and bust compositions being subsequent excerpted derivations. The three-quarter

this suggestion). Holloway appears to have been acting as agent for Alfred Morrison; other pictures purchased by Holloway later appeared in the Morrison collection. A label on the back of the panel records the 'Portrait of Cosmo di Medici by Bronzino' being on the 'No.1 Drawing Room Landing' at Font-hill House on 28th December, 1887. Lord Margadale has kindly confirmed the provenance, noting that the picture appeared in the house inventory as follows: 'Portrait of Giovanni della Bande Neri [*sic*] father of Cosimo de' Medici, First Grand Duke of Tuscany. Three-quarter length, facing the spectator, in damascened armour, holding his helmet. On Panel. From the collection of Prince Napoleon, 1872. 33" x 25".'

⁷ MILANESI, in VASARI, *op. cit.*, Vol. VII, p.598, n.1.

⁸ H. SCHULZE: *Die Werke Angelo Bronzinos*, Strassburg [1911], p.vi. A. MCCOMB: *Agnolo Bronzino; His Life and Works*, Cambridge, Mass. [1928], pp.13, 72-73. For those favouring the version in the Pitti see check list No.16.

⁹ C. GAMBA: 'Il ritratto di Cosimo I del Bronzino', *Bollettino d'arte*, V, 1 [1925], pp.145-47.

¹⁰ For example, the same picture (our No.24) is listed twice (and with slightly differing descriptions) in B. BERENSON: *Italian Pictures of the Renaissance; Florentine Schools*, London [1963], I, p.41, as No.1613 (the old exhibition number) and No.8739 (of the 1890 inventory). A. EMILIANI: *Il Bronzino*, Busto Arsizio [1960], pl.90, mistakenly illustrated his claim for the priority of the Uffizi portrait (No.8) with a colour plate of the version in the Pitti (No.16).

¹¹ LANGEDIJK, *op. cit.*, Nos 27-19, 27-19f, 27-19j, 27-19k, 27-21, 27-22, 27-22a, 27-25, 27-27, 27-29, 27-31, 27-35, 27-44.



9. *Cosimo I de' Medici in armour*, by Agnolo Bronzino. Panel, 86 by 67 cm. (Private collection).



10. *Cosimo I de' Medici*. Workshop of Bronzino. Panel, 95.9 by 70.5 cm. (Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York).



11. *Cosimo I de' Medici*, after Bronzino. Engraving from Paolo Giovo's *Elogia virorum bellica virtute illustrium*, 1575.



12. *Cosimo I de' Medici*. Workshop of Bronzino. Panel, 94.8 by 65.2 cm. (Gemäldegalerie Alte Meister, Schloss Wilhelmshöhe, Kassel).



13. *Cosimo I de' Medici*, by Agnolo Bronzino. Panel 71 by 57 cm. (Uffizi, Florence).

length versions show more of the armour and helmet than is seen in the half-length pictures and include as well the iconographically important severed tree-trunk, the so-called Medici *broncone*. This larger format, moreover, would conform with the typology (in so far as one existed) of state portraits, with which visually and functionally the *Cosimo I in armour* must be classed.¹²

Logic, however, has not been supported by the evidence of the pictures. Variations between the half and three-quarter length compositions suggest a later rather than an earlier date for the larger portraits. The badge of the Order of the Golden Fleece is generally seen hanging about the Duke's neck in the three-quarter length works, but is absent from the half-lengths; the date of the award, 1545, might thus seem to separate these two formats.¹³ Similarly, Cosimo's beard, short and thin in the half-length portraits, becomes a fuller, heavier growth covering the chin in the larger paintings known up till now. But by far the most difficult obstacle to accepting the primacy of the larger version has been the absence of any picture for which an attribution to Bronzino himself might be convincingly maintained. The handsome version in Kassel (Fig.12; No.20), which has usually been considered the finest of the group, is typical in that indications of its workshop origin are evident not only in the careful, somewhat dry rendering of the subject generally, but also in the lack of authority (or understanding) in replicating some of the subtler aspects of the design.¹⁴ The reflections of the helmet on the breastplate and the underside of the vambrace (forearm armour), for example, are reductively treated in a manner that implies some remove from the model. Moreover, the awkward placing of the figure of Cosimo to the left of the picture field – creating a gap that had to be filled with an extension of the trunk, branch, and helmet at the right – seems to enervate the composition as a whole. (In two other versions, Nos. 23 and 25, too much purposeless dead space surrounds the Duke and thus vitiates the overall power of the image.) Above all, none of the previously published three-quarter length portraits evinces those

qualities so distinctive in Bronzino's autograph works of dynamic, trenchantly drawn forms almost imperceptibly painted and uncompromisingly finished beneath a brilliant, lapidary surface.

Such quality is, on the other hand, apparent in the celebrated half-length portrait in the Tribuna of the Uffizi (Fig.13; No.8). This picture seems atypical of Bronzino's autograph works only in the somewhat opaque appearance of the face, hands, and highlights of the armour – surface effects apparently resulting from the artist's partial employment of tempera medium. This picture can moreover be claimed as the initial portrait of the Duke, since *pentimenti* along the shoulder are clearly visible in natural raking light.¹⁵ This panel, however, which has retained its original dimensions, can be considered the prototype of only those versions of the portrait which are of equivalent or lesser format (half-length or bust). The three-quarter length pictures with their compositional additions must necessarily have followed another source.¹⁶ The recently recovered version of the portrait (Fig.9; No.19) apparently served such a function. It is unquestionably the finest of the large format pictures both in its execution and its formal structure, which contains none of the problematical elements noted in the other versions: the Duke is seen without the Golden Fleece, wearing a thin beard, and placed centrally and powerfully in the composition.

The specific place this version occupied in the sequence may be clarified by considering the workshop *Cosimo in armour* in the Metropolitan Museum of Art (Fig.10; No.21). This picture, the only other three-quarter length version to portray the Duke without the Golden Fleece and with a thin beard, is distinguished by a variant background of hanging drapery with ornamental borders and a raised fringed curtain – perhaps an allusion to the hangings that covered exhibited portraits in the cinquecento.¹⁷ The central part of the portrait (that area equivalent to the half-length composition) is faithfully rendered in an exacting if rather dry manner. But in seeking to create a larger image, the copyist has surrounded the 'basic' Cosimo with accoutrements of his own design. The armour below Cosimo's waist (the skirt of lames) is conceived only generically: the artist was familiar with the general type of armour, but not with its actual appearance. To the right a table has been introduced, covered rather awkwardly by two types of woven material that conceal precisely those parts of the helmet not visible in the half-length version. Rather than improve the expansion (as he had done with the lower

¹² J. BECK: 'Bronzino nell'inventario mediceo del 1560', *Antichità viva*, XI, 3 [1972], p.12, n.8; G. SMITH: 'Bronzino's Portrait of Stefano Colonna; A Note on its Florentine Provenance', *Zeitschrift für Kunstgeschichte*, XL, 3-4 [1977], p.269 n.18. The typology of the state portrait, at least in the 1540s, is not precisely definable. It may broadly be considered a sanctioned representation of a ruler, usually intended for public display, that portrays the sitter in an official capacity. As MARIANNA JENKINS noted (*The State Portrait; Its Origin and Evolution*, New York [1947], p.7), a monumentality in both scale and design is requisite in such representations.

¹³ There has been some confusion about the date when Charles V awarded the Golden Fleece to Cosimo. The usual year given, 1546, refers to the official year of embodiment of the twenty-first chapter of the Order, into which Cosimo was inducted. Charles evidently conferred the honour as early as 30th November 1544, although the messenger bringing the badge is known not to have reached Florence until 29th July 1545, and the Duke was not formally invested with the decoration until 11th August of that year. See L. CANTINI: *Vita di Cosimo de' Medici primo gran-duca di Toscana*, Florence [1805], pp.179-80. Whether or not Cosimo felt it necessary to have the badge in his possession before having it recorded in his portrait cannot be surmised. The intermittent appearance of the Golden Fleece among the several versions of the portrait does, however, indicate that the portrait type originated before July 1545, if not November 1544. See Appendix.

¹⁴ Given the lack of documentation on the various versions of the portrait, the term "workshop" must be understood in a broad sense. What is referred to as a 'workshop version' might have been painted by an assistant in the master's studio, by an unrelated artist charged with executing a copy, or by such specialists in portrait replication at the Medici court as Louis van Oort, called Luigi Fiammingo and Cristofano de' Papi, called Altissimo.

¹⁵ The contour of the armour against the background was changed along the lowest plate of the gorget (neck-piece) adjacent to the pauldron (shoulder-defence) on Cosimo's right shoulder. A similar alteration is visible at his left shoulder: a *pentimento* is clearly visible slightly below and within the current edge of the gorget. Cosimo's third finger seems to have been altered by the artist as well, but this change is less definite. Examination in better light than that available in the Tribuna, as well as with X-rays (which have never been taken of the portrait) would no doubt be useful.

¹⁶ GAMBA, *op. cit.*, p.147 and E. SCHLEIER: *Bilder von Menschen der Kunst des Abendlandes*, Berlin [1980], p.209, support the primacy of the half-length format by maintaining that the three-quarter length versions are later expansions of the original image, executed several years after it and probably by followers of the artist.

¹⁷ A very similar background treatment appears in a *Portrait of a young man* attributed to Salviati or Siciolante (but, I believe, by neither) also in New York (No.55.14; F. ZERI and E. GARDNER: *Italian Paintings; A Catalogue of the Collection of the Metropolitan Museum of Art; Florentine School*, New York [1971], pp.205-07); this Florentine work may well date after 1560.

armour and the right edge of the helmet) the copyist here chose to block our view of that which he could not confidently portray. Finally, to the right of the helmet – again in an area beyond the ‘half-length zone’ – Cosimo’s left hand makes an unnecessary and unanatomical appearance. Although conceived as a three-quarter length image, this portrait was thus clearly derived from a half-length source, presumably because no three-quarter length portrait had been painted at the time of the completion of this version. When this observation is put together with the variations in form and quality of all the versions, a hypothetical sequence can be proposed for the entire group of portraits. In this scheme the first example of the portrait of *Cosimo I in armour* would be the half-length picture in the Uffizi Tribuna (Fig.13; No.8);¹⁸ this work served as the prototype for several copies, commissioned for a variety of mostly political and diplomatic purposes. At least one of these copies appears to have been painted by the master himself: the version in Poznan (No.12) seems to be an autograph replica. But most were carried out by workshop artists; these include the half-length portraits in the Ruspoli, Thyssen, and ex-St George collections (Nos. 11, 14, 15) and probably the bust portrait that appeared on the New York art market some years ago (No.7).

A more substantial image of the Duke was evidently desired and perhaps required by the exigencies of Cosimo’s political ambitions. The expanded portrait discussed above (No.21) reflects the relatively awkward attempts made by unidentifiable court painters to respond to this need. Bronzino himself was then apparently commissioned to create a three-quarter length version of his earlier portrait. This new painting (Fig.9; No.19) seems partly to have followed the cartoon of its predecessor – incised marks along the perimeter of the ‘half-length zone’ are still perceptible¹⁹ – but Bronzino seamlessly enlarged the figure, incorporating additional sections of the Duke’s armour and using the Medici *broncone* as a support for the helmet. This picture became the new model for replication. Later workshop copies of it add the badge of the Golden Fleece and show the Duke slightly older and his beard rather thicker; they include three-quarter length pictures in Kassel (Fig.12), Toledo, Annapolis, and Lucca (Nos. 20, 23, 25, 26) and versions of smaller format, such as the half-length in the Pitti (No.16) or the bust portraits (Nos. 4, 6) of indeterminate location. Bronzino himself was probably responsible for the miniature copy in the Uffizi (No.1), part of a series of portraits of the Medici. The replication generally ceased by 1560, when the *Portrait of Cosimo I at the age of forty* was introduced;²⁰ yet one large (No.24) and one

small (No.3) version of the portrait appear to have been painted later in the century.

The large number of versions of *Cosimo I in armour* and its successors attest to Cosimo’s studied use of portraits as an element of statecraft.²¹ Though replicas of the Duke’s portrait were painted for relatives and his own residences, many such works were intended as political gifts or indications of friendship and respect – the former often in the guise of the latter.²² In this process – well documented in correspondence and inventories of the Medici Guardaroba²³ – Cosimo seems to have been inspired, if not directly guided, by Paolo Giovio, Bishop of Nocera (1483-1552). The illustrious historian, letter writer, and portrait collector, long a Medici partisan, served Cosimo as both friend and advisor in the last years of his life.²⁴ It is thus of particular import that the rediscovered Bronzino portrait of the Duke (No.19) can be traced back to Giovio’s own collection of portraits of famous men, the *Museum* built at the site of Pliny’s villa on Lake Como.²⁵

There is no specific documentation of how and when Giovio acquired the portrait, but much can be surmised. The *Museum*, as he called the villa at Borgovico that housed the portrait gallery of *uomini illustri*, was not completed until 1543, but Giovio had long before begun his activity as a collector, in a manner guided by humanistic and moral precepts. He reveals his motives in the earliest known letter (1521) referring to his collection: ‘*ut boni mortales eorum exemplo ad virtutes aemulatione gloriae accenderentur.*’²⁶

Although Giovio commissioned some works, such as

²¹ This aspect is treated at greater length in my doctoral dissertation, cited above.

²² A well documented example concerns a portrait of Cosimo sent by him to Emanuele Filiberto, Duke of Savoy, in 1566. The picture – which is probably the *Cosimo I at the age of forty* still in Turin (see n.2 above) – appears in the inventory of the Medici Guardaroba for that year ‘*per mandare al Duca di Savoia*’ (Archivio di Stato, Florence – hereafter referred to as ASF – Inv. Guardaroba, Filza 65, 1560-67, fol.160b; cf. J. BECK: ‘The Medici Inventory of 1560’, *Antichità viva*, XIII, 5 [1974], p.61). Emanuele Filiberto’s letter of thanks for the gift survives; L. CIBRARIO: *Lettere inedite di Santi, Papi, principi . . .*, Turin [1861], p.215.

²³ A letter of 1548 to the Duke from his majordomo Pierfrancesco Riccio refers to the ordering of a portrait for a Commisario Pagano: ‘. . . messer Lelio (Torelli) mi disse per parte de V. Ecc.a. ch’io dessi un ritratto al Comm.ro Pagano così ho ordinato si faccia per darglielo’ (ASF Mediceo, Filza 656, c.249-251v, dated Florence, Nov. 29, 1548). And the following year the Duke arranged for copies of portraits of himself and the Duchess to be made for the powerful Antoine Perrenot, Bishop of Arras, later Cardinal Granvelle, ambassador and intimate of Charles V. In a letter of 18th November 1549, Cosimo relates to his ambassador at the court of Charles, ‘S’è ordinato al Maiordomo che facci fare e ritratti che desidera Mons. d’Aras della Duchessa et di noi, et se gli invieranno al più presto che si potrà’ (ASF Mediceo, Filza 4311, unnumbered folios, written at Pisa to the Bishop of Forlì; these two references were kindly passed on to me by Edward Sanchez). The running inventory of the Medici Guardaroba from 1560 to 1567 (see n.17 above) shows portraits of the Duke being sent in 1563 to Giovanni Battista Castaldo, a warrior for Charles V; to the ‘*principe di Baviera*’ (presumably Albert V Wittelsbach) the following year; and to a certain Cavaliere de’ Nobili in 1569 (cf. Beck, *op. cit.* [1974], p.63, and Langedijk, *op. cit.*, Nos 27-4 and 27-5 for the first and third, attributed to Altissimo).

²⁴ See T. P. ZIMMERMANN: ‘Paolo Giovio and Cosimo I De’ Medici; 1537-1552’, unpub. Ph.D. diss., Harvard University, 1964.

²⁵ The most important treatments of Giovio’s collection are by MÜNTZ (*op. cit.*) and ROVELLI (*op. cit.*); recent contributions of note are those of P. L. DE VECCHI, in *Omaggio a Tiziano*, Milan [1977], pp.87-96, and M. GIANONCELLI: *L’antico Museo di Paolo Giovio in Borgovico*, Como [1977].

²⁶ P. GIOVIO: *Lettere* (Opera, I-II), Rome [1956], I, p.92, No.8 and G. GAYE: *Carteggio inedito d’artisti dei secoli XIV, XV, XVI*, Florence [1840], II, p.152; Giovio here wrote from Florence to Mario Equicola in Mantua, 28th August 1521.

¹⁸ For the date, see Appendix I.

¹⁹ These incised marks are in the gesso and become apparent in raking light. The most prominent (appearing even in photographs) is a horizontal line 10.5 cm from the bottom that extends from a point 3.5 cm from the left of the panel’s edge to a point 4 cm from the right side. This line passes just below Cosimo’s elbow and through the visor and chin-piece of the helmet. A parallel mark of the same breadth is located 1.5 cm from the top of the panel. Connecting these are two vertical lines that serve to complete a rectangle; one passes to the left of Cosimo’s right shoulder, the other to the right of his hand and through part of the helmet. This rectangle of 74 by 58.5 cm corresponds with the area in the half-length portraits, both in size and form. This suggests that a half-length cartoon – the perimeters of which were traced onto the panel – was used by Bronzino as the basis for this picture, and that the areas of the armour and *broncone* were added subsequently.

²⁰ For which see n.2 above.

Bronzino's *Andrea Doria*,²⁷ for his gallery, his usual mode of acquisition was to solicit gifts. Many letters to the rich, powerful, and famous of the day survive, recording Giovio's requests for portraits of the recipient, his relatives, ancestors, or more distinguished associates. When his request was successful, the portrait would be sent to Giovio and the subject would eventually be described in the *Elogia*, a published compilation of 'eulogies' written putatively as explanatory labels for the portraits in the *Museum*.²⁸

No specific request for the Duke's portrait survives,²⁹ but it would seem most likely that Cosimo made a gift of the picture to Giovio, much as he had bestowed upon the Bishop vestments, a house in Florence, a generous stipend, and tapestries from the Medici *Arazzeria*.³⁰ Of these, the Bronzino would seem the most appropriate gift for the Duke's portrait-collecting friend and advisor. That so important a version of the portrait (rather than a workshop copy) was sent may reflect not only the high regard with which Giovio was held by Cosimo – as well as by Bronzino, who, Vasari noted, was '*amico suo*'³¹ – but also Giovio's own responsibility for the picture's iconography. Giovio had long been involved with Medicean iconography – he devised the programme for the frescoes at Poggio a Caiano³² – and the introduction of the Medici *broncone* into the composition of the portrait may well have been at his prompting.

The *broncone* is the most significant compositional addition to the first, half-length prototype. The broken tree with a branch in leaf is here an adaptation of a specific *impresa* of Cosimo's, in which the image was paired with the Vergilian motto, '*Uno avulso non deficit alter*' (when one is torn away a second does not fail). Unlike many renaissance emblems with contrived, arcane constructs, the meaning is at once comprehensible and significant. No

clearer explanation of it exists than that found in Giovio's own *Dialogo dell' impresa*. Cosimo, he writes,

*ebbe un'altra impresa nel principio del suo principato dotamente trovata dal reverendo messer Pier Francesco de' Ricci suo maggiordomo, e fu quel che dice Vergilio nell' Eneida del ramo d'oro, col motto: Uno avulso non deficit alter, figurando un ramo svelto dall'albero in luogo del quale ne succede subito un altro, volendo intendere che, se bene era stata levata la vita al duca Alessandro, non mancava un altro ramo d'oro nella medesima stirpe.*³³

The *broncone* stood for the vitality and legitimacy of Medici succession:³⁴ in spite of the murder of Alessandro, Cosimo's predecessor, and the extinction of the primary branch of the family, another branch (that of Cosimo, descended from the secondary branch of the family) rises to take its place.³⁵

In Bronzino's portrait the stump is put to practical use as a support for Cosimo's helmet and the laurel leaves are only dimly visible in the dark space between Cosimo's hand and the curtain backdrop. The new branch of the 'Medici tree' emerges from the trunk in the darkness below the chin-piece of the helmet and to the left of the inscribed word *MEDICES*. The emblem is prominent, if unobtrusive, and its inclusion in the picture for a patron who had an array of emblems from which to choose, certainly significant. Giovio indicated that the *broncone* was employed by Cosimo at the beginning of his rule, following a period when the Duke's legitimacy as the proper successor to the assassinated Alessandro had not yet been thoroughly established. When the three-quarter length portrait of the Duke was commissioned, this sense of dynastic insecurity was evidently still of sufficient issue to warrant the employment of an emblem that was an established symbol of proper Medicean succession.

Shortly after its use in the Bronzino portrait, the *broncone* ceased to appear as an *impresa* of Cosimo's – an indication of the Duke's increasing power and sureness of control. Subsequent replicas of the portrait show the abandonment of the emblem. In the pictures now in Kassel (Fig.12), Toledo, Florence (Uffizi No.8739), Annapolis, and Lucca (Nos. 20, 23, 24, 25, 26), an olive branch replaces the laurel and the sprout emerging from

²⁷ Pinacoteca di Brera, Milan, No.565. VASARI, *op. cit.*, VII, p.595. The picture was acquired from descendants of Giovio in 1897; cf. B[ELTRAMI]: 'Il ritratto di Andrea Doria e il Museo Giovio in Como', *Rassegna d'Arte*, I, 2 [1901], pp.31-32.

²⁸ Giovio published two volumes of *Elogia* in keeping with the division of the portrait collection between literary and political figures—the *Elogia veris clarorum virorum* [1546] and the *Elogia virorum bellica virtute illustrium* [1551]. These are in a sense the earliest museum catalogues since, as Giovio indicates to Cosimo I, the dedicatee of the latter volume, only those subjects of whom Giovio had obtained a 'true portrait' are included (Giovio: *Gli Elogi*, tr. Domenichi, Venice [1559], p.176; this the Italian translation of the 1551 work). Although Giovio wished to have the *Elogia* published with accompanying engravings after the portraits in the *Museum*, only the printed text appeared in his lifetime. However, in 1575 and 1577 the Basel publisher Perna brought out illustrated editions of the two volumes of *Elogia* – handsome folio publications that were often bound and sold together. The woodcut portraits, which were probably drawn by Tobias Stimmer, are all based on the paintings still then intact at Borgovico.

²⁹ The earliest indication of the portrait's being in Giovio's collection is given by the appearance of an *elogium* '*Sub effigie Cosmi Medicis Florent. Principis*' in Giovio's *Elogia virorum bellica* . . . of 1551 (see n.5 above); this work had been in progress at least as early as September 1548, when Giovio wrote to Doni about the possibility of engraved illustrations for it (P. GIOVIO, *op. cit.*, II, p.127, No.298 [1956]). At what precise point the picture came into Giovio's possession cannot be determined. A series of lists of portraits sent by Giovio to Como (evidently from Rome) survive, but the one mentioning '*Cosmus Medicus*' – in any case, as likely to be a portrait of Cosimo il vecchio as of Cosimo I – is undated (S. MONTI: 'Documenti Giovio inediti', *Periodico della Società Storica per la Provincia e Antica Diocesi di Como*, XVI [1904], p.57); the portrait of the elder Cosimo de' Medici that was owned by Giovio is now in the Civico Museo Storico G. Garibaldi in Como (No.438C).

³⁰ GIOVIO, *op. cit.* [1956], I, pp.213-14, no.92; II, p.230, no.405; II, pp.140-41, no.312.

³¹ VASARI, *op. cit.*, VII, p.595.

³² VASARI, *op. cit.*, V, p.195.

³³ GIOVIO: *Dialogo dell'impresa militari e amorose*, ed. M. L. Doglio, Rome [1978], pp.72-73. As Giovio indicated, the source for the motto is Vergil (*Aeneid*, VI, 43); on this theme see G. LADNER: 'Vegetation Symbolism and the Concept of the Renaissance', in *De Artibus Opuscula XL; Essays in Honor of Erwin Panofsky*, New York [1961], pp.303-22.

³⁴ Its most notable pictorial employment is in Pontormo's portrait of Cosimo '*Pater Patriae*'. J. SPARROW: 'Pontormo's Cosimo Il Vecchio, A New Dating', *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes*, XXX [1967], pp.163-67, proposed that this was painted c. 1537, during Cosimo I's tenure, because of the *impresa*'s particular association with the Duke. L. BERTI: *L'opera completa del Pontormo*, Milan [1973], p.49 suggested unconvincingly that the *broncone* was a later addition to the painting. Others have rightly rejected Sparrow's dating; see RICHELSON, *op. cit.*, pp.6-7, 18-19, n.17, with reference to FORSTER, *op. cit.*, p.67, n.4, and FORSTER: *Pontormo*, Munich [1966], p.43; M. WINNER: 'Cosimo il Vecchio als Cicero', *Zeitschrift für Kunstgeschichte*, XXXIII, 4 [1970], No.90, and 'Pontormos Fresko in Poggio a Caiano', *Zeitschrift für Kunstgeschichte*, XXXIII, 4 [1972], pp.186-87; and LANGEDIJK, *op. cit.*, pp.67-68.

³⁵ B. VARCHI: *Storia Fiorentina*, III, Florence [1841], p.251 records that when Cardinal Cibò proposed Cosimo for office following Alessandro's death in 1537, he began his nominating speech with the original Vergilian lines, '*Primo avulso* . . .' The *broncone* appeared within the next two years on the Duke's portrait medals (cf. LANGEDIJK, *op. cit.*, p.80 and No.27-161) and as part of the decorations at his marriage festival (cf. P. GIAMBULLARI: *Apparato et feste nelle nozze del Illustrissimo Signor Duca di Firenze* . . ., Florence [1539]).

the left of the stump is eliminated. Moreover, the branch seen at the rear of the stump is now more clearly visible, but is no longer physically joined to the tree.

The olive branch had been employed by the Medici as a symbol of peace³⁶ and as an attribute of Minerva, creator of the olive and goddess of peace and war, whose iconography included the branch as well as a lance and armour.³⁷ As goddess of wisdom and patroness of intellectual pursuits, Minerva was used to embody the qualities of peace and wisdom in specifically Medicean contexts. One of Cosimo's medals in fact has as its verso a seated Minerva in the guise of *Florentia* – armed, helmeted, and leaning on her lance (beneath the inscription '*Salus publica*').³⁸

The 'revised' *broncone*, with the olive branch substituted for laurel, served to alter the symbolic emphasis of the emblem from an assertion of dynastic legitimacy and Medicean power to a more secure indication of peaceful intent and intellectual involvement. Exactly when this change occurred is not known, but a tapestry of 1549 (woven after a cartoon by Bronzino) does show the arms of Cosimo and Eleonora di Toledo framed between the two figures of Apollo with laurel and Minerva with olive branches.³⁹

The joint guardianship of the Medici family by Apollo and Minerva does not appear to have been long maintained in visual representations. Although Apollo is repeatedly associated with Cosimo in a variety of works of art, Minerva's aegis virtually disappears from the Medici court. With the exception of Vasari's portrait of *Bernardetto de' Medici* of 1549 (Berlin),⁴⁰ in which a statue of Minerva appears as a personal emblem in the back-

ground, no Medicean representation of the goddess is known until the 1570s. The few years of Minerva's renewed popularity at the Medici court seem to correspond with the period in which the two versions of Bronzino's portrait that include the olive branch would for other reasons be placed, c.1545-1560. The reason for the use of the olive instead of the laurel in these later versions may relate to the intended recipients of these pictures. As diplomatic gifts, which many of these portraits no doubt were, an emblem of tranquillity might well have seemed more politic than one perhaps excessively involved with dynastic succession. The revised symbolism conveys more modest sentiments, perhaps more readily comprehensible outside immediate Medici circles. The increased space round the figure of the Duke in these late versions also serves to make these portraits more benign, less assertive. The trend towards a more restrained and confident official image ultimately resulted in the abandonment of this type and the adoption, from 1560, of the more subdued and assured *Cosimo I at the age of forty*.

Much of the impact of Bronzino's portrait derives from the treatment of the suit of armour. Occupying most of the picture's surface, it acquires an almost visionary appearance in the uniformly precise rendering of the detailed etched decorations and the brilliant execution of the reflections and highlights on the metallic surface. There seems little doubt that the picture provides an accurate and convincing record of the actual armour – which is known from a few fragments now in the Castel S. Angelo (Figs. 16, 17).⁴¹ A revealing comparison can be made between Bronzino's portrait and an anonymous posthumous portrait of Giovanni dalle Bande Nere at Turin (Fig. 15),⁴² in which the same suit of armour is worn by Cosimo's father. Slightly more of it is visible in this picture – the entire skirt of lames (including the lowest piece, one of the extant fragments) appears – and the helmet, filled by the two gauntlets, hangs upside down at the right, its inversion perhaps a reference to the subject's death.

On Giovanni the armour seems altogether more ordinary. The disparity in appearance and effect is remarkable – only partly attributable to the posthumous nature of the commission. Both Giovanni's flattened pose, contrasting with Cosimo's fluid *contrapposto*, and the undefined lighting, independent of the window source and so unlike Bronzino's dramatic control of light, serve to vitiate the general impact of the armour. Particularly indicative is the disparate treatment of the besagues, the

³⁶ The reverse of the portrait medal of Cosimo 'Pater Patriae' (datable 1465-69) features the figure of *Florentia* holding an olive branch as a sceptre of peace; the motto '*Pax Libertas/que publica*' reinforces the meaning (see G. F. HILL: *A Corpus of Italian Medals of the Renaissance before Cellini*, London [1930], No.909, and LANGEDIJK, *op. cit.*, No.26-28). More graphically, a figure representing *Pax* uses an olive branch to ignite a pile of weapons in several of Alessandro de' Medici's medals of 1534 (LANGEDIJK, *op. cit.*, Nos 1-31, 1-32, 1-33). There the motto '*Fundator Quietis*' refers to Alessandro's desire to be viewed as the bringer of stability and peace following the period of republican turmoil; it is in this role as 'peace-maker' that Cosimo was praised in the poems by Paolo Giovio the Younger and Antonio Francesco Rainieri appended to the elder Giovio's celebration of the Duke in the *Elogia* (see GIOVIO, *Elogia* [1551], pp.338-39). For the symbolism of the olive branch see G. DE TERVARENT: *Attributs et Symboles dans l'Art Profane; 1450-1600*, Geneva, [1958], cols. 290-91, with reference to *Genesis* 7:11.

³⁷ VERGIL, *Georgics*, I, 18-19. On the iconography of Athena/Minerva, see, *inter alia*, H. J. ROSE: *A Handbook of Greek Mythology Including its extension to Rome*, New York [1959], pp.68-107-12; TERVARENT, *op. cit.*, cols. 230, 270-71, 290; and R. WITTKOWER: 'Transformations of Minerva in Renaissance Imagery', *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes*, II [1938-39], pp.194-205.

³⁸ LANGEDIJK, *op. cit.*, No.27-164. M. MCCRORY, in *Palazzo Vecchio, committenza e collezionismo mediceo*, Florence [1980], No.279 suggests that this medal served as the centrepiece of the noted cameo portrait of Cosimo and Eleonora with their children (for which see LANGEDIJK, *op. cit.*, No.27-175 and MCCRORY, *op. cit.*, Nos 277-78).

³⁹ The tapestry is known in two versions, one in the Galleria Palatina (Inv. Arazzi, 1912-1925, No.28); the other in the storerooms of the Florentine galleries (Inv. Arazzi, 1912-1925, No.721). On these works see C. ADELSON, in *Palazzo Vecchio; committenza e collezionismo mediceo*, Florence [1980], nos 100-101, and LANGEDIJK, *op. cit.*, p.86, n.19, pl. XVII, for the version in the Palatina, but with a date of 1552 and a slightly misleading description.

⁴⁰ Vasari records his painting in 1549 a canvas of '*Bernardetto di messer Ottaviano de' Medici dentrovi una Minerva*' (K. FREY, ed.: *Der Literarische Nachlass Giorgio Vasaris*, I, Munich [1923], p.868). This picture is surely to be identified with the *Portrait of a Young Man* (Panel, 133 by 95 cm) now in the Gemäldegalerie of the Bode Museum in East Berlin, catalogued as a Bronzino. The attribution to Vasari was first proposed by H. HUNTLEY: 'Portraits by Vasari', *Gazette des Beaux-Arts*, LXXXIX, ser. 6 [1947], p.24.

⁴¹ The three surviving fragments consist of two knee-defenses (*ginocchielli*) and the bottom plate from the fauld or skirt of lames. These were first noted as such by V. NORMAN (cited in B. THOMAS: 'Die Innsbrucker Plattnerkunst; ein Nachtrag', *Jahrbuch der Kunsthistorischen Sammlungen in Wien*, LXX, n.s. XXXIV [1974], p.196). L. BOGGIA: 'Le armi medicee negli inventari del Cinquecento', in *Le arti del Principato Mediceo*, Florence [1980], p.390, n.15, states that the fragments come from the collections of the Bargello and were among a group of armour sent in 1927 and 1929 to the then-new Museo di Castel S. Angelo. On the basis of its appearance in the Uffizi portrait (No.8), the armour has been attributed to the Innsbruck court armourer Jörg Seusenhofer and its etched decoration to his associate Leonhard Meurl (THOMAS, *op. cit.*, pp.194-96). The date suggested by the style, 1537-1540, supports the assumption that the armour was a diplomatic gift from Ferdinand of Austria (brother of Charles V) to Cosimo on his accession to the dukedom in 1537.

⁴² Panel, 140 by 117 cm; see N. GABRIELLI with G. CARAMELLINO: *Galleria Sabauda; Maestri Italiani*, Turin [1971], pp.197-98, No.120. That the armour is Cosimo's was first noted by C. BUTTIN: 'Un portrait de Jean des Bandes Noires à la Pinacothèque de Turin', *Gazette des Beaux-Arts*, XI, 5 ser. [1925], pp.3-6.

pair of round spiked plates that protect the hollows under the arms. In the portrait of Giovanni they are rather soberly, undramatically treated; they seem less dangerous than decorative. But for Bronzino these forbidding defences seem to become the most striking element of the armour. They are seen at their most revealing angle with the spikes brilliantly fashioned to catch and reflect the light, and their prominence serves to underscore the physical and psychological distance of the Duke. Furthermore, the besagues become for Bronzino a formal and figurative analogue of the Duke's eyes.

Like the eyes the spikes are complementarily spaced but slightly askew. They seem almost a material correlative of the Duke's vision – piercing, precisely focused, sharp within its restrictions.⁴³ The besagues seem also to function, within the fiction of the portrait, as practical defences: warding off intrusion from the right just as the eyes, alert and watchful, note or prevent attack from the left.

Although the image of the Duke in armour may at first suggest bellicosity, Cosimo is portrayed in a non-combative manner. He carries no offensive weaponry and appears bare-headed; the gesture of his hand resting on the helmet is passive in nature. This characterisation may reflect political as well as artistic concerns, since in 1543, when the first of these portraits in armour seems to have been painted,⁴⁴ Cosimo achieved an important political victory by non-military means. This was the return of the *fortezze* of Florence, Livorno, and Pisa, which had been ceded to Charles V by Alessandro de' Medici in 1536 and had remained in imperial possession.⁴⁵ The withdrawal of the Spanish troops from these fortresses, which Cosimo negotiated in May of 1543, transferred military control of Tuscany from the Emperor to the Florentine Duke. The wider significance of the action was great; in the view of his contemporaries, Cosimo had finally achieved definitive control of Florence and the hopes of any republican revival were crushed. If the portrait was commissioned at this time (see Appendix I), it appropriately presents a man capable of battle, but triumphing through peaceful means.

Any such political impact must have been underscored by the portrait's resemblance to (and dependence on) Titian's *Charles V with drawn sword*. This lost work of the 1530s would seem to have been known to both artist and subject through Giovanni Britto's woodcut of c.1533-34 (Fig.14).⁴⁶ Charles is seen in the same general three-quarter pose, if without the contrasting turn of the head; the similarity of the armour (quite possibly from the same armourer) with its large besagues (here more naturally pendant) and couters (elbow-defences) accen-

tuates the closeness. For Cosimo, who owed the confirmation of his dukedom and much of his political stability to Charles, the resemblance would have been both reverential and self-lauding, the omission of a sword perhaps acknowledging subordination to the Emperor. This sort of pictorial emulation was typical of the Duke's purposive imitation of the Emperor in both art and life – from the time of Cosimo's accession and his adoption of the Capricorn (the zodiacal sign of both Charles and Augustus) as a personal emblem, followed by the striking of medals bearing their portraits on either side, to the Duke's abdication in favour of his son Francesco, following the example of the Emperor.⁴⁷ If Cosimo's desire had been to be portrayed like Titian's *Charles V*, he seems to have been successful only in part. For whereas Titian leaves no doubt as to Charles's power and his ability to use it, Bronzino seems to portray his subject as fearful as he is fearsome. It is of course expressed subtly – one might better say surreptitiously – but even here, in what should be the most adulatory of portrayals, Bronzino has introduced the same doubts, fears, misgivings, those cracks in the mask that he so profoundly perceives in the rest of humanity.

⁴⁷ On the Capricorn emblem see GIOVI, *op. cit.* [1978], pp. 71-72, and more fully, RICHELSON, *op. cit.*, ch. II. For the portrait medal, see LANGEDIJK, *op. cit.*, No. 27-156b. Concerning the abdication, see RIGUCCIO GALUZZI: *Istoria del Granducato di Toscana*, Florence [1781], II, p. 54 and L. STAFFETTI: 'Abdicazione di Cosimo I de' Medici in favore del figliuolo Francesco', *Arte e Storia*, XXVI [1907], pp. 23-25. For the relationship of Cosimo and Charles, see as well LANGEDIJK, *op. cit.*, pp. 86, 114, 152.

Appendix I: The date of the earliest version

The date of the portrait of *Cosimo I in armour* has generally been placed in the year 1545, when Cosimo was twenty-six years old, but a re-examination of the evidence suggests an earlier date for the initial portrait. The lack of the badge of the Golden Fleece (see n. 13 above) in many of the portraits suggests a *terminus ante quem* of July 1545, the date of the award. However, a speculative reading of two of Bronzino's letters has suggested, to nearly all critics, that the picture was actually painted at that time. The first letter was written within a month of the receipt of the *Toison d'or*. From the Medici villa at Poggio a Caiano Bronzino writes on 22nd August 1545, to the majordomo Riccio:

Ieri, che fummo alli XXI del presente fui con S. E. per cagione del Ritratto, dove dissi quanto per vostra S. mi fù imposto circa la spedizione della Tavola per in Fiandra, & come volendo sua E. che sene rifacessi un'altra bisognava stare costì al manco otto ò dieci giorni per farne un poco di disegno dissemi, che così voleva, & era contento, ma mi pare, che S. E. si contenti, che primo si fornisca il ritratto, & di più dice Sua E. che si faccia in questo mezzo fare il legname per dipignerli sù detta Tavola. & aggiunse sua prefata E. io la voglio in quel modo proprio come stà quello, & non la voglio più bella, quasi dicesse non m'entrare in altra inventione, per che quella mi piace . . .
(ASF Mediceo, Filza 1170A, fasc. I, Ins. 3, c.34; published by GAYE, *op. cit.*, II, pp.330-31).

At first glance this letter appears to furnish both a specific date for the portrait and an indication of how and why it was replicated (for such interpretations see Eric Cochrane: *Florence in the Forgotten Centuries*, London [1973], p.52, and Smith, *op. cit.*, p.269, n.18). However, the 'Tavola' that was being sent to Flanders and that Cosimo desired copied without alterations was not his portrait but the *Deposition from the Cross*, the large altarpiece painted by Bronzino for the Chapel of Eleonora di Toledo in the Palazzo Vecchio. Vasari (*op. cit.*, VII, p.597) mentions that the panel (now in Besançon) 'ne fu levata dal duca Cosimo per mandarla, come cosa rarissima, a donare a Granvela, maggiore uomo che già fusse appresso Carlo V imperatore. In luogo della qual tavola ne ha fatto una simile il medesimo, e postala sopra l'altare in mezzo a due quadri non manco belli che la tavola'. (Cf. AUGUSTE CASTAN: 'Le Bronzino du Musée de Besançon', *Réunion des Sociétés des Beaux-Arts des Départements à la Sorbonne*, 5th session [1881], pp.69-92). Nor can the 'Ritratto' mentioned at the beginning of the letter be assumed to represent the Duke; Bronzino writes that he was with Cosimo 'by reason of the [unidentified] portrait'. The reference might indeed be to a portrait of the Duke, whether one being made, replicated, or perhaps altered with the addition of the Golden Fleece; but it might as easily refer to a portrait of the Duchess or her children, three of whom, it should be noted, are known to have been painted by Bronzino in the spring of 1545. All one can confidently state here is that at this time Bronzino was working on a portrait for (but not necessarily of) the Duke and that, according to his letter, he would finish it before copying the *Deposition*.

In the second letter, sent to Riccio two weeks earlier, Bronzino complained that he needed more blue pigment (no doubt ultramarine) for a painting. He

⁴³ There is no satisfactory explanation of why Cosimo, like so many of Bronzino's subjects, appears wall-eyed. I can only suggest that this defect was considered in cinquecento Florence a desirable trait – a sign of uniqueness, distinction, perhaps even beauty.

⁴⁴ See Appendix I.

⁴⁵ On the issue of the fortresses, see A. D'ADDARIO: *La formazione dello stato mediceo in Toscana*, Lecce [1976], pp.184, 197, 204, 219.

⁴⁶ LANGEDIJK, *op. cit.*, p.86. Titian's portrait was painted c.1532-33 and appears reproduced in an engraving by Agostino Veneziano (Bartsch, XIV, 201, No.524) dated 1535. According to C. HOPE: 'Titian's Early Meetings with Charles V', *Art Bulletin*, LIX, 4 [1977], pp.551-52, this print was based on Britto's undated woodcut (for which see M. MURARO and D. ROSAND: *Tiziano e la silografia veneziana del Cinquecento*, Venice [1976], p.121, No.57).

had already received 'l'azzurro mandatommi dalla S.V. il quale in vero non è tanto a un pezzo, & è tanto poco che non credo sia dua danari', and so asked Riccio to send whatever he could as long as it was at least a half ounce 'perchè il campo è grande et ha ad essere scuro' (ASF Mediceo, Filza 1170A, fasc. I, Ins. 3, c.36; published by GAYE, *op. cit.*, II, pp.329-30). The letter indicates that Bronzino, who as usual received the expensive lapis lazuli-based pigment from his patron, was at that time working on a picture with a large, deep blue background. It is a mistake, however, to follow GAMBA (*op. cit.*, pp.145-47) and others in identifying the picture in question with the *Cosimo in Armour* in the Uffizi (No.8). The curtain background of that picture is indeed blue (and undoubtedly ultramarine in composition) but the 'campo' can hardly be described as 'grande'. A possible locale for all that ultramarine would have been the *Deposition* for Granvelle, which does have a large blue background and which must have required two ounces since for Bronzino's replica of the work (Palazzo Vecchio) he received from the guardaroba 'Addi 26 settembre 1553 . . . ij once d'azzurro ultramarino consegnato a M^o Bronzino pittor disser per la tavola della Cappella della Duchessa con ordine di S.Ecc.za . . . Once 2' (Cosimo Conti: *La prima reggia di Cosimo I de' Medici*, Florence [1893], p.63). Yet the *Deposition* is ultimately unlikely to have been the referent since a payment for gilding the frame in July 1545 (see GIOVANNI POGGI: 'La Pietà del Bronzino nella cappella del quartiere di Eleonora di Toledo in Palazzo Vecchio', *Rivista d'arte*, VI [1909], p.263, n.1) would indicate a degree of completion incompatible with the need for background pigment. In fact the most likely destination for the pigment would be the portrait of *Eleonora di Toledo with her son Giovanni* (Uffizi), a contemporary work especially remarkable for its grand background of intense, pellucid azure.

Although 1545 can still be considered the *terminus ante quem* (by reason of the date of the Golden Fleece award), more stringent guidelines for dating can be garnered from a literal reading of Vasari's chronologically arranged *Life* of Bronzino. As indicated above, the portrait of *Cosimo I in armour* is mentioned after the frescoes in the Chapel of Eleonora di Toledo of 1540-43 and before a list of other portraits done at court: ' . . . in un altro quadro la signora duchessa sua consorte; ed in un altro quadro il signor don Francesco loro figliuolo e prencipe di Fiorenza. E non andò molto che ritrasse, siccome piacque a lei, un'altra volta la detta signora duchessa, in vario modo dal primo, col signor don Giovanni suo figliuolo appresso' (VASARI, *op. cit.*, VII, p.597). This last mentioned work is the noted portrait in the Uffizi cited above, probably painted in the summer of 1545. The date of the earlier portrait of the Duchess alone, that painted immediately following the portrait of the Duke, seems to be furnished by the *rescritto* of a letter to Riccio of 23rd October 1543: 'Si è ricevuto in questo punto il ritratto della Ill.ma. Sig.ra duchessa et io proprio l'ho consegnato a S. Ecc.za la quale sta intorno al Duca che è in letto' (ASF Mediceo, Carteggio di P. F. Riccio, Filza 1170, c.336; published by ANNA BAJA: *Leonora di Toledo, Duchessa di Firenze e Siena*, Todi [1904], p.74).

Following Vasari's chronology quite literally, one arrives at the following sequence of Medici commissions: Bronzino's work for the decorations celebrating the marriage of Cosimo and Eleonora (1539); the frescoes in the Chapel of Eleonora di Toledo (1540-43); the portrait of *Cosimo I in Armour*; the portrait of *Eleonora di Toledo* (October 1543); a portrait of *Francesco I de' Medici*; the portrait of *Eleonora with her son Giovanni* (1545). A sensible placement of the *Cosimo* would be just before the *Portrait of Eleonora*, that is, in the summer of 1543.

This earlier date is supported by the apparent age of the Duke in the portrait. Comparison of Bronzino's *Cosimo* with near-contemporary images of the Duke by other artists indicate that Bandinelli's marble bust of c.1543-44 (Bargello) and Nicolò della Casa's engraving (after a drawing by Bandinelli), inscribed 1544, portray Cosimo at roughly the same moment as in the Bronzino portrait (cf. LANGEDIJK, *op. cit.*, Nos 27-105 and 27-56). They show Cosimo with an only irregular, partially-developed beard and a very faint moustache, unlike the fuller, richer beard common both to the later versions of the *Cosimo I in Armour* (specifically those with the Golden Fleece, of 1545 or later) and other representations, such as Cellini's bronze bust of 1545-47 (LANGEDIJK, *op. cit.*, Nos 27-127).

Appendix II

Check list of known versions of Bronzino's portrait of Cosimo I in Armour

(The paintings are listed in order of increasing size; with selected bibliography)

1. Uffizi, Florence, Inv. 1890, No.855. Tin, 15.8 by 12.2 cm.

Inscribed at the top in a later hand: COSMVS MED: FLOR ET SEN. DUS (sic) I. One of a series of twenty-four *quadretti* representing members of the Medici family (Inv. 1890, nos 848-71); by Bronzino, c.1552-60, although others in the set are by other hands and of various dates.

VASARI, *op. cit.*, VII, p.503; SCHULZE, *op. cit.*, p.xviii; MCCOMB, *op. cit.*, p.66 – all as by Bronzino. EMILIANI, *op. cit.*, p.88, as probably workshop; BERENSON, *op. cit.*, I, p.42, as partly autograph (but as by Bronzino in I Tatti files); L. BERTI: *Il Principe dello Studiolo*, Florence [1967], p.33, as of high quality, at least by Allori; E. BACCHESCHI: *L'opera completa del Bronzino*, Milan [1973], No.50, as 'attributed'; LANGEDIJK, *op. cit.*, No.27-22, ill., as workshop.

2. Villa Medicea di Poggio Imperiale, Florence, Inv. E. 3495 (Inv. P.I. 19). Canvas, 21.5 by 17 cm.

A bust portrait within a cartouche, part of a seventeenth- or eighteenth-

century series of Medici family portraits.

LANGEDIJK, *op. cit.*, No.27-22a, an eighteenth-century copy of the *quadretto* (No.1).

3. Brussels, with Robert Finck (1967). Panel, 24.1 by 17.8 cm.

Prov.: O. V. Watney, Cornbury Park; his sale, Christie's, London, 23rd June 1967, lot 18; bt. Betts.

A late derivation from Bronzino with disparate, perhaps fanciful armour.

V. J. WATNEY: *A Catalogue of Pictures and Miniatures at Cornbury and 11 Berkeley Square*, Oxford [1915], No.43, as Bronzino; LANGEDIJK, *op. cit.*, No.27-19k, as a bust copy or replica after Bronzino.

4. New York, A.A.A. Sale (1917). Panel, 38.1 by 29.2 cm.

Prov.: Elia Volpi, Florence; his sale, A.A.A., New York, 19th Dec. 1917, lot 438; bt. Orselli.

A bust portrait after Bronzino, perhaps derived from the Uffizi *quadretto* (No.1), portraying Cosimo against an uncurtained background.

LANGEDIJK, *op. cit.*, No.27-19j, as a copy or replica after Bronzino.

5. New York, A.A.A. Sale (1924). Unknown Support, 38.1 by 29.2 cm.

Prov.: Joseph Dabissi; his sale, A.A.A., New York, 15th Nov. 1924, lot 614.

Unillustrated in the catalogue and perhaps identical with No.4 above, as suggested by both the size and catalogue descriptions.

6. South Walsham (Norwich), with The Masque (1961). Unknown Support, 40.6 by 29.2 cm.

A fine bust portrait similar in format to the Uffizi *quadretto* (No.1); workshop.

Advertisement in *The Connoisseur*, CXLVIII [1961], p.liv, as Bronzino.

7. New York, with Lilienfeld Galleries (c.1950). Panel, 41.9 by 31.8 cm.

An excellent, though probably not autograph, bust portrait within a cartouche featuring paired *imprese* of Cosimo's (Capricorn and anchors with the motto *Duabus*) in the pendentives.

8. Uffizi, Florence, Inv. dep. no.28. Panel, 71 by 57 cm.

Prov.: Villa Medicea di Castello; transferred to the Uffizi in 1925.

By Bronzino, the earliest of the portraits in armour and the prototype of those in half-length format.

Considered autograph by the following, among others: GAMBA, *op. cit.*, pp.145-47; L. BECHERUCCI: *Manieristi toscani*, Bergamo [1944], p.46; EMILIANI, *op. cit.*, pp.46, 69, and pl.90, but illustrating No.16; POPE-HENNESSY: *The Portrait in the Renaissance*, New York [1966], pp. 182f; FORSTER, *op. cit.*, [1971], p.74, No.25, as Bronzino but incorrectly as having the *Toison d'or*; BACCHESCHI, *op. cit.*, No.54; C. MCCORQUODALE: *Bronzino*, New York [1981], p.93. MCCOMB, *op. cit.*, p.95, as a 'good school-copy' of No.16; BERENSON, *op. cit.*, I, p.42, as partly autograph; LANGEDIJK, *op. cit.*, p.108, No.27-44, as by Luigi Fiammingo.

9. Paris, Palais Galliera Sale (1975). Panel, 71 by 59 cm.

Prov.: Marquis de L. Rossiere; Baronne de Ruble (by 1885); Madame de Witte; Marquise de Bryas; sale, Palais Galliera (Couturier), Paris, 14th Mar. 1975, lot 59.

A substantially repainted half-length version of the portrait.

Exposition de Tableaux . . . au profit de l'œuvre des Orphelins d'Alsace-Lorraine, Paris [1885], No.46, as Bronzino.

10. Paris, Galerie Georges Petit Sale (1904). Panel, 73 by 58 cm.

Prov.: Princess Mathilde (Bonaparte), Paris; her sale, Galerie Georges Petit, Paris, May 17-21, 1904, lot 54.

Unillustrated in the catalogue.

11. Rome, Coll. Prince Sforza Ruspoli. Panel, 74 by 57 cm.

An attractive, though somewhat repainted, half-length workshop version. P. DELLA PERGOLA: *Galleria Borghese; I dipinti*, Rome, II [1959], p.21, as a replica; BACCHESCHI, *op. cit.*, s.v. No.113h.

12. Muzeum Narodowe, Poznan, Inv. MNP M05. Panel, 74.5 by 58 cm.

Prov.: Strozzi, Florence (until 1820); Atanazy Raczyński, Berlin, and descendants (1820-1903).

A superb version of the portrait, half-length with a green curtain background; an autograph replica of No.8.

BIALOSTOCKI-WALICKI, *op. cit.*, No.92; BACCHESCHI, *op. cit.*, No.54c; LANGEDIJK, *op. cit.*, No.27-31 – all as by Bronzino.

13. New York, Coll. Frederick Richmond. Panel, 75.2 by 62.2 cm.

A workshop half-length version of the portrait that was repainted, probably in the 1560s, to provide an updated representation of the Duke: the head type from the portrait of *Cosimo I at the age of forty* now covers that of the *Cosimo in Armour*.

14. Castagnola (Lugano), Coll. Thyssen-Bornemisza. Panel, 76.5 by 59 cm.

Prov.: Gonzaga (no further indication given); acquired by the collector in 1977.

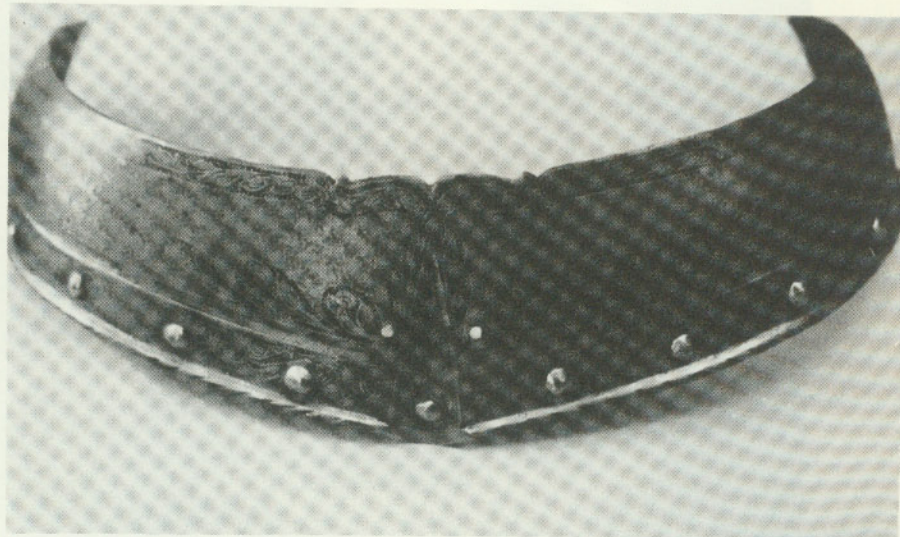
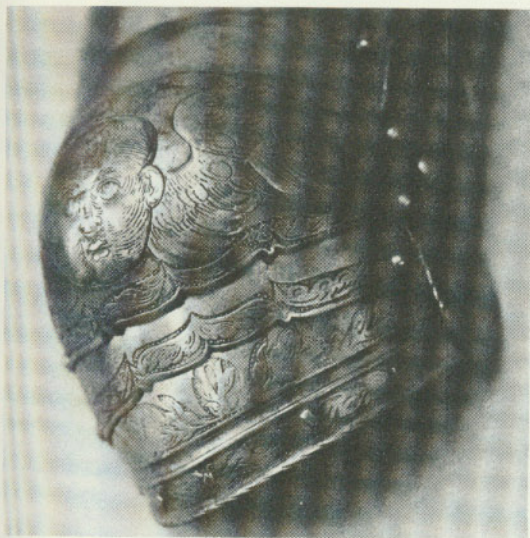
A damaged and much restored replica of No.8; not by Bronzino.



14. *Charles V with drawn sword*, by Giovanni Britto, after a lost portrait by Titian. Woodcut.



15. *Giovanni dalle Bande Nere*, by a Florentine artist. c.1545. Panel, 140 by 117 cm. (Galleria Sabauda, Turin).



16 and 17. Fragments of the armour of Cosimo I de' Medici. (Museo di Castel Sant'Angelo, Rome).

G. BORGHERO: *Thyssen-Bornemisza Collection; Catalogue of the Exhibited Works of Art*, Castagnola [1981], p.50, No.42A, as Bronzino.

15. London, Sotheby's Sale (1939). Canvas, 77.5 by 57.2 cm. Prov.: Botto, Chiavari (Genoa); with E. Gimpel and Wildenstein; Mrs. Evelyn St. George, London; her estate sale, Sotheby's, London, 26th July 1939, lot 78; bt. Dr. Borenus.

An early workshop version with a monochromatic, uncurtained background.

16. Galleria Palatina (Palazzo Pitti), Florence, No.403. Panel, 77.5 by 60.2 cm.

From the Grandducal collections; in the Uffizi in the seventeenth century. A workshop half-length version of the portrait, with the Golden Fleece possibly identifiable with the *Cosimo armato* by the court artist Luigi Fiammingo mentioned in the 1560 inventory of the Guardaroba (cf. BECK, *op. cit.* [1974], p.62).

Among those considering the picture autograph are CONTI, *op. cit.*, pp.101-02; SCHULZE, *op. cit.*, p.xiii (but altered to 'school-picture?' on p.xlv); BUTTIN, *op. cit.*, p.5; MCCOMB, *op. cit.*, p.59; BACCCHESCHI, *op. cit.*, No.54a; LANGEDIJK, *op. cit.*, No.27-21. Dissenters include GAMBA, *op. cit.*, p.145, as a copy after No.8, and BECHERUCCI, *op. cit.*, p.46, as a replica.

17. London, Sotheby's Sale (1957). Panel, 81.9 by 67.3 cm. Prov.: with Sedelmeyer gallery, Paris (by 1900-1907); their sale, Paris, 3-5th June 1907, Part III, lot 98; with Trotti Gallery, Paris; Marczell de Nemes, Budapest (by 1911-1918); his sale, Hôtel Drouot (Dubourg), Paris, 21st Nov. 1918, lot 5; with M. Knoedler & Co., New York (by 1920-at least 1937); sale, Sotheby's, London, 26th June 1957, lot 78; bt. Paton.

A slightly larger-than-half-length workshop portrait with Cosimo standing before a view of Florence from the west; a fluted column at left and some cosmetic improvements of Cosimo's physiognomy are evident in photographs taken during Knoedler's ownership.

P. SCHUBRING: 'Die Sammlung Nemes in Budapest', *Zeitschrift für bildende Kunst*, n.s., XXII [1910-1911], p.33, fig.7, as Bronzino; SCHULZE, *op. cit.*, p.xlvi and MCCOMB, *op. cit.*, p.140, cited; LANGEDIJK, *op. cit.*, No.27-19f, ill. with additions, as a copy or replica after Bronzino.

18. Versailles, Despinoy Sale (1850). Panel, 83 by 65 cm. Prov.: Despinoy; whose sale, Versailles, Jan. 14f., 1850, lot 37. Unillustrated in the catalogue.

19. Private Collection. Panel, 86 by 67 cm. Inscribed on the tree trunk at lower right: COS . . . MVS / MEDICES.DVX / FLOR.

Prov.: Paolo Giovio, Florence and Borgovico, Como (before 1551-1552); by descent to Paolo Giovio (1780-1846); Giorgio Raimondi Orchi (or De'Orchi), Como (1846-1860); by whom sold to Napoleon Joseph Charles Bonaparte (Prince Napoleon, Palais Royal, Paris (1860-1871), and Claridge's, London (1871-1872); his sale, Christie's, London, 11th May 1872, lot 302; bt. Holloway; Alfred Morrison, Fonthill House, Hindon, Wilts. (until 1897); by descent to Hugh Morrison (1897-1931), thence to John Granville Morrison, 1st Baron Margadale of Islay, Fonthill House, Wilts. (1931-1971); his sale, Christie's, London, 26th Nov. 1971, lot 47; bt. Cyril Humphris.

By Bronzino and the archetype of the three-quarter length versions. GIOVIO: *Elogia* [1551], pp.338-339; [1559], pp.191v-192r; [1575], pp.390-91, ill.; FUCHS, *op. cit.*, p.78, ill.; G. B. GIOVIO, *op. cit.*, p.33; LANGEDIJK, *op. cit.*, No.27-19a, ill. the engraving.

20. Gemäldegalerie Alte Meister, Schloss Wilhelmshöhe, Kassel, No.GK834. Panel, 94.8 by 65.2 cm.

Prov.: Edward Solly, London (until 1821); Neues Museum, later Kaiser Friedrich Museum, Berlin (1821-1904); placed on permanent loan at the Gemäldegalerie, Kassel in 1904, to which the present gallery is the successor.

A good workshop version of the three-quarter length portrait. Considered autograph by, among others, the following: SCHULZE, *op. cit.*, p.vi; MCCOMB, *op. cit.*, pp.12-13, 48-49; FORSTER, *op. cit.*, [1971], pp.74-75; SMITH, *op. cit.*, p.268; J. LEHMANN, ed.: *Italienische, französische und spanische Gemälde des 16. bis 18. Jahrhunderts* (Kassel; Katalog I), Fridlingen [1980], with bibl.; LANGEDIJK, *op. cit.*, p.82, No.27-19. GAMBA, *op. cit.*, p.147 and SCHLEIER, *op. cit.*, pp.208-09, as workshop, BECHERUCCI, *op. cit.*, p.46 and EMILIANI, *op. cit.*, s.v. pl.90, as a 'replica'; BACCCHESCHI, *op. cit.*, No.54d.

21. Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, No.08.262. Panel, 95.9 by 70.5 cm.

Prov.: Strozzi, Florence; Rev. John Sanford, Florence and London; his sale, Christie's, London, 9th Mar. 1839, lot 123; Charles Callahan Perkins, Boston (by 1851-1886); by descent to Charles Bruen Perkins, Boston (1886-1908).

Essentially a half-length portrait expanded to three-quarter format by an artist other than Bronzino.

MCCOMB, *op. cit.*, pp.13, 72-73 and SMITH, *op. cit.*, p.268, as Bronzino; SCHULZE, *op. cit.*, p.xxiv, and EMILIANI, *op. cit.*, s.v., pl.90, as a 'replica'. Workshop according to BECHERUCCI, *op. cit.*, p.46; ZERI and GARDNER, *op. cit.*, p.203, with bibl.; BACCCHESCHI, *op. cit.*, and LANGEDIJK, *op. cit.*, No.27-29. For FORSTER, *op. cit.*, [1971], p.74, n.25, perhaps the closest to the original.

22. London, Christie's Sale (1906). Panel, 99.1 by 76.2 cm. Prov.: sale, Christie's, London, 30th June 1906, lot 76; bt. Abraham.

Apparently representing Cosimo in armour, rather than 'Charles The Bold, Duke of Burgundy', as averred in the unillustrated catalogue.

23. Toledo Museum of Art, Toledo (Ohio), No.13.232. Panel, 101.6 by 77.8 cm.

Prov.: Oscar Hainauer, Berlin (by 1889-1906); with Duveen, London and New York (1906-1912); Dr. Frank Gunsaulus, Chicago (1912-1913); gift of Edward Drummond Libbey to the museum in 1913.

A good workshop version of the three-quarter length portrait. By Bronzino according to: w. BODE: *Die Sammlung Oscar Hainauer*, Berlin [1897], p.71, No.68; SCHULZE, *op. cit.*, p.iv; BERENSON, *op. cit.*, I, p.44, II, pl.1445, in part autograph; m. LEVEY: *Painting at Court*, New York [1971], pp.99-100; *The Toledo Museum of Art; European Paintings*, Toledo [1976], pp.31-32, with bibl.; and SMITH, *op. cit.*, p.208. MCCOMB, *op. cit.*, p.133, as 'attributed'; LANGEDIJK, *op. cit.*, No.27-35, as workshop; BACCCHESCHI, *op. cit.*, No.54e.

24. Uffizi, Florence, Inv. 1890, No.8739 (old exhibition No.1613). Panel, 105 by 87 cm.

Prov.: Convento delle Murate, Florence; Galleria dell'Accademia, Florence (where No.179).

A late variant of the portrait by an idiosyncratic hand. E. PIERACCINI: *Guida della R. Galleria Antica e Moderna*, 2nd ed., Florence [1893], pp.88-89 and BERENSON, *op. cit.*, I, p.41, as Bronzino; SCHULZE, *op. cit.*, p.viii, as part (the head) autograph; MCCOMB, *op. cit.*, p.95, as a 'replica'; BACCCHESCHI, *op. cit.*, No.54f; LANGEDIJK, *op. cit.*, No.27-25, as workshop.

25. St. John's College, Annapolis (Maryland). Panel, 110.5 by 80.6 cm. Prov.: Stanislas Lubomirski, Poland (?); Maurice Pate, New York (1935); Warren Smadbeck, New York; by bequest to St. John's College.

A good workshop version, very close in quality and composition to No.23. Toledo Museum of Art, *op. cit.*, p.31, cited.

26. Pinacoteca Nazionale, Lucca, Inv. 70. Panel, 181 by 103 cm. Prov.: Medici Guardaroba, Florence (until 1847); transferred to the Palazzo Ducale, Lucca (ownership ceded to the R. Istituto di Belle Arti, Lucca, in 1849); Pinacoteca Comunale, Lucca (1875-1948); Pinacoteca Nazionale, Lucca (from 1948).

A large version of the portrait with Cosimo standing beside a column; of excellent quality though compromised by current condition.

MILANESI, in VASARI, *op. cit.*, VII, p.598, n.1, as Bronzino; SCHULZE, *op. cit.*, p.xxii and MCCOMB, *op. cit.*, p.109 as a replica after No.20. EMILIANI, *op. cit.*, s.v., pl.90 and BACCCHESCHI, *op. cit.*, No.54b, cited. s. RENZONI: in *Livorno e Pisa: due città e un territorio nella politica dei Medici*, Pisa [1980], as by Bronzino and the prototype of the three-quarter length composition. LANGEDIJK, *op. cit.*, No.27-27, as workshop.

27 and 28 (?). Florence, Coll. Marchese Pucci (1911). Support and dimensions unknown.

According to Trifon Trapetsnikoff, two portraits of Cosimo 'related to' No.20 were in the Marchese Pucci's collection at the time of Schulze's monograph.

SCHULZE, *op. cit.*, p.x, as Bronzino.

Shorter Notices

Lorenzo di Credi, his patron Iacopo Bonghianni and Savonarola

BY F. W. KENT

ACCORDING to Vasari, Lorenzo di Credi was 'molto parziale della setta di fra' Girolamo da Ferrara'. This much repeated claim was treated with considerable reserve in 1966 by Gigetta Dalli Regoli, who detected little specifically 'Savonarolan' influence on the artist's work, and it has been dismissed vigorously as undocumented by Ronald Steinberg in a recent book on