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**BRONZINO'S PORTRAITS OF COSIMO I DE' MEDICI**

*Columbia University*

PH.D. 1982

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BRONZINO'S PORTRAITS OF COSIMO I DE' MEDICI

Robert Barry Simon

Submitted in partial fulfillment of the requirements  
for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy in the  
Graduate School of Arts and Sciences

COLUMBIA UNIVERSITY  
1982

## ABSTRACT

### BRONZINO'S PORTRAITS OF COSIMO I DE' MEDICI

Robert Barry Simon

Agnolo Bronzino (1503-1572) served Cosimo I de' Medici, Duke of Florence, as court painter for more than thirty years, from shortly after the Duke's accession in 1537 until the artist's death. Bronzino was employed in diverse projects in a variety of media for Cosimo but his most memorable and politically significant commissions were the portraits he painted of his patron.

Vasari mentioned that Bronzino had painted two portraits of the Duke, one in armor when the Duke was young and a second portraying him at the age of forty. But Vasari did not indicate that these pictures were frequently copied by other painters, by assistants in Bronzino's workshop, as well as by the master himself. Well over one hundred "Bronzino Portraits of Cosimo I" survive--most of which are versions of either one of the two portraits cited by Vasari or a third type introduced after Vasari's publication (1568). The number of these replications alone indicates the extraordinary degree to which the Duke utilized



portraits as a tool of statecraft, for these works were both iconographically significant and frequently employed as diplomatic gifts.

This thesis discusses the many portraits of Cosimo, their authorship, chronology, iconography, contemporary significance, replication, and dispersal. The Portrait of Cosimo I in Armor, known in several versions from the artist's hand, involves additional issues of varying formats (bust, half, or three-quarter length) and changing symbolism. The portrait is discussed as well within the contexts of the Duke's political position and his friendship with Bishop Paolo Giovio, who was the owner of what is perhaps the most important of the extant portraits of Cosimo by Bronzino.

The portraits of the Duke are treated typologically in the text and individually in the appended catalogue. Several related commissions are also discussed: Bronzino's allegorical portrait of Cosimo as Orpheus, Pontormo's so-called Halberdier (also representing Cosimo), and the portraits of Maria Salviati (the Duke's mother) by both Bronzino and Pontormo.

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## CHAPTER I

### "HUMILISSIMO E DEVOTISSIMO SERVITORE IL BRONZINO PITTORE"

Agnolo Bronzino is perhaps best known today as the official portraitist to the Medici under Duke Cosimo I (1519-1574), but his position at the Florentine court was both less and more than that: less in that Bronzino held no specific permanent post under Cosimo, nor was there a title such as "pittore di corte" to be granted in Florence similar to the Venetian Republic's designation of Titian as "pittore ufficiale" or Henry VIII's denomination of Holbein as "Royal Painter."<sup>1</sup> Although Bronzino's portraits of the Medici

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<sup>1</sup>On Titian's appointment as "pittore ufficiale della Serenissima" and the nature of the position, see Hope, 1980, as well as Muraro, 1977. Although he does not appear specifically to have been called the court painter to the emperor, Titian did receive the title of Count Palatine and Knight of the Golden Spur from Charles V in 1533 (see Crowe-Cavalcaselle, 1881, I, 370-372); further indication of his special courtly status appears in the wording of the patent of nobility, in which Titian is considered a new Apelles to the Alexander the Great of Charles V (cf. Kennedy, 1964). Holbein is referred to as "Mr. Hans, the royal painter, the Apelles of our time" in a letter written by Nicolas Bourbon in 1536 (Woltmann, 1872, p. 369); it is unclear whether the expression indicates

appear to be the definitive or, at least, officially designated representations of their subjects, the ducal imprimatur seems to have been largely informal. But Bronzino was more than the Duke's portraitist; his activities at court were quite diverse. For Cosimo I he was employed in a variety of projects: frescoes for the Chapel of the Duchess Eleonora di Toledo in the Palazzo Vecchio, festival decorations, cartoons for the newly-founded tapestry-works (the Arazzeria Medicea), altarpieces and frescoes for Medici-related churches, mythological miniatures and pictures (e.g., the London Allegory)--he even made a copy of a Madonna by Leonardo and painted the ducal carriage.<sup>1</sup>

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Holbein's title or is merely descriptive.

All citations are given in abbreviated form in the notes with full bibliographic information provided under "References Cited." Articles and books are cited by the author's last name, the year of publication, and the relevant page reference separated by commas or parentheses. Exhibition and museum catalogues are listed by location (followed in some cases [e.g., Florence, London] by the name of the collection) and, following the abbreviation "Cat.," the author or shortened title of publication, then the date (this is explained more fully in the Introduction to the Catalogue). All citations from Vasari's Vite are taken from Milanese's edition, abbreviated without date as "Vasari-Milanese."

<sup>1</sup>Among festival decorations should be mentioned both those for the wedding of Cosimo I and Eleonora di Toledo in 1539 and those for their son Francesco's marriage to Johanna of Austria in 1565 (on the former, see Kaufmann, 1970, and Minor-Mitchell, 1968, pp. 74-76; for Francesco's wedding, see Pillsbury, 1970, concerning one of Bronzino's projects, and more generally, Ginori Conti, 1936, and D. Mellini, in Vasari-Milanese, VIII, 517-622). Of the many tapestry designs the most extensive served for the series illustrating

From the time of Cosimo I's accession in 1537 until the artist's death in 1572, Bronzino (born in 1503) appears to have been frequently if somewhat irregularly employed in court-related commissions. Although often paid separately for these undertakings, Bronzino did receive a salary at various periods in his career; but it is not clear now (nor was it always evident then) exactly what services were expected of him. Thus when the artist requested payment in 1563 for two works undertaken on behalf of the recently deceased Eleonora di Toledo, Cosimo replied that he thought

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the Story of Joseph; the tapestries are now split between the Palazzo Vecchio (Sala dei Dugento) and the Quirinal Palace in Rome (cf. Smyth, 1971, especially pp. 99-101; Geisenheimer, 1909; Heikamp, 1969, pp. 33-37; and Baccheschi, 1973, nos. 59-74). Among religious commissions were the altarpieces of the Nativity for San Stefano in Pisa (in situ), the home church of Cosimo's Order of San Stefano, and that of the Deposition for the Convento de' Zoccolanti at the eponymous town of Cosmopoli on Elba (now in storage at the Galleria dell'Accademia in Florence). The Allegory of Happiness (Uffizi) was probably painted for Cosimo's son Francesco, while the London Allegory (National Gallery) was a gift to Francis I of France, as Vasari noted (Vasari-Milanesi, VII, 598-599); the figure of Fraude, the serpent-tailed girl, seems to be a portrait of Cosimo's eldest daughter, Maria--rather than the illegitimate Bia de' Medici, as suggested by Matteoli, 1969, p. 309 (on the picture see London, NG: Cat. Gould, 1975, p. 42, and, concerning the iconography, Panofsky, 1939, pp. 86-91; Levey, 1967, pp. 32-33; and Keach, 1978). The Leonardo painting copied was the lost Madonna owned by Cosimo de' Pazzi; Bronzino's work (also lost) is cited in a letter of February 2, 1563, from Giovanni Dini and Carlo de' Medici to Cosimo (published by Gaye, 1840, III, 94). Bronzino's painting of the ducal coach (one assumes in more than one color) is revealed in a series of letters from the spring of 1541 that I intend to publish elsewhere.



the costs had already been covered by the salary.<sup>1</sup> Yet for an artist, placement on the court roll clearly denoted a rather special distinction in Florence. When "Agnolo di Cosimo, detto il Bronzino, pittore" first appeared among the more than 150 courtiers, pages, soldiers, cooks, musicians, ladies-in-waiting, dwarfs, and other attendants listed in the "Ruolo degli stipendati" of 1533, the only other artists to appear were Cellini, Bandinelli, and Bacchiacca.<sup>2</sup> Ten years later Bronzino is accompanied by the sculptors Vincenzo de' Rossi, Simone and Valerio Cioli, Cellini, and Francesco del Tadda.<sup>3</sup>

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<sup>1</sup>As noted in the rescritto to the letter of February 2, 1563, cited in note above, page 3. The most notable instance of separate payments to Bronzino involves those for the Chapel of Eleonora di Toledo, for which records survive detailing payments between May 13, 1540, and July 7, 1543 (Archivio di Stato of Florence--hereafter referred to as "ASF"--Mediceo, Filza 600, cc. 4v-25v; to be published by Janet Cox Hitchcock); these presumably predated Bronzino's becoming salaried. On the Chapel, see Cox Rearick, 1971, and Emiliani, 1960-1961 (principally for the illustrations).

<sup>2</sup>The "Ruolo" of 1533 was published by Conti, 1893, pp. 271-274. Furno (1902, p. 48) states that Bronzino received a stipend in 1546, but her reference is to notations in ASF, Guardaroba, Filza 18 (cc. 28, 31, 37, 40, 45, 49, 55), which cover the years 1548-1552.

<sup>3</sup>ASF, Mediceo, Filza 616, unnumbered: "Ruolo dei salariati della Corte, fatto per il mese di febbraio 1563) (=1564):

Agnolo di Cosimo Bronzino, pittore. . . .f.	12, 3, 20
mess. Vincentio Rossi scultore. . . .f.	25-----
m <sup>o</sup> Simone Cioli scultore. . . . .f.	7, 3, 10
Valerio Ciolo scultore . . . . .f.	7, 3, 10

If being a court dependent were an indication of the Duke's particular regard, the tribute had a capricious aspect. After receiving his salary in February of 1564, Bronzino was evidently informed by Tommaso de' Medici, the majordomo's assistant, that this stipend would not be continued. In a letter written to the Duke two months later he thanked Cosimo effusively for the monies paid and asked obsequiously and poignantly for the continued patronage that, it seems, had been promised him for the rest of his life (the graphic image of the reopening of the doors of the Duke's house was one employed by Cellini as well). Whether or not owing to this letter, Bronzino's salary was indeed restored by 1566 and the artist variously employed with ducal commissions until his death six years later. It reads as follows:

Ill[ustrissi]mo et Ecc[ellentissi]mo S[igno]re  
 Duca S[igno]re mio oss[ervandissi]mo ecc. / Con  
 ogni mio maggiore affetto e debita gratitudine,  
 e quanto io posso il più, ringrazio vostra  
 infinita cortesia, e larghissima liberalita dell'  
 havermi fatto pagare li danari di quel salario,  
 che la bontà e amorevolezza vostra più tempo fà  
 mi hordino, del quale sono stato al tutto pagato,  
 cagione che per la di voi grazia e Magnificenzia,  
 io doverrò, per al presente, por fine a tutti li  
 miei affanni, e tanto più mi è grato, e di profitto,  
 uno così generoso atto di V[ostra] E[ccellenza]

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m<sup>o</sup> Benvenuto Cellini statuario. . . . .f. 16, 4, 13,4  
 Franc<sup>o</sup> del Tadda intagliatore . . . . .f. 8-----  
 Also appearing was the tapestry maker Janni Rost:  
 m<sup>o</sup> Giov. Rosta araziere . . . . .f. 16, 4, 13,4  
 I owe this reference to Edward Sanchez; the transcription is  
 Gino Corti's.

Ill[ustrissi]ma, quanto io l'ho veduto distendere in più, e così universale è, che io veggo, e sento il suo glorioso nome alzarsi con infinite lodi al cielo, e porgere infinitissimi preghi a Dio per ogni sua esaltazione, e felicità, fra li quali io quasi per dolcezza, e stupore lagrimando, non sono già stato l'ultimo a mescolare i miei, certissimo, che se Dio ama il bene, e la carità, come si sa per prova, saranno esauditi; e se bene il Cavaliere S[ign]or Tommaso de Medici mi ha detto che tal salario non mi corre più, non è però, che io none spero, che quando a V[ostra] E[ccellenza] I[llustrissima] verra occasione di servirsi di quel poco, che io vaglio, ella non mi risponga nel numero de suoi Fedeli, e mi riapra la porta della sua santissima Casa la quale io m'era promesso, che mentre ch'io vivo non mi s'havesse a chiudere già mai, et la qual cosa io desidero più che la vita, e in tanto non manco di seguitare la Tavola de Cavalieri, e dar fine a quel tanto che manca nella Cappella di Palazzo, le quali cose credo che V[ostra] E[ccellenza] I[llustrissima] troverrà al suo ritorno fornite, e me non meno desideroso, e pronto a servirla, e adorarla che mai: et alla quale io prego il nostro Signore Iddio, che dia ogni bene e felicità, e con ogni mia debita reverenza a piedi di quella inginocchiato baccio la veste di Fiorenza alli XV d'Aprile del [MD]LXIIII / per il di V[ostra] E[ccellenza] Ill[ustrissi]ma / humil[issi]mo e dev[otissi]mo ser[vito]re / Il Bronzino Pittore.<sup>1</sup>

This extraordinary sentence of supplication is a revealing testament to the nature of Bronzino's position at the court of Cosimo and, specifically, the dependent relation-

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<sup>1</sup>This letter (with the reference of ASF, Carteggio, Filza 175) was published by Gaye, 1840, II, 134-135. However, the letter, or the presentation copy of it, is in the Pierpont Morgan Library (Fairfax Murray Collection of Autographs, MA 1346, no. 47; see New York, Morgan: Cat. Harrsen-Boyle, 1953, p. 67, no. 119). My transcription, which differs only slightly from Gaye's, is based on the letter at the Morgan Library. The "Tavola de Cavalieri" mentioned in the letter is the Nativity for San Stefano in Pisa.

ship of the artist to his patron. Today Bronzino's obeisance may seem excessive and perhaps distasteful because of his servile posture and almost uninterrupted praise of the Duke; that, however, would seem a distinctly modern response. Bronzino wrote in the style and language of a courtier addressing his prince; and, even after twenty-five years of close acquaintance, though clearly never friendship, the epithets due the Duke had to be invoked. But within the form Bronzino has written a letter that, like his paintings, is remarkable in its studied conception, intense expression, and elegant style. Penned by the artist in his own calligraphic handwriting, the letter is as beautifully and formally presented as his pictures (fig. 1).<sup>1</sup>

These qualities are more apparent in the many poetic works which Bronzino wrote for or about Cosimo and his family. Although the artist's impassioned petrarchist sonnets and canzoni are, at least to modern readers, his most memorable lyric creations, Bronzino's rather directly laudatory Medici-

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<sup>1</sup>Although this letter is written in a beautiful scribal hand, there is reason to believe that the hand is Bronzino's. It is clearly the same as that which penned the volume of Bronzino's poetry in the Biblioteca Nazionale (Fig. 2)--which was written at various times--and remarkably similar to the calligraphy (Fig. 3) seen on the volume of Petrarch in Bronzino's Portrait of Laura Battiferri (Palazzo Vecchio). Bronzino's more businesslike letters (cf. Fig. 19) are written clearly enough, but not with the same care for uniformity and grace as this example shows. The signature is written in the same style as the body of the letter, which usually indicates an autograph letter.

related poems provide a valuable insight to the Florentine court and a parallel to his painted portraits. The subjects alone suggest that Bronzino was quite adept at playing the courtier's role and not averse to putting his considerable literary talents to use to that end. Among those specifically titled that survive in the handsomely written autograph volume of Bronzino's verse in Florence (Biblioteca Nazionale) appear poems on the illness of Cosimo (two sonnets and two canzoni), on the creation of the Duke's son Giovanni as cardinal, on Cosimo's trip to Rome, on the death of Cosimo's daughter Lucrezia (two), on the deaths of Eleonora di Toledo, Giovanni, and Garzia di Cosimo (twelve)--as well as other works directed to the Duke, including a lyric "Supplica" and the "Tre Canzoni Sorelle sopra l'Illustriss. et Eccellentiss. Sig. Cosimo Medici Duca di Fiorenza e di Siena," on the basis of which Bronzino was readmitted to the Florentine Academy in May of 1566 (Fig. 2; see appendix).<sup>1</sup>

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<sup>1</sup>The manuscript volume of Bronzino's poetry is entitled "Delle rime del Bronzino Pittore / Libro Primo" and is in the Biblioteca Nazionale in Florence (Magliabechiano II.IX.10). Another codex in the library (Magliabechiano VII. 115) contains Bronzino's "rime in burla." The poetry was published in a series of confusing and sometimes inaccurate editions (Bronzino, 1822; Bronzino, 1823, Borghini-Bronzino, 1822). The only study of Bronzino's poetry is that of Furno, 1902. On the circumstance of Bronzino's expulsion and readmission to the Accademia Fiorentina (the literary rather than artistic academy), see the appendix; further on the early history of the Academy, see Bareggi, 1973.

Bronzino was certainly not reticent in praising his patron. In the "Tre Canzoni Sorelle" the Duke is apostrophized as a new Hercules ("Nuovo ecco Alcide"), as "Fortunato, e fedel Medico, e saggio, Ornamento, e splendore almo, e giocondo Nuovo Sol," as "Il Divin COSMO honor d'Italia, e Pace" (see appendix for full text). These images reappear in Cosimo's pictorial iconography; Bronzino subtly alludes to them in his portraits of the Duke.<sup>1</sup> The third canzone is particularly revealing as Cosimo is directly lauded using the petrarchist device of praise of exterior features--an aspect that is naturally suggestive of painted portraits. Thus one encounters "vivaci Luci," a "Fronte celeste," and a "Cortese mano, e santa"; but, as always, the best parts are within, here seen "through a glass darkly":

E ben conviensi a te l'honore, e 'l pregio  
 Poi che di santa Mente, e di sant' Opre  
 Bontade, e senno adopre,  
 Per destin per natura, e per costume.  
 D'alta sembianza, e d'alto Aspetto regio  
 Tutto e quel, che fuor mostri, e a noi si scopre,  
 Ben ch'all'Alma non copre  
 Se non, come bel Vetro un chiaro Lume,  
 L'abbondanti sue doti, il Largo fiume

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<sup>1</sup>On the typology of Cosimo as Hercules see, for example, Chapters III and VIII, pt. 1. The Duke as a "new sun," an aspect of his Apollonian iconography, is given its most direct embodiment in Vasari's Apotheosis of Cosimo I on the ceiling of the Sala dei Cinquecento in the Palazzo Vecchio (cf. Barocchi, 1964, pp. 54, 139, pl. 82; Langedijk, 1981, no. 27-213a; Allegri-Cecchi, 1980, no. 54-23). On Cosimo's association with Apollo, see Richelson (1973, pp. 25f.), and, particularly, Hanning (1979).

D'ogni virtù, ch'il Mondo, e 'l Cielo adorna.  
 Per te religion, per te ritorna  
 L'alma Virtute accessa  
 La speme, e l'Honesta con l'altre Elette,  
 Ond'ogni giusta impresa  
 Da Dio per te s'aspetta, e si promette.<sup>1</sup>

There are similar panegyrics in his other poems. One particularly fascinating work takes the form of a supplica, the standard mode of petition (usually for money) addressed to the Duke, but one that Bronzino, in a clever display of artifice, has written in terza rima. (In a similar, perhaps more striking exercise of his lyrical acumen, Bronzino once composed a sonnet in the form of a painting contract.<sup>2</sup>) The artist's appeal gives ample opportunity for saluting his "buon Duce," but it permits as well some personal reflections; the aging Bronzino finds joy in his art, but sorrow in his needs, and shame in having to speak of them.

Io son, come vedete, della via  
 Passato il mezzo, e comincia il timore  
 A prender forza, e speme a fuggir via.  
 Il giusto santo, e lodevole amore,  
 Ch' io hebbi sempre alla mia vaga, e bella  
 Arte mi porge in un, gioia e dolore.  
 Gioia mi fia potendo seguir quella  
 Con quelle diligenzie, e quelli studi,  
 Che drittamente convengano ad ella:  
 Ma come portro io, s' i colpi crudi  
 Della miseria io non dico bisogno

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<sup>1</sup>"Delle rime del Bronzino, Pittore / Libro Primo," Biblioteca Nazionale, Ms. Magliabechiano II.IX.10, c. 107v; this is published, with alterations to the capitalization, spelling, and punctuation, in Borghini-Bronzino, 1822, p. 83.

<sup>2</sup>The "Sonetto in Forma di Scritta" is published in Bronzino, 1822, pp. 420-421.

Mi batteran d'ogni pietade ignudi!  
 Lasso, che pure a dirlo mi vergognio,  
 Mi converrà per via volgare, e trita  
 Seguitar quei, che fanno opre da sogno.  
 Che tanto brama ogn'uno in questa vita  
 Salvar la vita, che molti per questo,  
 Ogni strada d'honore hanno smaritta.<sup>1</sup>

Slightly earlier in the poem, Bronzino addresses the Duke, professing both his sincerity and his adoration of his patron:

Darete o che m'inganna, e troppo spero,  
 Con l'alme Luci, e sacre voci ancora  
 Fors' a queste mie rime il spirito vero.  
 Vedrete in queste un Servo, che v'adora,  
 E porge preghi alle beate piante  
 Ch'ogni buon segue, e reverisce, e honora.<sup>2</sup>

Although Bronzino limited these expressions of fealty, devotion, and celebration to the Duke and his immediate family, it is evident that the artist's success at the court of Cosimo was also due to his gentle and pleasant personality. Vasari (1568) described Bronzino as a singularly kind and affable man:

E stato ed è il Bronzino dolcissimo e molto cortese  
 amico, di piacevole conversazione, ed in tutti i  
 suoi affarri molto onorato. E stato di natura  
 quieto, e non ha mai fatto ingiuria a niuno, ed ha  
 sempre amato tutti i valent' uomini della sua  
 professione, come sappiamo noi che abbiam tenuta  
 insieme stretta amicizia anni quarantatré, cioè dal  
 1524 insino a quest' anno; perciochè cominciai in

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<sup>1</sup>Ms. "Delle Rime del Bronzino" (cited in note 1, p. 10), c. 177r-v; published, in slightly different form in Borghini-Bronzino, 1822, p. 121.

<sup>2</sup>Ms. "Delle Rime del Bronzino" (cited in note 1, p. 10), c. 174v; published in Borghini-Bronzino, 1822, p. 118.



detto tempo a conoscerlo ed amarlo, allora che lavorava alla Certosa col Puntormo, l'opere del quale andava io giovanetto a disegnare a quel luogo.<sup>1</sup>

As Vasari indicated, Bronzino did not enter into controversies with his fellow artists; and the only contemporary tale told about him is a tribute to his sagacity and wit.<sup>2</sup> He seems, in fact, to have been the only person in Florence to maintain friendship with both the terribile Cellini (who told Cosimo that the only other men who could have made the Perseus were Michelangelo, were he younger, or Bronzino, were he not exclusively a painter), and Cellini's hated rival Bandinelli, whom Bronzino included among the portraits of his friends in the Descent into Limbo (formerly Santa Croce, Florence).<sup>3</sup> This gentility and placidity--so

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<sup>1</sup>Vasari-Milanesi, VII, 605.

<sup>2</sup>The tale in question is to be found in Domenichi-Porcacchi, 1574, pp. 118f. A German translation appears in Floerke, 1913, p. 71.

<sup>3</sup>Benvenuto Cellini, Vita, II, 97: "E quello che più mi fa baldanzoso si è stato che quegli eccellenti uomini, che conoscono e che sono dell'Arte, com'è 'l Bronzino pittore, questo uomo s'è affaticato e m'ha fatto quattro sonetti, dicendo le più iscelte e gloriose parole che sia possibil di dire, e per questa causa di questo mirabile uomo, forse s'è mossa tutta la città a così gran romore; e io dico ben che, se lui attendessi alla scultura sì come ei fa alla pittura, lui sì bene la potria forse saper fare." Two of Bronzino's sonnets on the Perseus survive; both are given in Cellini-Tassi, 1829, pp. 458-459, while only that beginning "Giovin alter" appears in the published edition of Bronzino's sonnets (Bronzino, 1823, p. 42). Bronzino's Descent into Limbo was painted for the Zanchini Chapel in Santa Croce but was ceded

unlike the tortured personality of his master Pontormo-- rendered Bronzino a painter ideal for the court.

One mark of his success, and perhaps in part a reason for it, was Bronzino's ability to maintain good relations with Pierfrancesco Riccio (or Ricci), the Duke's majordomo.<sup>1</sup> About 1527 Cosimo's mother, Maria Salviati, had hired Riccio, then a priest in Prato, to act as tutor and companion to her young son. The Duke's education was the result of Riccio's instruction and, after his accession to the dukedom in 1537, the grateful student rewarded his master with the post of secretary and subsequently of majordomo. Although Cosimo was often personally involved with the artists he patronized and the works they produced, it was generally through Riccio that the Duke's wishes were expressed and an artist's requests

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to the Uffizi in 1821 by Leopoldo Ricasoli, who then owned the chapel. Returned to the newly-established Museo di Santa Croce, the work was severely damaged during the flood of 1966. The picture remains at the Fortezza da Basso where conservators are either unwilling or unable to proceed with its restoration. The altarpiece, filled with portraits of Bronzino's friends, has been the subject of a generally unreliable study by Matteoli (1969); she does correctly identify Bandinelli (pp. 298-303), who is the standing figure at the rear left with his right arm outstretched. Bronzino's student and adopted son Alessandro Allori is known to have executed paintings after designs by Bandinelli (for which see Middeldorf, 1932) and may have studied with Bandinelli when young.

<sup>1</sup>A brief review of Riccio's career is given by Bigazzi, in *Prato: Cat. Medici*, 1980, pp. 112-114, 125-127. On his early association with Cosimo, see also Booth (1921, pp. 15f.) and Pieraccini (1947, II, 4f.).

received. In his biography of Tribolo Vasari indicates that Riccio's influence was considerable and that about him grew a kind of clique from which he would choose those who were to receive court patronage:

. . . avendo alcuni fatto una setta sotto il favore del detto messer Pierfrancesco Riccio, chi non era di quella non partecipava del favore della corte, ancor che fusse virtuoso e da bene: la quale cosa era cagione che molti, i quali con l'aiuto di tanto principe si sarebbero fatti eccellenti, si stavano abbandonati . . . .<sup>1</sup>

Vasari records examples of Riccio's favoritism--in his withholding payment to Montorsoli for a statue, evidently in support of Bandinelli's malevolence for that sculptor, and in his not showing the Duke a drawn proposal by Salviati for the choir of San Lorenzo, so that Pontormo, whom Riccio preferred, might receive the commission.<sup>2</sup> Vasari, it seems, was himself first excluded from ducal patronage due to the preferences of Riccio; of course the artist, especially in his telling, triumphed because of his innate talent (Vasari's ultimate domination of court commissions occurred when the majordomo, "dopo esser vivuto pazzo molto anni, era morto"<sup>3</sup>).

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<sup>1</sup>Vasari-Milanesi, VI, 91.

<sup>2</sup>Vasari-Milanesi, VI, 640; VII, 30. Salviati had earlier painted Riccio's portrait (ca. 1550), for which see Bigazzi, in Prato: Cat. Medici, 1980, pp. 112-114; the painting (see Fig. 5) is in the Palazzo Comunale of Prato.

<sup>3</sup>Vasari-Milanesi, VI, 654; as Milanesi notes, Riccio died of a fall from his horse.

Cellini, typically, was far more voluble in his dislike for Riccio, whom he called "quel mal omo, nimico mio mortale," "pedantuzzo," and "bestia." When Cosimo praised Cellini, the majordomo, always a backer of Bandinelli, sought to malign him. Cellini is wonderful in his contempt:

Il suo maiordomo, che continuamente cercava di qualche lacciuolo per farmi rompere il collò, e perché gli aveva l'autorità di comandare a' bargelli e a tutti gli ufizi della povera isventurata città di Firenze, che un pratese, nimico nostro, figliuol d'un bottaio, ignorantissimo, per essere stato pedante fradicio di Cosimo de' Medici innanzi che fussi duca, fussi venuto in tanta grande autorità.<sup>1</sup>

Such problems do not seem to have arisen for Bronzino. Perhaps because of his connection with Pontormo, Bronzino seems from the start to have maintained a cordial relationship with the majordomo. The artist's letters to Riccio contain indications of respectful devotion. After a chatty commentary in a typical letter to this "Molto Reverendo Signor mio osservandissimo," Bronzino concludes:

Altro per hora non mi occorre, salvo ricordare a V[ostra] S[ignoria] che io desidero che quella mi comandi, perchè mi parebbe, quando quella lo facessi, essere da qual cosa: et senza più dire bacio le mani alla V[ostra] S[ignoria] Reverenda, pregando nostro S[ignore] Iddio che quella contenti et conservi.<sup>2</sup>

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<sup>1</sup>Cellini, Vita, II, 61 (the quoted passage), II, 54 and 77 (for the cited epithets).

<sup>2</sup>Published by Gaye (1840, II, 330), as in ASF, Miscellanea; the letter is now in ASF, Mediceo, Filza 1170A, fasc. I, Ins. 3, c. 36. Bronzino writes from Poggio on August 9, 1545.

Another letter, filled with respectful compliments and subdued entreaties, similarly ends:

. . . nè per ora mi occorre altro, salvo raccomandarmi a V[ostra] S[ignoria] quanto posso, pregando quella che si degni alle volte comandarmi qualche cosa, et nostro Signore Iddio, che quella sempre in sua gratia et del nostro buon Patrone conservi; al quale sia per sempre contento et felicità.<sup>1</sup>

Both are signed, significantly, "Servitore Il Bronzino Pittore," and, as much as the artist includes Riccio with himself in speaking of "nostro buon Patrone," Bronzino seems to sign as "servitore" as much to Riccio as to the Duke.

Bronzino inserted what is clearly a portrait of Riccio in one of the fresco scenes in the Chapel of Eleonora in the Palazzo Vecchio, the Crossing of the Red Sea (Fig. 4). The majordomo there appears to the left of Moses, appropriately in the priestly guise of Aaron.<sup>2</sup> The position is quite prominent, and worthy of the patron himself; its conspicuousness may well reflect Riccio's authorship of the program for

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<sup>1</sup>For this letter written from Poggio on August 22, 1545, see Chapter V, pt. 2, note 1 on p. 69.

<sup>2</sup>This identification has not previously been made but can be substantiated by comparing the portrait head with Salviati's slightly later portrait of Riccio (Fig. 5), for which see p. 14, note 2 above. Another portrait of Riccio, by Michele di Ridolfo Tosini in the Duomo of Prato, is posthumous and was most likely based on Salviati's work. Huntley (1947, p. 29, fig. 2) incorrectly identified as Riccio Vasari's oval portrait of Pierfrancesco de' Medici in the Sala di Giovanni dalle Bande Nere in the Palazzo Vecchio.

the chapel--a responsibility that would have been natural for this former scholar-priest, once tutor, now advisor to the Duke.

Perhaps the most evocative of Bronzino's letters referring to his career at the Medici court was that written to Riccio on January 27, 1551. The salute to the majordomo in Florence (Bronzino writes from Pisa) is most effusive and affirms the artist's devotion to Riccio, addressed almost as if to the patron himself. Bronzino then extols Cosimo, the Duchess, and their children, whom he was then painting. This sort of letter may seem formulaic, but Bronzino's comments are so fresh and sincere as to seem utterly convincing. The unforgettable image of the irenic court life is almost too ideal, with Bronzino painting the Medici children, who look like angels and sound like heavenly spirits, in the room where these "well-born tender plants" are being nourished with instruction in Latin and Greek. The portrait Bronzino had just finished, that of Giovanni de' Medici (Fig. 6; Bowood, Lansdowne Collection), shows the seven and one-half year old boy holding open a manuscript with Isocrates' Oration to Nicocles clearly inscribed.<sup>1</sup>

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<sup>1</sup>This little-known portrait is wrongly considered an altered replica of the Portrait of Giovanni in the Ashmolean Museum, Oxford; for the best discussion of that work, see Oxford: Cat. Lloyd, 1977, pp. 39-42.

Molto Illustre et R[everen]do S[ign]or mio  
 osser[vandissi]mo Ex[ellentissi]mo. Per una  
 lettera che io tengo ultimamente di M[ae]str[o]  
 Tasso, tutta amorevole et piacevole per esser  
 piena di cento begli avvisi che ci dà di costì,  
 ho inteso chome, parlando di me con V[o]stra  
 S[ignoria] R[everen]da, da quella per sua  
 gratia et bontà mi ama, di che molto mi  
 rallegro, ancora che ciò non mi sia cosa nuova  
 et così quanto posso ne la ringratio. Et se  
 io non sapessi, che quella fusse certissima  
 della divotione et servitù mia cordialissimá  
 verso di quella, mi affaticherei in pregarla  
 che volesse accettare la servitù mia et si  
 degnassi valersi di tutto quello, ancor che sia  
 poco, che io vaglo [sic] et posso; ma perchè  
 sarebbe un voler profferirle le cose sua, non  
 mi affaticherò intorno a questo, aspettando come  
 suo Servitore tacitamente che quella a sua voglia  
 mi comandi et allora mi terrò tanto da più che  
 io no'mi tengo: chè molto maggior sevitio mi  
 parrà ricevere di me stesso nel servir quella,  
 che non si dee credere che mai tutti i servitii  
 miei le potessino porgere.

Io son quassù in Pisa, come quella sa, dove  
 continuamente mi sono trovato con questi  
 santissimi signori et mi godo la beata dolcezza  
 di tanto buono et benigno principe, che certo è  
 incomparabile. Et per dirla in una, la sua  
 Ill[ustrissi]ma et unica consorte et gli suoi  
 angelici et dolcissimi figl[i]uoli son tali quali  
 merita d'havere un tanto signore et egli è tale  
 quale son degni d'havere per degno padre et  
 Marito, tanta Donna piena di bontade et tanti  
 saggi et bellissimi et ben creati figliolini,  
 che certo mi pare, quando io gli veggo, vedere  
 tanti angeli et udendoli sentire tanti Spiriti  
 del cielo. Trovomi a dipignere dove imparano  
 le lettere latine et le greche et mi piglio  
 grandissimo piacere a vedere che queste tenere  
 piante et così ben nate, siano così bene et  
 purgate et custodite et così perfettamente  
 corrette et indiritte a ottimo segno, acciò se  
 ne debba corre felicissimo frutto, et mi godo  
 veggendo che quelli che dopo questo nostra età  
 hanno a reggere la nostra carissimacittà, habbino  
 sì buono educatione et diano così ferma speranza  
 di futuro bene a noi, che li veggiamo, per quelli  
 che verranno, perchè non manco giustino et godino  
 gli nostri posterì del santissimo seme di tanto  
 ottimo et valorosissimo Principe, che ci facciamo hora

noi di quello: chè certo possiamo dire di ritrovarci nella più felice parte del mondo et sotto al più perfetissimo S[igno]re che mai fusse, et così voglia Iddio per sua bontà lungamente conservarcelo, come egl'è il yero et come horamai ognuno et sa et conosce.<sup>1</sup>

It is impossible--and probably irrelevant--to determine to what extent Bronzino's professed attitude to the Duke, his family, and Riccio was genuine. What is, in any case, significant is that Bronzino functioned and, it would seem, thrived within the formal and artificial construct of the court and that, understanding his own position, he wrote his letters and poems in the established mode and language of court society.

Such a formal mode and language for portraits seems as well to have been important for Bronzino. No single court style can be said to have been restrictively dominant under Cosimo; the diversity of patronized artists precludes any such consistency. However, a kind of court typology can be discerned, one that provided for various classes of images relating to the specific functions required. No formal categorization or even terminology exists to describe the diverse types of portraits involved; one can proceed only by example.

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<sup>1</sup>Letter of January 27, 1551 (1550 Florentine style) from Bronzino in Pisa to Riccio in Florence. ASF, Acq. 67, Ins. I; published by Heikamp, 1955, pp. 136-137, from which here quoted (I have expanded abbreviations).



Among the portraits of the Medici children, for example, a great variety appears. Bronzino's Portrait of Giovanni de' Medici holding a Goldfinch (Fig. 7; Uffizi), one of the most jovial pictures ever painted, seems never to have been intended as anything other than a private record of the youth's babyhood; its small size, informal pose, and cheerful spirit reflect the essentially personal purpose of the work.<sup>1</sup> The portrait of the same child painted a few years later (Fig. 6) is, in contrast, a serious evocation of the youth's scholarly preparation for a career in the Church; documents indicate that the picture was painted as a present for the Pope. Bronzino's Portrait of Bia de' Medici (Fig. 8; Uffizi) gorgeously dressed as an adult and as still as a statue, was most likely a posthumous work, intended as a kind of personal memorial to the deceased child of the Duke.<sup>2</sup> Another posthumous portrait, Bronzino's Piero de' Medici "Il Gottoso" (London, National Gallery), was intended, on the other hand, as public homage to an illustrious ancestor.<sup>3</sup>

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<sup>1</sup>Inv. 1890, no. 1475; see Florence, Uffizi: Cat. 1980, no. P304.

<sup>2</sup>Inv. 1890, no. 1472; see Florence, Uffizi: Cat. 1980, no. P299.

<sup>3</sup>No. 1323; see London, NG: Cat. Gould, 1975, p. 44.

The purpose very clearly has a bearing on the form, format, composition, characterization, and tonality of the portrait, and Bronzino's portraits of Cosimo I de' Medici so offer a variety of responses to varying needs. Constant is the desire to honor the Duke publicly, to document his features, and to praise his rule. Over the decades what changed most was the manner in which Cosimo saw himself and the role in which he wished to be seen. Bronzino was ever obliging as a court artist, though hardly adulatory without reserve. The portraits of Cosimo may appear to lack much of the deathly pessimism that makes so many of Bronzino's private portrait commissions such potent works of art, but the artist's understanding of his subject--of his doubts as well as his power--is always present.

If Bronzino's verbal encomia of his regal patron seem to have delighted by hyperbolic adjectival superlative, since those words would be clearly comprehensible as adulation to the Duke so addressed, his paintings delineate a subject whose debilities might be no less lucid to later generations than those epistles were to the addressee. Bronzino was verbally most accomplished, but in his portraits of Cosimo he is as articulate as a great artist can become. He reads his subject in a manner so complimentary, and yet so devastatingly complex, that later, non-Medicean generations seem to see there, in the noble posture of the Duke of one

one of the greatest powers of the Italian Renaissance, a man more poseur than prince, of more pride than valor, of more stance and balance and studied bellicosity of mien than accomplishment and admonition; Bronzino glorifies Cosimo but seems to bruit the Duke's weaknesses as ruler and even as man.

## CHAPTER II

## BRONZINO AND THE MEDICI: A BEGINNING

Bronzino's first known association with the Medici seems to have evolved from his devotion to his master Pontormo. After the siege of Florence in 1530, the Medici returned to power in the city with Alessandro, the natural son of the current pope Clement VII, ruling first as lord and then, after May of 1532, as duke. At this time Clement, the son of Giuliano and nephew of Il Magnifico, ordered the completion of the fresco decorations in the Medici villa at Poggio a Caiano near Florence. Work on the program had been suspended following the death of Leo X (Giovanni di Lorenzo de' Medici) in 1521, and of the three artists who had worked on the project, both Andrea del Sarto and Franciabigio had died, leaving Pontormo the only survivor; it was to him that Ottaviano de' Medici, a cousin who administered the project on behalf of Clement (as he had also done for Leo X) gave the commission. But, as Vasari reports with an unsympathetic allusion to Pontormo's bizarre personality, the work proceeded no further than the scaffolding: "fatti fare i palchi

e le turate, cominciò a fare i cartoni: ma perciocchè se n'andava in ghiribizzi e considerazioni, non mise mai mano altrimenti all'opera."<sup>1</sup>

Vasari suggests that Pontormo's difficulty in carrying out his work might have been avoided had Bronzino, then working in Pesaro, been present: "non sarebbe forse avvenuto, se fusse stato in paese il Bronzino, che allora lavorava all'Imperiale, luogo del duca d'Urbino, vicino a Pesero."<sup>2</sup> Pontormo's need of his old student, then an accomplished painter of twenty-seven or eight, seems to have been predicated less on the necessity for any technical assistance than on a deeper personal bond. Pontormo did ask Bronzino to join him, a request with which the younger painter could not immediately comply.<sup>3</sup> After repeated entreaties Bronzino returned to Florence, but neither he nor the joint encouragement of Ottaviano and Duke Alessandro de' Medici could succeed in advancing the murals beyond the stage of cartoons. Pontormo, Vasari reports, ultimately regretted his protraction

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<sup>1</sup>Vasari-Milanesi, VI, 276. On the history of the project, see Cox Rearick, 1964, pp. 172-173.

<sup>2</sup>Vasari-Milanesi, VI, 276.

<sup>3</sup>Vasari reports that Duke Guidobaldo II Della Rovere had wanted Bronzino to paint his portrait in a new suit of armor that he was expecting from Milan. While waiting for its arrival, the artist was constrained to carry out other commissions for the Duke which prevented his return to Florence (Vasari-Milanesi, VI, 276).

of the frescoes, particularly when the project was halted by the death of Clement in 1534.<sup>1</sup>

The following year Pontormo began work for Alessandro de' Medici on frescoes of two logge in the restored Medici villa of Careggi. The Duke, already familiar with Pontormo's dilatoriness, invited him to work with assistants. The latter called in Bronzino, who ultimately was responsible for painting five of the six vault figures as well as completing the cherubs in the ceiling (which were designed by Jacopo). With the further assistance of the painters Iacone and Foschi the first loggia was completed on December 13, 1536, "con molta sodisfazione del signor duca."<sup>2</sup> Alessandro's pleasure with the project (of which no trace now exists) was short-lived--as was he, for within a month the Duke was murdered by his cousin Lorenzino.

Alessandro had been a generally incompetent ruler who, out of lassitude, had delegated the business of the state to his second cousin, Cardinal Innocenzo Cibbò (Cibbò's mother, Maddalena, was the daughter of Lorenzo il Magnifico). When on Saturday night, January 6, 1537, Lorenzino (or Lorenzaccio, as he had already been more colorfully styled)

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<sup>1</sup>Vasari-Milanesi, VI, 277-278.

<sup>2</sup>Vasari-Milanesi, VI, 281. Cox Rearick (1964, pp. 287-292) discusses the Careggi Loggia decorations and connects several drawings with the project.

brutally stabbed the Duke, his companion and supposed friend, his public intent was to remove the ineffectual head of a tyrannical regime.

Almost immediately upon the discovery of the body, the issue of succession was openly debated. It fell to the Quarantotto, the otherwise ceremonial Florentine Senate, to determine who should succeed Alessandro. That the decision should be made quickly and authoritatively was prompted as much by the need to preserve the body politic as by the fear of Spanish rule, for the terms of the dukedom granted by Charles V provided for the reversion of Florence to the Empire in the event of the extinction of the male line. Margherita of Austria, Alessandro's wife and Charles V's illegitimate daughter, had not had any children in their marriage of almost a year. The candidacy of Giulio, a bastard of Alessandro's and only a young child, was promoted by Cardinal Cibò, but rejected by the Quarantotto, not because of his illegitimate birth (his father, after all, was the bastard son of the bastard Clement VII) but because his youth would invite the abuses of a regency--Cibò's evident intention. Since no other male heir from the primary branch of the family (which descended from Cosimo de' Medici "Pater Patriae") survived, a candidate from the secondary branch (that of Lorenzo, brother of Cosimo) was sought. The eldest here was the assassin Lorenzino; both he and his younger brother Giuliano were now understandably excluded. That left one possibility,

the seventeen-year-old Cosimo, only son of the dead condottiere Giovanni dalle Bande Nere (the great grandson of Lorenzo, brother of Cosimo "Pater Patriae") and Maria Salviati, herself the granddaughter of Lorenzo il Magnifico. His dual Medici ancestry could withstand any challenges to the continuity of the dukedom, while his youth and apolitical upbringing suggested a tractability appealing both to the pro-Medici "Palleschi" and to the remaining republicans, who desired a figurehead at most.<sup>1</sup> Making the most of this situation, Cibò himself proposed Cosimo's name, beginning his speech with the Virgilian lines, "Primo avulso non deficit alter / Aureus, et simili frondescit virga metallo"; after moderate debate the Quarantotto elected the youth "capo" of the Florentine republic.<sup>2</sup>

The election occurred on Tuesday, January 9, 1537, although it would be many months before Cosimo's position could be considered secure. Later that year would be triumph over the Florentine exiles, confirmation of the title of duke, and initial consolidation of his power. Still, shortly

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<sup>1</sup>As a distant relative of the ruling branch of the family, Cosimo had not been groomed for political life, although he did enjoy the friendship of Alessandro and accompanied the Duke on his visits to Mantua, Bologna, and Naples.

<sup>2</sup>On the source and significance of these lines for Cosimo, see Chapter VI, pt. 2. On the election of Cosimo, see Cochrane (1973, pp. 13-23), Booth (1921, pp. 53-63), and more fully, Rossi (1889-1890).



after the young Duke's victory over the fuorusciti (the rebel republican exiles) at Montemurlo in August, he was able to instigate his first major artistic project, the renovation of his childhood home, the Medici villa at Castello. Cosimo more or less took over the same group of artists that had worked for Alessandro at Careggi; again Bronzino assisted Pontormo, again the project was the decoration of the loggia of the villa--and again the murals (painted a secco) are lost.<sup>1</sup>

Bronzino thus first came into contact with his future patron, but what primarily commended the artist to the attention of the Duke, it seems, were the ephemeral decorations executed on the occasion of the marriage of Cosimo and Eleonora di Toledo in 1539. Vasari mentions Bronzino's having painted in the Piazza San Marco "di color di bronzo due bellissime storie" beneath Tribolo's equestrian group of Giovanni dalle Bande Nere as well as part of a series of theatrical decorations: "era di mano del Bronzino la disputa che ebbono tra loro in Napoli e innanzi all'imperatore il duca Alessandro ed i fuorusciti fiorentini, col fiume Sebeto e molte figure; e questo fu bellissimo quadro, e migliore di tutti gli altri . . . [e] le nozze del medesimo duca Cosimo fatte in Napoli: l'impresa era due cornici, simbolo antico

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<sup>1</sup>Vasari-Milanesi, VI, 282; Cox Rearick, 1964, pp. 302f.

delle nozze, e nel fregio era l'arme di don Pietro di Tolledo viceré di Napoli; e questa, che era di mano del Bronzino, era fatta con tanta grazia, che superò, come la prima, tutte l'altre storie."<sup>1</sup>

The Duke, according to Vasari, "conosciuta la virtù di quest'uomo, gli fece metter mano a fare nel suo ducal palazzo una cappella non molto grande per la detta signora duchessa."<sup>2</sup> This, the celebrated chapel of Eleonora di Toledo in the Palazzo Vecchio, was frescoed by Bronzino between 1540 and 1543.<sup>3</sup> As such it was the artist's first direct commission from the Medici (both the villa and marriage decorations were sub-contracted through Tribolo) in an association that lasted until the artist's death thirty years later.

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<sup>1</sup>Vasari-Milanesi, VI, 87 and VI, 444-445; on the wedding festivities and decorations, see Minor-Mitchell (1968) and Kaufmann (1970).

<sup>2</sup>Vasari-Milanesi, VII, 596.

<sup>3</sup>Cox Rearick, 1971, p. 11.

## CHAPTER III

## COSIMO AS ORFEO

Bronzino's first portrait for Cosimo is such an oddity that for many years its subject remained unidentified and its authorship questioned. The painting (Cat. and Fig. D5), now in the Philadelphia Museum of Art, represents the youthful Duke seated, seen nude from the side and back with his head twisted about to face the viewer; his left hand holds the neck of a viol while his right lightly grasps the end of a bow.<sup>1</sup> A hellish glow appears in the right distance, at some remove from the dark enclosed landscape in which he is seen. Behind the musical instrument appear what seem to be the heads of two mastiff-like dogs, each demonstrably docile. Cosimo is, in fact, represented as Orpheus--a subject not only unique in the Duke's iconography but for him also

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<sup>1</sup>All references, citations, and indications of provenance are to be found in the catalogue under no. D5. Illustrations of catalogued pictures utilize the same catalogue number as figure number; since all catalogued pictures discussed in the text are illustrated, a reference to a particular catalogue number should be understood as referring to the figure number as well.

rare as a type: an allegorical portrait.<sup>1</sup>

Karla Langedijk has discussed the figure of Orpheus here as referring to the peaceful intentions of the Duke and his establishment of a rule of tranquility following a period of turmoil--presumably the murder of Alessandro and the conflicts leading to the Battle of Montemurlo.<sup>2</sup> She considers the picture a later manifestation of the same typology employed by Bandinelli in his large marble Orpheus (Fig. 9)

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<sup>1</sup>Langedijk (1981, pp. 117-118) discusses the rarity of allegorical portraits in Cosimo's iconography. Vasari's Cosimo as St. Damian (paired with Cosimo "Pater Patriae" as St. Cosmas in the Chapel of Leo X in the Palazzo Vecchio is the only other non-posthumous example (cf. Langedijk, 1981, no. 27-56, ill.). The plaster figure of Joshua executed by Zanobi Lastricati and Vincenzo Danti for the Cappella di San Luca in SS. Annunziata bears the Duke's features (see Summers, 1969, pp. 82-83, pl. 9; Langedijk, 1981, no. 27-131). Danti's Cosimo as Augustus (Bargello) has no true portrait qualities, however (cf. Forster, 1971, pp. 86-90, figs. 21, 25; Langedijk, 1981, no. 27-130). Nicolò della Casa's engraving after Bandinelli (Fig. 14), which surely represents the Duke, should perhaps be considered a portrait of Cosimo in fanciful armor, rather than a true allegorical portrait. Representations of Cosimo in antique dress or armor cannot properly be considered allegorical images, even if they are drawn from specific antique works; into this class fall, for example, Vasari's full-length portrait in the Sala di Leone X in the Palazzo Vecchio (see Langedijk, 1981, no. 27-211, ill.), Bandinelli's statue for the Udienza in the Sala dei Cinquecento there (Langedijk, 1981, no. 27-107, ill.), and several of the portrait medals of the Duke all'antica (cf. Langedijk, 1981, pp. 485-501).

<sup>2</sup>Langedijk, 1976, p. 48, and 1981, p. 117, no. 27-30.

in the courtyard of the Medici Palace.<sup>1</sup> That work, commissioned by Pope Leo X, alluded specifically to the restoration of a Medicean Golden Age under the aegis of Leo. This significance derives from the myth of Orpheus' ability to charm ~~the~~ wild beasts with his music, as well as the symbolic connotations of peace associated with the lyre. The related associations of the figure of Orpheus with eloquence, wisdom, concordia, and the entire concept of the Golden Age--aspects treated in part by the Florentine Neo-Platonists--deepened the meaning of Bandinelli's statue.<sup>2</sup>

This interpretation is clearly appropriate to Bandinelli's work, which was conceived as a public sculpture, one which in its placement in the cortile of the Palazzo Medici stood in the locale formerly occupied by Donatello's politically significant David.<sup>3</sup> Bandinelli's original

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<sup>1</sup>Langedijk, 1976. The commission, although evidently from Leo X, was effected through the intervention of Cardinal Giulio de' Medici, the future Clement VII (Vasari-Milanesi, VI, 143). The date would seem to be about 1519.

<sup>2</sup>Langedijk, 1976, pp. 39-48. Further on Orpheus in the thought of the Florentine Neo-Platonists, here particularly Ficino and Landino, see Walker (1953), Chastel (1959, pp. 272-274, and 1975, pp. 40f., 173f.), and Kristeller (1956, pp. 51-54).

<sup>3</sup>Vasari-Milanesi, VI, 142: "Baccio in questo tempo portò a Roma al papa un modello bellissimo d'un Davitte ignudo, che tenendosi sotto Golia gigante gli tagliava la testa; con animo di farlo di bronzo o di marmo per lo cortile di casa Medici in Firenze, in quel luogo appunto dove era prima il Davitte di Donato, che poi fu portato, nello spogliare il palazzo de' Medici, nel palazzo allora de'

intention was, in fact, to sculpture a new David but the Pope rejected the subject no doubt because of its republican anti-Medicean connotations.<sup>1</sup> Orpheus, in many ways iconographically identified with David, was for the Medici a more suitable choice for so prominent a commission.<sup>2</sup> But however pertinent the subject was for Leo X, it seems mistaken to consider Bronzino's picture a repetition or updating of Bandinelli's image; rather, a different conception of Orpheus is here intended, one that derives from lyric rather than philosophical or moral interpretations of the myth.

Unlike Bandinelli's idealized head Bronzino's picture is assuredly a portrait. The subject cannot be considered simply an Orpheus; it must be viewed as an allegorical portrait, one in which the Duke sought to be portrayed in a specific mythological role of precisely defined characterization. If Cosimo has chosen to be seen as Orpheus in order to restate or confirm the iconographic burden of Bandinelli's statue, a public context for the picture must be assumed. Yet this work appears to have passed unnoticed

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Signori. Il papa lodato Baccio, non parendogli tempo di fare allora il Davitte, lo mandò a Loreto da maestro Andrea, che gli desse a fare una di quelle istorie."

<sup>1</sup>On the anti-Medicean significance of the figure of David, see Levine, 1974, pp. 34f.

<sup>2</sup>The association and conflation of Orpheus and David is discussed by Friedman, 1970, pp. 148f.

or at least unrecorded by contemporaries, in print or paint; no replicas or variants are known and no mention of the work appears in Vasari or other sources.<sup>1</sup>

Bandinelli's Orpheus, as an abstract representation of a classical figure, is fully dressed in his nudity. Bronzino's subject, a recognizable portrait, seems in contrast arrestingly naked. Both the expanse of his white unprotected flesh and the directness of his gaze seem antithetical to public propagandistic art and suggest of the picture a more personal and private intent. Orpheus appears at a moment of rest between musical recitation. He has quieted the wild dogs (more accurately, two-thirds of Cerberus) and appears ready to renew his singing. He rests against his knee a contemporary lira da braccio in lieu of an ancient lyre and holds a bow in his right hand.<sup>2</sup> His

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<sup>1</sup>The earliest possible mention of the work is to be found in an inventory of about 1650; the collection of a certain Simone Berti in Florence included an Orpheus of similar description and size, although unattributed (see cat. no. D5). A St. John the Baptist given to Girolamo Macchietti (Fig. 10; Casa Vasari, Arezzo; Inv. 1890, no. 6189 from the Uffizi; see Arezzo: Cat. Berti, 1955, no. 42) may be directly inspired by Bronzino's Orpheus; the St. John, however, is much later (ca. 1560).

<sup>2</sup>The instrument would appear to be lira da braccio. Although the typical paired drone strings are not visible, the wood plug that separates the strings from the peg-box is. A similarly large lira da braccio is played by an angel in Giovanni Bellini's San Zaccaria Altarpiece. On the instrument and its symbolic import, see Winternitz (1979, pp. 86-98).

gaze is direct and inquiring, as if the viewer were the intended listener.

Orpheus, the mortal son of Apollo, was the most famous musician of antiquity and the myth of his beautiful song's irresistible power--a mortal's art that could affect a god--is an attractive one.<sup>1</sup> His use of art in the service of love to restore his wife Eurydice to the living served to establish Orpheus in early Renaissance retellings of the myth as the most faithful and ardent of lovers.<sup>2</sup> The tragic loss of Eurydice as Orpheus looks back at her, as well as his bloody end at the hands of bacchantes, are frequently omitted or revised, and a happy ending appended, in these versions.<sup>3</sup> In some illustrations to Ovid and other mythographic sources, Eurydice's dramatic return to the underworld is replaced by a scene representing Orpheus playing his lyre

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<sup>1</sup>On the Orpheus myth in the Renaissance see Friedman (1970), Ziegler (1951), Buck (1961), and Winternitz (1968).

<sup>2</sup>Friedman (1970, pp. 147, 169).

<sup>3</sup>Friedman (1970, pp. 164f.) gives several examples between the eleventh and fifteenth centuries: Thierry of Trond suggests that Eurydice is rescued from Hades on the second try; poems by Gautier and Godefroy of Reims have Eurydice released through divine intervention; a Latin lyric from Auxerre omits the entire story of the death and restoration of Eurydice and is concerned only with the passion of the two lovers. Perhaps the most removed reworking of the myth is found in the fourteenth-century English romance Sir Orfeo, which has King Orfeo of Winchester successfully rescue Queen Heurodis from the fairy land.



by the gates of hell, out of which his wife emerges and is restored to earth. Moderno's bronze plaque (Fig. 11) of about 1500 so shows the devil returning Eurydice to Orpheus, who appears standing nude and playing a lira da braccio.<sup>1</sup> The minstrel quality of the legend typified by such representations had led to the establishment between the twelfth and fourteenth centuries of Orpheus and Eurydice as model court lovers.<sup>2</sup> Flemish illustrations of the restoration of Eurydice show the couple in the most elegant contemporary attire; and even the Orpheus that appeared in the elaborate procession of the Genealogy of the Gods that celebrated Francesco I's marriage in 1565 seems more a modish cortigiano than tragic lover.<sup>3</sup> It is out of this tradition that the

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<sup>1</sup>These include a fifteenth-century illustration to Christine de Pisan's Letter of Othea to Hector (Brussels Ms. Bib. Royale, 9392, 73v, ill. Friedman, 1970, fig. 27), one from Albericus's De deorum imaginibus libellus (Vat. Ms. Reg. Lat. 1290, 5r; ill. Friedman, 1970, fig. 23), and printed illustrations in the 1484 Bruges edition of Ovid (ill. Ziegler, 1951, fig. 3), and the Ovide Moralisé, published by Verard at Paris in 1493 (ill. Friedman, 1970, fig. 28). The traditional title given to the Moderno plaque of Orpheus in Hades is clearly incorrect; the mouth of hell is visible behind Eurydice and the devil. Peter Vischer's Orpheus plaque was inspired by Moderno's bronze (Winternitz, 1979, p. 93).

<sup>2</sup>Friedman, 1970, pp. 168f.

<sup>3</sup>The figure of Orpheus appeared on the Chariot of the Sun in the procession. The costume design, inscribed "Orpheo figliuolo di Apollo" and attributed tentatively to Allori, is in the Gabinetto Disegni e Stampe of the Uffizi

Orpheus story, notably without its woeful conclusion, was adopted by Ottavio Rinuccini as the libretto for the earliest extant operas. These, Peri's and Caccini's Euridice (both of 1600), ended with the joyful return of Eurydice from the underworld.<sup>1</sup> Monteverdi's Favola d'Orfeo of 1607, like most of the many Orpheus operas that followed, also spared the listeners the tragic aspects of the tale. That Peri's Euridice was written for and performed in Florence at the proxy marriage of Maria de' Medici to Henry IV of France affords a striking indication of the extent to which the myth had been transformed; in its telling by Ovid or Virgil, the story of Orpheus and Eurydice would be among the least appropriate and most tasteless subjects for a wedding celebration.

In the Portrait of Cosimo I as Orpheus Bronzino seems to have drawn on this medieval variant of the myth rather than any classical or humanist source. The informal, personal, erotic nature of the painting further indicates that Cosimo is not cast here as the great peacemaker Orpheus (as in Bandinelli's sculpture), but as the great lover Orfeo. That the Duke is seen specifically as Orpheus rather than as Apollo,

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(no. 2722F); it is illustrated by Winternitz, 1968, p. 11. On the procession and the drawings and records of it, see Florence, Uffizi: Cat. Vasariani, 1966 (for Orpheus, pp. 29-30, 84).

<sup>1</sup>See Buck (1961), pp. 24-27, and further Palisca (1964) and Brown (1970).

a deity frequently identified with Cosimo, suggests as well that it was not the art common to both father and son that engendered the allegorical identification, but rather Orpheus' peculiar reputation as a faithful, passionate lover.<sup>1</sup> The picture seems personal rather than political in intent; its message amatory rather than placatory. Certainly there is no suggestion of political content or sentiment in the Duke's pose or expression; his direct gaze, subtle smile, raised eyebrows suggest an air of amorous questioning and quiet sensuality. The inquiring expression and intense eyes create an interplay with the viewer, who, as recipient and respondent, is placed in the role of Eurydice; the picture becomes an appeal to the viewer for love.<sup>2</sup>

The circumstances of the commission of the Cosimo as Orpheus are not known but the special iconography employed and the apparent age of the Duke--the presence of the beard places the work after 1537--suggest a specific context, the marriage of Cosimo to Eleonora di Toledo.<sup>3</sup> How suitable and

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<sup>1</sup>On Cosimo's association with Apollo, see particularly Richelson (1973, pp. 25f.) and Hanning (1979).

<sup>2</sup>It is conceivable that Orpheus is here playing for Hades, but this conception is aesthetically displeasing.

<sup>3</sup>Cosimo's beard first appears on a medal datable in the first year of his reign (cf. Langedijk, 1981, no. 27-156), although other portraits from 1537 still show the Duke beardless.

subtle a gift for his bride this painting would have been-- whether before or at the time of the wedding in 1539! In the language of courtly love Cosimo, seen in the guise of the most faithful of husbands, seems to encourage and entreat his beloved, who was perhaps the recipient of the picture. No painted Eurydice would be expected to complete a pair with this Orpheus; the intended viewer forms the pendant.

An intriguing aspect of the picture that has escaped notice is the source for the form of Cosimo's body. Bronzino has here incorporated the Belvedere Torso, then as now on exhibit in the Vatican.<sup>1</sup> The celebrated antique sculpture appears quite accurately reversed (Fig. 12); most likely a counter-proofed or back-traced drawing after the Torso served as the model. The expressive modelling of the back of the marble is brought over to the painting and given prominence by the essentially dorsal view of the subject. Like his spiritual master Michelangelo (whose ignudi on the Sistine Chapel ceiling are in varying degrees variant completions of the fragment), Bronzino has effected a pictorial restoration of the fragmentary Torso.<sup>2</sup>

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<sup>1</sup>On the Belvedere Torso and its influence in the Renaissance, see Brummer (1970, pp. 142-152), Andr n (1952), and Northampton: Cat. Sheard (1978, nos. 56-58).

<sup>2</sup>Tolnay (1969, II, 66) notes the use of the Torso in the ignudo above and to the right of Jeremiah and perhaps the one at the left over the Erythraea; this seems excessively narrow. Hibbard (1974, pp. 122-123) more sensibly considers

The use of this famous model implies as well particular iconographic significance. Throughout the Renaissance the Torso was thought to represent Hercules, who, as a figure long identified with the Republic of Florence, was adopted emblematically by Cosimo on his accession in 1537.<sup>1</sup> One of the first portrait medals of the Duke featured, in fact, a representation of Hercules and Antaeus on the reverse (Fig. 13) and the Duke's official seal, made at about the same time, was essentially a re-working of the republican image of Hercules carrying a club over one shoulder with a lion-skin

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that "all of the ignudi are in a sense ideal restorations of the famous Belvedere Torso, which of the surviving antique statues was perhaps the most evocative for Michelangelo's art." The youth at the left of Joel, in fact, is a reinterpretation of the Torso viewed from the angle seen in Bronzino's picture (though not reversed); for Tolnay (1969, II, 65), however, a lost antique gem or relief served as source. The drawn copy of the Torso on fol. 22 of the Cambridge Sketchbook (Trinity College) published by Brummer (1970, fig. 128) bears an inscription attesting to Michelangelo's admiration for the work: "This pees doth Michellangelo exstem above al the anttickes in belle fidere."

<sup>1</sup>Northampton: Cat. Sheard, 1978, no. 57: "The torso's identification as a Hercules goes back to a commentary, attributed to Cyriacus of Ancona, dealing with the statue's inscription. All the restorations except Marcantonio's present the statue as Hercules." In Marcantonio's print the torso is turned into a figure of Mars. See also Brummer (1970, pp. 142f.). On the association of Cosimo with Hercules, see Forster (1971, pp. 78f.), Richelson (1973, pp. 79f.), Ettlenger (1972, pp. 139-142, with a discussion of the tradition of "Hercules Florentinus"), and Utz (1971, pp. 344f.). For another manifestation of this typology, see Chapter VIII, pt. 1 of the present study.

on his arm.<sup>1</sup> Perhaps the most overt example of the typology is found in the portrait print of Cosimo that Nicolò della Casa executed after a Bandinelli drawing in 1544 (Fig. 14); the Duke appears in armor wildly decorated with scenes of the Labors of Hercules, while behind him appear Herculean trophies and a lion-skin on which the Duke's name is inscribed.<sup>2</sup>

The allusion to Hercules in a picture clearly portraying Orpheus may appear surprising, but its employment is unlikely to have been arbitrary. The Torso did serve to furnish Cosimo with a body undoubtedly more heroic than his own and its use by Bronzino may be seen as a kind of archaeological exercise in ideal restoration. But the associative meaning implicit in the Torso's use seems to have added significance in light of the picture's suggested context. In a broad sense Cosimo has undergone an alteration of allegorical sympathy, from the publicly recognizable

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<sup>1</sup>See Langedijk (1981, no. 27-163) for the medal. The master die for the seal survives in the Museo degli Argenti in the Pitti Palace (Inv. Bargello, 1917, II, 30); see Florence, Pal. Vecchio: Cat., 1980, no. 280, and Richelson, 1973, pp. 83-84.

<sup>2</sup>On the engraving by Della Casa, see Heikamp (1960, p. 134, fig. 7, and 1966, pp. 51-52), Forster (1971, p. 78, fig. 16), Richelson (1973, p. 85, fig. 19), Vienna, Albertina: Cat. Oberhuber (1966, p. 192, no. 325, fig. 53), and Langedijk (1981, no. 27-56, incorrectly as a woodcut). The engraving is signed "BACIV / S / BAND / INEL / FLO<sup>S</sup> / 1544" and ".N.D. LA / CASA.F."

type of Hercules to the for-him new role of Orpheus. (Perhaps as well a specific allusion is intended to the last labor of Hercules, the capture of Cerberus: where Hercules strangled the beast, Orpheus charmed him with his music.) If the Cosimo as Orpheus served as a gift to an intended bride, the subtle incorporation of the Duke's established allegorical image perhaps signified that the subject possessed the heroic and physical qualities of a Hercules, but that, for the recipient alone, he would summon only the power of his song to win his love.

The nakedness of Cosimo is all the more remarkable when contrasted with the well protected Duke of the Portrait of Cosimo I in Armor (see Chapters V and VI). In that official image the figure is almost entirely concealed by the particularly combative metallic uniform. In the Cosimo as Orpheus the body is shocking in the expanse of unprotected white skin, coldly erotic in the vivification of the marble Torso into flesh no less marmoreal. As in the London Allegory this "icy sensuality" is brought out by a brilliant surface, articulated by precise, undulating contours and brisk, vibrant modelling.<sup>1</sup>

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<sup>1</sup>In Bronzino's tapestry, The Discovery of the Cup of Joseph in the Sack of Benjamin (Fig. 15), the Belvedere Torso is dressed to become the brother of Joseph in the lower right corner. Bronzino seems to have reused the Orpheus figure with only minor changes. Not only are the

Whether the Cosimo as Orpheus addressed Eleonora particularly must remain speculation for the present. An appreciation of the extent of the Duke's private life--as much as one may be said to have existed--is difficult to apply to artistic commissions such as this. But, it seems clear, this picture was not intended for the same audience, the same public display, attendant on subsequent portraits. If the distinction can be made, it is Cosimo as Orpheus rather than the Duke as Orpheus that is portrayed--the body natural, not the body politic.

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arms and legs attached to the torso only slightly different, but the right hand (that holding the bow) is repeated in the tapestry, though in a new position over the left shoulder. A pentimento in the Cosimo as Orpheus visible even in a photograph--a painted-out band crossing Cosimo's left shoulder--reappears intact in the tapestry. It would seem that a drawing or cartoon for Bronzino's painting, that showing the subsequently removed shoulder band, was utilized by the artist some years later in the tapestry cartoon. The tapestry was woven between 1549 and 1553 and is now in the Quirinal Palace in Rome (Inv. O.D.P. 114). See Baccheschi, 1973, no. 69, and Adelson, in Florence, Pal. Vecchio: Cat. 1980, no. 92.



## CHAPTER IV

## EFFIGY AND DYNASTY IN THE PORTRAITS OF COSIMO I

"Il signor duca, veduta . . . 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."<sup>1</sup> Vasari thus described the commission of Bronzino's Portrait of Cosimo I in Armor. No reference is made to any especial importance attached the portrait or to the fact that more than one version of the picture was painted. Yet perhaps no work is as significant for the study of court patronage in Cinquecento Florence--or in the career of Bronzino--as this portrait and its successors.

Over one hundred paintings have been designated "Bronzino's Portrait of Cosimo I," and although many of these are manifestly workshop pieces or late copies of workmanlike execution, the existence of so many versions and variants has

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<sup>1</sup>Vasari-Milanesi, VII, 597-598. "Arme bianche" is consistently translated incorrectly into English as "white armor" or, more figuratively, as "gleaming armor," rather than in its specific meaning of steel armor. Cf. Reynolds, 1962, p. 55, s.v. "arme."

allowed little consensus among critics and engendered considerable confusion. Study of the entire group, including obvious copies, has led not only to a determination of Bronzino's specific contribution, but also to an appreciation of the creation and function of portraits at the Medici court and beyond.

Although there is no documentary evidence of there being either an officially designated portrait painter to, or a court approved painting of, Cosimo I, there can be little doubt that Bronzino and his work did have such function. In the course of the thirty-five-year association of patron and artist, Bronzino appears to have been responsible for all three of the basic portrait types found in paintings of the Duke. The first of these, that of Cosimo in armor, shows the young Duke standing with his hand resting on a helmet (Cat. nos. A1-A27); a second type portrays the forty-year-old Duke wearing a more domestic doublet (Cat. nos. B1-B39); the last portrait presents Cosimo in final years, seen frontally and often outfitted with apposite regalia of his title (as of 1569) of Grand Duke (Cat. nos. C1-C31). Of the few painted portraits by other artists that are not derivations from Bronzino, none achieved any currency. Ridolfo del Ghirlandaio's Portrait of Cosimo at Age Twelve (Fig. 16; Florence, Uffizi) was copied only once--by Vasari in the Sala di Giovanni dalle

Bande Nere in the Palazzo Vecchio.<sup>1</sup> A small head attributed to Pontormo (Fig. 17; Contini Bonacossi Collection, Florence) painted two or three years later appears never to have been replicated.<sup>2</sup> A unique profile portrait of the beardless Duke from Vasari's workshop (Fig. 18; Uffizi) is derived

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<sup>1</sup>In his life of Ridolfo Ghirlandaio, Vasari mentions among the portraits painted by the artist "solo che da lui fu ritratto il signor Cosimo de' Medici, quando era giovinetto; che fu bellissima opera, e molto somigliante al vero; il qual quadro si serba ancor oggi nella guardaroba di sua Eccellenza" (Vasari-Milanesi, VI, 545). The picture appears in the 1553 inventory of the Palazzo Vecchio as "Uno quadro del ritratto del Duca Cosimo d'età XII anni con ornamento di noce tocco d'oro (Conti, 1893, p. 86) and in the 1560 inventory of the guardaroba as "Un'ornamento di noce tocco d'oro entrovi il ritratto dello Ill<sup>mo</sup> Signor Duca Cosimo de Medici quando era giovanetto di mano di Ridolfo del Grillandaio" (ASF, Guardaroba, Filza 45, fol. 59r; quoted from Beck, 1974, p. 65; as "Raffaello del Grilandaio" in Filza 65, as quoted by Beck, 1974<sup>2</sup>, p. 61). Poggi (1916-1918, pp. 250-252) identified the painting, then recently discovered in the Medici villa at Castello (Inv. Castello, 274). See Langedijk in Florence, Palazzo Vecchio: Cat., 1980, no. 493 and more thoroughly, 1981, nos. 27-46 and 27-210, regarding Vasari's copy.

<sup>2</sup>The suggestion that this small portrait of a youth represents Cosimo at the age of fourteen or fifteen was made by Chiarini (1977, p. 65) but seems to have been unknown to Langedijk. The picture is painted on tile and measures 66 x 51 cm. It has been attributed to Pontormo by the following: Florence, Pal. Strozzi: Cat. Cinquecento (1940, p. 39), Toesca (1943, fig. 49), and tentatively by Cox Rearick (1964, p. 294). Berti, in Florence, Pal. Strozzi: Cat. Pontormo (1956, no. 87), attributed the picture to Foschi. Berti (1973, no. 120, but ill. as no. 121) reports Forster's rejection of an attribution to Pontormo. The picture is evidently damaged. From a photograph it is impossible to give a more secure attribution.

from a drawing by Pontormo.<sup>1</sup> Much later a portrait (probably by Francesco Brina) of Cosimo painted shortly before his death appeared evidently in only two examples (Florence, Museo Stibbert, and New York, Private Collection, Cat. no. D2).<sup>2</sup> A portrait that ought to be considered as representing Cosimo at about age eighteen, Pontormo's so-called Halberdier (Cat. D4; New York, Chauncey Stillman Coll.), appears to have generated only two variant copies (see Chapter VIII, pt. 1). In all other painted portraits (as well as in some of other media) one of Bronzino's three types served as

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<sup>1</sup>Gamba (1910, pp. 125-127) first published this painting (Inv. 1890, no. 5052; panel, 47 x 31 cm) as Pontormo's Portrait of Cosimo I of 1537 (cited by Vasari, VI, 282)--noting the picture's derivation from Pontormo's profile drawing in the Uffizi (no. 6528F, verso). Clapp (1916, pp. 146-147) thought the work an autograph sketch for Pontormo's portrait; Cox Rearick (1964, pp. 299-300), a copy after it. Berti (1965, s.v. no. LVIII) thought the work by Foschi, executing Pontormo's commission, but later (1966, pp. CLX-CLXI) gave Pontormo as the author. Keutner (1959, p. 148), Cox Rearick (1964, pp. 299-300), and Langedijk (1981, no. 27-55) all reject the attribution to Pontormo and consider the picture to be from Vasari's shop; this profile portrait, it should be noted, was utilized by Vasari and his assistants as the source for the portrayals of the young Duke in the decorations of the Sala di Cosimo I in the Palazzo Vecchio.

<sup>2</sup>The large portrait in the Museo Stibbert (Inv. 4118; panel, 97 x 73 cm), once given to Allori (Florence, Stibbert: Cat. Lenzi, 1918, II, 706), has more recently been attributed to Salviati (Florence, Stibbert: Cat. Cantelli, 1974, II, 55, no. 306, pl. 126)--a suggestion that is preferable but still untenable, for reasons of style and date (Salviati died in 1563 when Cosimo, here near death, was only forty-four). Lecchini Giovannoni (1968, p. 56, n. 4) thought the picture close to Francesco Brina and (pending further investigation into the works of Francesco, his brother Giovanni, and Michele

model. Whether consciously or not, Cosimo evidently emulated Alexander the Great in permitting his portrait to be painted by one artist alone.<sup>1</sup>

If Cosimo exhibited a bit of antiquarian flair in restricting the artists who could portray him, his use of the images appears decidedly modern. The large number of portraits betoken a phenomenon unequalled in Renaissance painting: the widespread replication and dispersal of an official painted portrait. Precedents exist in the multiple portrait prints and medals that circulated in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries; and, of course, the replication of paintings was hardly new. But never had an example of a painted ruler portrait--whether of king or pope, duke, condottiere, or

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di Ridolfo Tosini, all of whose works are confused) it is in his orbit that the work should be placed. The bust portrait in New York (Cat. no. D2; panel 61 x 44.5 cm) is clearly by the same hand and perhaps served as a preliminary portrait from life.

<sup>1</sup>Pliny, Natural History, XXXV, 36: "In fact he [Apelles] also possessed great courtesy of manners which made him more agreeable to Alexander the Great, who frequently visited his studio--for, as we have said, Alexander had published an edict forbidding any other artist to paint his portrait" (tr. Rackham, in Pliny, 1952, IX, 325). Apelles was for Renaissance artists and patrons the ideal classical type for the court painter (on this issue see Kennedy, 1964). Bronzino was himself so compared in several of the poems addressed to him by his friends and literary correspondents. He is hailed as a "new Apelles and a new Apollo," since, like Michelangelo (who was similarly extolled) he excels as both poet and painter. Benedetto Varchi writes to "Bronzino, e voi, che sete / Sì grande Apelle, e non minore Apollo"; Laura Battiferri calls him "novello

prince--achieved such currency.

The reason for the production of these portraits hardly seems to have been personal vanity alone, even if that quality might be immanent in nearly all portraits; nor mere family pride (in regard to this particular family, no small consideration), though certainly some of the portraits were executed for particular residences or relatives. But more than this it appears that many of the portraits were to be given as indications of friendship and respect or as political gifts of diplomatic expediency--the latter often in the guise of the former.

Offerings of art, and specifically portraits, were not unique to the Florentine court, but the Duke utilized the convention in a far more extensive way than did his contemporaries. Cosimo seemed to understand acutely that art had always been one of Florence's leading export commodities, that the patronage of artists brings glory to the patron, that magnanimity can be an influential and rewarding virtue, and that, since a portrait functions as surrogate of its subject, it is good to show one's face about and in so doing show the colors of the ship of state.

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Apelle Apollo"; Sellori, similarly, addresses him, "E le tue dotte rime altere, e belle, / E le pitture tue pregiate, e care, / Ti fanno un nuovo Apollo, un nuovo Apelle" (Bronzino, 1823, pp. 47, 45, 18).

The creation and dispersal of the Duke's portrait served, moreover, to provide a memorable physical substantiation to Cosimo's right of office and that of his children. Cosimo was aware that, although not of another family, he was only a distant cousin of his predecessor. The existence of these portraits supported the legitimacy of the Duke's new dynasty by the authority inherent in the portrait form itself. This dynastic statement was substantiated wherever a portrait might be dispatched--and the more frequently the portrait was encountered the more widespread and uncontested would be the tacit political message. Ferdinando I (Cosimo's son) was forced to acknowledge the portrait's political power in a brutal way. Cosimo was succeeded by Francesco (the elder brother of Ferdinando) who had two children--Filippo, from his first wife Giovanna d'Austria, and Antonio, a bastard, later legitimized, from his mistress (and second wife) Bianca Cappello. In 1581 Allori painted two large portraits for S. Maria Nuova, each more than six and one-half feet tall: "un ritratto del Ser.<sup>mo</sup> Gran Duca Francesco intero al naturale a sedere con giubbone e calze bigie e vesticciuolo d'ermosino" and "un ritratto della Ser.<sup>ma</sup> Gran Duchessa Bianca Cappello di br. 3 1/2 simile al sopra detto, intera, assedere, con lo Ser.<sup>mo</sup> Gran Principe [Filippo] da man destra, el Marchese don Antonio suo figliuolo da man sinistra, con habiti bianchi d'ermosino pur in campo verde," as Allori himself described

them.<sup>1</sup> Filippo lived only until 1582; when Francesco and Bianca died in 1587, leaving only the eleven-year-old Antonio, the dynastic implications of the latter, triple portrait (and however many copies of it that then existed) must have been evident to many. They were at least to Ferdinando I, Francesco's younger brother and the new Grand Duke; in seeking to prevent any claim on the title by Antonio, Ferdinando arranged to have the youth declared supposititious and all examples of this portrait, in which the pretender was equated with the legitimate (though dead) heir, destroyed. Within a year of Ferdinando's accession to the dukedom, "un ritratto dell' Illmo e Revmo Cardinale Ferdinando Medici" was received by Santa Maria Nuova--while poor Antonio was forced into the celibate Order of the Knights of Jerusalem.<sup>2</sup> That the

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<sup>1</sup>These entries come from Allori's Ricordi under the date of March 29, 1581 (Supino, 1908, p. 25). Corresponding notations of payment for these pictures survive under the date of March 23, 1580 (=1581) in the running account between Allori and S. Maria Nuova (Archivio di S. Maria Nuova, Filza A 3<sup>a</sup> Contratti, Contratti di Ser Jacopo Contrini, c. 181; published by Bagnesi, 1916-1918, p. 260). A portrait of "Ser<sup>mo</sup> Gran Duca Cosimo di felice memoria alto br. 3 1/2 intero con habito reale consegnato in dì 3 marzo 1582" must have been added to form a series of Medici portraits (Bagnesi, 1916-1918, p. 260).

<sup>2</sup>Langedijk, 1981, p. 126, citing Loredana, Bianca Cappello: Patrizia Veneta Granduchessa di Toscana (Rome, 1936), p. 207, regarding the destruction of the portraits. On the case of Antonio and the situation of his birth see Cantagalli, 1965, pp. 636-652. The portrait of Ferdinando is referred to on c. 182 of the account published by Bagnesi (1916-1918, p. 263). Although not received until 1588



painted portrait can carry implicit authority was recognized and exploited by the Medici; Ferdinando's action in destroying the portraits of Antonio acknowledged the potential independence of that authority--which to him must have suggested sedition. It is not surprising that following radical changes of government, portraits of the deposed are so vehemently attacked. While it is common to suppose the motive for such destruction is hatred of the represented or exaltation in the victory, it should be considered that a more basic concern of the iconoclasts is the wish to be rid of the authority there embodied.

Besides seeking the propagation of his own image, Cosimo commissioned portraits of his predecessors, those of the ruling branch of Cosimo the Elder and those from the secondary branch of the family (that of Lorenzo di Giovanni, brother of Cosimo the Elder), from which the Duke directly descended. In miniatures, paintings, and fresco medallions, several series of bust portraits of the Medici appear from about 1550 on. The more prominent members of the family (Cosimo the Elder, Piero il Gottoso, Lorenzo il Magnifico, for example) possessed established iconographies; but for

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(after Ferdinando had become Grand Duke) this portrait and a pendant picture of Pietro de' Medici (Ferdinando's younger brother) were evidently commissioned prior to August 30, 1586 (while Francesco was alive), as indicated by a payment also published by Bagnesi (1916-1918, p. 267).

many, in particular fifteenth-century members of Cosimo I's branch of the family, no reliable portrait had been preserved. The need for pictures of these rehabilitated ancestors was paramount, and so a search was undertaken for their vera effigies; from the results of this iconographic sleuthing (apparently by Vasari) retrospective portraits were produced by Vasari, Bronzino and others. The veracity of the effigies is open to some doubt. The missing Medici were given physiognomies taken from portrait heads appearing in two quattrocento Adorations--Botticelli's panel of ca. 1475 from S. Maria Novella and Filippino Lippi's altar from S. Donato a Scopeto of 1496 (both now in the Uffizi). Though some of the identifications may be accurate, many are at best conjectural, and others patently impossible; but, by force of repetition (and through Vasari's subsequent published identification of them in the Vite) these portraits established the official iconography for future generations.<sup>1</sup>

The dissemination of Cosimo's portraits can be followed through archival notes, but the purpose of each gift can only be conjectured. In Tuscany the presentation of a portrait must have been a sign of great favor--one to which

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<sup>1</sup>Langedijk (1981, pp. 102-108) discusses and compares the varying identifications of these figures; but see also Hatfield (1976, pp. 68-100) for another view regarding the veracity of the portraits taken from Botticelli's Adoration.

the recipient could respond only with respect, obligation, and fealty; within the city itself somewhat of a sculptural equivalent seems to have existed in the placement of marble busts of the Duke over the palace doors of particularly favored citizens.<sup>1</sup>

Outside of Florence, where pictures were generally sent to heads of state or their close associates, more complicated considerations generally obtain, but the sentiments of loyalty and personal affection often prevail as well. (That quality is evident in Fynes Moryson's account of his visit to the Palazzo Pitti in 1594, in which he notes that Ferdinando I de' Medici "had long tyme kept the picture of Elizabeth Queene of England and expressed as much reverence and love towards her as he might well doe towards the Popes professed enemy."<sup>2</sup>)

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<sup>1</sup>Most notable of those remaining in Florence are Clemente Bandinelli's bust at Piazza San Lorenzo, 2 (formerly on Bandinelli's house on the Via de' Ginori), Giovanni Bandini's Cosimo I on the facade of the Opera del Duomo, and Caccini's on the Palazzo dei Visacci (Borgo degli Albizzi, 18). These do not appear to have been gifts of the Duke; see Langedijk (1981, nos. 27-111, 27-117, and 27-125) and Borsi (1980, pp. 250-251).

<sup>2</sup>Hughes, 1903, p. 100. A portrait of Queen Elizabeth I currently hangs in the Sala dell'Illiade of the Palazzo Pitti (Inv. 1890, no. 4272; see Florence, Pitti: Cat. Ciaranfi, 1967, p. 16 and Florence, Pal. Vecchio: Cat., 1980, no. 612). It is derived from the so-called Ditchley Portrait of Marcus Gheeraerts the Younger, a work painted about 1592 (National Portrait Gallery, London). The portrait that Moryson saw is more likely to be that by Federico Zuccaro in the Pinacoteca

Entries from the inventories of the Medici guardaroba (which served as storeroom, gallery, and clearing-house for works of art) show portraits of the Duke being sent in 1563 to Giovanni Battista Castaldo, a warrior for Charles V;<sup>1</sup> to the "principe di Baviera" (presumably Albert V Wittelsbach) the following year;<sup>2</sup> in 1566 to Emanuele Filiberto, Duke of

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Nazionale in Siena (no. 454)--which appears in inventories of the Medici guardaroba in 1587 ("un quadro in tela entrovi la regina d'Inghilterra") and 1609 (ASF, Guardaroba, Filza 132, 1587, c. 125 and Filza 289, 1607, c. 37; both from Vaccari in the Palazzo Vecchio catalogue cited above). A bust portrait of Elizabeth by Altissimo, copied from a work in the collection of Paolo Giovio in Como, is in the "Collezione Gioviana" of the Uffizi (Inv. 1890, no. 316; see Florence, Uffizi: Cat. 1980, no. Ic173).

<sup>1</sup>"Dua di ritratto di loro Ecc.<sup>mo</sup> Ill.<sup>mo</sup> consegnati a misser Bartolomeo Conncini per mandare a Milano al S.<sup>n</sup> Giovanni Battista Castaldo, giornale, c. 275." (ASF. Inv. Guardaroba, Filza 65, 1560-1567, fol. 164B; quoted from Beck, 1974<sup>2</sup>, p. 63). Langedijk (1981, p. 407, no. 27-5) notes that the portraits (one of Cosimo and one of Eleonora) entered the guardaroba on June 16, 1562. She gives the author as Altissimo and the size as 58 x 44 cm (1 braccia by 3/4 braccia). Castaldo served and fought for Charles V for many years; the Emperor bestowed upon him the title of Marchese di Cassano of Lombardy. He was himself the subject of a most imposing portrait in armor by Titian (formerly Becker Collection, Dortmund; see Wethey, 1971, pp. 84-85).

<sup>2</sup>"Un ritratto piccolo di S.E.I., fornimento di noce a foggia di spera, donò S.E.I. al principe di Baviera come al giornale c. 74." (ASF Inv. Guardaroba, Filza 65, 1560-1567, fol. 164B; quoted from Beck, 1974<sup>2</sup>, p. 63). According to Langedijk (1981, p. 412, no. 27-17) this picture was entered into the guardaroba as "Un ritratto di S.E.I., di 1/3 braccio, ornamento di noce o foggia di spera, consegnò Piero da Prato giornale c. 371 (fol. 164A of Filza 65, as above). Albert V ruled as duke from 1550 to 1579; his son William V succeeded him.

Savoy;<sup>1</sup> in 1569 to one Cavaliere de' Nobili;<sup>2</sup> other examples are recorded from the hand of Cristofano di Papi dell'Altissimo, a student of Bronzino's who made a career of replicating portraits.<sup>3</sup>

A letter of 1548 to the Duke from his majordomo Pierfrancesco Riccio refers to the ordering of a portrait for a certain Commisario Pagano: ". . . messer Lelio [Torelli] mi disse per parte de V[ostra] Ecc[elenz]a ch'io dessi un ritratto

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<sup>1</sup>"Un ritratto di S.E.I. in tavola, ornamento di noce, alto braccia un 1/4 incassato, per mandare al Duca di Savoia, come al giornale sotto li xxvi d'agosto [15]66 [a carta]113." (ASF Inv. Guardaroba, Filza 65, 1560-1567, fol. 160B; quoted by Beck, 1974<sup>2</sup>, p. 61.) This gift was warmly received by Emanuele Filiberto, whose letter of thanks survives; for the text see the catalogue entry below for the Portrait of Cosimo I at age forty in the Galleria Sabauda, Turin (Cat. no. B25), which is identifiable with the present picture.

<sup>2</sup>"Un ritratto di S.E. consegnò in dono al Cav. de Nobili con tutte sue appartenenze, come al giornale sotto li 21 settembre [1569], c. 253" (ASF Inv. Guardaroba, Filza 65, 1560-1567, fol. 174b; quoted from Beck, 1974<sup>2</sup>, p. 63). This would seem to be the same picture mentioned slightly earlier in the same inventory: "Un ritratto di sua E.I. fatto da m<sup>o</sup> Cristofano detto, grandezza ordinaria, et dal Camerino l'ornamento di noce assai più bello che li altri, con suoi ferri et cortina di taffetà verde da coprire tutto, come al giornale sotto li 21 di settembre [1569], c. 253" (as above, Filza 65, fol. 174a; quoted by Beck, 1974<sup>2</sup>, p. 63). Cristofano is, as before, Cristofano di Papi dell'Altissimo. The recipient of the portrait would seem to have been either Ascanio di Giovanbattista de' Nobili or Torquato di Gentile de' Nobili, both Cavalieri of the Order of San Stefano (listed in De' Ricci, 1972, pp. 29-30).

<sup>3</sup>For example, the portrait by Altissimo now in the Palazzo Pitti (Cat. no. B14), for which Langedijk has discovered documentation indicating a date between 1562 and 1565 (cited in Florence, Pal. Vecchio: Cat., 1980, no. 533 and Langedijk, 1981, pp. 407-408, no. 27-6).

al Comm[isa]ro Pagano cosi ho ordinato s[ic] faccia per darglielo."<sup>1</sup>

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 November 18, 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."<sup>2</sup>

Such portraits might be painted by Bronzino, by assistants within his workshop (such as Allori, who was paid for one such portrait in 1568<sup>3</sup>), or by other artists--such as Altissimo and Louis van Oort (called Luigi Fiammingo), specialists in duplicating portraits; a "ritratto dell' Ill[ustrissi]mo Signor Cosimo armato" was listed under the

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<sup>1</sup>ASF Mediceo, Filza 656, c. 249-251v.; dated Florence, November 29, 1548. Torelli was Cosimo's First Secretary.

<sup>2</sup>ASF Mediceo, Filza 4311, unnumbered folios, letter of November 18, 1549, written by Cosimo at Pisa to the Bishop of Forlì at the court of Charles V.

<sup>3</sup>Allori was paid on October 13, 1568, for "tre ritratti dello Ill.<sup>mo</sup> S<sup>re</sup> duca il P[rincipe] et S[ua] A[ltrezza] et della principessa," that is, Francesco, Cosimo, and Giovanna d'Austria (Francesco's wife). (ASF Depositeria Generale 774, c. 59r; quoted in Langedijk, 1981, p. 407, no. 27-1a.)

latter's name in the Guardaroba inventory of 1560.<sup>1</sup> There are no records that indicate any specific principles governing the selection of the executing artist. But it may be assumed that for the most important commissions Bronzino would be asked to execute a replica of his own work. The portraits for the influential Granvelle were evidently by the master, but in other cases--such as that of the portrait sent to the Duke of Savoy, a not overly vital ally--the gesture may have been more significant than the quality of that which was given, and so Cosimo might have refrained from taking his artist from other work under way at court.

The replication continued after the death of Cosimo, with his successors seeking images of their illustrious ancestor both to give and to keep. As the first Grand Duke of Tuscany Cosimo would often appear at the head of a row of Medici ruler portraits; the posthumous expropriation of the sobriquet of his namesake Cosimo il Vecchio, "Pater Patriae," guaranteed him a place of honor on many a wall. Bronzino's student Allori received commissions in 1580 and 1582 for small-scale portraits of the late Duke as parts of two series of famous men--the first done for the then-Cardinal,

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<sup>1</sup>ASF Inv. Guardaroba, Filza 45, 1560, fol. 60r; quoted in Beck, 1974, p. 66 and ASF Inv. Guardaroba, Filza 65, 1560-1567, fol. 161a; quoted in Beck, 1974<sup>2</sup>, p. 62. Luigi Fiammingo's full name is a result of the researches of Edward Sanchez. On the identification of this portrait see Cat. nos. A8 and A16.

later Grand Duke, Ferdinando de' Medici, and the second prepared for the Florentine ambassador to Spain, no doubt as a pictorial good-will gift heralding some of Florence's famosi.<sup>1</sup> Giovanni Bizzelli, one of Allori's assistants, appears to

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<sup>1</sup>From the Ricordi of Alessandro Allori: "Dallo Ill.<sup>mo</sup> e Rev.<sup>mo</sup> Cardinal de' Medici scudi trenta dua di moneta: tanti sono per otto ritratti di pittura il [sic] sul legname alti b.<sup>a</sup> 1 1/8 in circa e larghi a corrispondentia; i quali sono il Gran Duca Cosimo padre di S.S.R.<sup>ma</sup>, il Cardinal Pompeo Colonna, il Cardinal Bembo, Sebastiano re di Portogallo, Filippo Archiduca di Borgogna, Don Federigo d'Alba, Papa Giovanni 22<sup>mo</sup>, Baldasar Cosca quondam Papa 24<sup>mo</sup>--Portai contanti questo dì 16 di novembre 1580." And "Dal Signor Cavalier . . . Gianfigliuzzi, al presente eletto Ambasciator di Spagna per il S.<sup>mo</sup> G. Duca nostra Patrone, scudi quaranta di muneta, cioè lire dugento ottanta, tanti sono per undici ritratti per mandar in Spagna, cid sono il Ser.<sup>mo</sup> Gran Duca Cosimo, il S.<sup>mo</sup> Gran Duca Francesco, il Marisciallo Signor Piero Strozzi, Pier Capponi, Neri Capponi, Gino Capponi, il Boccaccio, Niccolò Macchiavelli, Monsignor della Casa, Messer Francesco Guicciardini, e una testa Nuntiata di Firenze di altezza di B.<sup>a</sup> 1 1/5 e larghi B.<sup>a</sup> 1 in circa, a sue spese la tela e telaro e tutto il resto di mio: recò contanti Messer Francesco Bonciani questo dì 29 di novembre [1582]" (published by Supino, 1908, pp. 13 and 18). Langedijk (1981, p. 407, no. 27-1b) notes that on October 20, 1580 (that is, about three weeks before the first series mentioned above) a portrait of Cosimo by Allori measuring one by 3/4 braccia was delivered to the guardaroba (ASF Guardaroba, Filza 91, Giornale 1575-1582, c. 135v). Documentation of a large-scale Allori portrait of Cosimo "intero con habito reale" for S. Maria Nuova is given by Bagnesi (1916-1918, p. 261; see above p. 51, note 1). Another Allori portrait is recorded in the estate of Leopoldo de' Medici (1675): "Il Duca Cosimo p<sup>mo</sup> che tiene la mano sinistra a cintola e con la destra accenna di mano di Alessandro Allori." The panel measured 1 1/2 by 1 1/8 braccia, or ca. 78 x 65 cm (ASF Guardaroba, Filza 826, c. 65r, no. 169M; the picture is subsequently recorded in the inventory of the Palazzo Pitti of 1687, ASF Guardaroba, Filza 932, c. 135. Both references are from Langedijk, 1981, p. 497, no. 27-1e). This picture is reminiscent in its description of the tondo portrait in the Studiolo of the Palazzo Vecchio (Cat. no. D7).



have painted a portrait of the Duke in 1602, evidently one of a set of the Grand Dukes (Cosimo, Francesco, Ferdinando and his wife Cristina of Lorraine) being sent to France.<sup>1</sup> As late as 1623 a certain Giovanni Lionardo Henner is recorded as having executed a Cosimo, evidently to be dispatched, together with other Medici, to France.<sup>2</sup> Still other portraits of Cosimo, of indeterminate type and date, appear in inventories of the Palazzo Ducale at Urbino in 1582, the Medici-Riccardi Palace in Florence in 1612, and the collection of Maffeo Barberini in Rome in 1628.<sup>3</sup> It is easily appreciated that the sixteenth century saw a great revival in painted

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<sup>1</sup>Langedijk (1981, p. 412, no. 27-16 and p. 651, no. 31-13) has discovered relevant notes in the archives of the guardaroba indicating that the portraits of Cosimo and Francesco were by Bizzelli and those of Ferdinando and Cristina by Ludovico Buti (ASF Guardaroba 228, Ins. 6, c. 550).

<sup>2</sup>Langedijk, 1981, p. 430, no. 27-47, citing ASF Guardaroba, Filza 373, 1618-1623, c. 344.

<sup>3</sup>From the Palazzo Ducale inventory of 1582: "Un quadro alto un braccio o poco più in tavola, con il ritratto del Gran duca Cosimo del Medici, con cornige attorno" (published by Sangiorgi, 1976, p. 42, no. 226). From the 1612 inventory of the Medici-Riccardi palace in Florence: "Un ritratto del Ser.<sup>mo</sup> G. Duca Cosimo vecchio di mano del Bron.<sup>o</sup> vecchio con onam.<sup>to</sup>" (ASF Carte Riccardi, Filza 258, c. 21r-23r; published by Keutner, 1959, p. 152). Bronzino is listed here as "vecchio" so as to distinguish him from Alessandro Allori, called Bronzino as well. In the inventory of property willed by Maffeo Barberini to his brother Carlo Barberini in 1623: "Una testa del Gran Duca Cosimo senza cornice" (published by M. Lavin, 1975, p. 67, no. I. Inv. 23, n. 48).

portraiture with many artists, for the first time since antiquity, predominantly or exclusively occupied with their making. The calculated production and dissemination of the painted image of Cosimo I indicate how thoroughly the portrait form had become a part of the social and political structure of the time.

## CHAPTER V

## THE PORTRAIT OF COSIMO I IN ARMOR

1. Generalities and Questions

The man and the image, the difference between the human being that walks and breathes and the simulacrum that never changes--this is the heart of portraiture. To the viewer in the sixteenth century, and Vasari in this way is typical, the subsidiary question of physiognomic accuracy appears primary. But as time removes the model and leaves only the portrait the focus of critical attention necessarily changes; of his Medici Dukes Michelangelo recognized that "di qui à mille anni non ne potea dar cognitione che fossero altrimenti."<sup>1</sup>

One of the related problems encountered in discussing portraits of historically prominent figures lies in the disparity between the personality of the subject revealed by historical and literary sources and that perceived in the

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<sup>1</sup>Michelangelo is reported to have said this by Niccolo Martelli (1546, p. 49).

portrait itself. The relationship of these characterizations changes over the years as both are modified (or determined) by the limitations and biases of the time and conditions in which the reader or viewer lives. Which family of images, literary or visual, dominates depends in great part on the relative quality of representation.

Ivan the Terrible may be better remembered for what he did than what he looked like, while for Federigo da Montefeltro the opposite seems more accurate. So too Henry VIII is immediately and powerfully recalled through Holbein's portraits to the extent that they dominate, perhaps obliterate, the historical Henry for all but the most devoted scholars. On the other hand, in the absence of any effective and evocative portrait of King Arthur, his literary and "historical" persona dominates.

Arthur may long await a definitive portrait, but the existence of many images of him, from the Middle Ages to the present, attests to two related human characteristics: an abhorrence of the insubstantial and the supremacy of visual depictions over verbal impressions. The absence of a portrait, no matter how inclusive the literary or historical description may be, is somehow intolerable; a figure who is no longer present becomes an insupportable abstraction unless there is a depicted image. Thus Homer's portrait was invented in the first or second century, B.C., and Dante's codified in the quattroceto--and, not dissimilarly, those of Cosimo I's

ancestors newly created when authentic likenesses proved unavailable.<sup>1</sup>

Kantorowicz noted that "The princes of the Italian Renaissance seem to lead a double life in their after-days: one of their own and one that the artists bestowed upon them."<sup>2</sup> This duality should be recalled when looking at portraits and responding to criticism concerning them. Whereas a portrait of a historical personage may serve as an added source for the historian, the viewer of the painter ought not to be restricted by the historian's appreciation of the subject. The confusion of person and pictorial persona, of subject and image, is natural and, from the artist's and patron's point of view intentional: the model will be judged by his portrait, the qualities of transient personality subsumed by the eternal characterization imparted by the artist. To subject the portrait to the known or supposed historical conceptions of the model is both to limit the understanding of the meaning of the portrait and to distort an appreciation of it as a work of art.

Because of the notoriety of Cosimo I de' Medici and the volubility of his enemies, Bronzino's portrait of the Duke in armor has been susceptible to such interpretation:

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<sup>1</sup>The fabrication of Homer's portrait is remarked on by Pliny (Natural History, XXXV. 11, 9f.).

<sup>2</sup>Kantorowicz, 1939-1940, p. 165.

"the gaze is hard, almost fierce; it is the tyrant who has just overcome his adversaries' last resistance at Montemurlo; the victory has not intoxicated him but has made him understand the necessity for implacable repression and relentless policy."<sup>1</sup> Jean Alazard's comment here seems less a response to Bronzino's Duke than to his supposed historical persona, inaccurate as it may be. By contrast, Levey's characterization of the painted Cosimo is refreshing: "silent, dissimulating, feared but not loved."<sup>2</sup> But if reference to the chilling portrait of the putatively forbidding, severe, cruel, perhaps murderous Duke has become a commonplace, the portrait has never been extensively discussed and basic issues have remained unresolved. It is to these questions that the present study is addressed: When was the portrait painted? Which is the primary version? For which picture or pictures was Bronzino himself responsible? For what purpose were they commissioned? In what format was the picture conceived? What determined its iconography?

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<sup>1</sup>Alazard, 1948, p. 212.

<sup>2</sup>Levey, 1962, p. 172.

## 2. Cosimo's First Date

The Portrait of Cosimo I in Armor has generally been placed in the year 1545, when Cosimo was twenty-six years old, but a reexamination of the evidence tends to undermine confidence in that dating.<sup>1</sup> At the outset it must be made clear that replicas of the picture, whether or not by Bronzino himself, were produced over a period of several years. For the most part they appeared before 1560, when a second type, the Portrait of Cosimo I at Age Forty, became the preferred model. Our concern then is the dated of the earliest example of the portrait in armor.

Among the many versions of the portrait many slight variations appear--in quality of execution, format, and composition. Of the last category one of the more curious concerns the badge of the Order of the Golden Fleece (the Toison d'Or). In several of the portraits (for example, Cat. nos. A16, A20) the badge appears, suspended from a cord hanging about the Duke's neck; in others (e.g., Cat. nos. A8, A11) the emblem is absent. This variation has suggested a

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<sup>1</sup>The date of 1545, first proposed by Gamba (1925, p. 145), is followed by most critics--for example, Becherucci (1945, p. 46), Heikamp (1955, p. 134), Emiliani (1960, p. 46), Baccheschi (1973, no. 54), Schleier (in Berlin: Cat. Bilder, 1980, pp. 208-209), Langedijk (1981, p. 82), and McCorquodale (1981, p. 94, fig. 60). McComb (1928, p. 13) notably proposes a broader range for the earliest example, ca. 1542-1545.

first chronological grouping of the pictures, with the Fleece-less versions predating Cosimo's entry into the Order and the other, "decorated" portraits postdating the award; a natural corollary would be that the first version of the portrait predates the Toison d'Or as well.

Charles V awarded Cosimo knighthood in this most illustrious and exclusive chivalric order, to which only twenty-four members belonged at any time, but there has been some confusion, at least in art-historical contexts, as to when. The date of the award is almost always given as 1546, which would accord sensibly with a dating of 1545 or 1546 for the initial picture.<sup>1</sup> However, 1546 was not the actual year of the award, but the official year of embodiment of the twenty-first chapter of the Order, into which Cosimo was inducted.<sup>2</sup> Charles evidently conferred the honor as early as November 30, 1544, although the messenger bringing the actual badge did not reach Florence until July 29, 1545; the Duke arranged to be formally invested with the decoration at

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<sup>1</sup>As, for example, by Buttin (1925, p. 5), McComb (1928, p. 48), Jenkins (1947, p. 13, n. 68), Emiliani (1960, pl. 90), and Baccheschi (1973, p. 94).

<sup>2</sup>Bruges: Cat. Toison d'Or, 1962, p. 40. The often repeated date of 1546 first appeared in Galluzzi's Istoria del Granducato (1781, cited by Allegri-Cecchi, 1980, p. 5), and in art-historical literature in Frimmel-Klemme (1887, p. 324, no. 191).



a solemn ceremony in the Duomo on August 11 of that year.<sup>1</sup> Whether or not Cosimo felt it necessary to have the actual badge in his possession prior to having it represented in his portrait cannot be surmised. It is sufficient now to state that the intermittent appearance of the emblem among the several versions of the portrait does betoken the genesis of the portrait type before July 1545, if not November 1544.<sup>2</sup>

This terminus ante quem of 1545 is the starting point for determining the date of the composition, but through a speculative reading of two of Bronzino's letters it has become, for nearly all critics, more than that. The first problem occurs in the interpretation of a fascinating letter (Fig. 19) written within a month of the receipt of the Toison d'Or. From the Medici villa at Poggio a Caiano Bronzino writes on August 22, 1545, to the majordomo Riccio:

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<sup>1</sup>Cantini (1805, pp. 179-180) states that the honor was promoted by Charles V in Bolduc on the feast day (Nov. 30) of St. Andrew (the patron saint of the Order) in 1544.

<sup>2</sup>It is conceivable, of course, that examples of the portrait were updated to reflect the new honor or that pictures without the emblem followed a model without it; these circumstances, however, seem quite rare. The reworked portrait in the collection of Frederick Richmond (Cat. no. A13) seems to be the only example in which the badge of the Toison d'Or has clearly been added at a later date. A small portrait at Poggio Imperiale (Cat. no. A2), part of an eighteenth-century series of Medici portraits, shows Cosimo without the Golden Fleece and so may have been copied from an early version.

Ieri, che fummo alli XXI del presente fui con S[ua] E[ccellenza] per cagione del Ritratto, dove dissi quanto per vostra S[ignoria] mi fù imposto circa la speditione della Tavola per in Fiandra, & come volendo sua E[ccellenza] che sene rifacessi un altra bisognava stare costi al manco otto ò dieci giorni per farne un poco di disegno, disse mi, che così voleva, & era contento, ma mi pare, che S[ua] E[ccellenza] si contenti, che primo si fornisca il ritratto, & di piu dice Sua E[ccellenza] che si faccia in questo mezzo fare il legname per dipignervi sù detta Tavola. & aggiunse sua prefata E[ccellenza] io la voglio in quel modo proprio come stà quello, & non la voglio piu bella, quasi dicesse non m'entrare in altra inventione, per che quella mi piace . . . .<sup>1</sup>

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. Thus, one critic writes:

Cosimo could at last indulge in a bit of self-satisfaction. As soon as he saw Bronzino's finished portrait, he ordered it sent off immediately to the emperor. And when Bronzino offered to paint another still better, he replied, with complete disregard of the creative process, "I don't want one more beautiful. I want it done exactly the way it was already." And that, by the way is why only slight variations of the same portrait are now on exhibit in Berlin [sic] and New York as in the Pitti and the Uffizi.<sup>2</sup>

But however evocative and attractive this interpretation may be it is nonetheless faulty. The "Tavola" to which Cosimo

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<sup>1</sup>ASF Mediceo, Filza 1170A, fasc. I, Ins. 3, c. 34. The letter is published, with slight variations in the transcription, by Gaye (1840, II, 330-331) and Castan (1881, p. 96).

<sup>2</sup>Cochrane, 1973, p. 52; similarly, if less colorfully, Smith, 1977, p. 269, n. 18.

referred that was being sent to Flanders, and that he desired replicated without any alterations, must have been the Deposition from the Cross, the large altarpiece painted by Bronzino for the chapel of Eleonora di Toledo in the Palazzo Vecchio. Vasari mentions that the panel "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."<sup>1</sup> The identity of the picture referred to in Bronzino's letter is made evident in other notes from the Medici archives that serve to date the gift of the altarpiece. A payment of July 31, 1545, records the gilding of the frame for the first version of the altarpiece: "fiorini 6 d'oro a Mariotto dipintore per l'ornamento della tavola della cappella della duchessa."<sup>2</sup> This frame may have been only a simple molding sufficient to set the picture into its frescoed setting. By August 12 Cosimo had

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<sup>1</sup>Vasari, VII, 597; this passage is repeated almost verbatim by Borghini (1584, p. 536).

<sup>2</sup>ASF Guardaroba, Filza 10, c. 4; quoted by Poggi, 1909, p. 263, n. 1. The gilder would seem to be Mariotto di Francesco di Niccolò, called appropriately enough Mariotto Mettidoro, who is mentioned by Vasari (V, 208) as being a friend of Andrea di Cosimo Feltrini. Mariotto's dates are not known, but Vasari states that he survived Feltrini, who died in 1548 (as given by Colnaghi, 1928, p. 98).

decided to give the picture to Granvelle. Lorenzo Pagni, the Duke's secretary, then wrote to Riccio requesting the expedition of the frame, presumably one more suitable for a large separately exhibited panel: "Di può la S[ignoria] V[ostra] ha da fare usare ogni diligentia per far fornire lo adornamento del quadro che fece il Bronzino, quale nel oratorio della duchessa nostra senora, qual s'ha da mandare a detto Mons. di Granvela, a detto luogo di Besanzon, per una cappella che nuovamente ha fatto fare."<sup>1</sup> The altarpiece

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<sup>1</sup>ASF, Mediceo, Filza 2, no page given; quoted by Castan, 1881, p. 93. A section of this letter or a verbatim copy of it was published by Poggi (1909<sup>2</sup>, p. 263, n. 1) as from, however, Riccio to Gianfranco Lottini and with the date of October 2, 1545 (as ASF, Mediceo, Carteggio di P.F. Riccio, Filza 2, c. 274).

Riccio's response to Pagni, also dated August 12, 1545, survives (ASF, Carteggio universale, Filza 373, fol. 498; quoted by Castan, 1881, p. 94): "L'adornamento per la tavola della duchessa nostra signora et si fa co' sollecitudine et hora di novo s'è rinfreschata l'opera diligentemente, adcio con prestezza habbia la perfezzione."

The sending of the picture "in Fiandra" rather than to Besançon must have been done so as to permit a proper presentation of the work to Granvelle, who was at the court of Charles V in Brussels. Together with the altarpiece Cosimo was sending Granvelle forty fiasconi of vino greco and the loan of his engineer and architect Giovanni Camerini, who was to drain swamps for Granvelle (this from Pagni's letter of August 12, cited above). A letter from Pagni to Riccio of August 13 (ASF, Mediceo, Filza 2, no page given; quoted by Castan, 1881, p. 95) notes that Cosimo told Pagni to send Camerini to Brussels instead of Besançon: ". . . m'ha detto che s'ha a mandare a Bruselles in Fiandria e no' a Besanzon in Borgogna; perche quivi il senor don Francesco di Toledo, al quale egli ha a far' capo, l'ha presntare a mons. di Granvela da parte di Sua Eccellenza e vuole che si parta quanto prima sera possibile." It is not known whether Camerini, the wine, and the altarpiece actually travelled together.

was evidently sent to Granvelle by the end of October, thus leaving a great deal more than Bronzino's eight or ten days "per farne un poco di disegno"--probably the making of a cartoon suitable for transfer to the replica.<sup>1</sup> In fact, the conclusion of Bronzino's letter to Riccio of August 22 contains a request that the architect and carpenter Tasso prepare and prime a panel for that replica.<sup>2</sup>

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<sup>1</sup>The departure of the altarpiece from Florence prior to October 27 is suggested by its absence from the "Registro di spedizioni" for 1545, as entries between the dates June 7 October 27 have for some reason not been preserved (the relevant pages, c. 6 to c. 14, are blank); this information comes from Ferdinando Soldi, as reported in Castan, 1881, p. 74, n. 5. Presumably the Registro referred to here is ASF Guardaroba, Filza 9: Registro di spedizioni e di espressi e staffette per portar lettere ed oggetti, 1544-1561.

<sup>2</sup>"Per tanto V[ostra] S[ignoria] R[everen]da, quando li piacesse, potrebbe dire al Tasso, che dessi ordine, o per dir meglio facessi, perchè così è l'intenzione di S[ua] E[ccellenza], che mi disse farà far la Tavola, et falla ingessare. So, ch'il Tasso non mancherà della solita diligentia, che certo fece cotesta molto diligentemente, & così doverrà fare quest'altra . . ." (ASF, Mediceo, Filza 1170A, fasc. I, Ins. 3, c. 34; published, in slightly different form by Gaye, 1840, II, 330-331 and Castan, 1881, p. 96).

The original altarpiece was installed in Granvelle's funerary chapel attached to the église des Carmes in Besançon, where it remained until the French Revolution. The picture was subsequently transferred to the Musée des Beaux-Arts in Besançon, where it remains (see Castan, 1881, and Paris, Petit Palais: Cat. XVI<sup>e</sup> Siècle, 1965-1966, no. 49). Bronzino's replica, not completed until 1553, took the place of the original in the Chapel of Eleonora. Removed to the Uffizi in 1770 (as per a "rescritto granducale" of December 22 of that year; Archivio della Galleria degli Uffizi, Filza 3, ins. 27, c. 16), the altarpiece was returned to the Palazzo Vecchio in 1909 (Poggi, 1909<sup>2</sup>, pp. 261-263).

In April of 1550 Eleonora ordered Bronzino to prepare another cartoon of the altarpiece with an added festoon border to be sent to Spain. Sforza Almeni, cameriere segreto to

Another problematic aspect of the letter of August 22 involves the identity of the "Ritratto" beginning. It has been assumed that a sitting for the Portrait of Cosimo I in Armor is here referred to, but Bronzino reports simply that he was with the Duke "by reason of the [unidentified] portrait." The imprecise reference might indeed concern a portrait of Cosimo--whether one being made, one being replicated, or perhaps one being altered by the addition of the Toison d'Or; but it might as easily refer to portraits 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.<sup>1</sup> All one can confidently say here is that

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Cosimo, writes from Livorno to Riccio: "La duchessa mia S[ignor]a ma detto che io scriva a V[ostra] S[ignoria] che quella facci fare dal Bronzino un cartone d'un panno d'altare in quel modo che stava quella del suo oratorio con quella medesime figure con un festone atorno che sia bello el qual disegna mandarło in ispagna e perche dubita ne torni piccło, vorrebe la misura d'ogni cosa cioè quanto tornera grande agungendoci el festone. V[ostra] S[ignoria] lo potra mandare, e questo e quanto al panno mi resta in risposta duna di V[ostra] S[ignoria] a dirle" (ASF, Mediceo, Carteggio di P.F. Riccio, Filza 1176, Inserto I, c. 36, letter dated Livorno April 8, 1550; published by Baia, 1904, pp. 74-75; Baia's text is used here with corrections based on transcriptions by Edward Sanchez).

<sup>1</sup>There are several citations of these portraits in the court correspondence. A typical example is found in a letter of April 6, 1545, from Lorenzo Pagni: ". . . la cura de' ritratti delli S.<sup>ri</sup> Don Francesco, Don Giovanni et Donna Maria è commessa al R.<sup>do</sup> mess. Pierfrancesco, il quale nella riforma della Casa di S. Ex. nuovamente fatta è stato dichiaroato maiordomo maggiorre di essa Casa" (ASF, Mediceo, Filza 4591, folio 41; this letter was found by Edward Sanchez and the transcription here is by Gino Corti).

at this time Bronzino was working on a portrait for (but not necessarily of) the Duke and that, according to his letter to Riccio, he would finish it before beginning work on the replica of the Deposition.

The second letter subjected to speculative interpretation is one sent to Riccio two weeks prior to the "Ritratto" letter. In it Bronzino complained that he needed more blue pigment (no doubt ultramarine) for a painting. He had already received "l'Azzuro mandatomi dalla S[ignoria] V[ostra] 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."<sup>1</sup>

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 and others in identifying the picture in question with the Portrait of Cosimo I in Armor in the Uffizi Tribuna (Cat. no. A8).<sup>2</sup> The curtain background of that picture is indeed blue (and undoubtedly ultramarine in composition) but

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<sup>1</sup>ASF Mediceo, Filza 1170A, fasc. I, Ins. 3, c. 36. The letter is published by Gaye, 1840, II, 329-330.

<sup>2</sup>Gamba, 1925, pp. 145-147.

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 of the pigment since for Bronzino's replica of the work (Palazzo Vecchio) he received from the guardaroba "Addi 26 settembre 1553 . . . ij once d'azzurro oltramarino consegn[na]to a M[aestr]o Bronzino pittor disser per la tavola della Cappella della Duchessa con ordine di S[ua]. Ecc[elen]za . . . Once 2."<sup>1</sup> Yet the Deposition is ultimately unlikely to have been the referent since the payment for gilding the frame in July 1545 would indicate a degree of completion incompatible with the need for background pigment. In fact the most likely recipient of the pigment would be the Portrait of Eleonora di Toledo with her son Giovanni (Florence, Uffizi), a contemporary work especially remarkable for its grand background of intense pellucid azure.<sup>2</sup>

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<sup>1</sup>Conti (1893, p. 63), quoting a Libro di Ricordi of the Guardaroba (probably ASF Guardaroba, Filza 26, Libro di ricordi della Guardaroba, 1552-1554). Unfortunately we do not know how much ultramarine Bronzino used in the picture referred to in the letter of 1545; we know simply that he asks for at least one-half ounce of the pigment in addition to the unspecified "pezzo" that obviously had not sufficed.

<sup>2</sup>This famous portrait is the subject of much discussion concerning the identity of the child and, based on that identification, the date of the picture. Although Ferdinando and Garzia had long been the favorite candidates for the little boy, recent discussions have favored either Francesco, born in 1541, or Giovanni, born in 1543 (see, for example, Langedijk, 1981, no. 35-10; Beck, 1972, pp. 10-11; and



Although August 1545 can still be considered as 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. The Portrait of Cosimo is described immediately following a description of the frescoes in the Chapel of Eleonora di Toledo, works datable 1540-1543,<sup>1</sup> and before the citation of other portraits done at court.

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; 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.<sup>2</sup>

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Becherucci, in Florence, Uffizi: Cat., 1980, no. P300). In either case the picture's date is most often given as 1545--opinion varying markedly on the apparent age of the boy. Langedijk's "new" citation from the inventory of the guardaroba of 1553 (1981, p. 98) that mentions a portrait of Eleonora with Francesco refers, I believe, to the picture (or a copy of it) in the museum at Pisa, which portrays the Duchess with Francesco (cf. Langedijk, 1981, no. 35-12); Beck (1972, p. 10, citing Conti, 1893, p. 117) had earlier utilized this inventory mention. In a separate study I intend to discuss why the portrait in the Uffizi ought to be considered Eleonora with Giovanni, with a date of 1545.

<sup>1</sup>Cox-Rearick, 1971, p. 11.

<sup>2</sup>Vasari-Milanesi, VII, 597-598.

This last mentioned work is the noted portrait in the Uffizi, cited above and probably painted in the summer of 1545. The earlier portrait of the Duchess alone, that painted contemporaneously with the portrait of the Duke, is most likely to be identified with a painting now in Prague.<sup>1</sup> Its identity is here less important than its date, which seems to be furnished by the rescritto of a letter to Riccio of October 23, 1543 "Si è ricevuto in questo punto il ritratto della Ill[ustrissi]ma Sig[no]ra duchessa et io proprio l'ho consegnato a S[ua] Ex[elen]tia la quale sta intorno al Duca che è in letto."<sup>2</sup>

Following Vasari's chronology quite literally, one

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<sup>1</sup>Prague, Národní Galerie, No. DO 880 (Panel, 59 x 46 cm); Baccheschi, 1973, no. 55d, ill. Langedijk (1981, no. 35-10f) considers the picture a copy after the portrait in the Uffizi. Eleonora appears younger than in that image, however. The Eleonora in a double portrait of the Duke and the Duchess (Cat. no. D1) seems to have been copied from the picture in Prague.

<sup>2</sup>ASF, Mediceo, Carteggio di P.F. Riccio, Filza 1170, c. 336; quoted by Baia (1904, p. 74) and Pieraccini (1947, II, 56). The note itself is signed "Servitor, Pietro Camaiani" and is appended to a letter written from Poggio by Lorenzo Pagni to Riccio in Florence. Payments made to Bronzino in May or July of 1543 for unspecified work for the Duchess may refer to this picture, although more likely the referent is the fresco cycle in the Chapel of Eleonora. According to a letter also dated October 23, Cosimo was "in lecto con fluxo et con febre," part of an illness that affected him off and on from August until the beginning of December (Pieraccini, 1925, II, 34, citing ASF, Mediceo, Filza 363, c. 165).

arrives at the following sequence of Medici commissions: Bronzino's work for the decorations celebrating the marriage of Cosimo and Eleonora (1539);<sup>1</sup> the frescoes of the chapel in the Palazzo Vecchio (1540-1543); the Portrait of Cosimo I in Armor; 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.

Supporting this earlier date are two considerations. The first is essentially political. In July of 1543 Cosimo finally reacquired the fortresses of Florence and Livorno, held by Charles V's troops since 1536; this diplomatically important event--partly a financial negotiation and partly the result of the young Duke's increasing political power--served to solidify his absolute military control over the state (vide infra and Chapter VI, pt. 3); it also provided a not unsuitable context for the portrait in question.

The second is physical and concerns the age of the Duke in his portrait. Vasari mentions that Cosimo's appearance seemed to change from day to day when he was young, but we can assume a certain consistency in facial characteristics

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<sup>1</sup>Vasari-Milanesi, VII, 596.

with the mature Duke.<sup>1</sup> Comparison of Bronzino's portrait with near-contemporary images of Cosimo by other artists can be helpful. Bandinelli's marble bust of ca. 1543-1544 (Fig. 20) and Nicolò della Casa's engraving (after a drawing by Bandinelli), inscribed 1544 (Fig. 14), portray the Duke at roughly the same moment as in the Bronzino portrait.<sup>2</sup> They show Cosimo with only an irregular, partially-developed beard and a very faint moustache--an aspect that is replaced by the fuller, richer beard common to the later versions of the Bronzino portrait (specifically those with the Toison d'Or, of 1545 or later) and other representations, such as Cellini's bronze bust of 1545-1547 (Fig. 21).<sup>3</sup>

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<sup>1</sup>Vasari-Milanesi, VIII, 187. Describing Vasari's own copy of Ridolfo del Ghirlandaio's portrait of Cosimo "sei anni avanti che fusse fatto duca," that is in 1531 (cf. Fig. 16), Francesco I de' Medici states in Vasari's Ragionamenti, "Si riconosce bene un poco l'aria, ma non mi sovveniva, perchè ho veduti pochi suoi ritratti di quell'età; e tanto più che sua Eccellenza ogni giorno è andate molto variando l'effigie."

<sup>2</sup>On Bandinelli's bust and its date, see Heikamp (1960, pp. 133-134, and 1966, pp. 51-62), Pope-Hennessy (1970, p. 366, pl. 68), Forster (1971, p. 76, figs. 13, 24), and Langedijk (1981, no. 27-105). The bust (91 cm high) is Inv. Marmi, 1879, no. 7, in the Bargello. For the Nicolò della Casa engraving after Bandinelli, see Chapter III, p. 41, note 2.

<sup>3</sup>Cellini's bust (Florence, Bargello; Inv. Bronzi, 1879, no. 358) was begun shortly after his return to Florence in 1545; it was completed by February 17, 1547, according to Pope-Hennessy (1970, p. 370), at which time the sculptor received a payment of five hundred scudi.

In conclusion, the generally accepted date of 1545 for Bronzino's portrait of the Duke should be rejected in favor of an earlier date of 1543; more specifically, a likely date for the commission would be after the return of the Florentine fortresses in July of 1543 and before the receipt of the portrait of the Duchess in October of that year.

### 3. The Contenders

A review of the extant versions of the Portrait of Cosimo I in Armor reveals over twenty-five examples, nearly all of which have been considered, at one time or another, to be by the hand of Bronzino, if not specifically the primary work cited by Vasari. The quest for a single "original," sometimes to the exclusion of the possibility of autograph replicas, seems to have begun with Gaetano Milanesi, who identified as such the three-quarter length portrait rediscovered in the Florentine galleries in the nineteenth century and now in the Pinacoteca Nazionale in Lucca (Cat. no. A26).<sup>1</sup> A half-length example in the Galleria Palatina of the Palazzo Pitti (Cat. no. A16) was held to be autograph by other critics. In his monograph on Bronzino

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<sup>1</sup>References and full details concerning the paintings and their "fortuna critica" are to be found in the catalogue.

Hanns Schulze considered the version at Kassel (Cat. no. A20) as primary, while Arthur McComb thought the variant in the Metropolitan Museum in New York (Cat. A21) most likely to have been the archetype. Carlo Gamba had meanwhile introduced as "prototipo originale" the half-length version, now exhibited in the Tribuna of the Uffizi (Cat. no. A8), which had recently been recovered from the Medici villa at Castello.

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. Berenson listed the same picture twice (and with slightly varying descriptions), and Andrea Emiliani, in his Bronzino of 1960, mistakenly illustrated his affirmation of the priority of the Uffizi portrait (Cat. no. A8) with a color plate of the version in the Pitti (Cat. no. A16).<sup>1</sup>

In her recent study of Medici portraiture Karla Langedijk succeeded in assembling the broadest collection so far of the many versions of the portrait (thirteen are listed), but she did not attempt a rigorous examination of them. She considers three autograph (Cat. nos. A12, A16, A20) but excludes the Tribuna portrait (Cat. no. A8), thus attributing to Luigi Fiammingo the only version that had been generally

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<sup>1</sup>Berenson, 1963, I, 41; see Cat. no. A24. Emiliani, 1960, pl. 90.

attributed to Bronzino himself.

A review of the extant versions is of course requisite to any attempt at establishing the priority and attribution of any of the portraits. Although each of the pictures is discussed in the catalogue, a brief survey here may be useful. The portraits vary in size from the miniature in the Uffizi (Cat. no. A1; 15.8 x 12.2 cm) to the larger-than-life panel in Lucca (Cat. no. A26; 181 x 103 cm), a range that reflects the varied purposes of these works. The smallest are bust or shoulder length (Cat. nos. A1-A7), the middle nine half-length (Cat. nos. A8-A16), and the largest three-quarter length in format (Cat. nos. A17-A26).

Of the seven bust portraits of the Duke, only that in the Uffizi (Cat. no. A1), one of a series of twenty-four quadretti of Medici figures, can reasonably be considered to be from the master's hand. As a work no larger than a postcard and painted with the delicate touch of a miniaturist, this small portrait is comparable in form and technique to the small pictures on copper painted by Bronzino in the late 1560s (e.g., the Allegory of Happiness and Pietà, both in the Uffizi).<sup>1</sup> When compared with the larger portraits of Cosimo

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<sup>1</sup>The Allegory of Happiness, painted on copper measuring 40 x 30 cm, is signed "BRDZ. FAC." (see Florence, Uffizi: Cat., 1980, no. P308; Baccheschi, 1973, no. 123; McCorquodale, 1981, color pl. XVI). The Pietà (at times titled a Deposition or Lamentation), is identically signed and approximately the same size (42 x 30 cm) as the Allegory (cf. Florence, Uffizi: Cat., 1980, no. P309; Baccheschi, 1973, no. 122).

through the expedient of uniform photographs, the Uffizi miniature, because of its small size, inevitably appears weak and coarsely executed, which perhaps accounts for some of the doubt expressed concerning the attribution; the size and purpose of the picture should always be recalled.

Other bust versions are of manifestly lower quality. A small canvas portrait at Poggio Imperiale (Cat. no. A2), apparently derived from a larger portrait rather than the Uffizi miniature, forms part of an extensive series of Medici portraits executed in the eighteenth century. Two other busts (Cat. nos. A4 and A6), of workmanlike execution, are cropped at the same zone as the Uffizi miniature but their larger size, which yields a head as big as one found in versions of three-quarter format, makes it unlikely they were derived from the quadretto; both seem to be contemporary reductions from a larger portrait. Another small panel (Cat. no. A3) with rather fanciful armor seems to be a somewhat later derivation.

A little-known picture once on the New York art market (Cat. no. A7) is, after the Uffizi miniature, the finest of the bust portraits. From photographs it would appear to be an excellent workshop piece rather than an autograph reduction. It is distinguished by the inclusion of the Duke's imprese at the corners around a relatively youthful, light-bearded Cosimo, which suggests a work executed fairly early in the sequence of replication.



Of the half-length portraits, that now hanging in the Tribuna of the Uffizi (Cat. no. A8) is probably the best known of the many versions. Since its discovery in 1925 this beautifully painted picture has been considered by most critics to be the finest and earliest of Cosimo's portraits. Its quality, and the presence of pentimenti along the contour of the armor, supports that contention.

Other half-length portraits of similar size are of varying quality. The best is perhaps that in the Muzeum Narodowe in Poznan (Cat. no. A12). The brilliant execution of this work suggests that it is an autograph replica. The versions in the Thyssen and Ruspoli collections (Cat. nos. A14 and A11) are severely compromised by their condition; in their current state they can be considered only workshop repetitions of the composition. So too a portrait sold in Paris in 1975 (Cat. no. A9) must be classed as a copy on the basis of what little has not been damaged or repainted. The painting in the Pitti (Cat. no. A16) is by contrast in excellent condition but painted in a flat and unsubtle manner foreign to Bronzino; as the only half-length portrait to include the Toison d'Or, it must be dated slightly later than the others. This picture may well be the documented "Cosimo armato" that the court copyist Luigi Fiammingo painted sometime between 1553 and 1560.

A portrait sold from the St. George collection in 1939 (Cat. no. A15) portrays the Duke against a curtainless

background; the execution throughout seems drab and tired. More lively but no less a workshop piece is a portrait of Cosimo (Cat. no. A17) last heard of at Sotheby's in 1957. Depending on which photograph is consulted, the Duke stands before either a curtain or a column--a more recent hand than Bronzino's has been busy here--and next to a view of Florence. An odder and more interesting transformation is apparent in a version of the portrait in a private collection in New York (Cat. no. A13). There a portrait of the Duke in armor has apparently been updated by replacing the head with that of Bronzino's later Portrait of Cosimo I at Age Forty. No part of this picture can be accepted as from Bronzino's hand.

Of the three-quarter length portraits the version in Kassel (Cat. no. A20) is usually considered the finest. Yet neither this picture nor any of the other published portraits in this format can be considered autograph. A lack of quality is the most obvious indication of workshop origin, but certain formal defects are evident as well. Poor placement of the figure of Cosimo in the picture field, for example, serves to enervate the composition as a whole. In the picture at Kassel the Duke is shifted to the left, creating a gap that must be filled with an extension of the trunk, branch, and helmet at the right. Similarly, in an example of the portrait in the Toledo Museum of Art (Cat. no. A23), too much purposeless dead space seems to surround

the figure of Cosimo; thus much of the vibrancy of the image is lost.

The huge portrait in the Pinacoteca in Lucca (Cat. no. A26) adds a column at the left and is outsized as well. Though powerful in effect and attractive in parts, this version is so dirty and abraded (and perhaps repainted) that its attribution is difficult to assay; at present a workshop origin seems the most prudent designation. A portrait in the Metropolitan Museum of Art (Cat. no. A21) features a variant background with a raised curtain and an embroidered backcloth. Other compositional variations (discussed in part 4 of this chapter) and the dry, uniform mode of execution of the painting preclude Bronzino's direct participation.

Another portrait in the Uffizi (Cat. no. A24), this one formerly in the Galleria dell' Accademia, presents the armored Duke in the idiosyncratic style of an unknown artist at some remove from Bronzino. To these portraits can be added a picture now in the collection of St. John's College at Annapolis, Maryland (Cat. no. A25). With an overly spacious background, much like the version in Toledo, this version is carefully (though in a few passages crudely) painted by an artist of the workshop.

Recently another version of the portrait has come to light in a private collection (Cat. no. A19). This too is three-quarter length in format but suffers none of the

"defects" found in the other versions. The placement of the Duke is tight and powerful; Cosimo is seen without the badge of the Golden Fleece (the others, save no. A21, feature it) and with thin beard, as in the early images. Above all the portrait is painted with extraordinary suavity, clarity, and intensity, creating such a vibrant image that an attribution to the master himself is in order. Supporting the authorship is a most impressive provenance that extends back to the collection of Cosimo's close friend and advisor, Bishop Paolo Giovio.

This picture (which is discussed more extensively in Chapter VI), the miniature in the Uffizi (Cat. no. A1), and the half-length portraits in the Tribuna of the Uffizi and at Poznan (Cat. nos. A8 and A12) are thus the only examples that I attribute to Bronzino's hand. Most of the other versions fall under the rubric of the workshop (as discussed elsewhere, a somewhat broad categorization, not limited to Bronzino's studio alone, is denoted); these include those numbered A4, A5, A6, A7, A9, A11, A13, A14, A15, A16, A17, A20, A21, A23, A25, and A26. A few examples are demonstrably later in execution (Cat. nos. A2, A3, and A24), and four are lost (Cat. nos. A10, A18, A22, A27).

#### 4. Order in the Cosmos

Until now this discussion has treated the Portrait of Cosimo I in Armor as two entities. In considering basic issues and questions of dating, we have invoked a collective work of art, inclusive of all the versions and locatable only as a historical event. But when describing the various versions, the same "Portrait of Cosimo I in Armor" became many individual works of art, distinct pictures of set size, appearance, and locale. Reconciling this duality involves a rational ordering of the portraits compositionally and chronologically.

The determination of the primary format of the portrait is a basic issue here. Knowing which of the bust, half, or three-quarter length compositions preceded which is crucial to an understanding of the process of replication and the evaluation of the individual portraits in question; the principles involved have broader application as well.

Partly on the assumption that the half-length version in the Uffizi (Cat. no A8) is the archetype of the series, some critics have maintained that, whereas bust portraits are obviously reduced copies, the three-quarter length versions are later expansions of the original image, executed several years after it and probably by followers of the

artist.<sup>1</sup> In three-quarter length pictures, such as that in Kassel (Cat. no. A20), the presence of the severed tree trunk and laurel branch, the Medici broncone (on the meaning of which, see Chapter VI, pt. 2), as well as the lower reaches of the body armor and helmet, would have been additions to the original conception of the portrait. This process of expansion would be similar to that employed by the various artists who painted a series of portraits of the Medici known as the "Serie Aulica" beginning in 1584. Typical are Alessandro Pieroni's Portrait of Cosimo de' Medici "Pater Patriae" (Fig. 22; Uffizi), which adds to a faithful copy of Pontormo's portrait (Fig. 23; Uffizi) a pair of legs and additional foliage, and Pieter (Pietro Candido) de Witte's Portrait of Giuliano de' Medici, Duke of Nemours, which features the hat, head, and shoulders from Raphael's lost portrait of Giuliano attached to the body, arms, and baton from a contemporary Portrait of Francesco I de' Medici.<sup>2</sup>

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<sup>1</sup>For example, Gamba, 1925, p. 147, and Schleier, in Berlin: Cat. Bilder, 1980, p. 209.

<sup>2</sup>Pieroni's Cosimo Pater Patriae is Inv. 1890, no. 2217 in the Uffizi (Florence, Uffizi: Cat., 1980, no. Ic634; see also Langedijk, 1981, no. 26-8); Pontormo's portrait is Inv. 1890, no. 3594 in the Uffizi. Pieter de Witte's Giuliano de' Medici is Inv. 1890, no. 2229 in the Uffizi (Florence, Uffizi: Cat., 1980, no. Ic653). The Portrait of Francesco I (Inv. 1890, no. 2226) was attributed to Maso by Brookes (1966, pp. 563-564, fig. 28). Meloni Trkulja (in Florence, Uffizi: Cat., 1980, no. Ic1017) refers to it as the documented portrait of Francesco by Santi di Tito for the serie aulica (a later portrait by Pulzone took its

Other writers support the primacy of the larger format; these pictures, it is noted, conform with the typology of the state portrait, with which visually and functionally the Cosimo in Armor must be classed.<sup>1</sup> The broncone, which does not appear in the half length versions, is seen not merely as a largely decorative space-filler, but as an important symbolic element crucial to the meaning of the picture.<sup>2</sup> Moreover, a basic principle of image replication

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place). However, the series portraits (ca. 140 x 116 cm) are considerably larger than this picture (114 x 86 cm). Meloni Trkulja (p. 700 and s.v. no. Ic764) elsewhere identifies the Santi di Tito portrait with another work (Inv. Oggetti d'Arte, 767). On the series, see, for the documentation, Poggi (1909, passim) and, generally, the Uffizi catalogue (Florence, Uffizi: Cat., 1980, pp. 700-707; the pictures were exhibited together at the 1939 Mostra Medicea, where they were first described as the serie aulica (Florence, Pal. Medici: Cat. Medicea, 1939, pp. 39f.)).

<sup>1</sup>The state portrait is not a precisely definable form; it may broadly be considered a generally sanctioned representation of a ruler, usually intended for public display, that portrays the subject more in his official capacity (body politic) than in any private aspect (body natural). As Jenkins has discussed in her study on the state portrait (1947, p. 7) a monumentality in both scale and design is requisite for such representations.

<sup>2</sup>Beck, 1972, p. 12, n. 8: "Delle tante versioni, mi sembra ragionevole prendere in considerazione quelle più complete, cioè quelle che mostrano maggiormente la figura, come quelle più simili all'originale di Bronzino, perché corrispondono maggiormente alla formula di un 'state portrait.'" Smith (1977, p. 269, n. 18) argues for the precedence of the three-quarter pose on iconographic grounds, noting particularly the significance of the tree trunk.

must be recalled: that one can copy only what is available to be copied. An excerpt, by its definition, must derive from a model more extensive than itself. Thus busts can be excerpted from half lengths, half lengths from three-quarter pictures, and these from full lengths; the process, however, is not reversible without a new invention. What follows is that the largest format, assuming some consistency in the replication, is the earliest.

The lack of that consistency, when it occurs, can be instructive. If a kind of artistic common sense tends to favor the primacy of the three-quarter length format, some unappreciated variances in two of the manifest copies suggest otherwise. The three-quarter length portrait in the Metropolitan Museum of Art (Cat. no. A21) is distinguished by a variant background--apparently derived from another composition--of hanging drapery with ornamental borders and a raised fringed curtain, perhaps a visual allusion to the hangings that covered exhibited portraits in the Cinquecento.<sup>1</sup>

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<sup>1</sup>A very similar background treatment appears in the Portrait of a Young Man attributed to Salviati or Siciolante (but, I believe, by neither) also in New York (see New York, MMA: Cat. Zeri-Gardner, 1971, pp. 205-207); this Florentine work may well date after 1560. The curtained exhibition of portraits (as well as religious paintings) seems common, but was evidently reserved for pictures of some importance or esteem. A relevant example is an inventory mention recording what may well have been a Bronzino Portrait of Cosimo in Armor; from the 1553 inventory of the Palazzo Vecchio comes the following: "Un ritratto di S. Ecc.<sup>za</sup> con ornamento di noce intagliato et cortina di taffetà verde" (Conti, 1893, p. 101).



The central part of the portrait (that delimited by the perimeter of the half length composition) is faithfully rendered in an exacting, if rather dry, manner. But in seeking to create a larger image of state-portrait format, the copyist has surrounded the "basic" Cosimo with accoutrements of his own design. The armor below Cosimo's waist (the skirt of lames) is only generically conceived: the artist knew what kind of armor to place there but not what Cosimo's looked like. To the right a table has been introduced, covered rather awkwardly by two types of woven material upon which rests the Duke's helmet. The cloth obscures the bottom of the helmet in an apparently arbitrary fashion. There is method to the arrangement, however; the material covers only those parts of the helmet not visible in the half length version. Rather than improvise the rest (as he had done with the lower armor and the right edge of the helmet) the copyist chose here to block our view of what he could not confidently portray. To the right of the helmet--again in an area beyond the "half length zone"--Cosimo's left hand appears unnecessarily and unanatomically, giving further indication of the augmentative genesis of the painting. The rather careful execution, the variant curtained backdrop, the lack of Toison d'Or insignia, the thin beard, and the very manner of image enlargement suggest that this painting, though clearly conceived as a three-quarter length image (perhaps to correspond with like portraits in a series),

was derived from a half length prototype; one can only presume that this curious composition indicates that the copyist did not have access to a cartoon or painted example of larger format.

A similar procedure seems to have been employed in creating the slightly larger than half length portrait of the Duke once in the de Nemes Collection (Cat. no. A17). Besides another major change in the rendering of the background (here a Florentine cityscape), the form of the picture is basically identical with the standard typology--except in those areas beyond the "half length zone." As with the version in New York, a table has been introduced at bottom to support the helmet, but the artist, instead of obscuring the lower part of the helmet, has here completed the unknown sections to his taste; the cheek-piece has been irregularly extended, the inside of the helmet eliminated, and the rear of it improperly drawn--all of which occurs below and to the right of the section delimited by the standard half length composition. By contrast, Cosimo's helmet is recorded uniformly and, one assumes, accurately (the armor itself is lost) in the three-quarter length portraits at Annapolis, Kassel, Lucca, Toledo, and in a private collection (Cat. nos. A25, A20, A26, A23, A19).<sup>1</sup>

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<sup>1</sup>The helmet has been lost and only three pieces from the suit of armor appear to have survived; see Chapter VI, pt. 3.

In both of these expanded portraits the Duke is seen with his youthful thin beard, without the badge of the Toison d'Or, and wanting the symbolic tree trunk and branch-- as in the half length portrait in the Uffizi (Cat. no. A8). The basic portrait has been aggrandized in varying degrees and in varying manners. Evidently a three-quarter length portrait had not been used as a model because one was not available to either copyist. There would seem to be no other reason for this occurrence than that no such large format picture had been painted at the time of the making of these two versions.

Taking this observation into account and noting the variations in form and quality of all the versions, a hypothetical sequence can now be proposed for the entire group of portraits. In the summer of 1543 Bronzino paints his first portrait of Cosimo in armor, a half-length image identifiable with the picture now in the Tribuna of the Uffizi (Cat. no. A8). The portrait is well received by the Duke, who commissions replicas for various purposes. At least one of these is painted by Bronzino himself (the picture at Poznan, Cat. no. A12), but most are assigned to workshop artists (these include half-length portraits in the Ruspoli, Thyssen, and former St. George collections--Cat. nos. A11, A14, A15--and probably the bust portrait once with Lilienfeld Galleries, Cat. no. A7). A more substantial image of the Duke is evidently desired and at least two portraits (by

artists other than Bronzino) are produced with additions to the original composition (the portrait formerly in the de Nemes collection, Cat. no. A17, and that in the Metropolitan Museum of Art, Cat. no. A21). These do not ultimately prove satisfactory and Bronzino himself is commissioned to create a three-quarter length version of his earlier portrait; his new painting incorporates more of Cosimo's suit of armor and utilizes the Medici broncone to support the helmet of the Duke (this, or an autograph replica of it, is in a private collection, Cat. no. A19). Workshop replicas are occasionally made of this picture, now with the addition of the badge of the Toison d'Or and with the Duke appearing a bit older and his beard a bit thicker (these include the pictures in Kassel, Toledo, Annapolis, and Lucca--Cat. nos. A20, A23, A25, A26). Partial copies of half-length (such as that in the Pitti, perhaps by the court copyist Luigi Fiammingo, Cat. no. A16) or smaller format (Cat. nos. A4, A5, A6) are painted as well; Bronzino himself paints a miniature copy (Uffizi, Cat. no. A1) as part of a series of small Medici portraits. The replication generally ceases by 1560 when another portrait type (for which, see Chapter VII, pt. 2) is introduced; yet one large (Cat. no. A24) and one small (Cat. no. A3) version appear to be produced later in the century.

If this sequence seems convoluted, it may be simplified by considering the portrait as the product of two commissions, each with its own family of copies--the first,

half length, painted in 1543; the second, three-quarter length, in 1544 or early 1545. The alteration of the format served to place the portrait firmly within the typology of the state portrait; this was largely a change in size. However, a change in the kind of image was a result as well. The half-length version is formally limited at the bottom by the Duke's bent arm and helmet, creating a visually distinct entity from the torso and head. As such, the portrait seems conceived as an abstraction of the Duke, the unity of the bust serving not as an excerpt, but as a symbol for the whole, much as with Roman portrait busts. In the three-quarter length portrait the additions alter this conception; now one sees part of a body delimited by the picture frame, just as many Cinquecento sculptured busts seem to be fragments of larger figures.<sup>1</sup> A related change in visual perception between the two portrait types can be noted. In the half-length portraits the arm and helmet seem placed against or perhaps into the picture plane; a limited, ambiguous space is created. In the larger work much of the allusion has had to be sacrificed in order convincingly to site the body; particularly in the late copies the Duke seems more distant from the viewer.

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<sup>1</sup>This contrast is treated by I. Lavin, 1975, pp. 356-357.

## CHAPTER VI

THE PORTRAIT OF COSIMO I IN ARMOR:  
MEANINGS AND CONTEXTS1. Cosimo and Giovio

As the finest example of the full image, the recently rediscovered three-quarter length version (Cat. no. A19) can serve well as a starting point for further discussion. It appeared at auction in London in 1971 from the collection of Baron Margadale, whose grandfather Alfred Morrison had acquired the portrait soon after its sale at Christie's in 1872. At that time the picture had been sold as the property of the Prince Napoleon (Napoleon Joseph Charles Bonaparte, nephew of his namesake), then returning to France from semi-exile in England; he had acquired the picture in 1860 from the De Orchi family of Como, direct descendants of Paolo Giovio.<sup>1</sup>

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<sup>1</sup>Giovanni Giovio (1881, p. 85), a descendant of Paolo, reports that the Portrait of Cosimo I de' Medici, "opera del Bronzino, toccato in sorte a un ramo De-Orchi, fu venduto nel 1860 al principe Gerolamo Napoleone e potei

For many years Paolo Giovio (1483-1552) had been assembling pictures for a portrait gallery of uomini illustri

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rivederlo in una delle sale di S.A., al Palais Royal" (Stefano Della Torre kindly called my attention to this notice). This appears to be the source of the statement by José S. Jorriin (quoted in Ponce de León, 1893, p. 15): "The family de Orchi sold to Prince Jérôme Napoleon the portrait of Cosimo di Medici, painted by Bronzino." The same information is given by Müntz (1900-1901, pp. 273, 331) and by Rovelli, himself a descendant of Giovio, in his volume on the Bishop's collection (1928, p. 143, no. 143).

The Prince Napoleon (Napoleon Joseph Charles Paul, 1822-1891), the owner of the Bronzino, took the name of his elder brother Jerome Napoleon Charles (1814-1847) for political reasons on the latter's death; both were sons of the Emperor Napoleon's younger brother Jerome (1784-1860). Our Prince Napoleon married Clotilde of Savoy, daughter of Vittorio Emmanuelle II, in 1859. Much involved with Italy and the fight for unification, Plon-Plon, as the Prince was called, spent most of late 1859 in Northern Italy; letters of his survive dated from Genoa, Turin, Livorno, Florence, Parma, Massa, Verona and the nearby towns of Valeggio and Villafranca. Most of 1860 was spent between his rooms in the Palais Royal in Paris and his villa at Prangins in Switzerland. How and when he passed through Como is not known. The Palais Royal, where the Bronzino hung, was burned by the communards in 1871; the picture was not damaged. With the fall of the Empire Plon-Plon took refuge in England along with his cousin Napoleon III, staying at Chislehurst, Kent and Claridge's in London. He returned to France in 1872, when his collection of pictures from the Palais Royal was auctioned at Christie's in London. The Bronzino portrait was lot 302 in the sale of May 11, 1872. The purchaser is given by Christie's, Roberts (1897, I, 223), and Redford (1888, I, 193 and II, 221) as "Holloway." This is not Thomas Holloway, whose collection of paintings is now at the college that bears his name at Egham, Surrey (Reitlinger, 1961, p. 262, incorrectly assumes so). Miss Jeannie Chapel, who is preparing a catalogue of this Holloway's collection, kindly suggested that the purchaser was Holloway & Sons, a dealer who, at least from 1864 to 1870, operated a gallery at Bedford Street, Covent Garden.

Perhaps the following contemporary comment by Edmond About on Hippolyte Flandrin's portrait of the Prince Napoleon, exhibited in the Salon of 1861 (the year following the

that he intended to build at Borgovico on the shores of the Lago di Como. Giovio did not begin construction of the building, which he somewhat ostentatiously called the Museum (after a painting within representing Apollo and the Muses), until 1537; for the most part built by 1540, it was not completed until 1543.<sup>1</sup> But Giovio's activity as a collector

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acquisition of the Bronzino) is more than a coincidence: "M. Flandrin has left in the shade only one side of that noble and peculiar face: the delicate, artistic, and quite Florentine side by which the Prince resembles the Medicis." About's article on the man he called a "César déclassé" appeared in Opinion Nationale (cited here from Ledos de Beaufort, 1888, p. 35). On the Prince Napoleon, see Holt, 1973.

<sup>1</sup>There is no satisfactory biography of Giovio or study of his portrait collection. The most important treatments of the collection are by Müntz (1900-1901) and Rovelli (1928); recent contributions of note are those of De Vecchi (1977), and Gianoncelli (1977). Valuable on general points are Frey (1892, pp. lxii-lxxix), Burckhardt (1898, pp. 465f.), and Schlosser-Magnino (1964, pp. 195-199). On the Museum itself, and the circumstances of its construction, see Gianoncelli (1977, pp. 6-9), De Vecchi (1977, p. 87 and in Como: Cat., 1981, pp. 39-41), and Rave (1961, *passim.*). There are a few contemporary descriptions of the Museum: that of Giovio himself, the Musaei Ioviani Descriptio in the Elogia of 1546 (pp. iv-4v; Italian edition, Iscrittioni, 1551, pp. 5-15; both reprinted in Barocchi, 1977, pp. 2904-2918); a letter from his brother Benedetto Giovio (published in G.B. Giovio, 1783); and two letters from Anton Francesco Doni written in 1543, one to Tintoretto of somewhat humorous tone (Doni, 1552, pp. 75-79; reprinted in Barocchi, 1977, pp. 2892-2895), the other to Agostino Landi (Doni, 1552, pp. 80-86; reprinted by Luzio, 1901, *passim.*, and Barocchi, 1977, pp. 2895-2903). Giovio's use of the term "museum" is the first in the modern meaning; not until the seventeenth century did the term achieve currency in its familiar sense (Schlosser-Magnino, 1964, p. 195). T. Price Zimmermann's doctoral thesis (1964), which I have only recently been able to consult, provides an excellent discussion on the relationship of Giovio and Cosimo I.



had begun long before, in a manner guided by humanistic and moral precepts. He reveals his motives in the earliest known letter referring to his collection: "ut boni mortales eorum exemplo ad virtutes aemulatione gloriae accenderentur."<sup>1</sup>

Giovio, a long-time Medici partisan (he had been in the service of Leo X and Clement VI), was for the last years of his life a member of the court of Cosimo and enjoyed the Duke's patronage and friendship; from 1549, when he left the papal retinue, until his death in December 1552, he divided his time between Florence and Como. As one much in favor he received from the Duke "una buona casa vicino al Palazzo" and

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<sup>1</sup>Published in Giovio, 1956, I, 92, no. 8, and Gaye, 1840, II, 152. Giovio here wrote from Florence to Mario Equicola in Mantua on August 28, 1521, stating that he had been collecting portraits of literary figures (this is the earliest reference to the collection). He mentions portraits already in his possession of, in his order, Giovanni Pontano, Poliziano, Ficino, Ermalao Barbaro, Marcantonio Sebellico, Leon Battista Alberti, Achillini, Dante, Petrarch, Boccaccio, Aretino, Poggio Bracciolini, Argyropulus, Savonarola, and Michele Marullo. His purpose in writing was to obtain a portrait of Battista Mantovano the Carmelite--which he specifies should be painted on canvas measuring one and one-half feet in length ("in linteo sesquipedalia"). The portrait of Battista is referred to again in a letter to Equicola of February 28, 1543 (published by Gaye, 1840, pp. 310-311). The portraits of Ermalao Barbaro and Marullo survive in the Museo Civico in Como (see De Vecchi, 1977, p. 94). After recent cleaning the portrait of Marullo has been attributed to Ridolfo del Ghirlandaio (after the Botticelli portrait in the Cambó de Guardans Collection in Barcelona); see Como: Cat., 1981, no. 11.

a sizable stipend, "un nobile e ricco piatto."<sup>1</sup> The money was for more than literary patronage. Giovio's pen, much like Aretino's (who was also on the Duke's payroll), was influential and accessible.<sup>2</sup> He corresponded frequently and widely with an international group ranging from duke and prince to pope and emperor.<sup>3</sup> He was, in a sense, a private professional journalist--sending news to his patrons and, for a consideration, immortalizing them and their families in his published writings. For his good will and sympathetic pen Giovio would accept "donations" to assist in the construction of the Museum; these gifts, since he seemed to prefer remuneration that could fill his walls rather than his pockets, often took the form of portraits. Although Giovio commissioned works for his collection--as, for example, Bronzino's Andrea Doria--

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<sup>1</sup>Giovio, 1956, II, 230, no. 405 (letter of May 14, 1552 from Giovio to Pietro Perondino); the house was on the Via de'Cimatori, two streets from the Piazza della Signoria. Mellini, 1820, p. 6; a "piatto" is here an ecclesiastical allowance, such as that given by the pope to his cardinals (a "piatto cardinalizio").

<sup>2</sup>The "Ruolo degli Stipendiati" of the Medici court in 1553 includes "Pietro Aretino, habita in Venetia, poeta, con prom.<sup>ne</sup> di scudi 64.2" (ASF, Depositeria, Salariati, Registro no. 393, c. 134; as published by Conti, 1881, p. 273). Aretino had served as secretary to Cosimo's father, Giovanni dalle Bande Nere, and was with the condottiere at his death. On the portrait of Giovanni long thought to be by Titian, but by Gian Paolo Pace after a death-mask molded by Giulio Romano, see Ricci, 1929, pp. 249-263.

<sup>3</sup>Lupo Gentile, 1905, pp. 49-52, and Frey, 1892, p. lxiii.

his mode of acquisition was usually through epistolary solicitation. Many letters to the rich, powerful, and famous of the day survive, recording requests for portraits of the recipient, his relatives, or more distinguished associates. When his solicitation met with success, the portrait would be sent to the Museum in Como and eventually the subject would be described and praised in his published Elogia, a compilation of the "eulogies" written putatively as explanatory labels to the portraits in the collection. The donor retained the good will and perhaps the confidence of the influential Bishop while being celebrated in print; and Giovio had another exemplum of the virtues to contemplate at his lakeside retreat. Giovio reiterates this principle in explaining the omission of some figures from the Elogia; addressing the dedicatee, Cosimo I, Giovio writes in the preface to the seventh book:

Non si maravigliarete punto, candidissimo Principe, se molti i quali a tempi loro sono stati in grandissimo nome di valore militare, parrà che siano tralasciati in questo volume: percioche l'intention mia è stata di volere adornare con gli Elogi solamente coloro, de'quali ho potuto havere i veri ritratti, sì come diligentemente s'è osservato nel libro già da me publicato, il quale tratta de gli huomini illustri per la dottrina di buona lettere. Per la qual cosa ragionevolmente debbo ottener perdono, dapoï che in mettere insieme questo apparecchio di tanti ritratti, acceso da perpetua curiosità per piu di trenta

anni non ho mai perdonato ne a diligenza, ne a spesa alcuna.<sup>1</sup>

Considering Giovio's place at the court of Cosimo, as well as his friendship with Bronzino himself,<sup>2</sup> one would hope for some definite mention of the Portrait of Cosimo I in Armor in Giovio's published correspondence; unfortunately, nothing specific has survived, but we may gain some insight into the context of the portrait through what remains.

The earliest relevant communication is found in a letter to Cosimo dated January 18, 1539, in which Giovio thanks the Duke for the gift of a "veste preziosa."<sup>3</sup> In June of that year Giovio was in Florence on Cosimo's invitation on the occasion of the Duke's marriage to Eleonora di Toledo.<sup>4</sup> A letter of the following year records Giovio's request that the Cosimo have Bronzino (then working on the Chapel of Eleonora di Toledo) send a promised drawing for a

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<sup>1</sup>Giovio: Eloggi, 1559, p. 176; this is the Italian translation of Giovio's Eloggia of 1551. The work referred to as already published is the Eloggia veris clarorum virorum imaginibus apposita, published in Venice in 1546 and translated into Italian by Ippolitio Orio as Le iscrittione poste sotto le vere imagine de gli Huomini Famosi; Le quali à Como nel Museo del Giovio si veggiono, published in Florence in 1551.

<sup>2</sup>In Vasari's Vita of Bronzino Giovio is referred to as being "amico suo" (Vasari-Milanesi, VII, 595).

<sup>3</sup>Giovio, 1956, I, 213-214, no. 92.

<sup>4</sup>G.B. Giovio, 1783, p. 43; Giovio: Dialogo, 1559, p. 51; Giovio, 1978, p. 7.

palace facade:

Quella si degna fare che Bronzino mi faccia  
 el promesso schizzo della fuga del Turco, con  
 lo incalzo de Cesare che gli dà, amazandoli,  
 al Danubio; e sia in mezo foglio reale per  
 il longo; ha ad servire per la facciata della  
 casa in Napoli di Tomaso Cambio, tuto mio.<sup>1</sup>

In a letter written while still in Rome in 1547, Giovio reported to Vasari that he hoped to spend a week at the Museum at Como "col Duca Cosimo, tanto amatore de' virtuosi" (the visit does not appear to have taken place).<sup>2</sup> Two years later, having quit Rome, Giovio stopped in Florence on his way to Como and was lodged in the Palazzo della Signoria itself. Upon his departure the Bishop discovered that seven tapestries that he had ordered for himself from the Medici tapestry workshops had been paid for by the Duke.<sup>3</sup> And,

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<sup>1</sup>ASF, Mediceo, Filza 347, c. 141r, dated October 14, 1540; published in Giovio, 1956, I, 256, no. 124. Cambi, a Florentine merchant living in Naples, was a collector of paintings and ancient statuary (Savarese, 1980, p. 174); it is not known whether the drawing was ever actually made.

<sup>2</sup>Giovio, 1956, II, 76, no. 252 (letter of Giovio in Rome to Vasari in Florence, dated March 19, 1547); the letter concludes with greetings: "Al Bronzino, al Puntormo, baso la mano."

<sup>3</sup>Giovio, 1956, II, 140-141, no. 312 (letter of September 13, 1549 from Giovio to Girolamo Angleria) and no. 314 (letter of October 2, 1549 from Giovio to Ridolofo Pio di Carpi). A further letter from Giovio to Angleria of October 19, 1549 (Giovio, 1956, II, 147-149, no. 319) details Cosimo's hospitality and the Duke's provision of assistance for Giovio on the road north. Candace Adelson reports having succeeded in identifying and locating these tapestries; the information will be included in her Ph.D. dissertation at New York University, "The Early Production of the Florentine Tapestry Manufacture (1545-1555)."

writing to Cosimo in January of 1549, Giovio asks whether the Duke knows of any other portrait worthy of his collection, described in an enclosed catalogue (perhaps the manuscript for the Elogia?); he notes as well that Cosimo was to send a painter to Como to copy the portraits in Giovio's collection--a project not begun until Cristofano dell'Altissimo arrived in Como in July of 1552.<sup>1</sup>

Giovio constructed in the Museum a Sala dell'Onore dedicated to Duke Cosimo (for which and from whom he had solicited funds). It was decorated with one of the Duke's favorite imprese, the Capricorn together with a motto contrived by Giovio: "Fidem fati virtute sequemur." An eagle, symbolic of both Jupiter and the Emperor, was added along with its own arcane slogan, "Iuppiter merentibus offert."<sup>2</sup>

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<sup>1</sup>Giovio, 1956, II, 132-133, no. 303 (letter of January 18, 1549). Between July of 1552 and May 1553 Altissimo had painted twenty-four portraits. In July 1554 twenty-six others were sent to Florence, as were another twenty-five in October 1556. Vasari records in 1568 that more than two hundred eighty portraits had been completed (Vasari-Milanesi, VII, 609). These are the portraits of the so-called Collezione Gioviana, now exhibited high along the walls of the long galleries of the Uffizi. See Gaye (1840, II, nos. 389-392, 401-402, 412, 414) and Prinz (in Florence, Uffizi: Cat., 1980, p. 603).

<sup>2</sup>A letter to the Duke of March 3, 1540, contains a request for funds so that a room dedicated to Cosimo might be completed: "il che mi è necessario solicitare, altramente non potrò condurre a fine lo additamento ho fatto al museo, ovi risplende el stellato Capricorno col motto al collo: Fidem fati virtute sequemur" (Giovio, 1956, I, 240-241, no. 113). Three years later Giovio calls the completed addition "la stanza del Onore, in nome di V. Ecc., con cimero del

The room was to have functioned as the architectural equivalent of a portrait medal reverse; it seems to have been

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Capricorno, e motto: Fidem fati virtute sequemur, quella, se si lasciava giungere in Firenze, era da leal servitore affrontata in el tafetà verde doppio per fare un bello e lussuoso sparaviere nella prefata stanza del Onore . . ." (Giovio, 1956, I, 306-307, no. 160, dated March 10, 1543). The meaning here seems to be that the taffeta silk was to be made into a sparaviere--literally, a sparrowhawk, but here the equivalent of an eagle, with its Jovial and imperial connotations. The "bird" is referred to in a subsequent letter of Giovio's, but it is not clear whether an actual bird offered as a gift by Cosimo is here referred to (Giovio, 1956, II, 309-311, no. 102, dated April 1, 1543, to Cosimo): "Non me ingannò V. Ecc.zia della sua cortesa offerta del sparaviere, quale, o nidace, o mutato o soro, mi piacerà senza ancora sonaglii o braghetta, ma nol vorrei già con le longole e senza capelleto." In his later dialogue on imprese Giovio explains the meaning of the Capricorn emblem, as well as the appropriateness of the eagle: "Certo che il giorno delle nozze sue [Cosimo's] io ne vidi molte fabricate da gentili ingegni, ma sopra tutte una me ne piacque per essere molto accomodata a Sua Eccellenza, la quale avendo per oroscopo e ascendente suo il capricorno che ebbe anche Augusto Cesare (come dice Suetonio) e però fece battere la moneta con tale imagine, mi parve questo bizzarro animale molto al proposito, massimamente che Carlo Quinto imperatore, sotto la cui protezione fiorisce il principato del prefato signor Duca, ebbe ancor egli il medesimo ascendente. E parve cosa fatale che'l duca Cosimo quel medesimo dì di Calende d'Agosto, nel qual giorno Augusto conseguì la vittoria contra Marc'Antonio e Cleopatra sopra Aziaco promontorio, quel giorno anch'egli sconfisse e prese i suoi nemici fiorentini a Monte Murlo. Ma a questo capricorno che porta Sua Eccellenza non avendo motto, acciò che l'impresa sia compita io ho aggiunta l'anima di un motto latino: Fidem fati virtute sequemur, quasi che voglia dire: io farò con propria virtù forza di conseguire quel che mi promette l'oroscopo. E così l'ho fatto dipingere figurando le stelle che entrano nel segno del capricorno nella camera dedicata all'onore, la qual vedeste al Museo, dove è ancora l'aquila, che significa Giove e l'Imperatore, che porge col becco una corona trionfale col motto che dice: Iuppiter merentibus offert, pronosticando che Sua Eccellenza merita ogni gloriosa premio per la sua virtù" (Giovio, 1978, pp. 71-72). Cosimo's victory over the Florentine fuorusciti took place at

less a suitable locale for hanging a painted image such as Bronzino's Cosimo than a kind of walk-around emblematic portrait in itself.

There were, of course, many other places in the Museum to hang the portrait. But where (admittedly not a major issue) and the specifics as to how and when Giovio acquired his Cosimo I in Armor (more important) remain unknown. Yet given the context of their friendship, their common interest in portraits, Cosimo's penchant for making presents of things artistic, and Giovio's passion for receiving them, it is difficult to consider the portrait as anything other than a gift from the Duke to his loyal court advisor-publicist-historian. Whether the gift was solicited or not is impossible to say. We can only approximate the date of Giovio's acquisition of the picture by noting the

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Montemurlo on August 1, 1537. As Doglio indicates (in Giovio, 1978, p. 27, n. 99) the motto "Iuppiter merentibus offert" is freely derived from Cicero, De divinatione, I, 106. The Augustan parallels alluded to here are further developed in Cosimo's later career. On this typology and its iconographic manifestations, see Forster, 1971, pp. 85-88, and Richelson, 1973, pp. 25f. The "moneta" made with this image would seem to be Domenico di Polo's medal of Cosimo I of 1537, which has as one of its variant reverses the capricorn (patterned after a coin of Augustus) with the motto: "ANIMI. CONSCIENTIA ET. FIDVCUA.FATI" (see Langedijk, 1981, no. 27-156a). Of the later examples of the parallel most striking are Vincenzo Danti's Cosimo I as Augustus (see Langedijk, 1981, no. 27-130 and now Heikamp, 1980, pp. 213f.) and Vasari's full-length Cosimo in the Sala di Leone X of the Palazzo Vecchio (Langedijk, 1981, no. 27-211).



inclusion of an elogium "Sub effigie Cosmi Medicis Florent. Principis" in Giovio's Elogia virorum bellica . . .; although not printed until 1551, the work was begun in September 1548, when Giovio mentions it in a letter.<sup>1</sup> At what specific point during or before the composition of the Elogia 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 Mediceus"--in any case, as likely to be Cosimo Vecchio "Pater Patriae" as Cosimo I--is undated.<sup>2</sup> Perhaps Giovio's asking the Duke whether he knew of any worthy portraits in January 1549 was an oblique invitation to be given one portraying Cosimo himself.

The concept of the published Elogia seems to have been suggested by Varro's lost Hebdomades vel de imaginibus,

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<sup>1</sup>For this letter, dated September 14, 1548, see p. 113, note 3. Cosimo's secretary records in 1548 that "Il libro delle vite, composte dal Jovio è stato accetto, et già l'Ecc. Sua Cosimo l'ha cominciato a studiare" (ASF, Misc. Mediceo, f. 27, ins. III, c. 73; quoted by Pieraccini, 1947, II, 25-26, without date, but in 1548). The "vite" referred to here might be the De vita Leonis X libri IIII sequita da Adriani VI et Pompei Columnae vitae, published in Florence in 1548.

<sup>2</sup>The portrait of "Cosmus Mediceus" appears on a list headed "Spediti a Como in anni diversi" (Monti, 1904, p. 57). One hundred and fourteen portraits are there listed, in addition to the fifty separately listed in memos of September 1547 and May 1549. The portrait of the elder Cosimo de' Medici is now in the Civico Museo Storico G. Garibaldi in Como (no. 438C).

a work which, according to Pliny, described famous Greeks and Romans and featured seven hundred portraits illustrating the text.<sup>1</sup> In Giovio's hands these eulogies achieved a unique literary form: in one sense they attempted to be written portraits of the same figures represented in paint; in another, illustrative commentaries; they also functioned as a kind of catalogue of the gallery. Giovio's elogium on Cosimo is an enthusiastic panegyric that praises the Duke's munificence as a patron of the arts as well as his qualities as the leader of his people (see the text in the catalogue, CA-19); it is putatively an inscription, an explanatory label, to the portrait above but, unfortunately for us, it contains no specific reference to the image. Immediately following it in print are a few lines that do; they are from a poem on the portrait by the Bishop's nephew and successor, Paolo Giovio the Younger. Cosimo is compared with Mars, victorious after battle, looking out onto his land:

Qualis Hyperboreo laetus Gradivus in orbe  
 Fumantes quum solvit equos, sudantiaque ora  
 Strymonis in ripa victricibus abluit undis;  
 Iam furor, & rabies armorum, iraeque, minaeque  
 Belligero cecidere Deo, tranquillus inerrans  
 Ore rubor placido signat sua lumina vultu;  
 Ille sedet lustrans oculis, & mente benigna  
 Armiferam Thracen, defensumque hostibus Hebrum  
 Prospicit, & Geticae segura mapalia terrae;  
 Tum Veneris blandum pertentant gaudia pectus.

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<sup>1</sup>Pliny, Naturalis Historia, XXXV, 11; this dependence was suggested by Frey, 1892, p. lxxi.

Talis magnanimi divino lumine COSMI  
 Ante alias longe radians effulget imago,  
 Ingentesque gerens humeros augustaque membra  
 Effigies ullum nunquam peritura per aevum,  
 Vertice nudato celsum caput exerit armis;  
 Sidereosque oculos, regalia lumina vibrans  
 Pacatam se se populis spectantibus offert.  
 Ceu quum deposito magnarum pondere rerum  
 Olli tranquillam demulcent gaudia mentem,  
 Ingenti quum iam ceciderunt monstra ruina  
 Qua se devicto mons Murlius erigit hoste;  
 Quum iam laeta suo felix Duce Flora quiescit,  
 Atque Etrusca salus tanto sub Principe tuta est.<sup>1</sup>

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<sup>1</sup>Giovio: Elogia, 1551, pp. 338-339; reprinted as "In Cosmus Medicem Florentinum Principem" in Carmina Illustrium Poetarum Italorum (Florence 1720), V, 441. The poem can be translated as follows (I am grateful to Clement A. Dunbar for his help in this translation and that following): "Like Mars (Gradivus) rejoicing in his northern sphere when he has freed his smoking steeds, and cleansed their foaming mouths with conqueror waves along the banks of the (river) Strymon; now passion and the madness of war, and rages and threats fall from the warlike god, (and) calm, unerring strength in his peaceful visage distinguishes the eyes in his face; he sits surveying with his eyes and his favoring mind armed Thrace, and he looks on Hebrus safe from the enemy and on the Thracian land's huts free from danger; now the delights of Venus fill his agreeable heart. Just so the radiant portrait of Cosimo, great-spirited with divine light, shines forth far and wide before others, and his likeness, never going to perish in any age, with its broad shoulders and its lordly (Augustan) limbs, thrusts forth its lofty head from its armor with bared crown; and shining their regal lights, his starry eyes, it proffers the peaceful man himself to the people beholding. As when with the weight of great affairs set aside, pleasures caress his tranquil mind for him, when monstrous things have fallen in huge ruin where Montemurlo lifts itself over the conquered enemy; when fortunate Florence lies peaceful, rejoicing in her Duke, and Etruscan welfare is safe under so great a Prince." (Gradivus is an epithet of Mars with an application to Thrace. Strymon and Hebrus are Thracian rivers; Getae are Thracians as well. I have been unable to find a convincing reason why Cosimo would be compared with this particularly Thracian figure of Mars.)

A comparison with Mars is natural for one being portrayed wearing a suit of armor, but the typology (even though Florence was in pagan times traditionally under the protection of Mars and the Baptistery supposedly in origin a Temple to Mars<sup>1</sup>) was not one maintained by the Duke. In the poem Mars appears after battle, calmly surveying the pacified land and preparing, significantly, not for more combat but for "gaudia Veneris." Cosimo is conceived as the analogue to Mars following the ten-line introductory sentence; Qualis Gradivus, talis imago Cosmi. Like the god (but described with reference to Bronzino's portrait), Cosimo, with his bare head sticking out of his armor ("Vertice nudato celsum caput exerit armis"), has finished with battle (Montemurlo) and is ready for more pleasurable pursuits; explicitly it is a peaceful rather than bellicose man that faces his people ("Pacatam se se populis spectantibus offert").

Much the same conception of Cosimo as the bringer of peace is embodied in the other poem following Giovio's elogium, a short work by the Milanese Antonio Francesco Rinieri:

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<sup>1</sup>The Baptistery's origin as a Temple of Mars was a common assumption (cf. Bocchi-Cinelli, 1677, p. 25). Fantozzi (1842, p. 356), who thought the church was built rather on the ruins of such a temple, cites Dante, Giovanni Villani, Boccaccio, Franco Sacchetti, and Vincenzo Borghini as considering the Baptistery as originally dedicated to the war god.

Te duce, mortales quae dedignata scelestos  
 Extulerat niveos aurea ad astra pedes  
 Aurea nunc Astrea redit, Venus ante recessit  
 Sacrilega, Etruscae Cosme decus patriae,  
 Per quem parta quies, & pax & copia rerum est,  
 Et Sophiae, Aonidumque artibus ortus honos.  
 In falcem, duce te, galeae conflantur & enses  
 Nec lethale sonant classica, nec litui.  
 Marte satus, Ianum claudis, quis claudere Ianum  
 Mavortis prolem te potuisse putet?<sup>1</sup>

Cosimo is here characterized as the son or offspring of Mars ("Marte satus") who is the unexpected bringer of peace, the one to close the gates of war. Whether intended specifically (as the son of the condottiere Giovanni dalle Bande Nere) or figuratively (as a follower of bellicose pursuits), Cosimo's ancestry is contrasted with his current concerns of peace, quiet, and the cultivation of wisdom and the fine arts. Astraea, goddess of justice and purity, returns now that Cosimo rules; since she was, according to Ovid (Met. I, 150), the last of the goddesses to leave earth when violence appeared at the close of the Golden Age, her return signals a new period of stability, if not a second

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<sup>1</sup>Giovio: Elogia, 1551, pp. 339-340. Rendered into English as: "With you as Duke (leader), she who, unworthy of wicked mortals, had borne away her snowy white feet to the golden stars, golden Astraea (Justice) now returns, profane Venus has withdrawn before, O Cosimo, glory of the Etruscan state, through whom quiet, and peace, and abundance of things is acquired, and the honor of Wisdom and the Greek (Muses') arts has arisen. With you as Duke (leader), swords and helmets are melted into scythes and neither the trumpet calls nor the bugles lethally sound. O Son of Mars, you close the gates of war, who would have thought you, offspring of Mars, could have closed war's doors?"

Golden Age.<sup>1</sup> Perhaps a specific allusion to the murder of Alessandro de' Medici or the revolt of the fuorusciti is intended here, and perhaps both. In any case, this general conception of the Duke seems manifested in the portrait itself, if somewhat subtly. Although the absence of a sword does not indicate that Cosimo's has been melted into a scythe ("In falcem . . . conflantur . . . enses"), Cosimo's appearance in armor, but with an exposed hand resting atop the removed helmet, seems to suit the posture of a retired general, of one who has brought peace to his land and has left off warlike occupations. Whether his apparent immobility in the portrait further reflects his role as bringer of stabilitas and quies (a typology with which Cosimo was later celebrated) is less sure.<sup>2</sup>

Although Giovio (the Elder) wished to have the Elogia published with accompanying engravings after the portraits in the Museum, only the printed text appeared in his lifetime.<sup>3</sup>

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<sup>1</sup>On the political implications of the Astraea myth, particularly with reference to Queen Elizabeth, see Yates, 1975, especially pp. 29f.

<sup>2</sup>In the decorations for the marriage of Francesco I de' Medici and Giovanna d'Austria in 1565, Cosimo was honored as the bringer of stabilitas and quies (Langedijk, 1981, p. 84, citing Bottari-Ticozzi, 1823, I, 170).

<sup>3</sup>Writing to Giovio from Poggio on October 2, 1549, Cosimo mentions his reading of what presumably was the manuscript for Giovio's Historiarum sui temporis libri XLV (Florence, 1550-1552) and the possibility of illustrations to the Elogia, evidently by Luigi Fiammingo, the portrait

However, in 1575 and 1577 the Basel publisher Perna succeeded in bringing out illustrated editions of both the Elogia virorum litteris illustrium and the Elogia virorum bellica virtute illustrium.<sup>1</sup> Among the engraved portraits in the latter volume--drawn probably by Tobias Stimmer after the paintings then still in Como--appears the image of Cosimo I (Fig. 24).<sup>2</sup> Despite the rather unsophisticated style with which it is rendered, Bronzino's portrait is quite recognizable. Many details in the painting (cf. Cat. no. A19)

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copyist: "Vo dando una occhiata a' libri dell'Historia che sono in man mia, et li manderò poi a Messer Lelio accio si possa dar principio alla stampa. Per intagliare le imagine in rame delli elogii sarà a proposito come dite Il fiammingo, et si vedra di mandarlo . . ." (ASF, Mediceo. D.P., Filza 192). Giovio had admired Anton Francesco Doni's engraved book on medals and had written to Doni "E volesse Dio, che di questa maniera si potessero intagliare tutte le immagini, ch'io tengo al Museo, almanco quelle degli uomini famosi in guerra, a i quali ho cominciato a far gli Elogi, e anderanno presto in stampa. Nè io desidererei altro, se non che si potessero imprimere le loro immagini un poco più grandette delle medaglie antiche, e aiutarle poi con qualche colore per maggior dignità; il che quando succedesse no crederei che dagli Antichi in què fosse uscito il più vago libretto" (sent from Rome, September 14, 1548; published in Bottari, 1766, V, 96).

<sup>1</sup>The first illustrated volume to appear was the Elogia virorum bellica virtute illustrium, published in Basel in 1575. This was followed in 1577 by the Elogia virorum leteris illustrium quotquot vel nostra vel avorum memoria vixere; Ex eiusdem Musaeo (cuius descriptionem vià exhibemus) ad vivum expressis imaginibus exornata. The two were occasionally bound (and presumably sold) together.

<sup>2</sup>Giovio, 1575, pp. 390-391; illustrated as well in Langedijk, 1981, no. 27-19a. On the attribution of the illustrations, see Kossman, 1922.

are visible: the laurel branch, chopped tree trunk, etched pattern of the armor, and lack of Toison d'Or. The inscription in the painting (on the trunk), "COS . . . MVS/ MEDICES· DVX/FLOR.," does not appear in the engraving, however. In fact, none of the printed portraits in the illustrated edition reproduce the identifying inscriptions that Giovio usually had placed directly on the painting (since the engravings are captioned by the printed elogia, the inscriptions would have been redundant, if not illegible, in the book). Since all paintings that can be identified as coming from Giovio's collection feature these inscriptions and since the actual inscription in the Cosimo I in Armor does not appear to have been added subsequent to the execution of the painting, the portrait would seem to have been specifically commissioned from Bronzino for Giovio, rather than being a gift out of the storeroom.<sup>1</sup>

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<sup>1</sup>Among paintings traceable today these include small-scale portraits of Ezzolino da Romano (Art Market, Los Angeles, 1979) and Andrea Gritti (Private Collection, Chiasso, 1969) and larger works such as Bronzino's Andrea Doria (Milan, Brera) and Titian's Daniele Barbaro (Ottawa, National Gallery). All of these are inscribed. An important and little known group of portraits from Giovio's Museum survives in the collections of the Museo Civico and Museo Storico G. Garibaldi in Como. These come from descendents of Giovio and arrived at the museums through the Rovelli and Acchiappati Bequests of 1965 and 1972. Many of the pictures remain in store, although a few have recently been cleaned, restored, and included in a recent exhibition in Como (Como: Cat., 1981, nos. 10-14, 70). The following listing of these works includes references to illustrations of the paintings in De Vecchi (1977), Gianoncelli (1977), or the catalogue of the



The engraving in Giovio's Elogia had a brief but curious after-life. Reversed and reduced to bust format,

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Como exhibition (Como: Cat., 1981); included as well are citations to the listing of pictures in Müntz (1900-1901) and references to any copies of these portraits in the Collezione Gioviana of the Uffizi (Florence, Uffizi: Cat., 1980): Bassa Aiaf (cf. Uffizi, no. Ic12), Albertus Magnus with Dun Scotus (Gianoncelli, p. 33; cf. Uffizi nos. Ic19 and Ic407); Carlo Aureliano, Gianpaolo Baglioni (Müntz, p. 312; cf. Uffizi no. Ic47), Orazio Baglioni (Müntz, p. 312), Ermalao Barbaro (Gianoncelli, p. 38; De Vecchi, no. 56; Müntz, p. 284; cf. Uffizi no. Ic54), Pietro Bembo (cf. Uffizi no. Ic60), Guillaume Budé (Müntz, p. 285), Domizio Calderini (Müntz, p. 285), Baldassare Castiglione (De Vecchi, no. 62; Como, no. 14; Müntz, p. 286; cf. Uffizi, no. Ic112), Christopher Columbus (Gianoncelli, p. 30; De Vecchi, no. 58; Müntz, pp. 314-315; cf. Uffizi, no. Ic132), Tristan D'Acuna (Müntz, p. 334), Dante (Gianoncelli, p. 34; Uffizi portrait follows a different type), Alfonso II d'Este (Uffizi portrait follows a different type), Cleria Farnese (later addition to Giovio's collection?), Felicita dei Conti di Calepio (later addition as well?), Marsilio Ficino (Müntz, p. 288; cf. Uffizi, no. Ic199), Giorgio Fraispergo, Francesco Franchini (Como, no. 13), Gattamelata (Müntz, p. 316; cf. Uffizi, no. Ic215), Sultan Camson Cal. Gauro (Müntz, p. 308; cf. Uffizi, no. Ic89), Benedetto Giovio (Gianoncelli, p. 36; Müntz, p. 290), Paolo Giovio (two versions, for principal half length, see Gianoncelli, p. 7; Müntz, p. 290; cf. Uffizi, no. Ic232; second version is a bust copy), Doge Antonio Grimani (Müntz, p. 316), Luigi Gritti, Halis Turco (De Vecchi, no. 59), Henry IV of France, Horace, Niccolo Leonceno (Como, no. 70; Müntz, p. 291), Faustina Mancina Romana, Sultan Maomet I (Müntz, p. 306; cf. Uffizi, no. Ic301), Michele Marulli (De Vecchi, no. 55; Como, no. 11; cf. Uffizi, no. Ic313), Cosimo de' Medici "Pater Patriae," Niccolo Orsini (Müntz, p. 317; cf. Uffizi, no. Ic349), Pope Paul II (cf. Uffizi, no. Ic358), Petrarch (Gianoncelli, p. 35; cf. Uffizi, no. Ic367), Raffaele Raimondi (possibly not ex-Giovio), Cilia Ragonia (possibly later addition to Giovio's collection), Savonarola (Gianoncelli, p. 37; Müntz, p. 297), Muzio Attendola Sforza (Müntz, p. 325; cf. Uffizi, no. Ic416), Piero Soderini (Müntz, p. 319; cf. Uffizi, no. Ic422), Totila (De Vecchi, no. 61; Müntz, p. 301; cf. Uffizi, no. Ic440), Giorgio Trissino, Giovanni Vitelleschi (De Vecchi, no. 57; Müntz, p. 320; cf. Uffizi, no. Ic472).

the portrait was utilized as an illustration in Samuel Fuchs's Metoposcopia et Opthalmoscopia of 1615 (Fig. 25). This brief volume is chiefly concerned with metoposcopy, the art of judging character from the study of the features and shape of the forehead. The Duke, at least in Stimmer's engraving, had three prominent "Mercurial lines" (which seem to be equivalent to the furrows between the eyebrows); from this we learn that Cosimo was wise, eloquent, and upright.<sup>1</sup>

## 2. Cosimo and His Clashing Symbols

Cosimo's helmet rests upon what appears to be a severed tree trunk, on the side of which, in Giovio's version (Cat. no. A19), the identifying inscription is painted. The cut is neat and flat, providing a waist-level table-top for the weighty helmet. Behind it rises a laurel branch with many leaves pendent. The broken tree with a florid branch is here an adaptation of a specific impresa of Cosimo's, one that was popular particularly in the early years of the Duke's reign and became known as the Medici broncone. Unlike

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<sup>1</sup>Fuchs, 1615, p. 78. Other illustrations of portraits in this exceedingly rare volume include those of Columbus (p. 21) and Andrea Doria (after Bronzino, p. 46)--both after portraits in the illustrated Giovio Eloquia.

so many Renaissance emblems with their contrived, arcane constructs, this impresa has a meaning at once comprehensible and significant. No clearer explanation of it exists than that found in Giovio's own Dialogue on emblems. Cosimo

Ebbe un'altra impresa nel principio del suo principato dottamente trovato dal reverendo messer Pier Francesco de' Ricci suo maggiordomo, e fu quel che dice Vergilio nell'Eneida de 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.<sup>1</sup>

As Giovio indicated, the source for the motto is Vergil, specifically a line from Book Six of the Aeneid (VI, 143): "Primo avulso non deficit alter aureus et simili frondescit virga metallo . . . ." <sup>2</sup> Combined with the image of the broken but flowering tree, the motto conveys a specific genealogical and political message, that in spite of the failure of the primary branch (the demise of Alessandro

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<sup>1</sup>Quoted from the recent edition of the Dialogo dell'Imprese, edited by Doglio: Giovio, 1978, pp. 72-73. The Dialogo was completed in the summer of 1551 but was not published until 1555 (Dialogo dell'Imprese Militari et Amoroze di Monsignor Paolo Giovio Vescovo di Nucera . . ., In Roma, Appresso A. Barre). A manuscript copy was given by Giovio to Cosimo on September 19, 1551 (Doglio in Giovio, 1978, p. 17, n. 1). The first illustrated edition was published in Lyon in 1559 (Giovio, Dialogo, 1559).

<sup>2</sup>"When the first is torn away a second fails not, golden too, and the spray bears leaf of the selfsame ore" (Vergil, 1974, I, 516-517). On this theme, cf. Ladner, 1961, pp. 304f.

and the extinction of the elder, primary branch of the family), another branch (that of Cosimo) will flourish. The meetness of the impresa was clearly appreciated by both the Duke and Riccio, who, first as teacher and later as majordomo, advised Cosimo on literary as well as political and household matters.<sup>1</sup> But Giovio's statement that the emblem was "dottamente trovato" by Riccio is open to some question.

The broncone had been employed by Pontormo twenty years earlier in his commemorative Portrait of Cosimo de' Medici "Pater Patriae" (Fig. 23; Uffizi). There, a scroll inscribed with the words "Uno avulso . . ." appears wrapped about the branches of a laurel tree, a major shoot of which has been snapped off. The inclusion of the broncone in this posthumous portrait (Cosimo had been dead for more than fifty years) would seem to have had its motivation in contemporary events rather than in anything related to the life of Cosimo the Elder; he did not use the emblem, nor was he involved in such a genealogical situation. The portrait, Vasari informs us, was painted for Goro Gheri when secretary to Lorenzo de' Medici, Duke of Urbino.<sup>2</sup> The death of Lorenzo

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<sup>1</sup>On Riccio and his position at the court see above Chapter I.

<sup>2</sup>Pontormo's Portrait of Cosimo de' Medici is no. 3574 (Inv. of 1890) in the Uffizi; see Florence, Uffizi: Cat., 1980, no. P1250 and Langedijk, 1981, no. 26-9 (with full bibliography). Vasari mentions the portrait in his

on May 4, 1519, enables us to localize the date of the picture, also considered on stylistic grounds to be from 1518 or 1519. Two situations have been proposed as having prompted the inclusion of the emblem in the portrait. The new branch might represent Ippolito de' Medici, the natural son of the deceased Giuliano, Duke of Nemours; Gheri advised Leo X that the eight-year old boy be sent to Florence as the Medici representative following Lorenzo's death.<sup>1</sup> Or the broncone might refer to the birth of the future Duke Cosimo I, born less than a month after the death of Lorenzo, Duke of Urbino.<sup>2</sup> Were Pontormo's portrait being painted at the time of the demise of Lorenzo, the almost immediate birth of a new Medici might have acquired

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life of Pontormo: "E dopo fece a messer Goro da Pistoia, allora segretario de' Medici, in un quadro la testa del Magnifico Cosimo vecchio de' Medici dalla ginocchia in su, che è veramente lodevole; e questa è oggi nelle case di messer Ottaviano de' Medici . . ." (Vasari-Milanesi, VI, 264).

<sup>1</sup>Winner, 1972, pp. 186-187.

<sup>2</sup>Langedijk, 1968, p. 49 and 1981, p. 68. Cosimo was born on June 12, 1519 (Pieraccini, 1947, p. 3); Langedijk gives the date incorrectly as July 13 (1981, p. 387), while in other places listing it correctly. Sparrow (1967) proposed that Pontormo's portrait was painted during the early years of Cosimo I's tenure (ca. 1537) because of the particular association the impresa had with Duke Cosimo. Berti (1973, p. 49) attempted to incorporate Sparrow's findings by proposing that the broncone was a later addition to the painting (which it certainly does not seem to be). Others have rightly rejected Sparrow's dating; see Richelson (1973, pp. 6-7, 18-19, n. 17), with reference to Forster (1966, p. 43 and 1971, p. 67, n. 4), as well as Winner (1970, no. 90 and 1972, pp. 186-187) and Langedijk (1981, pp. 67-68).

additional significance to the secretary of Lorenzo. That Cosimo I was actually named after Cosimo "Pater Patriae" by Pope Leo X would make the connection all the more plausible.<sup>1</sup> What mitigates against this interpretation is the seeming unimportance of the birth of so remotely related a Medici as the young Cosimo and the implausibility of close involvement with such a birth for the secretary to Lorenzo, Duke of Urbino.

More likely, it would seem, the broncone referred to Duke Lorenzo himself--assuming, of course, that the Portrait of Cosimo Vecchio was painted, as Vasari stated, while he was still alive. The laurel itself was, if it can be so termed, the official Medici tree. Its original application was to Lorenzo il Magnifico, for whom it functioned both symbolically and emblematically: as an attribute of Apollonian, poetic pursuits and as substantive reification of Lorenzo's name. Thus, Poliziano's "Giostra" invokes "tu ben nato Laur, sotto el cui velo Fiorenza leta in pace si riposa," and in Luigi Fiammingo's posthumous portrait (Fig. 26) a verdant laurel is placed beside Lorenzo--as an

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<sup>1</sup>Ranke, 1878, p. 387.

allusion both to his name and to his lyric talents.<sup>1</sup>

Il Magnifico's grandson and namesake, Lorenzo, Duke of Urbino, is known to have employed the same emblem. At the carnival feste of 1513 two compagnie produced elaborate displays--that of the Diamante, headed by Giuliano de' Medici, Duke of Nemours (Lorenzo's youngest son), and that of the Broncone, headed by Lorenzo, Duke of Urbino. Vasari reports that of the latter company, "che aveva per nome e per insegna il Broncone, era capo il signor Lorenzo figliuolo di Piero de' Medici; il quale, dico, aveva per impresa un broncone, cioè è un tronco di lauro secco che rinverdiva le foglie, questi per mostrare che rinfrescava e risorgeva il nome dell'avolo [i.e., Lorenzo il Magnifico]." <sup>2</sup> One of the cars in the procession featured the figure of an apparently dead man outfitted in rusted armor, from whose back appeared a living child entirely covered with gold. This display

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<sup>1</sup>Poliziano's "Stanze cominciate per la Giostra del Magnifico Giuliano di Piero de' Medici" celebrate Giuliano's victory in a jousting match held in the Piazza di Santa Croce on January 28, 1475; the passage is quoted from Poliziano, 1952, p. 15. Lyrical distinction is symbolized by the laurel leaves that appear in Palma Vecchio's Portrait of a Poet in the National Gallery, London--which probably represents Ariosto (see London, NG: Cat. Gould, 1975, pp. 185-187). The symbolic use of the laurel was widespread and varied; a useful review is that of de Tervarent, 1958, cols. 231-234. Luigi Fiammingo's Portrait of Lorenzo il Magnifico from Poggio a Caiano is Inv. Poggio a Caiano, no. 106.

<sup>2</sup>Vasari-Milanesi, VI, 250-251.

represented the coming of the Age of Gold after the Age of Iron (brought about by the restoration of the Medici); as Vasari indicates, "questo medesimo significava il broncone secco rimettente le nuove foglie, come che alcuni dicessero che le cosa del broncone alludeva a Lorenzo de' Medici che fu duca d'Urbino."<sup>1</sup>

The inclusion of the broncone in the Portrait of Cosimo Vecchio commissioned by Goro Gheri would not then have been an inappropriate allusion to the survival and flourishing of the family in the person of Lorenzo, Duke of Urbino. The broken or cut branch, which does not appear in earlier representations of the broncone, might then refer to the death of Lorenzo's co-regent, Giuliano, Duke of Nemours, in 1516.<sup>2</sup>

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<sup>1</sup>Vasari-Milanesi, VI, 254. The "putto dorato," according to Vasari "per lo disagio che patì per guadagnare dieci scudi, poco appresso si morì." With the substitution of mulberry (moro) for laurel the story is transported to the court of Ludovico il Moro in Merezhkovski's The Romance of Leonardo da Vinci.

<sup>2</sup>Giuliano de' Medici, Duke of Nemours, died at the Badia of Fiesole on March 17, 1516 (Pieraccini, 1924, I, 222). The broncone was later utilized by Alessandro de' Medici as well. In a letter to Ottaviano de' Medici, Vasari provides a gloss on his Portrait of Alessandro de' Medici (Florence, Uffizi, Inv. 1890, no. 1563); among the many symbols Vasari has managed to cram into the portrait there appears "Quel tronco secco di lauro, che manda fuori quella vermena diritta e fresca di fronde, è la casa dei Medici già spenta, che per la persona del duca Alessandro deve crescer di prole infinitamente" (Vasari-Milanesi, VIII, 242). On the portrait, see Langedijk (in Florence, Palazzo Vecchio: Cat., 1980, no. 498, and 1981, no. 1-14).



Whatever its specific reference in Pontormo's portrait might have been the broncone had in a broader sense a clear meaning, denoting the survival and vitality of the Medici "tree." Its application to the situation of Cosimo I seems to have been noted almost immediately upon the death of Alessandro. When Cardinal Cibbè proposed Cosimo for office in 1537 he began his nominating speech with the literary equivalent of the broncone, the original Vergilian lines, "Primo avulso . . . ." <sup>1</sup> Within the next two years the fully developed impresa (symbol with inscription) was used prominently. One of the first medals to appear after Cosimo's accession portrayed the still-beardless Duke on the obverse and, on the reverse, a tree with one broken and one healthy branch, about which is seen a scroll with the now familiar motto of "UNO AVULSO" (Fig. 27). <sup>2</sup>

At the wedding festivities of Cosimo and Eleonora in 1539, the emblem appeared as well:

Nella quarta lunetta era un lauro troncato con  
la sua cima talmente rivolta alla terra che ben  
pareva del tutto perduto, ma un rigoglioso

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<sup>1</sup>Varchi, III, 1841, p. 251.

<sup>2</sup>The medal is by Domenico di Polo; see Langedijk (1968, p. 58, and especially 1981, p. 80 and no. 27-161) and Sparrow (1967, p. 170, pl. 17b). The impresa had been independently utilized in a Veronese medal of Francesco Roseti (see Hill, 1930, no. 490 and Sparrow, 1967, p. 172).

Pollone in su'l vecchio ceppo germugliando,  
interamente lo risporava: come in un altra  
medaglia di Sua Eccelentia si vede, et diceva  
il motto, VNO AVVLSO.<sup>1</sup>

The emblematic tree represented was also understandable as a family tree, and the terminology employed in all the descriptions of the impresa--with a new branch replacing the dead, principal trunk--was applicable to both genealogical and pictorial representation (cf. Martino Rota's engraved Medici family tree, Fig. 28).<sup>2</sup> In Bronzino's portrait of the Duke the emblem is introduced in a rather subtle and subdued fashion; 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 broncone emerges from the trunk in the darkness below the

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<sup>1</sup>Giambullari (1539), quoted here from Sparrow, 1967, pp. 169-170. The following translation is from Minor-Mitchell (1968, pp. 124-125): "In the fourth [lunette] was a broken laurel tree, its summit so bent towards the earth that it seemed entirely lost, but an exuberant new shoot was coming out of the old stump, completely renewing the tree, as is seen on another medal of His Excellency. There was the motto: VNO AVVLSO."

<sup>2</sup>Vienna, Albertina, I.I 34, no. 68. In this fascinating engraving, uncovered by Karla Langedijk (and now illustrated by her, 1981, p. 107), a tree rises before a view of Florence and between a figuration of the river Arno and a poet's wood. The branches, in espalier form, carry roundels marked with the names of various members of the Medici family. Within the circles of several are portraits, many corresponding to the quadretti cited by Vasari (-Milanesi, VII, 603) as having been painted by Bronzino.

chin-piece of the helmet and to the left of the inscribed word "MEDICES." The emblem is clearly, if rather unobtrusively, delineated and its inclusion in the picture, for a patron who had an array of choice emblems to choose from, certainly significant. As Giovio indicated in his discussion of it, the Medici broncone was utilized by Cosimo at the beginning of his rule, following a period when the Duke's legitimacy as the proper successor to the assassinated Alessandro was not yet established.<sup>1</sup> When the three-quarter length portrait of the Duke was commissioned, this sense of dynastic insecurity was evidently still a sufficiently felt concern to warrant the employment of an emblem that was an established symbol of proper Medicean succession.

Some time after its use in the Bronzino portrait the broncone fell out of favor as Cosimo's impresa--an indication of the Duke's increasing power and surety of control. It has not been noticed, however, that the abandonment of the emblem was reflected in the five replicas of the portrait in Kassel, Toledo, Florence (Uffizi no. 8739), Annapolis, and Lucca (Cat. nos. A20, A23, A24, A25, A26). There, minor but

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<sup>1</sup>Both Giovio (1978, p. 72) and Gelli (1928, no. 1737) state that the emblem was limited to the early part of Cosimo's rule. Since Giovio's Dialogue was completed in 1551 (see above, p. 97, note 1) the impresa would seem to have been abandoned several years prior to that date. Among other emblems employed by Cosimo were that of paired anchors with the motto "DUABUS," and that of the Capricorn (for these, cf. Cat. no. A7).

significant alterations serve to destroy the integrity, and concomitantly alter the significance, of the broncone. The growth of the branch from the tree trunk is now denied by eliminating the sprout that grows from the left side of the stump below the chin-piece of the helmet. The new empty space is filled in by extending the trunk to the left so that its left edge is tangent with the right contour of the skirt of lames of the armor. The branch seen at the rear of the stump is now more visible, but as such is shown not to be physically joined with the tree but rather apart from it; in the version at Toledo (Cat. no. A23) some sort of object (a piece of wood?) clearly separates the two. The most obvious change appears in the branch itself. The leaves have become more slender, more numerous, and now share the branch with what appear to be berries; but although laurels do grow berries, in the visual arts the tree is almost always represented without them--perhaps to avoid confusion with plants having similarly shaped leaves (for example, both Pontormo's Cosimo Vecchio and Luigi Fiammingo's Lorenzo il Magnifico, Figs. 23 and 26, feature berry-less laurels). Here it seems as if the laurel has been supplanted by another kind of tree; the new foliage is typical of an olive branch and the large berries, green in color, resemble olives.<sup>1</sup>

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<sup>1</sup>I am grateful to Mimi Sheraton for discussing the identity of these leaves with me and for confirming their being from an olive-branch.

Assuming the accuracy of this identification (and a certain amount of doubt must remain due to the leaves' similarity with other plants), an important iconographic change has been made. In lieu of the traditional Medici broncone of laurel with its dynastic significance, an olive branch attached or adjacent to the tree trunk appears.

The olive branch appeared in Medicean iconography as early as the rule of Cosimo "Pater Patriae." The reverse of his portrait medal (dateable 1465-1469) features the seated allegorical figure of Florentia (patterned after a Roman numismatic type of Dea Roma) holding what might be a Medici palla for an orb, and what surely is an olive branch for a sceptre.<sup>1</sup> The motto "PAX LIBERTAS/QUE PUBLICA" underscores the use of the olive branch here as a representation of peace--one of the most ancient and durable symbols.<sup>2</sup>

In several of Alessandro de' Medici's medals the point is made a bit more graphically. A seated female figure (Pax) holding an olive branch sets fire to a pile of weapons.

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<sup>1</sup>The medal was made after March 16, 1465, when Cosimo received the title of Pater Patriae and before 1469, the year of the death of Piero de' Medici "Il Gottoso," in a manuscript of whose the medal was copied. This is the medal that appears in a gesso cast in Botticelli's Portrait of a Young Man (Uffizi; Inv. 1890, no. 1488). On the medal, see Hill (1930, no. 909), Hill-Pollard (1967, nos. 245-246), and Langedijk (1981, no. 26-28).

<sup>2</sup>Genesis 7: 11. See Tervarent, 1958; cols. 290-291.

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 of "fundator Quietis" that Cosimo is praised in the poems celebrating the portrait of the Duke in Giovio's Museum.<sup>1</sup>

As well as being symbolic of peace, the olive branch was an attribute of Minerva. She was its creator--in Vergil's words, "Oleaque Minerva inventrix"--and as the goddess of the arts of peace and war, she carried the branch as well as a lance and armor when she appeared, at least in the visual arts.<sup>2</sup> Significantly, Minerva was also the goddess of wisdom and patroness of intellectual pursuits and the combination of these qualities of peace and wisdom led to her employment as a Medicean symbol. One of Cosimo I's medals in fact has as its verso a seated Minerva in the guise of Florentia--armed, helmeted, and leaning on her lance (beneath

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<sup>1</sup>Three medals of Domenico di Polo of 1534 utilize this iconography. See Langedijk, 1981, nos. 1-31, 132 (with a standing Pax), and 1-33 (with bibliography). These medals have been attributed to Francesco del Prato as well, as in Hill-Pollard, 1967, no. 317.

<sup>2</sup>Vergil, Georgics, I, 18-19. On the iconography of Athena/Minerva, see, inter alia, Rose (1959, pp. 68, 107-112), Tervarent (1958, cols. 230, 270-271, 290), and Wittkower (1938-1939).

the inscription "SALUS PUBLICA").<sup>1</sup>

It is in this light that the incorporation of the olive branch in the later versions of the Bronzino portrait should be seen. This "revised" broncone 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. The last known employment of the broncone seems to be in a tapestry of 1549, woven after a cartoon by Bronzino (Fig. 29).<sup>2</sup> This fascinating work is an allegory of the Medici family, specifically with reference to the rule of Cosimo I. The arms of Cosimo and Eleonora rest in the center on a stone base, alluded to in the inscription "FUNDATA ENIM ERAT/SUPER PETRAM" and meant to be

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<sup>1</sup>The medal is attributed to Domenico di Polo. See Langedijk (1981, no. 27-164) and McCrory (in Florence, Palazzo Vecchio: Cat., 1980, no. 279), who proposes that this medal served as the centerpiece of a noted cameo portrait of Cosimo and Eleonora with their children (for which, see Langedijk, 1981, no. 27-175 and McCrory, nos. 277-278).

<sup>2</sup>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 Florence Palazzo Vecchio: Cat., 1980, no. 100-101 with bibliography) and Langedijk (1981, p. 86, n. 19, pl. XVII, for the version in the Palatina, but with the date of 1552).

the rock that is the basis of the dynasty.<sup>1</sup> The broncone is limited to the left-hand side of the composition alone; there, it grows behind and, for the sake of decorum, in front of the naked Apollo, who carries but a quiver and a lyre. Apollo reaches up with his right arm and pulls the laurel branches down into the ducal crown. The analogous position at the right of the tapestry is held by Minerva. She stands in armor, holding her emblematic lance (broken to emphasize her peaceful intent) in her right hand as she too reaches up and lowers a branch of the olive tree into the Medici crown. (Perhaps because there is no doubt concerning their identity, the laurels appear with the rarely portrayed berries.) At their feet recline two river gods, the Arno at the left (with its characteristic two sources;

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<sup>1</sup>Langedijk's description of the tapestry is misleading (1981, p. 86, n. 19): "On the broncone rest the coats of arms of Cosimo and his wife Eleonora of Toledo, hung around by the chain of the Order of the Golden Fleece and crowned with the Medici imprese and the ducal crown. On either side Apollo and Minerva are bending the young shoots towards the crown. In the medallions in the border appears the text 'Fundata enim erat super petram,' an allusion to the popes which lends a religious character to the broncone, which here functions as petra. The wind-gods in the side borders give the composition a cosmic character, an allusion to Cosimo's name such as we shall often come across." Apparently Langedijk has mistaken the rock for the broncone, which is exclusively on the left side of the tapestry. The inscription, then, is appropriately illustrated; any "religious character" comes from the association with the command to St. Peter ("Tu est Petrus et super hanc petram . . ."), which may allude to the Medici popes.



cf. Fig. 28) and another (perhaps the Mugnone of Florence or the Tagus of Toledo) at the right. Surrounding the scene in the border are the figures of Peace and War at top, Luxuria (Debauchery) and Fear at the bottom; what apparently represent the winds of Fortune blow from the sides.<sup>1</sup> The coat-of-arms is surrounded by the chain and badge of the Toison d'Or and is topped by a seraph, on whose head is standing a falcon grasping a diamond ring with the motto "Semper"--this a revised impresa (originally of Cosimo "Pater Patriae") favored by the Medici popes that signified the universal love of God.<sup>2</sup>

The meaning of this allegory seems to be that the vices and evil forces portrayed in the border are excluded

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<sup>1</sup>The four personifications in the corners are remarkably close to their counterparts in Ripa's Iconologia (cf. Ripa, 1971, nos. 72, 79, 132, 170). A similar interpretation of the tapestry is given by Viale Ferrero (1952, p. 83, and 1963, p. 64) and Adelson (in Florence, Palazzo Vecchio: Cat., 1980, no. 100).

<sup>2</sup>Giovio's Dialogo explains the emblem as follows: "Prese il magnifico Pietro, figliuolo di Cosimo, per impresa un falcone che aveva negli artigli un diamante, il quale è stato continuato da papa Leone e da papa Clemente, pure col breve del Semper rivolto, accomodato al titolo della religione che portano i papi, ancor che sia, come è detto di sopra, cosa goffa a far imprese di sillabe e di parole, perché il magnifico Pietro voleva intendere che si debba fare ogni cosa amando Dio. E tanto più ciò viene a proposito quanto che il diamante importa indomita fortezza contra fuoco e martello, come miracolosamente il prefato Magnifico fu saldo contra le congiure e insidie di messer Luca Pitti" (Giovio, 1978, p. 64; Pietro is Piero il Gottoso, son of Cosimo "Pater Patriae.").

from the House of the Medici, which is established under the protective boughs of the two principal deities. The river gods nourish the trees, whose leaves are tied together within the ducal crown. Apollo with his laurel denotes music, poetry, the fine arts, the heritage of the family, and the legitimacy of the dynasty; Minerva with her olive embodies the cultivation of peace and wisdom. Together they support and protect the Medici family, founded "super petram," referring perhaps to the Duke's papal ancestors.

The joint guardianship of the Medici family by Apollo and Minerva, as seen in this tapestry of 1549, 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 Bernadetto de' Medici of 1549, in which a statue of Minerva appears as an emblem in the background, no representation of the goddess is known until the 1570s.<sup>1</sup>

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<sup>1</sup>Vasari records his painting in 1549 a canvas of "Bernadetto di messer Ottaviano de' Medici dentrovi una Minerva" (Vasari-Frey, I, 1923, p. 868). This picture is surely to be identified with the Portrait of a Young Man (Panel, 133 x 95 cm) now in the Gemäldegalerie of the Bode Museum in East Berlin. The attribution to Vasari was first proposed by Huntley (1947, p. 24). The Berlin museum maintains the attribution to Bronzino, following the written opinions (1930) of Gronau, Mayer, and Voss; as such the portrait was recently exhibited (Berlin: Cat. Bildnisse, n.d., no. 20 and Berlin: Cat., 1963, no. 11, cat. B63). The portrait was formerly in the collections of Maria

The few years of Minerva's renewed popularity at the Medici court seem to correspond with the period in which the versions of utilizing the olive branch would otherwise be placed, ca. 1545-1560. Who ordered the change in emblem and why is not known. But the reasons that these later versions employ the olive in lieu of the laurel might well reflect the intended recipient of a picture. As a diplomatic gift, as many of these portraits no doubt were, the image of the Duke beside an emblem of peace and tranquility might well have seemed more politic than one essentially self-laudatory in its perhaps excessive involvement with ducal succession. The revised symbolism conveys more modest and diplomatic sentiments, which might have been more readily comprehensible outside of immediate Medici circles. The increased space about the figure of the Duke in these late versions served to make these portraits more benign and less assertive as well. This trend towards a more restrained and confident official portrait would ultimately result in the abandonment of the Portrait of Cosimo I in Armor and the adoption of a more subdued portrait type.

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Giuseppe, Prince of Cassano and Count Contini (both in Rome); sold at auction in New York (A.A.A., January 22, 1931, lot 65, as by Bronzino), it passed to a Swiss private collection, thence to Berlin, where it was acquired in 1936. A variant portrait without the statue of Minerva is at Wawel Castle in Cracow (see Bialostocki-Walicki, 1955, pl. 91 and Warsaw: Cat. Sztuka, 1964, no. 68).

### 3. Cosimo's Armor Inside and Out

Much of the impact of Bronzino's portrait derives from the appearance of the suit of armor worn by the Duke. Occupying most of the picture's surface, it acquires an almost visionary aspect in the uniformly precise rendering of the detailed etched decorations and the brilliant execution of the reflections and highlights on the metallic surface. Although the Duke's suit of armor (excepting a few fragments) is lost, there seems little doubt for the viewer that the picture provides an accurate and convincing record of it.

On the basis of its appearance in the portrait, the armor has been attributed to the Innsbruck court armorer Jörg Seusenhofer and its etched decoration to his associate Leonhard Meurl.<sup>1</sup> The date suggested by the style, 1537-1540, supports the belief that the armor was a diplomatic gift from Ferdinand of Austria (brother of Charles V) to Cosimo in his

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<sup>1</sup>The attribution of the armor is the convincing opinion of Bruno Thomas (1974, pp. 194-196), who points out its striking resemblance to the garniture made for Ferdinand I in 1537-1538 by Seusenhofer and Meurl. Also similar is Seusenhofer's so-called "Adlergarnitur" made for Ferdinand II in 1547 and preserved in the Waffensammlung of the Kunsthistorisches Museum in Vienna (no. A 638); that armor appears in a portrait of Archduke Ferdinand attributed to Francesco Terzio, also at Vienna (Inv. no. 8063; see Vienna: Cat. Porträtgalerie, 1976, no. 59, fig. 71 and Vienna: Cat. Ambras, 1977, no. 328, fig. 1).

accession to the dukedom in 1537.<sup>1</sup> What seems to be the same suit of armor (though summarily rendered) appears in two early portraits of Cosimo--Boccardino's miniature on the presentation copy of Charles V's investiture of the ducal title to Cosimo and a portrait medal by Domenico di Polo, both done within a year of Cosimo's accession.<sup>2</sup>

The three surviving fragments from the original armor, now in the Museo di Castel S. Angelo in Rome, consist of two knee defenses and the bottom plate from the fauld or skirt of lames (Fig. 30).<sup>3</sup> These pieces do not appear in Bronzino's portrait but a comparison of the ginocchielli (knee-cops) with the larger, but similarly formed upper arm defence (rerebrace) seen in the portrait indicates how

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<sup>1</sup>Thomas (1974, p. 196) states that the armor was probably a gift from Ferdinand; Boccia (1980, p. 390) refers to the gift as fact. Cochrane (1973, p. 36) refers to "the suit of armor Cosimo had ordered for the occasion" of Bronzino's portrait. Yet I have found no record or documentation concerning the acquisition of the armor.

<sup>2</sup>Boccardino Giovane's miniature of Cosimo is preserved on the illustrated document in the Archivio di Stato in Florence (ASF, Trattati Internazionali, N. 1, ins. c). The portrait is noted by Pierracini (1947, II, 32, n. b [sic]) and is now published by Langedijk (1981, p. 79, n. 2 and no. 27-62). Domenico di Polo's portrait appears in several variant medals; see Langedijk, 1981, nos. 27-156, 27-157, 27-160, 27-164.

<sup>3</sup>These were first noted as such by Vesey Norman (cited in Thomas, 1974, p. 196). Boccia (1980, p. 390, n. 15) states that the fragments come from the collections of the Bargello; they were among a group of armor sent in 1927 and 1929 to the then new Museo di Castel S. Angelo. They have apparently not been published.

faithfully Bronzino must have recorded the armor. If the artist has altered the appearance, it was perhaps to soften the etched decoration, which seems more fluid and gentle in the portrait, while accentuating the brilliance and smoothness of the steel itself.<sup>1</sup>

However accurately Bronzino has translated the armor into paint, the accent is quite particular to the artist. A revealing attestation to this quality is furnished by an anonymous portrait of Giovanni dalle Bande Nere at Turin (Fig. 31).<sup>2</sup> Cosimo's father here stands in a suit of armor

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<sup>1</sup>It is not clear whether the slightly mottled surface of the armor as seen today is the result of any decay in its condition.

<sup>2</sup>The panel measures 140 x 117 cm (55" x 46") and was given to the Galleria Sabauda in 1890 by the heirs of Sir William Richard Drake of London with an attribution to Bronzino. Berenson (1909, p. 123; 1932, p. 116) gave the portrait to Bronzino, but with the inventory number (128) of the Portrait of Cosimo I at Age Forty in the same gallery. Buttin (1925, pp. 1f.) held to the same attribution, which was questioned by Jacobsen (1897, p. 130), Schulze (1911, p. xlii, misprinted as lxii), and McComb (1928, pp. 124-125). Corrado Ricci (1929, pp. 256-257) suggested Salviati as the author, while Giovannoni (1968, p. 56, n. 21) called the portrait a "Ritratto di guerriero" by Alessandro Allori. The most recent catalogue of the gallery more sensibly considers the portrait as a work by an anonymous Florentine of the sixteenth century (Turin: Cat. Gabrielli, 1971, pp. 197-198, no. 120). Salviati is known to have painted a posthumous portrait of Giovanni. Vasari (VII, 27) states that "fece ancora la testa ovvero ritratto del signor Giovanni de' Medici, padre del duca Cosimo, che fu bellissima; la quale è oggi nella guardaroba di detto signor duca" (this was evidently only a bust portrait, but may have served as the source for the Turin picture). The Salviati portrait appears in the 1553 inventory of the Palazzo Vecchio as in the first room of the guardaroba: "Uno quadro di legname

holding what appears to be a mace; through a window at the left is seen an equestrian figure (Giovanni himself?) climbing a stairway before a hill-town. The armor, on inspection proves to be the same as that worn by Cosimo in Bronzino's portrait.<sup>1</sup> Slightly more of it is visible in

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con ornamento di noce pittovi drento il S.<sup>or</sup> Giovanni de' Medici di mano di Cechino Salviati" (quoted from Conti, 1893, p. 138). This would seem to be the same as the anonymous portrait that appears in the 1560 inventory of the guardaroba: "Un' quadro di noce intagliato entrovi il ritratto della testa del Signor Giovanni de' Medici" (ASF Guardaroba, Filza 45, fol. 59r; quoted from Beck, 1974, p. 65). The picture at Turin may be identical with an anonymous portrait listed in the 1553 inventory: "Uno ritratto del S.<sup>or</sup> Giovanni in sul legname alto braccio 2 1/2 [ca. 145 cm] senz'ornamento" (quoted from Conti, 1893, p. 96); this may be the "1<sup>o</sup> ritratto del Signor Giovanni armato" of the 1560 inventory (as above, Filza 45, fol. 61r; quoted from Beck, 1974<sup>2</sup>, p. 61).

<sup>1</sup>This was first noted by Buttin (1925, pp. 3-6). Giovanni's funerary armor exists in fragments in the Museo Stibbert in Florence (Inv. 16721); this was not properly his own suit, rather that in which he was placed for his funeral in Mantua in 1526 (his body was transferred to San Lorenzo in Florence in 1685). On the armor, see Boccia (in Florence, Pal. Vecchio: Cat., 1980, no. 229, and 1981, p. 404, fig. 153). This armor is very similar to that appearing in the Portrait of Giovanni dalle Bande Nere given by Aretino to Cosimo I in 1545 (see Aretino's letter of November of that year published in Aretino, 1957, II, 116). That work was executed by Gian Paolo Pace on the basis of a death mask of Giovanni, made at Aretino's behest by Giulio Romano. The portrait seems to have been sent to Cosimo as a work by Titian; Vasari (VII, 445) thus describes it and the 1560 inventory of the guardaroba catalogues the portrait as "Un' ritratto del Signor Giovanni armato in tela, di man' di Titiano, con ornamento atorno di noce senplice [sic]" (ASF, Guardaroba, Filza 45, fol. 59v; quoted from Beck, 1974, p. 66). Since the armor was, at the time of the making of the portrait, still buried with Giovanni, one presumes that an independent record of its design was known to the artist. On the "Titian" portrait of Giovanni, see Ricci (1929, pp. 249-257), Wethey (1971, pp. 173-174, with bibliography, but strangely omitting Ricci), and Florence, Pitti: Cat. Tiziano (1978, pp. 49-53, no. 5).

this picture; the entire skirt of lames, including the lowest piece, which survives in the Castel S. Angelo (Fig. 30c), can now be seen. In addition, the helmet, filled with the removed gauntlets from the suit, hangs upside down at the right, its inversion perhaps representative of the subject's demise.<sup>1</sup>

On Giovanni the armor seems more ordinary than visionary. Although the same suit of armor was used by both artists, the disparity in appearance and effect is remarkable. Much of this disparity has to do with the inadequacies of the painter and the evident posthumous nature of the commission. For Giovanni's portrait, it would seem, Cosimo's armor was summoned up from the guardaroba and drawn uninhabited (hence the impossible right arm) with the hands and head (this a mite too small and not quite screwed on right) added subsequently. The process is not in itself disturbing--Bronzino painted Guidobaldo da Montefeltro this way,<sup>2</sup> and surely Cosimo did not pose for long in his armor;

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<sup>1</sup>The visor on the helmet does appear to be different in shape from that appearing in the Bronzino portraits. The palm-out bend of Giovanni's right hand seems less an attitude of stylish ease (as in some portraits) than a gesture signifying the demise of the subject. This gesture, the "pronated arm," appears in representations associated with sleep or death; a specific referent here may be Michelangelo's Lorenzo Duke of Urbino in the Medici Chapel, which employs the motif with such meaning. On the gesture, see Rusand (1975, p. 245), with bibliography.

<sup>2</sup>See Vasari (-Milanesi, VI, 276) on the Portrait of Guidobaldo.



the difficulty here is in its obviousness.

Both the flattened pose, in contrast to Cosimo's fluid contrapposto, and the indifferent lighting, independent of the window source and so unlike Bronzino's controlled and dramatic use, serve to vitiate the impact of the armor in general. With Bronzino, perhaps the most striking aspect of the armor is the pair of round spiked plates, known as besagues, that serve to protect the hollows under the arms. These forbidding defenses serve to underscore the physical and psychological distance of the Duke: they preclude intimacy. In the portrait of Giovanni these plates are, in contrast, rather soberly, undramatically treated; they seem less dangerous than decorative. While manifestly original parts of the suit of armor accurately recorded by both artists, the besagues seem to have been exploited by Bronzino. They are seen at their most revealing angle and the spikes made to catch and reflect the light brilliantly. What appealed to the artist seems to have been more than a natural fascination with these offensive-looking defenses that seem capable of inflicting death only in embrace. With Bronzino they become a formal and figurative analogue of the Duke's eyes.

Like the eyes themselves the spikes are complementarily spaced but slightly off parallel in inclination. They seem almost a materialization of the Duke's vision--piercing,

precisely focused, sharp, limited.<sup>1</sup> Oriented perpendicularly to their counterparts, the spikes seem to function as well almost as practical protective defenses: warding off intrusion from the right just as the eyes, alert and ever watchful, note or prevent entry or attack from the left. The besagues (and the suit of armor as a whole) accentuate what is basically a defensive posture, one which appears in many of Bronzino's portraits. Michelangelo's Giuliano de' Medici may be seen as the artistic antecedent of this contrapposto placement of the body at three-quarters one way with the head oppositely oriented.<sup>2</sup> Its appeal to Bronzino seems to derive as well from the practical defensibility inherent in the posture. No threat from right or left can pass unnoticed here and rear access is precluded by the limitation of space within the tight sandwich between curtain backdrop and picture plane: Cosimo is most accessible and most vulnerable from the vantage of the viewer.

The issue of the Duke's vulnerability here is raised

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<sup>1</sup>There is no satisfactory explanation of why Cosimo, like so many of Bronzino's subjects (cf. the Portrait of a Young Man in the Metropolitan Museum; Fig. 39), appears wall-eyed. I can only suggest that this defect was considered in Cinquecento Florence a desirable trait--a sign of uniqueness, distinction, perhaps beauty.

<sup>2</sup>As observed by Pope-Hennessy, 1966, p. 182; similarly, with reference to Bronzino's Portrait of Ugolino Martelli (Berlin), in Alazard, 1947, pp. 198-199.

by the very presence of the suit of armor, which, it must be remembered, is by far the most spatially dominant element of the picture. The armor is rendered with tacit accuracy and a dazzling virtuosity that suggest a surface palpably cool, hard, and inviolable--monolithic in contrast to the subtle characterization rendered by Bronzino in his representation of the Duke's face. Isolated from his steel defenses, Cosimo would seem young (he was, after all, only twenty-four in 1543), apprehensive, perhaps pregnable. It is a strangely human character that is mated with the almost mechanical, inorganic suit of armor. Like the laurel sprouting from the tree, Cosimo's head emerges from the inanimate steel. The contrast is splendidly paralleled in the graceful placement of the Duke's rather epicene, milk-white hand atop the unyielding metallic helmet--a juxtaposition of chilling intensity.

Bronzino is not indicating the inappropriateness of the occupant of this armor. Rather he delights in the contrast of the man and his uniform and perhaps subtly suggests that the young Duke protests too much in choosing to be portrayed wearing it. (The decision to be painted in military dress was, one assumes, Cosimo's.) In Bronzino's hands, however, the insistent bellicose posturing bespeaks a lack of self-assurance on the sitter's part--or perhaps a rather unnatural role-playing. Duke Cosimo's popular reputation remains today that of a tyrannical, cruel despot (in

good part a lingering echo of the slander of anti-Medici exiles); but Cosimo was not a military man.<sup>1</sup> His triumphant victory over the fuorusciti at Montemurlo in 1537 was

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<sup>1</sup>A typical example of this negative characterization of the Duke is Alazard's comment cited in Chapter V, pt. 1. Booth--whose biography of Cosimo presents him as a sensible, rigorous, and ultimately sympathetic ruler--attributes much of the Duke's wounded name to the product of hostile writers. "Slanderous tongues have been busier with no name than with his, and it is only in comparatively recent years that the untrustworthiness of many vile rumours has become known. The honest Florentines of the first fifty years of the nineteenth century welcomed anything that could blacken the name of so hateful a creature as an absolute ruler and there seem even now to be a certain people who, rather than accept Cosimo as a man of like passions with ourselves, prefer to picture him as melodramatically wicked . . . . It is indeed surprising, as well as instructive, to observe how much of the current distrust and distaste for the Duke of Florence seem based on such outbursts as those of the exiles in the year 1537. The fuorusciti at Venice and elsewhere throughout their lives never readjusted their estimate of the Tuscan Tiberius. And posterity, until documentary evidence silenced the more serious writers, has complacently echoed the calumnies which only the bitterness of disappointed ambition can excuse" (Booth, 1921, pp. 312-313).

A favorite theme involved Cosimo's ruthlessness with his own family. For example, he was accused of having an incestuous love for his daughter Maria, as well as poisoning her and her illicit lover (Ademollo, 1840-1841, pp. 809-810). The most popular slander added fratricide: Cosimo's son Giovanni was murdered by his brother Garzia; the enraged Duke stabbed his villainous son; and Eleonora died of sorrow. This popular tale was occasioned by the sudden deaths of Garzia, Giovanni, and Eleonora in 1562. Current well into the nineteenth century (e.g., in Samuel Rogers's "Italy" and in Ademollo, 1840-1841, p. 992), the story did not begin to disappear until after Saltini (1898) proved that the cause of the deaths was disease (probably malaria); see further Pieraccini, 1947, II, 104, with bibliography. Alfieri's tragedy Don Garzia is based on the same tale.

accomplished by proxy; the Duke, it seems, never visited the battle-fields.<sup>1</sup> But as Machiavelli had written for Cosimo's ancestor, "it is much safer to be feared than loved,"<sup>2</sup> and in preparing his own official portrait the Duke evidently preferred such a belligerent pose.

As such he may have been attempting not only to project himself as a powerful leader, but also to be identified more closely with his long deceased father, the popular condottiere Giovanni dalle Bande Nere. Nearly all portraits of Giovanni (apparently uniformly posthumous) portray him in armor and, as noted above, one of the most notable utilized Cosimo's suit in almost carnival cut-out fashion (Fig. 31).<sup>3</sup>

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<sup>1</sup>Pieraccini, 1947, II, p. 21.

<sup>2</sup>Il Principe, chapter XVII; see Machiavelli, 1950, p. 61.

<sup>3</sup>In addition to those portraits mentioned above and in notes 2, page 137 and 1, page 138, the following representations of Giovanni (all posthumous) should be noted: the tondo portrait after Gian Paolo Pace's picture (see note 1, page 138) in the Sala di Giovanni dalle Bande Nere in the Palazzo Vecchio (by Vasari or Michele Tosini), the portrait in Vasari's (with Stradano) Arrival of Leo X in Florence in the Sala di Leone X of the Palazzo Vecchio, the quadretto attributed to Bronzino (Uffizi, Inv. 1890, no. 856), Naldini's Portrait of Giovanni dalle Bande Nere with his wife Maria Salviati (Inv. 1890, no. 2233; part of the serie aulica portraits painted in 1585-1586), a poor copy of Naldini's picture (Uffizi, Inv. 1890, no. 5534), a much damaged bust portrait possibly related to Salviati's testa (Uffizi, Inv. 1890, no. 5195), a profile portrait perhaps by Altissimo (ex-coll. Hofstede de Groot, sale van Huffel, Utrecht, April 18-24, 1939, no. 1, as Bronzino), one attributed to Carlo Portelli (Minneapolis Institute of Arts), Enea Vico's print portrait cited by Vasari (V, 428; two examples in the

A bit more presumptuous but in keeping with Cosimo's ambitions and political alliances would be the Duke's wish to parallel in portrait format Titian's Portrait of Charles V with Drawn Sword. This lost work of the 1530s would seem to have been known to both artist and subject through Britto's woodcut of ca. 1533-1535 (Fig. 32).<sup>1</sup> The general three-

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Metropolitan Museum), Bandinelli's portrait statues in the Palazzo Vecchio and in the Piazza San Lorenzo, Cattaneo's portrait medal, and Sangallo's medal based on his portrait bust in the Bargello (which is evidently not posthumous. The unidentified subject of a Pastorino medal (Hill-Pollard, 1967, no. 336) represents Giovanni as well, as can be seen by comparison with Vico's engraving.

<sup>1</sup>Titian's Portrait of Charles V with Drawn Sword was painted ca. 1532-1533 and appears reproduced in an Agostino Veneziano engraving (Bartsch, XIV, 201, no. 524) dated 1535 (Hope, 1977, pp. 551-552). According to Hope, this print was based on Britto's undated woodcut (for which see Muraro-Rosand, 1976, p. 121, no. 57). The appearance of Titian's portrait is independently known through a painted copy by Rubens, now in an English private collection; see Wethey, 1971, pp. 19-20, 191-193. A Portrait of Charles V by Titian was in Cosimo's possession in 1560. The guardaroba inventory of that year includes "Un' ritratto di Carlo 5<sup>o</sup> imperatore, in tela di man' di Titiano senza ornamento" (ASF Guardaroba, Filza 45, fol. 59r; quoted by Beck, 1974, p. 65). The 1553 inventory published by Conti (1893, p. 138) includes the following entry, which might refer to the same picture: "Uno quadro pittovi l'Imperatore, con ornamento di noce coperto di taffetà verde." An unattributed portrait of Charles in the same 1560 inventory cited above (Filza 45, fol. 59v; quoted by Beck, 1974, p. 66) notes that the picture was sent from Flanders and, presumably by the Emperor himself: "Una testa di Carlo 5<sup>o</sup> imperatore, venuta di Fiandra con ornamento atorno di noce senplice." (For these pictures see Florence, Pitti: Cat. Tiziano, 1978, p. 55, no. 8.) Langedijk (1981, p. 86) has independently suggested the same connection between Bronzino's portrait and Britto's woodcut.

quarter pose is there employed as well, if without the contrasting turn of the head; the similarity of the armor (quite possibly from the same armorer) with its large besagues (here more naturally pendent) and couters (elbow-cops) accentuates the closeness. For Cosimo, who owed the confirmation of his dukedom and much of his political stability to Charles, the resemblance was both reverential and self-lauding. As such it is 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 issuance of medals in Florence bearing their portraits on either side, to the Duke's abdication in favor of his son Francesco, supposedly in emulation of the Emperor's analogous act.<sup>1</sup> If the Duke's desire was to have a portrait "just like that one," he seems to have been successful only insofar as the basic format is concerned. 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

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<sup>1</sup>On the Capricorn emblem see above part 1 of this chapter (and page 105, note 2), and, more fully, Richelson, 1973, ch. II. On the portrait medal, see Langedijk, 1981, no. 27-156b. Concerning the abdication, see Galluzzi, 1781, II, 54, and Staffetti, 1907, pp. 23-25. For the relationship of Cosimo and Charles, see as well Langedijk, 1981, pp. 86, 114, 152.

better say surreptitiously, but even here, in what should be the most flattering of portrayals, Bronzino has introduced the same doubts, fears, misgivings--cracks in the mask--that he so deeply perceives in the rest of humanity.

Cosimo's pose is characterized above as belligerent, but that description merits some qualification. The image of the Duke arrayed in armor may first suggest aggressiveness and hostility, but no threat is posed. Cosimo's stance, like his armor, is defensive; offensive weaponry, such as the drawn sword held by Charles V in his portrait, is excluded. Moreover, the Duke is bare-headed and the gesture of his hand resting on the helmet--whether interpreted as proprietary, pacific, or casual in motivation--is passive. Cosimo seems to have chosen a rather careful posture in which to be portrayed, armored yet not bellicose, defensive yet non-combative. A sense of political more than artistic decorum seems active here, one no doubt related to the diplomatic purpose many of the portraits must have served. For the Duke to raise a sword, or even to have one sheathed but accessible, would be to suggest and invite conflict, and challenge not only the viewer but Charles V as well.

Cosimo's political situation in 1543 would not have been well served by a militaristic public image. In July of that year he had peacefully achieved an important political and military victory, the return of the Florentine



fortresses from Spanish possession.<sup>1</sup> The fortezze of Florence, Livorno, and Pisa had been ceded to Charles in 1536 as part of a pact between the Emperor and Duke Alessandro de' Medici, executed at the time of Alessandro's marriage to Charles's daughter, Margherita. When Cosimo was elected duke, the approval of Charles V was granted on the condition that Cosimo swear fealty to the Emperor and permit the continued occupation of the fortresses. The presence of imperial forces in the duchy (and especially at the Fortezza del Belvedere in Florence) was disliked by the populace and proved politically humiliating and financially taxing for the Duke, who paid for the soldiers' wages and quartering. In 1541 Cosimo had sought to regain possession of the strongholds but the Emperor demurred. Two years later the Duke had grown stronger domestically and more independent politically. In May of 1543 he met with Charles at Genoa and was able to negotiate an agreement whereby the fortresses would be returned to the Florentines on the 3rd of July in exchange for the sizable sum of 100,000 ducats.<sup>2</sup>

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<sup>1</sup>On the issue of the fortresses, see D'Addario (1976, pp. 184, 197, 204, 219).

<sup>2</sup>D'Addario (1976, p. 219) gives the sum as 100,000 ducats (scudi). However, Spini (in Medici, 1940, p. 70) has the payment as being 150,000 scudi. And in a list of documents consigned by Cosimo to Tommaso de' Medici for use by Giambattista Adriani in the writing of his history appears "una ricconta di ducati 90000 pagati al'imperatore per le

That act transferred military control of the city from the custody of Charles V to the hands of the Florentine Duke. The wider political significance of the action was great; in the eyes of his contemporaries, Duke Cosimo had finally achieved definitive control of Florence, and the hopes of any republican revival were dashed. Perhaps at this time the portrait was commissioned--presenting a man capable of battle, but triumphing through peaceful means. The encomia on the man and the portrait encountered in the poetry published with Giovio's Elogia (see above, part 1) would now seem more comprehensible. Rinieri's poem praises Cosimo as the "son of Mars" who "closed the gates of war"--and it is not impossible that the fortresses are specifically meant here; while Giovio the Younger compared the Duke with Mars who, after battle, looks calmly down on his pacified land with the river Hebrus "safe from the enemy"

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fortezze" (Bib. Naz. Mag. cl.xxv, 155f; published by Lupo Gentile, 1905, p. 149, no. 25). Richelson (1973, p. 53, n. 18) notes that a description of the festivities that marked the announcement of the return of the fortresses is contained in Menicuzio Rubeo da Monte Granaro, Le Laude della città de Fiorenza, li triumpho fatti allo Ill. Sig. Duca per le reacquistate Fortezze (Florence 1543).

and the habitations "free from danger."<sup>1</sup> Indeed it is as the bringer of peace that Cosimo is characterized: "Pacatam se se populis spectantibus offert."<sup>2</sup>

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<sup>1</sup>D'Addario, 1976, p. 219.

<sup>2</sup>Rinieri's "Marte satus, Ianum claudis, quis claudere Ianum/ Mavortis prolem te potuisse putet?" (Giovio, Eloquia, 1551, p. 340; see above Chapter VI, pt. 1, and note 1, page 111.) Giovio the Younger's "Ille sedet lustrans oculis, & mente benigna / Armiferam Thracen, defensumque hostibus Hebrum / Prospicit, & Geticae secure mapalia terrae" (Giovio, Eloquia, 1551, pp. 338-339; see above Chapter VI, pt. 1, and note 1, page 110). Giovio the Younger, in Giovio, Eloquia, 1551, pp. 338-339.

## CHAPTER VII

## THE LATER PORTRAITS

1. Cosimo at Forty

Bronzino's second portrait of the Duke is recorded by Vasari as having been painted when Cosimo was forty years old. "Il medesimo Bronzino fece il ritratto del duca, pervenuto che fu Sua Eccellenza all'età di quarant'anni, e così la signora duchessa; che l'uno e l'altro somigliano quanto è possibile."<sup>1</sup> This work, paired with a portrait of Eleonora di Toledo, would have been painted in either 1559 or 1560 (Cosimo was born on June 12, 1519). The later year would seem to be correct since what certainly appears to be the same picture is listed in the 1560 inventory of the Medici guardaroba as follows: "Un ritratto dello Ill<sup>mo</sup> Signor Duca fatto l'anno 1560 co'ornamento di noce di man' del Bronzino."<sup>2</sup>

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<sup>1</sup>Vasari-Milanesi, VII, 601.

<sup>2</sup>Beck, 1972, p. 10; Beck, 1974, p. 66: ASF, Guardaroba, Filza 45 (1560), fol. 60r. In the running inventory of 1560

This picture has been properly connected with a portrait type best known through painted examples in the Galleria Borghese in Rome (Cat. no. B26) and the Galleria Sabauda in Turin (Cat. no. B25). Like the Portrait of Cosimo I in Armor this second portrait was much replicated, but here no full-sized version survives that can be attributed to the master himself.

As definite as Vasari and the inventory entry seem to be, there is some doubt as to the date of the original painting. One half-length version of the portrait (Cat. no. B32)--known principally from its appearance on the Berlin art market in 1928 and probably now in Mexico--bears the inscription at the top, "ANNI XXXVI." This has been assumed to refer to Cosimo's age at the time of the portrait's execution; the date would then be 1555 or 1556 instead of 1560.<sup>1</sup> A clear resolution is difficult to make from the apparently contradictory information, and no assistance is rendered by noting the age of the Duke in the portrait; the distinction between a thirty-six and a forty year old

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to 1569 (Filza 65, fol. 16a) the portrait appears similarly: "Un ritratto dell Ill<sup>mo</sup> Signor Duca Cosimo fatto l'anno [15]60, di man' del Bronzino, con ornamento di noce" (Beck, 1974<sup>2</sup>, p. 62).

<sup>1</sup>Heikamp (1960, p. 135, n. 13, and 1966, p. 62, n. 18) first proposed the early date. Langedijk (1968, p. 61, and more fully, 1981, pp. 421-422, no. 27-36, cop. 8) is of the same opinion.

man seems impossible to determine in a group of pictures of such varying quality and detail.

Nevertheless, the date of 1560 would seem to be likely for several reasons. The inscription of "ANNI XXXVI" is not verifiably original or unaltered; our knowledge of the inscribed version has been only through photographs. Moreover, the word "anni" need not necessarily indicate the age of the sitter. Conceivably the thirty-six years refers to the length of Cosimo's rule as duke. His acquisition of the title occurred in the summer of 1537 and thus he was completing his thirty-sixth year as duke when he died in April of 1574 (the inscription would then have been added posthumously).<sup>1</sup> Furthermore, the mention in the 1560 inventory of the painting's having been painted in that year conveys accuracy. Vasari's specification of the year--an uncommon practice for him--suggests some importance attached to the date; his phrasing, "pervenuta che fu Sua Eccellenza all'età di quarant'anni," might even imply that the portrait was commissioned in celebration of the Duke's fortieth birthday.

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<sup>1</sup>However, if one begins the count in January of 1537 when Cosimo was elected "capo," thirty-seven years elapsed; the tablet over Cosimo's grave in the crypt of San Lorenzo bears the following inscription: H·S·E/ COSMVS·MAGNVS·DVX·ETR / PRIMVS / O·XI·KAL·MAI·A·MDLXXIIII / PRINCIPATVS·SVI·XXXVII / QVVM·VIXISSET·A·LIII·M·X·D·XIII. The lettering is modern but presumably reflects an older epitaph.

The Portrait of Cosimo I at Age Forty--as the picture type should still be called--preserves the basic pose of the earlier type, with Cosimo looking obliquely to the left while his body is turned three-quarters right. The retention of this posture yields a continuity of image reflecting the sustained hegemony of the Duke. In a sense the Portrait of Cosimo I at Age Forty was as much a revision of the Portrait of Cosimo I in Armor as a distinct commission; the changes between the two types, even if minor, are clearly significant.

Cosimo's right arm crosses the picture field as before--this time a bit more horizontally oriented--to hold a handkerchief; his left hand is adjacent. The most notable change from the earlier portrait (besides Cosimo's increased age) is the alteration in costume. The Duke has exchanged his armor for a rich but domestic coat; trimmed with fur and embroidered with gold, it covers a white lace shirt. The background of the portrait in all versions is a dark, uniform expanse; the patterned curtain backdrop has been eliminated. As far as can be surmised from the evidence of the extant versions, the portrait was conceived and for the most part executed as a half-length composition; those examples tending toward a three-quarter length format are clearly expansions, and of manifestly inferior composition (cf. Cat. no. B36).

At least in the non-autograph form in which it now is known, the portrait appears comparatively dull following

the dazzling image of the Duke in armor. The mood of the painting is quiet, less intense, relaxed. This change would seem to reflect the Duke's desire in his new, essentially official portrait to project a less combative and bellicose image.

Cosimo is attired darkly and demurely in his purplish silk and fur court attire; soft, comfortable, and unmarked with signs of utility, rank, or ancestry--the dress seems almost an inversion of the steel suit of armor. In lieu of the helmet he holds an embroidered handkerchief, almost the epitomic object of a life indoors and of courtly sociability. The lowering of Cosimo's arm serves to open up what had essentially been a closed composition. The figure is now more accessible, less removed, superficially more vulnerable. Even the appearance of a gold ring on his right forefinger--a fillip unthinkable in the portrait in armor--seems to underscore a marked change in intent.

The expression of the Duke's lips conveys a natural resoluteness and confidence that had been absent (or, at least, forced or false) before. The glance of the eyes seems more studied, less apprehensive; their power of observation no less keen, only less intent without. Unlike its predecessor this portrait does not project defensiveness. The power and force of the subject, his fearlessness, and potential might are conveyed most subtly--through the Duke's ease of comportment, his evident poise, self-assurance, sobriety,



domesticity. Notably, he appears not only sedate but sedentary--a change which, with that of costume, parallels Titian's portraits of Charles V similarly in mufti, the lost double portrait of the Emperor with his wife and the seated Charles V of 1548 (Munich).<sup>1</sup> This second portrait of the Duke seems a mature artist's mature portrayal of a mature man.

Neither aggressive nor boastful in appearance, the Cosimo of this portrait seems to have placed behind him concerns over the legitimacy of his rule and any imminent threat to it. In 1560 the Duke's political situation was more secure than it ever had been. With the conquest of Siena in 1555 and the Peace of Cateau-Cambrésis in 1559, Cosimo was now Duke of Florence and Siena, a united Tuscany free of the presence or threat of foreign troops.<sup>2</sup> He had become a more powerful and more independent ally of Philip II

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<sup>1</sup>See Wethey, 1971, cat. nos. L-6 and 22.

<sup>2</sup>The French troops had supported the Sienese in their war against the Florentines. After their defeat many joined with the group of die-hard rebels that took refuge in the town of Montalcino, where they hoped to preserve the Sienese republic. The French were finally forced to leave following the Peace of Cateau-Cambrésis, which provided for the abandonment of all French claims in Italy. As part of the agreement for Siena's being ceded to Cosimo (Philip II had claimed it), several bastions on the coast were placed in permanent Spanish control; Port' Ercole, Talamone, Monte Argentario, Orbetello, and Porto Santo Stefano--known as the Presidi Spagnoli--were eventually absorbed into the Kingdom of the Two Sicilies (Booth, 1921, pp. 161-162).

than he was ever able to be with Charles V (who had now abdicated in favor of his son). Pius IV, elected on Christmas Day of 1559, provided Cosimo with the strongest papal ties of his rule; the Pope (Giovanni Angelo de' Medici), who claimed distant descent from the Florentine Medici and was elected partly because of Cosimo's support, created Giovanni (Cosimo's then seventeen-year-old son) Cardinal early in 1560 and invited the father to Rome later that year. There was even the prospect of good relations with the Turks, the perennial raiders of the Tuscan coast; gifts sent to Constantinople in 1559 were warmly received. And almost fortuitously Henry II of France died the same year, leaving the throne to the naturally more sympathetic Caterina de' Medici.<sup>1</sup>

Cosimo's increased security and surety of power seem to be reflected in this second portrait type, which continues the tendency towards less belligerent or defensive ducal imagery noted in the more pacific late versions of the Portrait of Cosimo in Armor (see Chapter VI, pt. 2). As such, the portrait appears to have served admirably for diplomatic gifts; several of the recorded dispatches of portraits of the Duke date from the 1560s and most likely refer

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<sup>1</sup>Booth, 1921, pp. 175-180; Cochrane, 1973, p. 88.

to the present type (see Chapter IV).

Basically only two formats of the portrait were employed, bust and half-length. The former was usually delimited at the chest at a point below the seventh button of the Duke's coat; the latter, which most likely reflects the original composition, shows twelve buttons on the coat and ends below the Duke's right hand.

The only example that manifests a precision of line and fluidity of handling worthy of Bronzino's name is the miniature portrait in Vienna (Cat. no. B3). This work may very well be an autograph replica by the master, painted perhaps as part of a series of quadretti of Medici figures. Of the other, fuller examples it can only be said that some are better than others--in the quality of execution and the preservation of what we can assume to be the original form of the portrait. One of the finest versions is, ironically, a documented copy: a replica executed for the Duke of Savoy by Altissimo and now in the Galleria Sabauda in Turin (Cat. no. B25). Whether unidentified, destroyed, or lurking beneath a layer of grime and overpaint, no sizable version of the portrait from Bronzino's hand has yet been discovered.

## 2. Cosimo Granducale

Bronzino's third portrait of Cosimo is known from several versions, but the evidently lost prototype, unlike those for the two earlier portraits, was replicated without the same faithfulness and relatively consistent rigor.<sup>1</sup> Variations were introduced by copyists and these in turn became modified by still later copyists. Much of this replication seems to have occurred outside of Bronzino's workshop and direct influence; indeed several of the versions are documented after the artist's, and Cosimo's, death.

This third portrait type is here referred to as "grandducal," since many of the versions portray Cosimo in the suitable regalia to that title--the crown, sceptre, and coat of ermine. Some of the portraits do not include these appurtenances, and though of the "grandducal" type, seem to have been produced before Cosimo's acquisition of that title (hence the quotation marks around the term).

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<sup>1</sup>The portrait type has only been discussed as a group by Langedijk (1981, no. 27-33), who attributes the type to Bronzino with a date "towards 1570." Earlier critics have referred only to individual versions of the portrait; these opinions are listed in the relevant catalogue entries (Cat. nos. C1 through C31). Bronzino's authorship of the portrait is in large measure traditional. Although most of the examples carry an attribution to the master, there is no documentary evidence associating Bronzino with a third portrait of the Duke. This commission would seem to have postdated Vasari's Vita of Bronzino (1568); our next source, Borghini's Riposo (1584), is rarely informative on works not treated by Vasari.

The status of Grand Duke was granted by Pope Pius V to Cosimo in 1569--after much campaigning and over the objection of most of the Duke's princely peers; its official acquisition did not occur until March 5, 1570, when Cosimo's coronation was held in the Sistine Chapel.<sup>1</sup> Those versions showing the Duke bare-headed, with dark dress, white collar, and a heavy gold chain to support his Toison d'Or presumably would then predate the acquisition of the title of Grand Duke; one might thus tentatively date the original composition 1569.<sup>2</sup> Those bearing the marks of the new office, of course, would have been painted later.

No autograph or simply primary example of the portrait is known, and without one little definite can be said about Bronzino's invention of the work. The composition itself seems conservative, even formulaic; this may, of course,

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<sup>1</sup>On the granting of the title of Grand Duke to Cosimo, see Booth (1921, pp. 228-241), briefly Borsook (1965, pp. 31-36), and more extensively Carcereri (1926). The Papal Bull was signed on the 27th of August and released on December 13, 1569. An interesting painting attributed to Vasari represents the coronation itself; on canvas and measuring 204 x 145 cm (about six and one-half by four and one-half feet), the picture was sold at the sale of the collection of Luigi Battistelli in 1914 (lot 88, sale Milan, March 23-26, 1914). This work apparently was not known to Langedijk, who illustrates a print after a Stradano drawing of the event (1981, no. 27-79c).

<sup>2</sup>As Booth (1921, p. 231) notes, the design of the grandducal crown was specified in the Papal Bull granting the title. On the crown itself, see the studies of Bunt (1941), Hayward (1955), and Fock (1970).

have been the Duke's desire. The rendering of the hands and face could be termed Bronzinesque, but in none of the examples is the master's intensive conception of forms apparent. A great part of the difficulty in studying this image seems due to a level of portrait replication decidedly lower than that found in the two earlier types. Among the bust portraits alone, great variation exists in the representation of details (cf. the reproduction of the gold chain) and of general appearance (particularly in facial expression). How far the best of these pictures lie from the original conception is not easy to say.

The half-length portraits showing Cosimo holding a handkerchief are likely to have been closest to Bronzino's portrait (Cat. nos. C17, C18, C20, C31). The Duke turns slightly to the left and wears black dress with a white embroidered collar folded open upon it. An ornate gold chain supporting the Toison d'Or insignia depends from his shoulders. In his left hand below the Fleece at the lower left he holds an unfolded handkerchief. The head and body turn together, unlike the contrapposto treatment encountered in the earlier portraits, and the gaze is direct. The beard is full and rounded, while his hair above seems quite thin. The background appears dark, uniform, unornamented.

Although one version (Cat. no. C21) would seem to be an expansion of the portrait, most of the derivations take the form of bust reductions. Some include the Golden

Fleece chain, others omit it; the white collar loses its embroidery in certain examples. These pictures (Cat. nos. C3, C4, C6, C7, C11, C12, C14, C30) directly rely upon either a lost original or a replication of it.

At some time subsequent to Cosimo's acquisition of the title of Grand Duke, a revised portrait type seems to have been adopted. The posture of the body and the form and characterization of the head were carried over intact; to this ducal mannequin the crown, sceptre, and cape of the Grand Duke were added (Cat. nos. C1, C8, C10, C19). This image was current for many years; in 1585 Battista Naldini produced an expanded version of it as part of the so-called Serie Aulica, a large format set of Medici family portraits (Cat. no. C22). Apparently from that work other full-length portraits were derived--probably after the turn of the century (Cat. nos. C23 and C27). Slightly before then two other variants of the portrait are known to have been produced--both for the rather odd use as modelli for the making of pietre dure portraits. Passignano painted a rather literal redaction of the head for a bust portrait by Francesco Del Tadda--evidently intended for that unique pietre dure fantasy, the Cappella dei Principi in San Lorenzo (Cat. no. C13). And for the huge niche over Cosimo's tomb in the same chapel Ludovico Cigoli painted an over-size (ca. thirteen feet tall) representation of the Grand Duke (Cat. no. C29). That portrait, a kind of stretched reversal of Naldini's

picture, was in turn copied and modified in the seventeenth century (Cat. nos. C25, C26, C28); Valore and Domenico Casino, a seicento brother team specializing in vivifying posthumous portraits, appear responsible for at least two of these.

The "grandducal" portrait, as the last official contemporary portrait of Cosimo, underwent a series of alterations and revisions within the fifty years following its creation--from the evidently modest half-length portrait that we assume Bronzino executed to huge and imposing images by and after Cigoli. The crown, sceptre, and ermine cloak became fixtures in these seventeenth-century, large-scale versions. The employment of these quasi-royal trappings not only honored Cosimo, but also affirmed the hereditary title and monarchical aspirations of his successors by portraying in an ancestor portrait the same regalia as was still in use. The face, however, remained more or less constant in its basic form--only slowly becoming increasingly rigid and immobile in appearance. This tendency is typical of posthumous repetitions of ruler portraits; time and distance tend to eliminate variant characterizations of the subject and to render the chosen model more iconic and recognizable, though formally more reductive and expressively more remote.

Perhaps the greatest hindrance to appreciating the "grandducal" portrait as at least a reflection of Bronzino's



art is the rather dull and emotionally static visage seen in varying degrees in the different extant pictures. In this regard a better record of the portrait's appearance might be furnished by two engravings clearly based on the type. One is a print by Martino Rota (Fig. 33) representing Tuscany holding the ducal crown over Alessandro de' Medici and the grandducal crown over Cosimo.<sup>1</sup> Looming above the cities of Florence (at the left) and Siena (at right), the allegorical figure stands on the shoulders of the Florentine marzocco, on either side of which appears a small tree. The one on the left, beneath the portrait of Alessandro, is thick but blasted; the other, under Cosimo at right, is smaller but has fresh shoots. Together they seem to convey much the same symbolic message as the broncone did in earlier images. The portrait of Cosimo is of the "grandducal" type and represents him in his ermine coat, on top of which the Golden Fleece chain rests. In contrast to most of the painted portraits this Cosimo seems closer to the source than do any of the extant versions of demonstrably earlier

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<sup>1</sup>Bartsch, XVI, 281, 105. Langedijk, 1981, no. 27-82, ill. The feathers of Tuscany are inscribed with the principal towns of the duchy. The only indication of date in the print is given by the presence of the crown and inscription about Cosimo's portrait--that is, as Grand Duke and thus after August 1569. Although the small tree under Cosimo's image appears to have new shoots, no leaves appear. Perhaps the barren appearance alludes to the death of the Grand Duke--which would date the print in 1574 or after.

date. The same may be said of the beautiful portrait engraving that served as the frontispiece to Aldo Manuzio's Vita di Cosimo de' Medici of 1586 (Fig. 34). This portrait, incorrectly attributed to Rota and probably by the obscure engraver Cesare Alberti (with a frame by Agostino Carracci), provides an even more impressive image with a complicated and intriguing characterization of the subject;<sup>1</sup> compared

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<sup>1</sup>Bartsch, XVIII, 112, 240. Bohlin has recently substantiated the attribution of the portrait to Martino Rota on stylistic grounds (Washington: Cat. Bohlin, 1979, nos. 135-139, esp. 136). However, a letter from the book's author, Aldo Manuzio, to the secretary of Grand Duke Francesco I De' Medici, Belisario Vinta, rules out Rota's authorship (published in Gaye, 1840, III, 472-473). Manuzio, writing in August 1585, specifically reports on the progress of his work in assembling illustrations for the Vita di Cosimo. He states that "il Bronzino pittore" (here, Alessandro Allori, Bronzino's student and adopted son) had shown him a completed portrait of Cosimo and an incomplete Francesco, but that the Francesco poorly resembled the model. Manuzio asks Vinta whether it would be preferable to follow this portrait of Francesco or another by "un Gaetano," presumably Scipione Pulzone de Gaeta; he also inquires which of the two portraits of Giovanni dalle Bande Nere by Titian and Salviati is the more reliable and whether Scipione Ammirato's published Medici Family Tree is accurate. Manuzio notes that a "buonissimo intagliatore" has been recommended to him for the required work--a certain Cesare dal Borgo, identifiable with a Cesare Alberti da Borgo San Sepolcro (born 1562), a recorded engraver with no identified extant works (cf. Kristeller, 1907, p. 191).

The letter can be variously interpreted. Langedijk (1981, no. 27-68, ill.) believes that the portrait of Cosimo mentioned was Naldini's picture for the serie aulica (Cat. no. C22), documented as complete by July 1585. However, it is not clear whether a full-scale portrait is referred to, as opposed to a drawing or other painted copy; for example, Allori might have furnished Manuzio with a copy of Bronzino's portrait of Cosimo for engraving. It seems, in any case, unlikely that Naldini's picture was the source for the published portrait in light of the considerable differences

with this figure, the Cosimo of the painted portraits seems a bit of a dolt. This man of conflict, power, experience, and passion--and also of doubt, fear, and perhaps an acute awareness of the imminence of death--seems more worthy of Bronzino. This engraving may be the most faithful reproduction of Bronzino's portrait; besides the superior representation of the expressive qualities, details such as the rumpling of the collar below the ear or the shape of the beard are rendered convincingly with far greater sensibility and, one assumes, exactitude than encountered in the painted versions.

One further point (literally) is relevant to an appreciation of the sequence of all the Bronzino-derived portraits. Cosimo had what seems to be a small mole on his

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in characterization between the two, as well as the variations in details--such as the Toison d'Or chain and cheek mole (present in the engraving but not in the Naldini), the crown (absent here, but atop Cosimo's head in the painting), and the arrangement and patterning of the dress, cape and collar (disparately rendered).

Langedijk considers the engraving to be by Cesare Alberti, but this attribution, though probable, cannot be considered definite; the letter refers to Cesare as the suggested engraver, and we have no confirmation that he did actually carry out the work. Martino Rota, in any case, cannot have been responsible; the portrait had not been completed in August 1585 and Rota had died in 1583.

The title-page of Manuzio's book reads: VITA DI COSIMO DE' MEDICI, PRIMO GRAN DUCA DI TOSCANA, Descritta da Aldo Mannucci. / IN BOLOGNA MDLXXXVI. Copies exist in the Pierpont Morgan Library, the Metropolitan Museum (Print Department), the Houghton Library at Harvard, among other libraries (cf. Washington: Cat. Bohlin, 1979, nos. 135-139).

left cheek. At the time of the Portrait of Cosimo I in Armor it seemed no more than a blemish; a slight discoloration is perceptible in the autograph version for Giovio (Cat. no. A19) and perhaps in the later workshop versions in the Pitti, in Lucca, and at Toledo (Cat. nos. A16, A23, A26). But by the time the Duke turned forty his growth had become quite impressive. In the tin miniature at Vienna (Cat. no. B3)--which seems to have been painted by Bronzino himself--the spot sprouts one or two short wispy hairs. It becomes a rather unpleasant looking object in the small late copy in London (Cat. no. B4), but in many of the workshop versions of the portrait the mole is simply a little bump (Cat. nos. B8, B11, B13, B14, B27, B28, B34, B38). In the other examples the bump does not appear; it has either been over-painted or was never included.

In the "grandducal" portrait only three versions seem to include the mole, and none too prominently (Cat. nos. C11, C13, C20). The Rota portrait engraving (Fig. 34) does show the mark clearly. Since Bronzino would be expected to have included the mole--even if he transmogrified it into something resembling a pearl--the presence of it here would seem to support the contention that the print followed the lost portrait closely, if not literally.

More broadly, the disappearance of the mole from many of the portraits of Cosimo points to a circumstance of portrait replication: that copies are often replicated from

other copies rather than from the prototype. And once a version has lost a particular detail--whether it be a mole, embroidered pattern for a collar, or other pictorial feature--it can no longer generate replicas including that detail.

In this case it is not difficult to imagine the mole's being omitted or overpainted for the sake of enhancing the Duke's painted complexion; further along the sequence of replication the mark does not reappear. It is, so to speak, a most minor point, but such alterations do assist in a determination of the closeness of a replica to its model.

## CHAPTER VIII

## TWO PROPOSALS FOR PONTORMO'S COURT PORTRAITURE

1. Cosimo the Halberdier

One of the most intriguing of all Cinquecento portraits is Pontormo's so-called Portrait of a Halberdier-- "so-called" since it is a pike rather than a halberd that the young man holds (Cat. no. D4; New York, Chauncey Stillman Collection). With rhythmic variations of orotund forms Pontormo has constructed a creature almost inflated in appearance and moored this unstable figure to a mast rooted before looming blocks of sharp, unarticulated architecture. For a head Pontormo has punctuated a pure ovoid with rather rotund, undistinguished, even impersonal or generalized features and imbued them with an expression connoting an attitude and emotional state somehow incompatible with the military posture in which the subject has been cast. He projects neither valor, nor steadfastness, but rather that sense of ease, remove, grace, perhaps boredom, that is so splendidly evoked by the term "disinvoltura." With a pike in one hand and a sword at the waist this figure stands

in front of what is meant to be a bastion. But the purplish white silk jacket (a giubbone), the crimson pants, and the stylish feathered beret capped with a medallion seem more the clothes of a youthful overwrought dandy; and as he stands in ostensible defense he wears perhaps the least appropriate ornament for military engagement, a fine gold chain.

The Halberdier is clearly a bizarre portrait--and one that evokes many questions, only some of which have been sensibly resolved in the critical literature. The portrait was first attributed to Pontormo only in the early part of this century; before then the work had passed through several prominent collections under the names of Bronzino, Allori, Andrea del Sarto, and Gianfrancesco Penni.<sup>1</sup> As a Pontormo the picture was associated with a lost portrait of a certain Francesco Guardi--mentioned by Vasari as having been painted during the Siege of Florence (1529-1530): Pontormo "Ritrasse similmente, nel tempo dell'assedio di Fiorenza, Francesco Guardi in abito di soldato, che fu opera bellissima; e nel coperchio poi di questo quadro dipinse Bronzino Pigmaliione che fa orazione a Venere perchè la sua statua, ricevendo lo spirito, s'avviva e divenga (come fece, secondo le favole

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<sup>1</sup>Hermann Voss (1920, I, 174-176, fig. 53) was the first to attribute the portrait to Pontormo. For the other attributions and provenance, see Cat. no. D4.

di poeti) di carne e d'ossa."<sup>1</sup>

This identification has proven untenable, partly because documents reveal that Francesco Guardi was born in 1466 and so was about sixty-three when painted by Pontormo (it is conceivable that another, younger Francesco Guardi existed, but no record of one has been discovered). More importantly, what Vasari indicated was the "coperchio" of the portrait, Bronzino's extant Pygmalion and Galatea (now Palazzo Vecchio, Florence), would have been too small (81 x 63 cm) to have functioned as a cover to the Halberdier (92 x 72 cm).<sup>2</sup> It might be added that Vasari described Guardi as being painted "in abito di soldato," and although the halberdier is armed, his dress does not appear to be specifically military.

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<sup>1</sup>Vasari-Milanesi, VI, 275.

<sup>2</sup>Keutner (1959, p. 148, and n. 33) notes that a Francesco Guardi was born on December 6, 1466; this information comes from Luigi Passerini's manuscript notes on the genealogy of Tuscan families in the Biblioteca Nazionale in Florence. De' Ricci's Cronaca (1972, pp. 14, 81-82, 94, 112, 138-139, 200) records events concerning a Neri di Francesco Guardi. He conceivably could have been the son of the Francesco born in 1466, in which case his father must have been somewhat elderly when he sired him, as Neri's actions suggest some youth. In 1569 Neri di Francesco was recorded as a "uomo d'arme" and in 1574, convicted of illegal gambling, he was sentenced to pay 4000 scudi, receive four lashes of the whip, and be confined to Elba for three years under threat of permanent confinement in a galley. Before he was apprehended he either arranged for or partook in the murder of one Filippo Barducci, whose gambling with loaded dice brought about the case in which Neri was convicted. He



An alternative identification has recently been proposed--based on the appearance of what is clearly the Halberdier in an inventory of the Riccardi Family collection in 1612: "Alla nona lunetta / Un ritratto della stessa grandezza si crede di mano di d.<sup>o</sup> Jac.<sup>o</sup> dell' Ecc.<sup>mo</sup> Duca Cosimo quand'era giovanetto, con calze rosse, e beretta rossa, et una picca in mano con arme a' canto, e giubbone bianco, e collana al'collo con ornam.<sup>to</sup> dorato bellissimo . . . .<sup>1</sup> As a portrait of the young Cosimo I by Pontormo

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confessed and was hanged on April 18, 1577. The disposition of Pontormo's portrait of his father is not known.

Bronzino's Pygmalion and Galatea was separated from the portrait of Guardi as early as 1644, when it appeared by itself in the inventory of Cardinal Antonio Barberini (M. Lavin, 1975, p. 168); it remained in the Barberini collection, with attributions to Peruzzi, Andrea del Sarto, and Pontormo, until before the second World War. (Exported illegally by Goering, the picture was not recovered until 1954; it was later placed in the Palazzo Vecchio.) Mather (1922, pp. 66-69) first pointed out the discrepancy in size between the Pygmalion and the Halberdier. Berti (1966, pp. 53, 56, n. 27), who has recently revived the identification as Guardi, believes the difference of ca. 11 cm could easily be accounted for by the presence of an elaborate frame. However, the dimensions of the only Renaissance portrait for which an identified cover survives, Lotto's Portrait of Bernardo de' Rossi (Naples, Capodimonte, with the cover, an Allegory, in the National Gallery of Art in Washington), are nearly identical with--actually a trifle smaller than--those of its cover (54 x 41 cm, as opposed to 56.5 x 43.2 cm). The identification of the Halberdier as the portrait of Guardi is rejected as well by Keutner (1959, p. 148) and Cox Rearick (1964, pp. 269f.). Smyth (1955, p. 111) and Becherucci (1944, pp. 19, 60) tentatively accept the identification as Guardi.

<sup>1</sup>Keutner (1959, pp. 144-150) proposes the identification based on the inventory published by him: ASF, Carte Riccardi, filza 258, c. 21r-23r; here quoted from Keutner, 1959, p. 151. The collection was housed in the Palazzo

(from the previous entry in the inventory it is clear that he is the "detto Jacopo") the Halberdier was associated with a commission, Vasari records, carried out by the artist after the Battle of Montemurlo (August 1537): ". . . Sua Eccellenza; la quale ritrasse, così giovanetta come era, nel principio di quel lavoro, e parimente la signora donna Maria sua madre."<sup>1</sup> These portraits of the eighteenth year-old Cosimo and his thirty-eight year-old mother, Maria Salviati, had previously been identified with two pictures in the Uffizi attributed to Pontormo--the Cosimo with a small profile portrait (Fig. 18) deriving from a secure drawing of the young Duke by Pontormo, and the Maria Salviati with a Portrait of a Lady (Fig. 44), also related to an autograph study.<sup>2</sup> The portrait of the Duke's mother is discussed below; here let it be briefly said that its identification appears incorrect. The profile Cosimo, while representing

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Gualfonda in Florence until it was partially transferred to the Medici-Riccardi Palace, purchased in 1659. The dealer J.B. Lebrun (the husband of the painter Mme Vigée Lebrun), who owned the picture by 1809, noted that he had purchased the picture from the Riccardi family in Florence (see Cat. no. D4).

<sup>1</sup>Vasari-Milanesi, VI, 282. The work referred to as being at its beginning stage was the decoration of the loggia of the Medici villa at Castello.

<sup>2</sup>On the profile portrait of Cosimo, see Chapter IV, page 47, note 1; for Maria Salviati, see below, Chapter VIII, pt. 2.

the Duke, is now uniformly rejected as a work by Pontormo and has been more sensibly placed within the orbit of Vasari.

The proposal to see the Portrait of the Halberdier as representing the young Cosimo has met with considerable objection.<sup>1</sup> Yet there is ample evidence to support the hypothesis and so restore a sense of identity to this wayward-looking youth. Much of the argument against the identification pertains to the picture's dating; for some the style and palette of the portrait are inseparable from that of the Carmignano Visitation and the frescoes and Entombment of Santa Felicita--all datable to the last years of the 1520s. But as close as the Halberdier obviously is to those works, the stylistic bond is not necessarily as restrictive as some would have it. Very little has survived of Pontormo's work between 1530 and the year of his death, 1556, and so the artist's stylistic development can only be conjectured. The portraits of Alessandro de' Medici (Fig. 35; Philadelphia Museum of Art; ca. 1534-1535)<sup>2</sup> and Niccolo Ardinghelli

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<sup>1</sup>By Cox Rearick (1964, p. 270), Berti (1966, pp. 53, 56, n. 27), and Freedberg (1970, p. 484, n. 20).

<sup>2</sup>On Pontormo's Portrait of Alessandro de' Medici in Philadelphia, see Langedijk, 1981, no. 1-12, with bibliography; omitted, however, is the valuable short article by Steinberg (1975). An almost identical version of the portrait is in the Museu Nacional de Arte Antiga in Lisbon; for this, see now A. Natali, in Florence, Pal. Strozzi: Cat. Disegno, 1980, no. 400.

(Fig. 36; the so-called Monsignor della Casa in the National Gallery of Art in Washington; ca. 1540-1544)<sup>1</sup> provide the only relatively secure points of reference apart from the three tapestry designs for the Joseph series of the late 1540s; Pontormo's major works of these later years--the decorations of Careggi, Castello, and the choir of San Lorenzo--have all perished. These portraits of the Duke of Florence and Canon of the Duomo are, alongside the Halberdier, more sombre in color and conservative in composition. They are older, graver subjects for whom decorum dictates a restrained palette and a stately pose. But those qualities--in any case, perhaps the stated preferences of the patron--do not sufficiently indicate a change in the artist's style

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<sup>1</sup>Forster (1964, p. 380) first identified the Monsignor della Casa from the Kress Collection as the portrait of Ardinghelli cited by Vasari (-Milanesi, VI, 273). While accepted by some critics, the identification has not been unanimously acclaimed; the recent catalogue of the National Gallery (Washington: Cat. Shapley, 1979, I, 377-379) maintains the work as a portrait of Giovanni Della Casa--so identified on the basis of the resemblance of the figure to the inscribed portrait of Della Casa in the Collezione Gioviana of the Uffizi (ill. Florence, Uffizi: Cat. 1980, no. Ic154). Forster's proposal is confirmed, however, by an engraving by Giulio Bonasone (Fig. 37; Bartsch, XV, 172, 348). Representing a fictive wall tomb of the then Cardinal (he was so created in 1544), the print contains an oval portrait of Ardinghelli at the age of forty-four according to the inscription. From the shape of the head, form of the beard, and facial features, there is no doubt that this is the same figure represented in Pontormo's portrait in Washington; it is possible that the engraving reproduces Pontormo's portrait with the modification of the dress to cardinal's robes.

so radical as to preclude a later date (1537-1538) for the Halberdier.<sup>1</sup>

If Pontormo's late style is relatively unknown, Cosimo's physiognomy is quite familiar, thanks, in good part, to Bronzino and his copyists. And there can be little question that the Halberdier is not immediately recognizable as a portrait of Cosimo. It has been suggested that this difficulty is due to the "deliberate sacrifice of individuality to the demands posed by Cosimo as prince."<sup>2</sup> But such a concern appears gainsaid by the basic construct of ruler portraiture, portrayal of a specific individual as the holder of a particular office, title, throne, and his identification with that office or body. Actually no such motivation need be invoked to explain why a portrait by Pontormo does not closely resemble its specific model. The subjects of Pontormo's portraits are so reminiscent of the figures that populate the artist's religious pictures that one suspects they look like "themselves" less than they approach Pontormo's abstract ideal. This quality is dependent on Pontormo's preferred interest in rendering emotional states rather than specific facial characteristics.

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<sup>1</sup>For Forster (1964, pp. 380-381) the portrait's style is entirely compatible with a date in the late 1530s.

<sup>2</sup>Langedijk, 1981, p. 81.

As a portraitist Pontormo, in this regard, is philosophically quite different from Bronzino. Where Bronzino rarefies, refines, and records the face as an impossibly fine and accurate mask that conceals more than reveals the passions and apprehensions of the subject, Pontormo attempts to bring those emotions to the surface and render them palpable. Bronzino delights in registering diverse features and characteristics, but Pontormo tends to subordinate their individuality, subtly incorporating them into his own visionary language. In comparing the Halberdier with portraits of Cosimo, one must be aware of Pontormo's de-personalizing mode of portraiture, his tendency to mold irregular physical forms (such as the contour of the head) into pure geometrical shapes, and the rather odd, slightly di sotto in su point of view he has chosen. With this in mind a comparison of the picture with Bronzino's and Bandinelli's portraits of the Duke from the early 1540s (Figs. A19, 20), as well as the more youthful representations of Cosimo at age twelve and fourteen or fifteen by Ridolfo del Ghirlandaio and possibly Pontormo (Figs. 16, 17) provide a striking resemblance.<sup>1</sup> A view of Bandinelli's marble bust of Cosimo (Fig. 38) seen slightly from below furnishes a

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<sup>1</sup>On Ridolfo del Ghirlandaio's Portrait of Cosimo at Age Twelve, see page 46, note 1 of Chapter IV. For the small portrait attributed to Pontormo see page 46, note 2 of the same chapter.

particularly strong parallel in the shape of the head, placement of the facial features, and quality of expression.

Such a manner of comparison is, of course, subjective and difficult to prove--one either sees a resemblance or denies it--but the identification is given support by other elements in the picture. Cellini described the wearing of medals on caps as a stylish manner of showing one's emblem: "Si usava in questo tempo alcune medagliette d'oro, con ogni signore e gentiluomo gli piaceva fare scolpire in esse un suo capriccio o impresa; e le portavano nella beretta."<sup>1</sup> The medal on the halberdier's hat represents Hercules and Antaeus, and the figure of Hercules, significantly, had been adopted as a personal symbol by Cosimo and utilized as such principally in the early years of his reign. The analogy may seem initially odd, since Hercules had long been identified with the old Florentine Republic. But its adoption by Cosimo seems to have been intended in part as an indication of the propriety of his position as "capo" of the Republic. More obvious in the symbolic use of this typology was Cosimo's decision to adopt the Hercules emblem from the stamp of the Florentine Republic for his own personal seal

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<sup>1</sup>Cellini-Tassi, 1829, I, 138.

in 1537.<sup>1</sup> Here the medal on the cap seems quite similar to the reverse of one of the Duke's own portrait medals of 1537-1538 (Fig. 13)--if not intended as a representation of it--and its use suggests personal, if not political, significance.<sup>2</sup>

A similar allusion may be inherent in the very pose of the halberdier. The turning body with one arm akimbo carries a meaning associated with youthful heroes and, particularly for the Florentines, David (as in Verrocchio's bronze). Like the Hercules typology, its employment by Cosimo would have been to indicate continuity with the Florentine Republic--and perhaps by so doing, to vitiate the significance of the figure as an anti-Medicean symbol.<sup>3</sup> The pose, as has been suggested, may have been taken by Pontormo directly from Ghirlandaio's Camillus (an iconographically

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<sup>1</sup>The master seal survives in the Museo degli Argenti of the Palazzo Pitti; see Florence, Pal. Vecchio: Cat. (1980, no. 280). Further on the Hercules-Cosimo typology, see above Chapter III, page 40, note 1.

<sup>2</sup>The medal, attributed to Domenico di Polo, was first associated with the cap-brooch of the Halberdier by Forster (1964, p. 380); for the medal, see Langedijk (1981, no. 27-163, ill.).

<sup>3</sup>On the typological bond of the figures of David and Hercules, and their employment as representative of Fortitude, see Tolnay (1947, pp. 153-156) and Chastel (1959); the anti-Medicean aspects are discussed by Levine (1974, pp. 34f.).



similar figure) in the Palazzo Vecchio, but its almost exact employment in reverse in Niccolo della Casa's portrait engraving of Cosimo of 1544 (Fig. 14) suggests a rather specific identification with the Duke.<sup>1</sup> That image, showing Cosimo in fantastic armor decorated with the Labors of Hercules, is perhaps the most blatant example of the Cosimo-Hercules association. The use of the halberdier's stance, posture, and action there must have been intended.

A further connection seems indicated by the representation of the bastion behind the halberdier, which may well allude to the important political issue of possession of the Florentine fortresses. As discussed elsewhere (see Chapter VI), Cosimo desired restitution of the fortezze, in imperial hands since 1536, as a practical and symbolic indication of Florentine independence and power. Although thwarted by Charles V in 1540, Cosimo succeeded three years later in effecting their return--an act that assured Cosimo's continued political and military control over Tuscany. The placement of the young Duke before the bastion here may well have been intended as either a proprietary gesture or as a proleptic representation of the desired action.

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<sup>1</sup>Forster (1970, pp. 73-74) first proposed the association with Ghirlandaio's Camillus; see as well Langedijk (1981, p. 81). For Niccolo della Casa's print, see Chapter III, page 41, note 2.

A Portrait of a Young Man with a Plume (Cat. no. D6; New York, with Wildenstein & Co.), which has been attributed both to Bronzino and Pontormo (and is closer to the latter), further corroborates the identity of the Halberdier and broadens the context of the commission. The poses are remarkably close. Here too the body is turned three-quarter left with the head, viewed slightly from below, looking out en face and his left arm akimbo with hand on hip and middle and ring fingers tangent. The principal variations involve the position of the right arm, the style of dress, and design of the background.

The greatest similarity is in the face; the youth here is a slightly less rounded halberdier and thus--accepting the identification--a portrait of Cosimo. The resemblance is especially apparent in old photographs of the portrait (cf. Figs. D6a and D6b) taken before a restoration that effectually thinned the lips (and more obviously altered the background architecture).<sup>1</sup> The young Duke appears slightly older than he does in the Halberdier, but as no beard is present the date of this variant cannot be much later than

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<sup>1</sup>Visible in the photograph published by Forster (1964, fig. 5) but not in the older one given here is a projecting cornice running diagonally downward to the left behind the young man's head, as well as an arch that rises from that cornice at the left; it is impossible to say which photograph is in that respect the more accurate, as efforts to see the picture or secure a new photograph of it have not met with success.

its model.<sup>1</sup>

What seems to have passed unnoticed is that this picture is described as a portrait of Cosimo in the same inventory of 1612 in which the Halberdier appears: "Alla undecima lunetta à lato alla porta/ Un ritratto conforme agli altri ritratti dell'altre lunette si crede di mano di Jac.<sup>o</sup> da Puntormo con berrettino in testa, penna bianca, et arme à canto con saio dell'Ecc.<sup>mo</sup> Cuca Cosimo con ornam.to."<sup>2</sup> Evidently only one picture separated the Young Man with a Plume from the Halberdier when they were in the Riccardi collection; the similarity of the subjects was recognized by the compiler of the inventory.

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<sup>1</sup>It is generally assumed that Cosimo remained without a beard for only the first year of his rule, but the number of beardless representations of the Duke suggest that either the period was longer or that Cosimo's beard was not an absolutely permanent fixture. For example, an anonymous portrait print dated 1548 seems to represent a smooth-faced Cosimo: a variant dated two years later by Antonio Salamanca includes a healthy growth (Langedijk, 1981, no. 27-70 and 27-70a).

<sup>2</sup>Keutner (1959, p. 152), citing the inventory referred to in note 1, page 172. Keutner suggested identifying the portrait mentioned in the inventory with a picture for sale with Knoedler & Co. in 1946. That work, which was later acquired by the Nelson Gallery of Art in Kansas City (where it is no. 49-28), is by Bronzino and represents a young man viewed en face, turned slightly to the left, with both of his hands on the hilt of a sword at the lower left. He is bearded and wears a hat with a plume very similar to that of the Young Man with a Plume under discussion here. The figure is not Cosimo. X-rays seem to indicate that the dark cloak he wears covers some sort of armor. The date of the painting would seem to be after 1550.

How the two pictures are related merits some consideration. The Halberdier, especially when seen in its fuller context as a portrait of Cosimo I, remains a perplexing picture. To twentieth-century eyes it is a fascinating and beautiful image, a tour de force of fantastic shapes and bizarre colors--but a portrait that neither honors nor compliments its subject. Whether it appeared otherwise to a Cinquecento audience cannot be said. If the Halberdier was perceived by its patron as perhaps somehow inappropriate--whether by its less than exalting evocation of the Duke or because of a desired change in self-presentation--the Young Man with a Plume may well have been the revisionary commission. Whether this version was effected by Pontormo himself (as the inventory indicates) cannot now be said for certain. In any case the alterations acquire particular significance since they were selective and contrast with the similarity of the pose: from the open-air setting before the blank bastion to an interior, slightly claustrophobic space, well articulated with architectural detail; from somewhat garish, youthful dress to conservative monochromatic vestments; from the prop of a military pike to one of intellectualizing book; from an apparently weak, perhaps flaccid body to one of some strength and stature; from an expression of stylish remove and probable vacuity to one more contemplative and intelligent. Although still equipped with his sword, the Duke now seems cast less as the ideal herculean warrior than as the ideal prince.

This shift to a more courtly and more court-oriented image is one associatable with Bronzino. But in light of the indefiniteness of the attribution of the Young Man, it is perhaps more prudent to recognize this aspect as a tendency rather than to consider it either directly caused or suggested by Bronzino or his works.

This revised image of Cosimo seems to have been employed in a third portrait of the Duke, one now lost but recorded in an engraved reproduction of 1759, when the picture was in the Gerini collection in Florence (Cat. no. D3). Again the basic pose of the Halberdier is repeated with only slight alteration, principally involving the right arm. A letter replaces the pike and is held by a hand strangely bent at the wrist, perhaps because the Halberdier's forearm has been too closely maintained. The sword is still visible and the dress, although difficult to judge in reproduction, seems dark and subdued in design. The background appears blank, but this feature may have been omitted by the engraver. The size of the picture, given in the catalogue as 4 palmi, 1 inch by 3 palmi, 3 inches (or ca. 89 x 71.5 cm) is roughly the equivalent of the Halberdier and the Young Man with a Plume. Most notably the facial features, even if imperfectly rendered in the engraving, seem particularly close to those of the other two portraits.

These three portraits of similar size, which all seem to represent the young Duke, may well have been based on the

same cartoon. Although the Halberdier is the only one demonstrably by Pontormo, the other two were surely executed by close associates of the artist, conceivably Bronzino if not by Pontormo himself. Bronzino utilized the pose in his Portrait of a Young Man in the Metropolitan Museum (Fig. 39).<sup>1</sup> This picture has generally been considered an early work, a contention partly based on the erroneous assumption that the subject was either Guidobaldo II della Rovere, whom Bronzino painted in 1532 (Pitti), or the artist himself (born in 1503). For stylistic reasons, now made more evident through recent cleaning of the picture, a later date seems assured. The involved architectural interior, devised much in the manner of the portraits of Ugolino Martelli (ca. 1538-1539) and Bartolommeo Panciatichi (ca. 1540), as well as the mask-like rendering of the face and its smooth porcelain finish, point toward the portraits of the 1540s. Bronzino's style did not change in a sudden, easily perceptible manner, and it would be imprudent to fix a precise date based on these general tendencies alone. However, the derivation of the pose from the Halberdier limits the date of the Metropolitan Young Man to 1537 or after.

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<sup>1</sup>No. 21.100.16 in the museum; panel, 95.5 x 74.9 cm (see New York, MMA: Cat. Zeri-Gardner (1971, pp. 200-202). The similarity of pose was first pointed out by Voss (1920, I, 230).

Pentimenti somewhat visible in the Metropolitan portrait and revealed more fully in X-rays indicate significant changes in the picture. These suggest that the earlier version represented a subject different from the one that appears today. The right hand held the top of the book farther to the left (thereby placing the volume at an angle), while the line of the lintel at the right originally extended behind the youth's head to the end of the abutting wall, above which an arch sprang to the left. The left arm had been covered with a more billowy material and the fingers of the hand were differently positioned with the two tangent fingers more diagonally oriented downward; in this aspect the pose was originally closer to that of the Halberdier. Above all the face (Fig. 40) was narrower and more disparately proportioned--in shape quite reminiscent of the Young Man with a Plume.

These observations indicate that the earlier version of the Metropolitan Young Man was closer than its successor to the early representations of Cosimo. This raises the possibility that the first version of the picture may actually have been intended as a variant portrait of Cosimo of the Halberdier type--perhaps worked up from Pontormo's cartoon. Why this portrait was not completed cannot be said for sure. But it is conceivable that the painting was abandoned in favor of another representation of the Duke, perhaps Bronzino's Portrait of Cosimo I in Armor. The panel would then have been

reworked into a portrait of the unknown youth. If these suppositions are accurate, the Young Man in the Metropolitan Museum would not have been painted before 1543 (the date of the Portrait of Cosimo in Armor). After 1537 and until then, Pontormo's Halberdier and its successors seem to have functioned as more or less the accepted portrait of the Duke. The same rigor in reproduction encountered with Bronzino's later portraits was not employed here; the known examples are variations, not replicas. But as such, they attest to an important aspect of Cosimo's iconography previously unrecognized.

2. ". . . e parimente la signora donna  
Maria sua Madre"

Vasari records that Pontormo painted a portrait of Maria Salviati, mother of Cosimo I, at the same time that he carried out his portraits of the young Duke--the so-called Portrait of a Halberdier (see above).<sup>1</sup> This image has never been satisfactorily identified among Pontormo's known portraits. Nor has the only other portrait of Maria mentioned by Vasari: Bronzino's painting cited in a list of portraits by the artist at court and, at the time of Vasari's writing,

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<sup>1</sup>Vasari-Milanesi, VI, 282.



in the Medici guardaroba.<sup>1</sup> What is surely this work appears in the 1560 inventory of the guardaroba: "Un' ritratto della Ill<sup>ma</sup> Signora Maria, di man' del Bronzino, a' ornamento di noce intagliato tocco d'oro."<sup>2</sup>

Born in 1499, married to Giovanni dalle Bande Nere in 1516, widowed in 1526, and dead in 1543--Maria Salviati spent the greater part of her life outside the mainstream of Florentine court life. She rose to some prominence in 1537 with the accession of her son, but was soon reduced to a retiring, then painful existence by an illness that plagued her from 1541 until her death two years later.<sup>3</sup> From her extant letters Maria appears as a lonely and devoted wife, then as a quiet but ambitious mother. Until Cosimo's election she lived most modestly, at times claiming poverty, and devoted herself to the promotion and education of her son. Late in 1537, shortly after his accession, the young Duke commissioned Pontormo's decoration of the loggia at

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<sup>1</sup>Vasari-Milanesi, VII, 598: "Ritrasse . . . il signor don Giovanni, don Garzia, e don Ernando, in più quadri, che tutti sono in guardaroba di Sua Eccellenza, insieme con ritratto di don Francesco di Tolledo, della signora Maria madre del duca, e d'Ercole Secondo duca di Ferrara, con altri molti."

<sup>2</sup>ASF, Guardaroba, Filza 45, fol. 59v; quoted from Beck, 1974, p. 66. The painting is listed identically in Filza 65 (fol. 161a); cited by Beck, 1974<sup>2</sup>, p. 61.

<sup>3</sup>Pieraccini (1924, I, 479-485) provides a nearly day-by-day digest of Maria's illness, which he diagnosed as serious uricacidaemic haemorrhoids.

the Medici villa of Castello "per compiacere la signora donna Maria sua madre"; during work on this project Pontormo's portraits of the Duke and his mother were painted.<sup>1</sup> This seems to have been the first portrait taken of Maria.

A lack of secure references has handicapped the determination of what Maria looked like and thus what might be Pontormo's or Bronzino's portrait of her. "Era la sua presenza alta di statura, bianca di viso, occhi grossetti" a diarist records, but this description seems applicable to most anyone likely to be painted in Cinquecento Florence.<sup>2</sup> Much like the supposed portraits of Vittoria Colonna, those of Maria Salviati have been identified by a kind of generic typing--the desiderata of which seem to be a widow's veil, a devout demeanor, and indications of old age.<sup>3</sup> A large

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<sup>1</sup>Vasari-Milanesi, VI, 281-282. Further on Maria, see Pieraccini (1924, I, 465-488) and Booth (1921, pp. 7f.).

<sup>2</sup>Baia (1904, p. 32), citing the Memorie of Sar Gallo (Biblioteca Nazionale, Magliabechiana, II, 191). Pieraccini (1924, I, 473) also cites the Diary of Settimanni (ASF, II, c. 301) in which Maria similarly appears as "alta di statura, bianca di volto, occhi grossetti."

<sup>3</sup>So many portraits have been fancifully identified as Vittoria Colonna that it might be prudent to indicate that the only reliable records of her appearance are to be found in portrait medals (see De Tolnay, 1971, fig. 374), in the illustration appearing in the 1540 edition of Vittoria Colonna's Rime (Fig. 49), and in Altissimo's portrait in the Collezione Gioviana at the Uffizi (see Florence, Uffizi: Cat., 1980, no. Ic137), which is after a portrait of the poetess at about age thirty-five once in Paolo Giovio's collection. The putative "Vittoria Colonna's" appearing in the articles of Schulze (1910), Schaeffer (1917), and Heil (1941)

Portrait of an Elderly Lady (Fig. 41) now in San Francisco is typical in this regard. The seated, veiled figure holds a prayer book before her--the aged, sad visage viewed directly. The subject, long held to be Vittoria Colonna--and as such the subject of a monograph in 1850 attributing

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include the following: Bronzino's Portrait of Laura Battiferri (Palazzo Vecchio); the Portrait of an Elderly Lady attributed to him in San Francisco (see the following note); the Portrait of a Lady with Michelangelo's Rachel in the Uffizi (wrongly given to Bronzino); a Portrait of an Elderly Lady in the Palazzo Spada in Rome; the more noted Portrait of a Young Lady usually considered as by Muziano in the Colonna Gallery in Rome (now attributed to the Ferrarese Bartolomeo Cancellieri as an unidentified lady; see Zeri, 1978, p. 112); a female head by Pontormo in the Casa Buonarroti that is probably a study for a Madonna. To these might be added the wrongly attributed "Bronzino Vittoria Colonna" now in the Saumarez Collection, Shrubland (ex-Sotheby Sale, July 19, 1922, lot 104). However, a Portrait of an Elderly Lady in the National Gallery of Warsaw (Fig. 50; inv. 34678 in the museum; see Bialostocki-Walicki, 1955, no. 95, ill. and Warsaw: Cat. Sztuka, 1964, no. 78) quite possibly does represent Vittoria Colonna in advanced age. This picture had been thought to represent Sofonisba Anguissola because of the subject's resemblance to Van Dyck's sketch of the painter, but a sensible dating of about 1550 based on style would rule out that identification; the work is now considered by the museum an anonymous Italian portrait of an unknown lady. The pointed chin and grand, beaked nose of the lady clearly recall those of the engraved portrait of Vittoria Colonna of 1540. If the identification is correct this portrait would represent the poetess near the time of her death; the work might conceivably be posthumous. The column appearing at the left of the picture identifies the subject as a member of the Colonna family. This naturalized emblem appears as well in Bronzino's Portrait of Stefano Colonna (Fig. 51) and Sicciantone da Sermoneta's companion Portrait of Francesco II Colonna (both Rome, Galleria Nazionale, Palazzo Barberini). As the proposed Vittoria Colonna in Warsaw shares a similar format and is within six centimeters in its dimensions of these two Colonna pictures, it is not impossible that all formed part of a series of portraits of members of the family.

the portrait to Michelangelo--has more recently been considered a portrait of Maria Salviati by Bronzino.<sup>1</sup> But she cannot be the lady portrayed; Maria died at the age of forty-four, and the subject of the lady in San Francisco seems close to sixty. Another too-aged Maria was reproduced by Allegrini in his 1761 album of Medici effigies (Fig. 42). With the authoritative provenance "ex Mus. Ducis Salviati," the portrait seems rather based on the appearance of Properzia de' Rossi, the sixteenth-century Bolognese sculptor (Fig. 43).<sup>2</sup>

A half-length Portrait of a Lady in the Uffizi (Fig. 44) has been perhaps the most popular candidate for identification with the Pontormo commission mentioned by Vasari. Although acquired as a Sienese work of the 1500s, the portrait has been attributed to Pontormo on the strength of its manifest derivation from an autograph drawing.<sup>3</sup>

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<sup>1</sup>Panel, 127 x 100 cm (50" x 39.38"), from the Kress Collection, no. K61 (see Kress: Cat. Shapley, 1973, p. 15). The author of the 1850 monograph on the picture was its then owner, Domenico Campanari.

<sup>2</sup>Allegrini, 1761, unnumbered pages. The engraved portrait of Properzia de' Rossi is after the illustration to Vasari's Vite of 1568; see Ragghianti, 1971, p. 41, fig. 9.

<sup>3</sup>Inv. 1890, no. 3565 (see Florence, Uffizi: Cat., 1980, no. P1260). The drawing is no. 6503Fr in the Uffizi (see Cox-Rearick, 1974, cat. 346). The painting was purchased in 1911 as an anonymous Sienese work. Berenson (1932, p. 467) first attributed the picture to Pontormo; Lányi (1933) identified the subject as Maria Salviati, dating the picture between 1537 and 1543. Although Berti accepted

Opinions on the picture vary greatly, many fuelled by the peculiar relationship of the drawing to the picture: the dress is drawn just as it appears in the painting, but the head records the subject at an age far more advanced than that seen in the finished picture. Accordingly, suggestions have been made that the picture was adulatory in nature and thus the features rejuvenated by the artist; that the portrait is by a Sienese painter (Beccafumi?) after Pontormo's drawing; that the picture is posthumous and so an idealized rendering; that it was reworked by the artist to please the patron.<sup>1</sup> However, the evident damaged and repainted surface of the work, somewhat obscured by grime and dirty varnish, seems most responsible for the comparative youth of the subject. In any case her age in the drawing is far beyond that of a maximum forty-three year old woman, even one who had been severely ill. This so-called Maria Salviati would

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the attribution to Pontormo (Florence, Pal. Strozzi: Cat. Pontormo, 1956, no. 82), he later rejected it, considering the author a Sienese master who utilized Pontormo's drawing (see Berti, 1973, no. 128). Gamba (1956, pp. 15-16), followed by Keutner (1959, pp. 144-146), denies both Pontormo's authorship and the identification as Maria Salviati. Forster (1966, p. 153) calls the picture a later, clumsy repetition after a lost original. King (1940, pp. 80-82) and, more fully, Cox-Rearick (1964, pp. 310-311) follow Lányi's proposal, while considering the work probably not the one mentioned by Vasari as having been done at the time of the Castello frescoes.

<sup>1</sup>Berti, in Florence, Pal. Strozzi: Cat. Pontormo, 1956, no. 82; Lányi, 1933.

be best considered a repainted work, probably by Pontormo, of the same subject (not Maria) seen in the drawing.

The only portrait of Maria that can be considered securely identified is the tondo medallion in the Sala di Giovanni dalle Bande Nere in the Palazzo Vecchio (Fig. 45).<sup>1</sup> In his Ragionamenti on the decorative cycle in the place, Vasari has Francesco I de' Medici identify the subject: ". . . riconosco la signora Maria, figliuola di Iacopo Salviati, madre del duca mio signore."<sup>2</sup> The bust portrait, representing Maria in the late 1550s by Vasari or one of his assistants (perhaps Michele di Ridolfo). Its iconographic source is given only geographically by Vasari; in his Zibaldone a list of portraits in the room and the location of the pictures from which they were copied includes the citation "La Sig[no]ra Maria . . . in guardaroba."<sup>3</sup>

It was not until 1940 that this picture from the guardaroba was identified, a Portrait of a Lady (formerly, in fact, thought to represent Vittoria Colonna) by Pontormo in the Walters Art Gallery in Baltimore.<sup>4</sup> Cleaning of the

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<sup>1</sup>Allegri-Cecchi (1980, p. 157, no. 31-14, ill.) consider this possibly to have been executed by Michele di Ridolfo Tosini.

<sup>2</sup>Vasari-Milanesi, VIII, 187.

<sup>3</sup>Vasari-Del Vita, 1938, unnumbered page between pp. 260 and 261.

<sup>4</sup>See the exemplary entry in Baltimore: Cat. Zeri, 1976, II, no. 211.

picture (Fig. 46) revealed the presence of a child holding the hand of the lady that was painted out at some time, perhaps to facilitate the consideration of the subject as a portrait of the childless poetess. It also permitted association of the picture with a painting present in the same Riccardi collection whence came the Halberdier. The 1612 inventory lists "Alla 3.<sup>a</sup> lunetta / Un quadro di br.<sup>a</sup> uno e mezzo della Sig.<sup>ra</sup> D. Maria Medici con una puttina per mano di Jacopo da Pontormo."<sup>1</sup>

Following the mention of the child in the picture as a "puttina," it has been suggested that the infant represents either Giulia (the murdered Alessandro's illegitimate daughter), Bia (Cosimo's pre-marital progeny), or perhaps Cassandra or Francesca Salviati (nieces of Maria); the first two were cared for by Maria and the latter two were frequent visitors to her villa.<sup>2</sup> They would have been between five and ten years old in 1537, the date of the portrait cited by Vasari. But these children are inconceivable as prominent participants in a portrait of the mother of the Duke. The child, a boy, must be the young Cosimo himself.

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<sup>1</sup>Keutner, 1959, p. 151.

<sup>2</sup>Keutner, 1959, p. 147; Berti, 1966<sup>2</sup>, p. 57, n. 36. Bia is the subject, however, of Bronzino's portrait in the Uffizi (Inv. 1890, no. 1472).

The apparent age of Cosimo and the presence of widow's garb on Maria have suggested a date for the picture of 1527, the year following Giovanni dalle Bande Nere's demise; the portrait could then be by Pontormo, but not the commission of 1537 cited by Vasari. Although accepted by some critics, this early date, however, cannot be maintained; Maria was twenty-eight in that year and here she appears far older than that.

Recently it has been sensibly and cleverly proposed that as Cosimo seems to be represented at the time of his father's death while Maria is seen at a later date, the Baltimore picture should be considered a retrospective portrait, a representation of Maria Salviati in 1537 and a "re-creation" of what Cosimo looked like in 1527. The picture, representing Maria in mourning, holding what is presumably a medal of her deceased husband in her left hand and her son's fingers in her right, would then have been a pictorial attestation of Maria's faithfulness as wife and devotion as mother.<sup>1</sup> Such a conception might seem nearly correct, but what hinders its acceptance is the recurring problem of Maria's perceived age, as well as the fact that Vasari mentioned distinct portraits of the Duke and his

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<sup>1</sup>Baltimore: Cat. Zeri (1976, II, no. 211), following Berti, in Florence, Pal. Strozzi: Cat. Pontormo (1956, no. 82).



mother--not a double portrait. A later dating of the picture can resolve these difficulties and allow a fuller understanding of the portrait. With a date of perhaps 1543, the Baltimore picture would not have been, it would seem, the portrait mentioned by Vasari. But the picture can more plausibly be seen as a distinct commission representing Maria after two years of painful illness and, most likely, after her death. Her apparent age and ashen complexion are then explicable as consequences of a posthumous portrait, one probably based on a death mask. Just as her husband's mask was used as a source for posthumous portraits, so Maria's post-mortem visage could have served as the basis of this picture.<sup>1</sup> A letter of December 3, 1543 (the day after Maria's death), informs Riccio that the sculptor Tribolo had requested the plaster for her death mask.<sup>2</sup>

As a posthumous image the picture should be seen as a memorial portrait of Maria in the role of a faithful, grieving, loyal wife, and a protective, encouraging, tender mother. The fictive locus of the picture is late 1526 or early 1527, directly after the death of Giovanni. The young

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<sup>1</sup>On the portraits of Giovanni dalle Bande Nere, see Chapter VI, pt. 3, p. 137, note 2, p. 138, note 1, and p. 144, note 3.

<sup>2</sup>Conti, 1893, p. 44. Pieraccini (1924, I, 473) wrote, "Con tutta probabilità la Maria non si fece mai ritrarre in vita; sicuramente sul suo cadavere furono presi dai calchi."

Cosimo--and there is some resemblance to the Cosimo of the Halberdier portrait (painted six years earlier but representing Cosimo at an age ten years subsequent)--seems distracted, confused, apprehensive; his mother, who defines a massive pyramidical form, appears sad, strong, understanding. Her lamentation seems genuine, but in the suggested context of the picture she mourns as much for herself as for her husband. That Maria was buried in much the same funereal garb seen here underscores the commemorative quality of the portrait. The image records her definitive, final appearance.<sup>1</sup>

Pontormo's portrait of Maria Salviati of 1537 remains as elusive as ever, but a proposal can be introduced here concerning Bronzino's portrait of the Duke's mother. In the Riccardi inventory of 1612 that has included three of the pictures here discussed, a fourth portrait is given to Pontormo: "Alla ottava lunetta / Un ritratto di simile altezza di mano di Jac.<sup>o</sup> da Puntormo, dentrovi una donna con un cannino, e con l'ornam.<sup>to</sup> dorato."<sup>2</sup>

This picture has rightly been connected with a most imposing Portrait of a Lady with a Lap-dog (Figs. 45, 46),

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<sup>1</sup>At the 1857 exhumation of the Medici Maria Salviati was discovered clothed as follows: "il vestiario che lo copriva apparve qual si addice a monaca, cioè di panno nero, ma intignato: si scorgevano tuttora gli avanzi del soggolo, abbenchè il velo che un di copriva la testa, fosse consunto" (Picenardi, 1888, p. 340).

<sup>2</sup>Keutner, 1959, p. 152.

now in Frankfurt, that is known to have come from the collection of the Riccardi family.<sup>1</sup> The picture has been the subject of considerable critical debate as to whether Pontormo or Bronzino should be considered its author. The case for Bronzino, however, seems far the stronger. There is little in Pontormo's oeuvre comparable to this most formal and elegant portrait. That artist's charged emotions and haunting moods are not present here; one is confronted with projections of social rather than emotional involvement. Above all, the rendering is uniquely Bronzino's: the enamel-like surface of the flesh; the hard, precise contours; the contrasts of disparately textured and strictly contained forms; the love of precision; the joy of a stray thread on the tassel; the wit

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<sup>1</sup>Inv. 1136 in the museum; Panel, 89.7 x 70.5 cm (35 3/8" x 27 3/4"). Catalogued by the museum as by Pontormo, although old catalogues list the work as Bronzino. The Riccardi provenance is given by Lebrun (1809, p. 13), who called the work a Bronzino; as such it passed through the Lebrun (1811), Fesch (1845), and Mailland (1881) sales before its acquisition by the Städel in 1882. Berenson was the first to propose the attribution to Pontormo (1896, p. 127; 1903, I, 322-323; 1904, p. 137; 1909, p. 176; 1932, p. 467; 1936, p. 402; 1938, I, 316-317; 1963, I, 181, pl. 230). Others have followed: Schulze (1911, p. lxi), tentatively; Clapp (1916, pp. 152-154); Voss (1920, I, 174 and 1933, p. 251), with a date ca. 1533; A. Venturi (1931, p. 520); Becherucci (1944, pp. 19, 59), with a date about 1530; Jenkins (1947, p. 13), from the 1540s; Antal (1948, p. 82), ca. 1535; Berti (1966<sup>2</sup>, p. 53 and 1973, no. 117), as ca. 1530-1534. Holding for Bronzino are Marcel (1908-9, p. 154); Smyth (1955, pp. 109-117, 124), ca. 1527-1529; Shearman (1963, p. 416 and 1965, p. 123 n.), ca. 1530; Cox Rearick (1964, p. 391); Forster (1965, p. 224), ca. 1542-1546; Marchini (1968, p. 22), as possibly the lost portrait of the daughter of Sofferoni mentioned by Vasari (-Milanesi, VII, 595).

of a slightly animate grotesque chair ornament and a cheerful (if formal) spaniel.

As a Bronzino this portrait would seem to date from the early 1540s, but it is more than an accident of chronology that suggests that the Lady in Frankfurt might actually represent Maria Salviati. Before the onslaught of her terminal illness Maria was known to have been in robust health and so one might assume some diminution in her attractive appearance during her final years. Still, basic facial characteristics can be perceived in both the Frankfurt Lady and Baltimore Maria Salviati that suggest an identity of subject: the shape of the head, conformation of the face, angle of the jaw, undulating double-peaked upper lip, roundness of the nares, contour of the nose, appearance of the eyes.<sup>1</sup> These similarities may not be sufficient to confirm the identification of the Frankfurt picture, but they are significant and most suggestive.

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<sup>1</sup>Dr. Dicran Goulian, Chief of Plastic Surgery at New York Hospital, was kind enough to discuss with me the facial characteristics of the two subjects. His opinion was that both portraits could certainly represent the same person. He felt that the only notable variation between the two was in the tip of the nose, which seems more pendulous in Pontormo's portrait. Other structural and physiognomic characteristics were consonant with there being only one model seen several years apart. He thought that the slightly fuller appearance of the figure in Pontormo's portrait might possibly reflect the condition of anasarca, a dropsical bloating of the tissue, which is a characteristic of the disease Maria is known to have suffered from (see above, p. 188, note 3).

It might further be noted that those qualities of personality and circumstance recognizable from the portrait alone (as a Portrait of a Lady) seem applicable to the situation of Maria Salviati around 1540. The lady's hauteur, formality, stature seem quite intentionally emphasized; her sophisticated comportment defined. She wears a gold chain about her neck, a gold brooch in her hair, and gold rings on her fingers. Her dress is manifestly lavish and brilliantly colored--in contrast to her widow's garb in Pontormo's memorial portrait--and one suspects that her dog was in some manner a connoisseur's prize breed. That Bronzino has also communicated to the viewer an awareness that all this is somehow artificial and posed is an aspect of his genius that does not gainsay the intent of the portrait. If in the Cinquecento living well was also the best revenge, perhaps this image of the formerly impoverished and ignored but always devoted mother of the Duke--now justified, socially and politically exalted, and placed in a quite regal milieu--was meant as record of her triumph.

## APPENDIX

## BRONZINO'S "TRE CANZONI SORELLE"

The following poems are here presented as an example of Bronzino's court lyric. The text is taken from Bronzino's autograph codex of poetry in the Biblioteca Nazionale (Ms. Magliabecchiano. II. IX. 10, cc. 98r-109v). On the last page (Fig. 2) the following inscription appears:

Queste iii sorelle del Bronzino mi paiono tali  
 che egli non meriti men lode di quelle di buon  
 poeta, che delle belle, e graziose sue figure  
 nome di ottimo pittore, e per mio avviso se li  
 debbe ogni privilegio, che soglia dare l'Accademia  
 a tutti coloro che hanno ottimamente meritato. et  
 io cosi ne giudico Giovanbattista di Messer  
 Marcello Adriani Marcellini, censore, di xxiii  
 di maggio 1566.

Below which in another hand appears "Io Leonardo Salviati  
 Con[sol]o ecc. affermo come di sopra ecc."

One of the first members of the Florentine Academy,  
 founded in November of 1540 as the Accademia degli Umidi,

Bronzino was inducted on February 11, 1541 (1540 Florentine style). With new regulations instituted in 1547 Bronzino was expelled from the Accademia, as he had not given any public readings. Provisions were made in 1549 for the re-entry of those expelled, but Bronzino did not rejoin until May 26, 1566. The "Tre Canzoni Sorelle," approved by the censor Adriani three days prior, secured Bronzino's re-admission (see Furno, 1902, pp. 47-48; the poems were published, rather inexactly, in Borghini-Bronzino, 1822, pp. 75-85).

Tre canzoni sorelle, sopra l'Ill<sup>mo</sup> et Ecc<sup>mo</sup> Si<sup>or</sup>

COSMO Medici Duca di Fiorenza e di Siena

Canzone Prima

Mentr'abbonda di gioia e speme il core

Che d'ogn' intorno il Ciel sereno scorge

Nuovo d'amor risorge

Desio che m'arde assai piu che non suole.

Ne mi val, che di forza, e di valore

5

Scarso io m'accusi, che la man mi porge.

Amor, che ben s'accorge

Di mio poter, ch'in se fidar non vuole,

Dunque notturno Angel, nel chiaro Sole

Fermerà gl'Occhi? e stanco, infermo, e frale

10

Osarà dov'appena il pensier sale

Tentar, d'alzarsi? hor sia

Tua aita presta, Amor, mentre, ch'umile

Per tua virtù, non mia

M'ergo a cantar del mio SIGNOR gentile.

15

Vago felice e lieto almo Paese

Che dalla Magra al Tebro e dal Tirreno

Pelago all'Alpe il seno

Cortese scopri e'l tuo gradito Scetro:

Quanto le lunghe, e non dovute offese

20

In tante parti, e così gravi pieno

Già ti fer, tante hor sieno

Tue gioie, i danni, e guai lasciati addietro

Saldo diamante, omai, non fragil Vetro

Scopisce gl'honor tuoi per man celeste

25

E le Luci del Ciel seconde, e preste,

Che Lungamente, avverse

Ti si giraro hor d'amicizia unite

Tutte, e n'amor converse

Larghe versan per te grazie infinite.

30

Gl' antichi Regi tuoi ch'ebbero in mano

Di te il governo allor dovuto segno

Vedi tornarsi, e al Regno

Più, che mai giusti e più felici, e saggi.

E di nuovo quel Divo eletto Giano,

35

Che poi, che l'Onda il Mondo al Cielo a sdegno

Coprio nel chiuso Legno

Scampò per ristorar gl'human legnaggi.



E nuove Stelle, e di più chiari raggi  
 Di Cielo, e di Saturno, Api ed Alcidi, 40  
 De tuoi vendetta, e de superbi infidi  
 Giganti e Lestrigoni  
 Ruina e morete, e di chi mal t'opprime  
 Quanto d'aita ai Buoni,  
 Ch'aspiran teco alle tue glorie prime. 45

Ben puoi dall'alto Ciel Progenie nuova  
 Vederti data, e la Vergine Astrea  
 Che spenta esser pareva  
 In te raccesa, e l'alma età dell'Oro  
 E tornato il buon Re, ch'a quel, che giova 50  
 Padre provo con la sua Sposa Rhea,  
 Quel che manco dovea,  
 In giusta fuga ai giusti mertì loro,  
 Ma chi biasmar puo Giove? ecco 'l ristoro  
 Di lui scacciato e di te vaga Etruria 55  
 Partirli un Regno, e'nprò tornar l'ingiuria  
 Beato esilio e santo  
 Ch'allui l'Italia ed all'Italia Lui  
 Diede onde darsi vanto  
 Potesser d'avventura alta ambedui. 60

Nuovo ecco Alcide, che dell'Idra in festa  
 Fuga l'empio venen, c'havea somersa,  
 Onde impedita, e persa  
 Era de Campi tuoi, la miglior parte.

E dà principio all'alta impresa honesta, 65  
 Domati i mostri, e l'aspra Gente avversa,  
 Che d'ogni grazia aspersa  
 Sede haggia Apollo in Lei, Minerva, e Marte.  
 E l'alma Pianta a cui l'afflitte, e sparte  
 Tornin Virtuti a recrearsi in sieme, 70  
 Produca, e serbi, e sparga i frutti, e 'l seme  
 Onde quaggiu si gode  
 E s'apre a'l Ciel la via, con chirara fame  
 Ei sempiterna Lode,  
 E L'huom beato si conosce, e chiama. 75

E 'nvece d'Acheloo l'altero Corno  
 Romper, qual gia, d'entrambo un ricco e solo  
 Ne fa senz' onta, e duolo  
 Con gioia e pace: e maggior prove accenna,  
 Onde 'l Toscano Atlante attergo, e 'ntorno 80  
 L'un fianco e l'altro in sin' al marin suolo  
 Scorge levarsi a volo  
 Gloria al Ciel' da stancar più d'una penna  
 E sia l'Ibero, e' l Po l'Arno, e la Senna,  
 Col Tebro, d'una possa, e d'una voglia, 85  
 E, che l'indegno giogo un di si scioglia  
 Dall'oppresso Oriente,  
 E solo il Sol' sovr' una Fede spenda  
 Si, ch'a a GIESU la Gente  
 Tutta, com'esser dee grata si renda. 90

Gia non di Cacco o del Leon Nemeo

Temiam, che spento e quel, questi ancor pave

Della sua spoglia ed'have

Cura al suo Nido e predar, non s' arrischia.

Ne più la Terra a render forte Anteo 95

S'arma ch'or giace in lei disteso, e grave

Anzi all'opere prave

Sue più di sdegno, che pietà si mischia.

Non l'Idra, a noi, non più 'l Serpente fischia

Agl' esperidi Pomi, e 'l Cane ha mute 100

L'ingorde gole, ond' a nostra Salute,

Il ricco aureo Vello

Adorna il nobil Collo, e'1 sacro Petto

Che più chiaro, e più bello

Fregiar' non puo quaggiù Seggio o Ricetto. 105

Canzon poi che 'l desio

Per te non scema, e maggior Luce abbonda,

Nuova con teco invio

Compagna a i passi tuoi fida, e seconda.

#### Canzone seconda

Di volo in volo, e d'uno in altro varco 1

Mi guida Amore in parte alta e suprema

Ne vuol' ch'io pensi o tema

D'Icaro il fine, o di Fetonte il danno:

O santo Dio, che con sì grave incarco 5  
 M'innalzi al Ciel di me cura ti prema,  
 Fa, ch'io non senta scema  
 Quella virtù, che tue posse mi danno.  
 E Voi buon Alme in cui non cade inganno  
 Venite meco a rallegrarvi, e meco 10  
 Lodar quel Lume, che L'ingrato, e cieco  
 Aere n'aperse: e' l folto  
 Di tenebre, e d'orror cammino offeso  
 Volse in sicuro, e colto  
 Spedito, e chiaro, e 'n verso 'l Ciel disteso 15  
 Ma pria, deh, con pensier cortese accorto  
 Si volga a rimirar, da quali e quanti  
 Travagli i tempi avanti  
 Di che tegnam' ricordo eramo appressi,  
 Hor per in vidia altrui d'ingiuria e torto, 20  
 Hor dall' Onde occupati, hor da Giganti  
 Soverchiati, hor erranti  
 Per odio sparti, e vinti da noi stessi:  
 E i ferri, e i fuochi e le ruine impressi  
 Nelle reliquie ancor di nostre mura 25  
 Ne fan certezza e fera ancor paura,  
 Senza le carte vere  
 Piene di nostre voglie aspre divise  
 E delle nostre altere  
 Menti in cui par non mai voler si mise. 30

Quante fiate alla sfrenata, e sciolta  
 Licenzia, che per altro nome, e detta  
 Visto' e, ch' aver ristretta  
 Convien la strada troppo larga, e trita!  
 E che non puo nostr'Alma a i gradi accolta 35  
 Pari soffrir' ne, che pie seco huom metta!  
 E che 'n via men perfetta  
 Esser le par, con l'altrui passo unita!  
 Questo piu volte acciò, che tanto ardita,  
 Nostra alterezza all'ultimo periglio  
 Non ne traesse per men reo consiglio 40  
 Ne fe' dare a gli strani  
 La verga, e 'l fren, che ben chiaro si scorse  
 Che nelle nostre mani  
 Di noi fu sempre il miglior nostro inforse.  
 Ma forse troppo o pensier vaghi, amaro 45  
 Trattando, al bel disio di gioia havete  
 Tolto, e le carte a liete  
 Voci vergate di dolore scritte.  
 Ritorna dolce Amor soave, e chiaro  
 Lo stile e 'l canto, e nel più cupo Lete 50  
 Superbia Invidia, e Sete  
 D'haver, tre morti gia dell'Alme afflitte  
 Stian per sempre sommerse: e scriva, e ditte  
 Tua virtu in me quel ch' il pensiero appena  
 Scorge, e nell'Alta Luce alma, serena 55

Ritornin gl'Occhi intensi

Ond nacque il desir, ch' ogn' hor s' avanza

E che la Mente, e i Sensi

Destando alzommi a si grande speranza.

E vedi in lei com' alle nostre piaghe 60

Sanar tanto incurabili e mortali

L'acute febri e i mali

Humor, ch' i Cori havean gia vinti e stanchi.

Dal chiaro Apollo a noi chiar Alme e vaghe

Di ben oprar per noi degne e fatali 65

Sceser, di tante e tali

Virtu ch'al dir convien la voce manchi

Queste gl' ardenti petti e i Lassi fianchi

Sanando meritar di saggi e veri

Medici il nome poi, che tanti e interi 70

Per noi curar ripari

Sepper trovar, ne pur l' havere el senno

Per noi quei Padri cari

Speser ma il sangue, ohime, più volte dienno.

E d' hora al maggior vopo, e quando manco 75

Era virtu nella natura imbelle

E più grave e rebelle

Il morbo, e più celato, e più nimico,

Dal chiaro germe, e dal secondo fianco,

Anzi dal primo e sol Re delle Stelle, 80

Alma delle più belle

Virtu dotata, a cui più fosse amico  
 O nel secol novello, o nell'antico,  
 N' è data; e di saper, di voglia, e possa  
 Tal, che non pur da noi sgombra e rimossa 85  
 E l'empir Crisi e tante  
 Ferite chiuse, ma salute intera  
 Dalle sue cure sante  
 Si gode, e sente; e non pur crede, e spera.  
 Fortunato, e fedel' Medico, e saggio 90  
 Ornamento, e splendore almo, e giocondo  
 Nuovo Sol, nuovo Mondo  
 Suona il tuo nome, e di salute spene,  
 Qual potra mai vapor velare un raggio  
 Di tal Luce? O, consiglio stolto, e immondo 95  
 Il tuo senno profondo  
 Vincere e santo, che da Dio ti viene!  
 Ci solo a noi ti diede, ei ti mantiene  
 E chi puo contra Lui che tutto intende?  
 Sta nel suo Lume il Sol ne gira o, splende 100  
 Men chiar, perch' Aere oscuro  
 S' opponga, o, fummo, o, di vil nebbia velo,  
 E 'n se vivo e sicuro  
 Presta a noi vita, e di Luci empie il Cielo.  
 Canzon come la prima 105

Seguisti, e ch'al desio non scemo dramma  
 Altra seguirti estima,  
 Poi ch' Amor più m'innalza e prega e 'infiamma.

Canzone terza

Quel, ch' io canto almo Sol, ch' a se mi tira, 1  
 Pur con l'Ali d' Amor fide e veraci  
 Di tante, e si vivaci  
 Luci risplende, e cosi pari, e nuove  
 Che l'Occhio hor quinci hor quindi accolto gira 5  
 Smarrito: e l'Intelletto a suoi seguaci  
 Non sa dell' alme Faci  
 Dir chi più l'arde o più l' diletta o, move  
 Da pietà nasce, e da Iustizia piove  
 Equal Fiamma, e da senno, e bonta Luce 10  
 Da nobil sangue, e humilta, riluce  
 Splendor simile, e d'alto  
 Consiglio, e di valor vive in distinto  
 Foco: ond' attale assalto  
 Non fosse Amor, sarei gia stanco e vinto 15  
 Ecco gli Scettri, e le corone ornarsi  
 Nella Fronte celeste, e nella tanta  
 Cortese mano, e santa  
 Del mio Signor, che cosi dritto regge:  
 E la Terra col Ciel concorde farsi 20



Nostra, che destinato haver si vanta  
 Con quanto sforzo, e quanta  
 Virtù poteo, come lassu si legge,  
 Che lieta alla sua Verga, alla sua legge  
 Libera inchini, e volontaria, e grata. 25  
 Ed' è chi già si tien più, che beata  
 Che dalle gravi some  
 Che libertà rendean nimica, e serva  
 Con piu felice nome  
 Scarca e disciolta in pace si conserva. 30

E non pur l'Arbia, che del nostro sangue  
 Calda già crebbe, e corse al Mar superba,  
 Humil si dcna, e serba  
 Fedele al nostro Re l'havere e l' Alma.  
 Ma qualunque altra omai di desir langue, 35  
 Cangiato in dolce ardor la voglia acerba,  
 Non pur di fronda, o d' herba  
 Ma dise fare allui corona, e palma,  
 O' don celeste, o' nostra pace, o' alma  
 Salute nostra hor chi non vede aperto  
 Ch' a te solo, al tuo pregio, al tuo sol merto 40  
 Ognun' cede e s' inchina,  
 Poi che ciò senza te mai non si vide!  
 Dunque a tua sol divina  
 Grazia si dia, che Dio per noi provide.

E ben conviensi a te l'honore, e 'l pregio 45

Poi che di santa Mente, e di sant'Opre  
 Bontade, e senno adopre  
 Per destin per natura, e per costume,  
 D'alta sembianza, e d'alto Aspetto regio  
 Tutto e quel che fuor mostri, e a noi si scopre, 50  
 Ben, ch' all' Alma non copre,  
 Se non, come bel Vetro un chiaro Lume,  
 L'abbondanti sue doti il largo fiume  
 D'ogni virtù, ch' il Mondo, e 'l Cielo adorna.  
 Per te religion, per te ritorna 55  
 L'alma Virtute accesa  
 La speme, e l'Honesta con l'altre Elette.  
 Ond' ogni giusta impresa  
 Da Dio per te s'aspetta, e si promette.  
 A te com' allor proprio, e fido Albergo 60  
 L' Arti, e le Muse gloriose, e Dive  
 Da tutte humane rive  
 Vengan, che si l' accogli, e si l' honori.  
 Ond non pure il, che gia cadde a tergo,  
 Pregio Toscan per te risurto vive 65  
 Ma chi segna e prescrive  
 Termine a i giusti e volontari Amori!  
 Gia vegg' io col pensier d' Italia i Cori  
 Unirsi insieme, e saziar quel desire  
 Che m' arde l'Alma, e ch'or non lece aprire, 70  
 Ma se Furor Divino

Accesa Mente del futuro accerta  
 Prefisso a tal destino  
 E tal, ch' ancor piu largo Impero merta.  
 Felici noi poi, che quant' hebber mai 75  
 Di Iustizia, e valor Senno, e bontade  
 In qual primera etade  
 Quei che per Dei nel Ciel s' acquistar Sede  
 Tutte in un solo, a i tempi nostri, e assai  
 Più e più intere, o, di Dio gran pietade, 80  
 Veggiamo, e ch'a noi cade  
 Tal dono in sorte, e si larga Mercede;  
 E, che quanto quaggiù si brama, e chiede  
 Per ben oprare, e per farsi beato  
 Tutto a noi sia con lui per grazia dato, 85  
 Ch' ovunque il Sol risgurada  
 Bramar si face, e d' imitar s' ingegna,  
 E in cui la nostra tarda  
 Eta proviam, di quella d'Or piu degna.  
 Cantate dunque omai cortesi, e chiare 90  
 Anime amiche all' honestate, e al vero  
 E cui dritto sentiero  
 Seguire aggrada, e, che 'l contrario odiate.  
 Corri d' Ambrosia, e puro latte al Mare  
 Arno felice, ch' al dovuto Impero 95  
 Più, che mai giusto e 'n tero  
 Tornar ti vedi, ed' alle glorie andate.

Rivestite ogn'honor Piante beate  
Fiorite o Piagge, e vaghi ameni Colli,  
E dagl' alpestri Monti a i Liti molli 100  
Santa d' Amor dolcezza  
Abbondi, e quanto giova, e quanto piace  
Colmi d' ogn' Allegrezza  
Il Divin COSMO honor d' Italia, e Pace.

Canzone a te concesso 105

Non è piu gire e gia la voce stanca,  
Ond' io teco confesso  
Ch' Amor cresce, e desio ma il poter manca.

Il Fine

Del Br<sup>no</sup> Pitt<sup>re</sup>

## CATALOGUE

Introduction

The Reference Catalogue serves to organize information about the paintings cited in the text, as well as other versions related to them. The entries are divided into five separately numbered sections: the portraits of Cosimo in armor ("A"), the portraits of Cosimo at forty years of age ("B"), the portraits of Cosimo of the grandducal type ("C"), the portraits of Cosimo of other types ("D"), the portraits of Cosimo of unknown type ("E"). For the entries of the portraits of Cosimo in armor and those at age forty a letter appears following the catalogue number. "A" indicates a work considered autograph, that is, entirely from Bronzino's hand. "W" denotes workshop, a term here used to indicate non-autograph works painted during Bronzino's lifetime, based on his compositions, though not necessarily under his direct personal supervision; identifiable copyists such as Altissimo, Allori, or Luigi Fiammingo are so listed, as well as anonymous studio executants. "L" indicates a painting late in execution, made after the death of Bronzino. "X" pictures are those for

which no current location, photograph, or other reproduction could be found; no judgment can be made on these works.

Certain forms and abbreviations are employed to supply uniformity of style and brevity in presentation. Under the catalogue number first appears the city and location of the picture, followed by a date if the picture is no longer there (the year indicates the last known date the locale was known). Pictures are listed in order of size, with the smallest first and those of unknown dimensions following the largest; the relative formats of each portrait type are thus usually grouped together with bust portraits at the beginning and three-quarter length works toward the end.

Measurements are given in both centimeters and inches and, if not obtained directly, are based upon the most recent reliable publication. Inscriptions are recorded beneath the dimensions. The provenance appears next with collections listed chronologically with known dates of ownership placed in parentheses. The word "with" before a name, as in "with Riccardo Riccardi," indicates that the cited name is or was a dealer. The word "sale" indicates a sale by auction. When prefaced by a possessive such as "his sale," the painting was sold as the property of the collector listed immediately preceding.

Since auction catalogue attributions often reflect contemporary scholarly opinions they have been given in

parentheses following the data on the sale. Since the late nineteenth century English auction houses have irregularly employed the curious system of name abbreviation to indicate the degree of attribution. Although the meanings have varied somewhat, for our artist the following apply: "Agnolo or Angelo Bronzino," "Agnolo di Cosimo Bronzino," "Angelo Allori, called Bronzino," and the like refer to pictures considered authentic; "A. Bronzino," "A. di Cosimo Bronzino," "A. Allori, called Bronzino," etc. to paintings "attributed" to the artist--that is, in the auctioneers' terms, "a work of the period of the artist which may be wholly or in part his work"; "Bronzino" or "Allori" to paintings "of the school or by one of the followers of the artist or in his style and of uncertain date" (this from Sotheby's). "Attributed to," "Ascribed to," "Circle of," "School of," "Workshop of," and "After" appear in more recent years. These appellations are placed within quotation marks when recorded here; thus a picture listed as "Bronzino" was really not thought to be by the artist by the auction cataloguer whereas one here listed as by Bronzino (no quotation marks) was. Much confusion has come from the use of the name Allori, which was wrongly thought to be Bronzino's surname. Works so named do at times refer to Bronzino, as well as to his pupil Alessandro Allori and Alessandro's son Cristofano.

All relevant publications for each picture (except auction catalogues) are listed chronologically in the bibliography. The form used for citation is the same as that utilized in the notes to the text of this study. Author, year of publication, and page references are provided, the first two referring to a full bibliographic listing found under "References Cited." Exhibition and museum catalogues are listed by the city (and, in major centers, collection as well); thus Poggi's catalogue of the Uffizi does not appear as "Poggi, 1926," but as "Florence, Uffizi: Cat. Poggi, 1926." The opinion of the author follows the relevant citation. For the most part only brief encapsulations are given, usually only referring to attribution; the purpose here is to provide a guide to further literature, to indicate the prevailing scholarly opinion on each work, and to have some rational ordering of the previously chaotic and often conflicting bibliography.

The following abbreviations are used: "C-P" in listings of French auctions, for commissaire-priseur, the sponsoring auctioneer at a public auction house; ASF, for Archivio di Stato, Florence; AGF, for Archivio e Biblioteca della Soprintendenza alle Gallerie, Florence; Uffizi, for the Galleria degli Uffizi and pictures in storage under the administration of the Soprintendenza alle Gallerie in Florence (these may be in one of many possible locations).



## Section A (Portraits of Cosimo I in Armor)

Cat. no. A1 (A)

Florence, Uffizi, Inv. 1890, no. 855

Tin, 15.8 x 12.2 cm (6 1/4" x 4 3/4")

Inscribed at the top in a later hand: COSMVS MED: FLOR. ET.

SEN. DUS [sic] I.

This miniature portrait is one of a series of twenty-four quadretti representing members of the Medici family (the others are nos. 848 through 871 of the Uffizi inventory of 1890; ill. in Baccheschi, 1973, nos. 134-157). The Duke is shown head and shoulders against a blue background. The quality of this small portrait (which has sustained several pin-point losses) is very high, a consideration not always evident in overly enlarged photographs; the work is certainly worthy of an attribution to Bronzino himself.

There is much confusion concerning the series of twenty-four miniatures. As seen today, it is neither complete nor necessarily integral; the miniatures are the surviving elements of a set (or more than one set) that was added to and revised over several years. Vasari (1568) described what may have been a much larger collection:

In alcuni quadretti piccoli, fatti di piastra di stagno e tutti d'una grandezza medesima, ha dipinto il medesimo [Bronzino] tutti gli uomini grandi di

Cat. no. A1 (A), ctd.

casa Medici, cominciando da Giovanni di Bicci e Cosimo vecchio, insino alla reina di Francia per quella linea; e nell'altra da Lorenzo fratello di Cosimo vecchio, insino al duca Cosimo e suoi figliuoli: il quali tutti ritratti sono per ordine dietro alla porta d'uno studiolo che il Vasari ha fatto fare nell'appartamento delle stanze nuove nel palazzo ducale, dove è gran numero di statue antiche, di marmi e bronzi, e moderne pitture piccole, minj rarissimi, ed una infinità di medaglie d'oro, d'argento e di bronzo, accomodate con bellissimo ordine. Questi ritratti dunque degli uomini illustri di casa Medici sono tutti naturali, vivaci, e somigliantissimi al vero (Vasari-Milanesi, VII, 603).

The surviving miniatures correspond in subject with the group described by Vasari. Twelve are of Medici from the line "da Giovanni di Bicci e Cosimo vecchio, insino alla reina di Francia"; four are of Cosimo I's ancestors from the other branch; and the remaining eight represent Cosimo and his children. The dates for some of the quadretti can be suggested. The Giovanni di Bicci (Inv. 1890, no. 871) was probably painted in 1559. Bronzino received a portrait of him, evidently for copying, from the guardaroba that year:

Cat. no. A1 (A), ctd.

"adì 3 di agosto 1559 / Se datto al bronzino pitore e ritrato di giovanni bicci di medici / porto stefanno sua garzone---N<sup>o</sup> 1<sup>o</sup>" (ASF, Guardaroba, Filza 9, Registro di spedizioni . . ., 1544-1561, c. 89; noted and transcribed by Edward Sanchez). The portraits of Garzia, Maria, and Ferdinando (Inv. 1890, nos. 848, 853, 852) follow iconographic types developed by Bronzino in 1551 (cf. Heikamp, 1955); the portraits of Giovanni di Cosimo I and Francesco I (Inv. 1890, nos. 850, 854), however, are after pictures of about 1559. The Pietro di Cosimo I (Inv. 1890, no. 851), because of the subject's age, must date from after 1565 (cf. Langedijk, 1978<sup>2</sup>).

The guardaroba inventory of 1553 lists only nine miniatures: "9 quadretti di ritratti con ornamento di noce, a uso di spera, alti 1/3 l'uno; Cosimo vecchio, Lorenzo vecchio, Giuliano vecchio, Papa Leone, Papa Leone [sic], il Duca Lorenzo, il S.<sup>or</sup> Don Franc.<sup>o</sup> principe, la S.<sup>ra</sup> Dogna Maria, et il S.<sup>or</sup> Don Gratia, di mano del Bronzino" (ASF, Guardaroba, Filza 28; published by Conti, 1893, p. 154).

In another entry of the same year the miniatures are described as follows: "Nove quadretti in stagno a guisa di spera, di Cosimo, Lorenzo, Giuliano, Lione, Clemente, e Duca Lorenzo, Don Francesco, Donna Maria e Don Gratia" (ASF, Guardaroba, Filza 30, fol. 54 right, "Entrata 1553"; transcribed by

Cat. no. A1 (A), ctd.

Edward Sanchez; also published by Müntz, 1893, p. 142). Of these nine miniatures all except the Don Francesco (for which a later version was substituted) survive in the series today; cf. the Portrait of Lorenzo il Magnifico (Fig. 52; Inv. 1890, no. 865).

These miniatures, as well as additional ones not listed in the inventory, appear to have been begun in late 1551. Bronzino received in December 1551 and June 1552 a total of thirteen pieces of tin for Medici portraits:

"Sabato addi 5 dicembre 1551 / A spese di pitture Lire cinque soldi 10 piccioli pagati a fra Bernardo frate di S. M. Novella, portò contanti per 5 piastre di stagno in quadri dati al Bronzino pittore per fare ritratti per S. E. Ill<sup>ma</sup> scud---lire 5 soldi 10," and "Sabato addi 4 di g[i]ugno [1552] / A spese di pitture L. cinque p<sup>li</sup> pagati a fra Bernardo di S. M. Novella, portò contanti, per 8 quadretti di stagno per ritratti per S. E. hauti il Bronzino pittore . . . . sc.--L. 5---" (ASF, Guardaroba, Filza 18, cc. 128v, 141v; discovered and transcribed by Edward Sanchez).

The miniature of Cosimo I was perhaps painted on one of those pieces of tin. More assuredly, it was finished before 1560, the year in which the standard portrait type of the Duke was changed. At that time, or somewhat later, it is possible that the miniature was replaced in the series by

Cat. no. A1 (A), ctd.

a miniature of the "Forty-year" type, perhaps Cat. no. B3. The inventory describes the quadretti as being painted on tin "a uso di spera," that is with a sliding cover over a mirror (it is not clear whether the portrait served as the cover or in the place of the mirror; cf. the cover mirror in the Museo di Casa Vasari, Arezzo, ill. in Langedijk, 1981, p. 101, fig. XXI). When the portraits were later installed in the Scrittoio di Calliope in the Palazzo Vecchio, as Vasari indicated (cf. Allegri-Cecchi, 1980, pp. 81-82), it is unknown whether this framing system had already been dispensed with. Nothing of the original frames survives.

The inscription on the Cosimo I is much later than the picture, as well as being incorrect ("DVS" for "DVX"); other miniatures have inscriptions in a variety of styles, as well as in differing languages, Latin or Italian. There is need for study of the entire group. The bibliography below is concerned with the miniature of Cosimo I; it is not exhaustive on questions involving the entire set.

Vasari (-Milanesi, VII, 503), as by Bronzino; Borghini (1584, p. 538), repeating Vasari. Berenson (1896, p. 107), as Bronzino. Kenner (1897, p. 140), as Bronzino. Berenson (1904, p. 111, and 1909, p. 122), as Bronzino. Trapenikoff (1909, p. 5), as Bronzino. Schulze (1911, p. xviii), as Bronzino. McComb (1928, p. 66), as Bronzino. Berenson

Cat. no. A1 (A), ctd.

(1932, p. 115, and 1936, p. 99), as Bronzino. Florence, Pal. Medici: Cat. Medicea (1939, p. 145, no. 14), as Bronzino. Emiliani (1960, p. 88), as probably workshop. Berenson (1963, I, 42), as partly autograph (in files at I Tatti, the Cosimo is listed as autograph). Berti (1967, p. 33), as of high quality, at least by Allori. Baccheschi (1973, no. 50), as "attributed." Langedijk (1981, no. 27-22, ill.), as workshop of Bronzino.

Cat. no. A2 (L)

Florence, Villa Medicea di Poggio Imperiale, Inv. E. 3495

(Inv. P.I. 19)

Canvas, 21.5 x 17 cm (8 1/2" x 6 3/4")

A small portrait of Cosimo in armor set into a fictive painted oval. This work, of unexceptional quality, is one of a series of over fifty portraits of Medici figures; all appear to have been painted in the eighteenth century. The lack of the badge of the Toison d'Or indicates that the model here was an early version of the portrait, perhaps the portrait now in the Tribuna of the Uffizi (Cat. no. A8). Since more of the armor appears here than in the Bronzino "quadretto" (Cat. no. A1), it seems unlikely that that work

Cat. no. A2 (L), ctd.

served as the model. The following description from a Memorie delle antichità . . . nella Villa Imperiale . . . dated July 14, 1738 (BM, Ms. A, 197, 14, c. 300v, published in Capecchi et. al., 1979, p. 169) seems to refer to this series: "Indi si passa in due gabinetti, in unó de' quali sono in piccolo tutti i ritratti degli uomini illustri e principi della sempre gloriosa ed immortale casa de' Medici, e de' principi d'Urbino."

Langedijk (1981, no. 27-22a), as an eighteenth-century copy of the "quadretto."

Cat. no. A3 (L)

Brussels, with Robert Finck (1967)  
Panel, 24.1 x 17.8 cm (9 1/2" x 7")

Coll. O. V. Watney, Cornbury Park; his sale, Christie's London, June 23, 1967, lot 18 (as "Bronzino"); bought by Betts; with Robert Finck, Brussels.

A small bust portrait of the Duke in armor before a green curtain. The pose and visage are typically as derived from Bronzino's portrait, but the armor presents notable variations: additions to the pauldrons of grotesque decoration

Cat. no. A3 (L), ctd.

(perhaps meant to be neck-guards); the absence of besagues (the round plates with the spikes); a disparate, somewhat fanciful damascened pattern across the entire suit. These features, when considered with the rather unsure design of the armor in general, suggest a late derivation from Bronzino's composition. A Golden Fleece insignia hangs about the neck.

Watney (1915, no. 43), as Bronzino. Florence, Pal. Strozzi: Cat. Antiquariato (1967, no. 18), as Bronzino, according to Langedijk (however, no such reference appears in that catalogue). Langedijk (1981, no. 27-19k), as a bust copy or replica after Bronzino.

Cat. no. A4 (W)

New York, A.A.A. Sale (1917)

Panel, 38.1 x 29.2 cm (15" x 11 1/2")

Coll. Elia Volpi, Florence; his sale, A.A.A., New York, December 19, 1917, lot 438 (as by Bronzino); bought by Luigi Orselli.

Like the Uffizi "quadretto" (Cat. no. A1), from which it may derive, this picture shows Cosimo against an uncurtained



Cat. no. A4 (W), ctd.

background; both pictures directly follow the lines of the full-scale portrait but are cropped below the gorget of the armor. The painting may well be identical with a like-sized work sold from the Dabissi Collection five years later (Cat. no. A5). Luigi Orselli's sale (A.A.A., New York, February 15f., 1921) did not include the picture.

Langedijk (1981, no. 27-19j), as a copy or replica after Bronzino.

Cat. no. A5 (X)

New York, A.A.A. Sale (1924)

Unknown Support, 38.1 x 29.2 cm (15" x 11 1/2")

Coll. Joseph Dabissi; his sale, A.A.A., New York, November 15, 1924, lot 614 (as by Bronzino).

Described in the sale catalogue as a "bust of a youngish man, wearing curling hair, moustache and short fringe of curling brown beard; his strong face looks slightly toward left and he wears a steel corselet over a crimson velvet doublet."

The description corresponds with that of the identically sized portrait sold five years earlier at the same auction house (Cat. no. A4); these two works, then, may be but one.

Cat. no. A6 (W)

South Walsham (Norwich), with The Masque (1961)

Unknown Support, 40.6 x 29.2 cm (16" x 11 1/2")

This small bust portrait of Cosimo in armor follows the lines and general format of the Uffizi "quadretto" (Cat. no. A1). Similar to but (unless since restored) not identical with the panel from the Volpi sale (Cat. no. A4), this work appears more faithful to the Bronzino original.

The Connoisseur (Vol. 148, September 1961, p. liv),  
advertised as by Bronzino.

Cat. no. A7 (W)

New York, with Lilienfeld Galleries (ca. 1950?)

Panel, 41.9 x 31.8 cm (16 1/2" x 12 1/2")

This fine work is a bust portrait of the Duke set within a painted oval. Details of the curtain folds as articulated in versions of larger format are clearly visible in the background. Within the four pendentive spaces between the painted oval and the panel's corners are paired emblems. At top left and right appear figures of Capricorn with eight dots (representing stars above); at the lower two corners are painted tied anchors. Both of these emblems were personal

Cat. no. A7 (W), ctd.

imprese of Cosimo. The image of Capricorn with reference to the Duke appeared shortly after Cosimo's accession and is encountered many times in Medicean iconography of the time (see Chapter VI, pt. 1, p. 105, note 2, and, more fully, Richelson, 1973, chapter II). The emblem of crossed anchors--often accompanied by the motto "DVABVS SEDERE SELLIS," or simply "DVABVS"--is less frequently seen. It is referred to as the new insignia of the Duke at his marriage festivities in 1539 and is interpreted by Lorenzo Domenichi as symbolic of the dual supports of Cosimo's power: the favor of Charles V and the possession of the Florentine fortresses (which, however, were not in Medici hands again until 1543). In the Sala di Ester in the Palazzo Vecchio the two imprese are paired on either side of the dedicatory frieze with the word "TOLLEDO," part of Eleonora's name: at the left appear putti with the Capricorn, and at the right with the paired anchors and the inscription "DVABVS." Perhaps the Duabus emblem, first appearing at the wedding and then utilized to adorn Eleonora's name, might rather relate to the marriage of the Duke and the Duchess. Further on the emblem, see Domenichi (in Giovio, Dialogo, 1559, pp. 157-158), Gelli (1928, no. 656), and Minor-Mitchell (1968, p. 135). Judging from a photograph, this version is of very high quality throughout.

Cat. no. A8 (A)

Florence, Uffizi, Inv. dep., no. 28.

Panel, 71 x 57 cm (28" x 22 1/2")

From the Villa Medicea of Castello; transferred to the Uffizi in 1925 (Bears old inventory numbers chalked on the back of the panel: 9, 179, 1606, 1502, 704, 1613 (twice), 6962.

This is the earliest of the portraits of Cosimo in armor and the prototype of the several half-length versions. As discussed in the text (see Chapter V, pt. 4), this picture probably dates from the summer of 1543, when Cosimo was twenty-four years old. The curtain background is a deep blue with green in the shadows; no Toison d'Or badge is present. Several pentimenti are visible under moderately raking light (natural to the Tribuna in the Uffizi, where the picture is exhibited). The contour of the armor against the background was changed along the lowest plate of the gorget (neck-piece) adjacent to the pauldron on Cosimo's right shoulder. The first design, now covered by the blue curtain, would have given Cosimo an uninterrupted silhouette along the edge of the armor. A similar alteration is visible at Cosimo's left shoulder; a pentimento, indicating the location of an earlier idea, is clearly visible slightly below and within the current edge of the gorget (Fig. A8a).

Cat. no. AB (A), ctd.

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. A technical study of the picture would also shed light on the precise media used by Bronzino; the somewhat opaque appearance of the face, hands, and highlights of the armor might well be due to the partial employment of tempera medium.

Gamba first published the picture as the primary portrait of Cosimo--an opinion generally accepted today (McComb, who knew the picture but not Gamba's article, thought it only a good copy). That this picture cannot be the model for all the versions of the portrait (the three-quarter length examples) was not appreciated by Gamba, who thought the works of larger format a much later derivation. Recently Langedijk has made the quite amazing proposal that this picture is from the hand of the sometime court portrait painter called Luigi Fiammingo. Luigi, probably Louis van Dort, is known from the 1560 guardaroba inventory to have painted a "ritratto dell'Ill<sup>mo</sup> Signor Cosimo armato," among other Medici portraits of unspecified dimension (see Chapter IV, p. 58, note 1). Assuming that all these portraits were of like size and identifying four of them with dimensions

Cat. no. A8 (A), ctd.

of ca. 73/74 x 56.5/58 cm (1 1/3 x 1 braccia), Langedijk gives the present picture to Luigi, solely on the basis of its size. She chooses not to take into account the extraordinarily fine quality of the portrait in contrast to Luigi's dull and flat renderings, nor the fact that the Toison d'Or badge would be expected in Luigi's picture, since it is datable, according to Langedijk between 1553 and 1560. For another identification of Luigi's portrait of Cosimo, see Cat. no. A16.

Matteoli's suggestion that the Uffizi portrait had as pendant the Portrait of Eleonora di Toledo in the Wallace Collection (79 x 60 cm) is insupportable; the London picture features an inscription and a vase that impart a commemorative quality to the portrait--appropriate only after Eleonora's death in 1562.

Gamba (1925, pp. 145-147), as the original portrait of Cosimo of 1545, from which all versions depend. Florence, Uffizi: Cat. Poggi (1926, p. 62), as Bronzino; McComb (1928, p. 95), as a "good school-copy" after the version in the Pitti (Cat. no. A16). Berenson (1932, p. 114), as Bronzino, incorrectly as no. 280. Venturi (1933, p. 70), as Bronzino. Berenson (1936, p. 98), as Bronzino. Florence, Pal. Medici: Cat. Medicea (1939, pp. 144-145, no. 13), as Bronzino's portrait of 1545. Florence, Pal. Strozzi: Cat. Cinquecento

Cat. no. A8 (A), ctd.

(1940, p. 54, no. 9), as Bronzino. Becherucci (1944, p. 46), as the original Bronzino of 1545. Jenkins (1947, p. 13, no. 68), as possibly not by Bronzino. Becherucci (1949, pp. v, 14 ill.), as the original Bronzino of 1545. Heikamp (1955, p. 134), idem. Keutner (1959, p. 49), as Bronzino, implying a date of ca. 1542. Emiliani (1960, pp. 46, 69 and pl. 90), as the primary version by Bronzino, of 1545, but mistakenly illustrated by the Pitti version (Cat. no. A16). Berenson (1963, I, 42), as partly autograph. Pope-Hennessy (1966, pp. 182-183, 186), as Bronzino. Matteoli (1969, p. 312, n. 28), as Bronzino and pendant to the Eleonora di Toledo in the Wallace Collection. Florence, Uffizi: Cat. Tribuna (1970-1971, p. 26, no. 2), as Bronzino. Forster (1971, p. 74, n. 25), as Bronzino, but incorrectly as having the Toison d'Or badge and therefore dating it after 1546. Baccheschi (1973, no. 54), as Bronzino. Thomas (1974, p. 194, fig. 141), as Bronzino, with reference to the armor seen, but mistakenly illustrating the version in the Pitti. McCorquodale (1978, p. 29), as Bronzino. Florence, Uffizi: Cat. (1980, no. P302), as Bronzino, ca. 1545. Langedijk (1981, p. 108, no. 27-44), as by Luigi Fiammingo after Bronzino, and painted between 1553 and 1560. McCorquodale (1981, p. 93, fig. 60), as Bronzino, ca. 1545-1546.

Cat. no. A9 (W)

Paris, Palais Galliera Sale (1975)

Panel, 71 x 59 cm (28" x 23 1/4")

Coll. Marquis de L. Rosiere; Coll. Baronne de Ruble (by 1885); Coll. Madame de Witte; Coll. Marquise de Bryas; sale, Palais Galliera (C-P Couturier), Paris, March 14, 1975, no. 59 (as attributed to Bronzino).

This is an unimpressive version of the portrait. The sale catalogue frankly notes "importants repeints," which are probably the cause of the several alterations evident in the suit of armor. The etched decorations are absent from areas of the breastplate and pauldron, while a pattern on the helmet's visor seems spurious. Perhaps a result of the picture's condition is the general appearance of coarseness in the face, hand, and curtain background--at least as perceived in the catalogue photograph. The Toison d'Or is not present, but one would have expected it in one of the over-painted areas. The restoration and reinforcement has left a thumb too flat and lips too Gallic.

Paris, Pal. d'Orsay: Cat. (1874), as Bronzino (cited in 1975 sale catalogue). Paris, Louvre: Cat. Alsace (1885, no. 46), as Bronzino.



Cat. no. A10 (X)

Paris, Galerie Georges Petit Sale (1904)

Panel, 73 x 58 (28 3/4" x 22 7/8")

Coll. Princess Mathilde (Bonaparte), Paris; her sale, Galerie Georges Petit, Paris, May 17-21, 1904, lot 54 (as attributed to Alessandro Allori, called Bronzino).

Evidently this is a half-length portrait, showing the Duke in armor; his right hand is described in the catalogue as resting on his helmet.

Cat. no. A11 (W)

Rome, Coll. Prince Sforza Ruspoli

Panel, 74 x 57 cm (29 1/8" x 22 1/2")

In the Ruspoli family collection for at least one hundred years.

This is a little-known half-length version of the portrait, showing Cosimo against a brownish green background. The Duke's beard is thin and the Golden Fleece absent, which would suggest an early date. Unfortunately, this picture has been subjected to extensive repainting that renders the determination of authorship difficult. Unlike the version recently sold in Paris (Cat. no. A9), this portrait's forms

Cat. no. A11 (W), ctd.

have not been substantially altered. Here the new paint follows the shapes and contours of the old. There are passages of genuine quality (e.g., the rendering of the etched decorations on Cosimo's right shoulder), but these appear alongside areas of broadly painted contours (as in the edge of Cosimo's left arm against the background), inaccurate reconstructions (the end of his index finger), reductively reproduced forms (the eyelids), and reinforced shapes (much of the hair), all the product of an early novecentista. It is conceivable that Bronzino's hand is locatable under all this, but in its present state this work must be considered an early workshop replica of the portrait in the Uffizi (Cat. no. A8).

Rome, Borghese: Cat. Pergola (II 1959, p. 21), as a replica, "very beautiful and of the highest quality." Baccheschi (1973, s.v. no. 113h), cited.

Cat. no. A12 (A)

Poznan, Muzeum Narodowe, Inv. MNP M05

Panel, 74.5 x 58 cm (29 3/8" x 22 7/8")

Coll. Strozzi, Florence (until 1820); Coll. Atanazy Raczynski, Berlin, and descendants (1820-1903); acquired by the museum

Cat. no. A12 (A), ctd.

in 1903.

Green drapery hangs as background in this handsome half-length version of the portrait. A youthful Duke, sans Toison d'Or, is seen following the standard format. Despite some evident problems in its condition (the surface seems in parts abraded), this version is clearly of very high quality and probably the work of the master himself. If so, this relatively little-known picture is an autograph replica of the half-length portrait (Cat. no. A8), painted before the receipt of the Toison d'Or in 1545.

All references below refer to the work as being by Bronzino. Raczyński: Cat. (1841, no. 17). Raczyński: Cat. (1876, no. 92). Volckmann, 1886, p. 75; Raczyński: Cat. Donop (1886, p. 9). Poznan: Cat. Gumowski (1924, no. 19). Poznan: Cat. Gumowski (1931, pp. 26-28, no. 7). Poznan: Cat. (1939, p. 39, no. 11). Białostocki-Walicki (1955, no. 92 ill.). Warsaw, Cat. Sztuka (1964, no. 11). Matteoli (1969, p. 312, n. 28), as a replica of the Uffizi portrait. Poznan: Cat. Dobrzycka (1969, p. 101, pl. 64). Baccheschi (1973, no. 54c). Langedijk (1981, no. 27-31). Dobrzycka, in Poznan: Cat. Raczyńskiego (1981, p. 44, no. 20, fig. 16).

Cat. no. A13 (W)

New York, Coll. Frederick Richmond

Panel, 75.2 x 62.2 cm (29 5/8" x 24 1/2")

This picture is an interesting half-length workshop version of the portrait. Although the armor, pose, and background (here green) faithfully follow the form of the portrait in armor, Cosimo's head is derived from Bronzino's later portrait of the Duke at age forty. The joining of the two types occurs below the neck where Cosimo's lace collar of the later portrait appears folded over the gorget of the armor from the earlier one. It is possible that this picture was commissioned (after 1559-1560) with instructions to utilize the more contemporary visage while following the model of the more striking armored torso. However, the information that X-rays indicate alterations in the beard and right eye of Cosimo (the extent is not clear), as well as reveal the presence of the rest of the gorget beneath the collar, suggest another origin. That would be that the portrait was altered some time in the sixteenth century. A desire to maintain a more au courant image of the Duke would have prompted the replacement through repainting of the youthful Cosimo with the middle-aged one. Supporting this contention is the presence, clearly added later and atypically sited below the wrist, of the badge of the Toison d'Or. The original portrait

Cat. no. A13 (W), ctd.

would then seem to have been painted in or before 1545 following the form of the Uffizi half length (Cat. no. A8); the new head, collar, and badge--based on the "forty-year portrait"--would have been added in or after 1560.

Cat. no. A14 (W)

Castagnola (Lugano), Collection Thyssen-Bornemisza  
Panel, 76.5 x 59 cm (30 1/8" x 23 1/4")

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

This half-length version of the portrait shows the Duke with thin, youthful beard and without the Golden Fleece insignia. Although parts of the picture are relatively well executed, there is evidence of considerable damage and repainting in much of the work. The surface is worn throughout so that even in the best parts (e.g., the face) an apparent lack of relief in the modelling (N.B. the planar right cheek) is evident. The problems are most perceptible in the armor. The etched pattern is not carried out with the usual finesse and the reflections on the arm and breastplate at the lower center are improperly understood; the bottom of the chin-piece of the helmet, as well as the decoration on it, seems

Cat. no. A14 (W), ctd.

to have been improvised in the course of a past restoration. The curtain backdrop is rather broadly rendered and gives an overly agitated appearance. This version would seem to be a damaged and restored early replica of the half-length portrait, painted before 1546 but not by Bronzino.

Mina Gregori (letter of January 11, 1976), as an autograph replica of the portrait in the Uffizi (Cat. no. A8). Thyssen: Cat. Borghero (1981, p. 50, no. 42A), as Bronzino.

Cat. no. A15 (W)

London, Sotheby's Sale (1939)

Canvas, 77.5 x 57.2 cm (30 1/2" x 22 1/2")

Coll. Botto, Chiavari (Genoa); with E. Gimpel and Wildenstein;  
Coll. Mrs. Evelyn St. George, London; her estate sale,  
Sotheby's, London, July 26, 1939, lot 78 (as "A. Bronzino");  
bought by Dr. Borenius.

This half-length portrait places Cosimo against a monochromatic, uncurtained background. No Toison d'Or is present and the Duke's appearance is typical of the earlier thin-bearded images. While indicative of an early replica painted no later than 1545, this version seems to lack a mastery of handling

Cat. no. A15 (W), ctd.

worthy of Bronzino himself. The lames of the right shoulder piece (pauldron) just to the left of the besague are drawn slightly irregularly and the reflections on the armor (particularly at the gorget) are rather unsubtly carried out.

Cat. no. A16 (W)

Florence, Galleria Palatina (Palazzo Pitti), No. 403.

Panel, 77.5 x 60.2 cm (30 1/2" x 23 3/4").

From the Grandducal collections; in the Uffizi in the seventeenth century.

In this half-length portrait the Duke appears before a green curtained background; the Toison d'or is present, indicating a date for this version of 1545 or later. Somewhat hard and flat in the description of forms, this portrait is clearly a workshop copy. It is very accurate in its recording of details, but rather unexciting in general aspect. Very subtle changes in the modelling and shading yield a face seemingly broader and flatter than that encountered in other versions. There is a certain tendency towards a sfumato rendering of contours (note the left silhouette of the head) and a slightly softer and less "smooth" appearance in the expanses of the hand and face. These characteristics suggest

Cat. no. A16 (W), ctd.

the tentative identification of this version with the portrait of "Cosimo armato" mentioned in the 1560 guardaroba inventory as a work by Luigi Fiammingo. Other works to be attributed to this artist, such as the Portrait of Lorenzo il Magnifico (Fig. 26; Poggio a Caiano, Inv. 106), provide interesting, if not absolutely convincing, parallels. Luigi was paid for his portraits of the Medici in 1547 and 1549 and thus the Golden Fleece would be expected on his portrait.

Listed in the manuscript inventories of the Galleria degli Uffizi for 1635 and 1636 (AGF, mss. 75 and 76), as Bronzino. Florence, Pitti: Cat. Chiavacci (1859, no. 403), as Bronzino. Conti (1893, pp. 101-102), as possibly the Bronzino portrait of Cosimo mentioned in the guardaroba inventory of 1553. Berenson (1896, p. 107), as Bronzino. Lafenestre-Richtenberger (n.d., p. 168), as Bronzino. Berenson (1904, p. 110), as Bronzino. Berenson (1909, p. 122), as Bronzino. Schaeffer (1911, p. 61), as Bronzino. Schulze (1911, pp. xiii and xlv), as Bronzino, ca. 1540, corrected to "school-picture?" Tinti (1920, p. 24, ill.), as Bronzino. Buttin (1925, p. 5, ill. 4), as Bronzino, ca. 1546. Gamba (1925, p. 145, fig. 1), as a copy after the Uffizi portrait, cat. CA-8. McComb (1928, p. 59, pl. 19), as Bronzino, ca. 1546-1550. Tinti (1930, pl. CCIV), as Bronzino. A. Venturi (1933, pp. 18-19, 70, fig. 1), as Bronzino. Florence, Pitti: Cat. Rusconi



Cat. no A16 (W), ctd.

(1937, pp. 83-84), as school of Bronzino. Florence, Pal. Strozzi: Cat. Cinquecento (1940, p. 54, no. 9), as Bronzino. Becherucci (1944, p. 46), as a replica. Jenkins (1947, p. 13, n. 68), as "probably from the hand of Bronzino." Becherucci (1949, p. v), as a replica. Emiliani (1960, pl. 90 ill.), as the portrait in the Uffizi (Cat. no. A8). Florence, Pitti: Cat. Cipriani (1966, p. 175 ill.), as "Bronzino?" or school. Florence, Pitti: Cat. Ciaranfi (1967, p. 97), as "Bronzino? or school." Matteoli (1969, p. 312, n. 28), as an autograph replica. Baccheschi (1973, no. 54a). Florence, Pitti: Cat. Servizio (1980, no. 1 ill.), as a replica, probably autograph, not before 1546 (N.B. cover illustration is of Cat. no. A8). Langedijk (1981, no. 27-21 ill.), as Bronzino.

Cat. no. A17 (W)

London, Sotheby's Sale (1957)

Panel, 81.9 x 67.3 cm (32 1/4" x 26 1/2")

With Sedelmeyer Gallery, Paris (by 1900-1907); their sale, Paris, June 3-5, 1907, Part III, lot 98 (as Bronzino: Portrait of Giovanni dalle Bande Nere); with Trotti Gallery, Paris; Coll. Marczell de Nemes, Budapest (by 1911-1918);

Cat. no. A17 (W), ctd.

his sale, Hôtel Drouot (C-P Dubourg), Paris, November 21, 1918, lot 5 (as Agnolo di Cosimo Bronzino); with M. Knoedler & Co., New York (by 1920—at least 1937); sale, Sotheby's, London, June 26, 1957, lot 78 (as "Bronzino"); bought by Paton.

This portrait of Cosimo in armor places the Duke before a view of Florence from the west. The format is slightly greater than half-length and the extensions beyond the "half-length zone" are inventions of the copyist. These include the cheek-piece of the helmet, the table on which it rests, and the small bit of dress visible below Cosimo's waist. As discussed in the text (Chapter V, pt. 4), these alterations, taken with the youthful appearance of the Duke and the absence of the Toison d'Or insignia, suggest that the picture is an early workshop version of Bronzino's half-length portrait of Cosimo, painted before a more extensive, three-quarter format portrait had been developed by the master.

In the older photographs of the painting (when owned by Sedelmeyer, Trotti, and the Nemes) a dark curtain or wall is seen behind Cosimo at the left. In later Knoedler photographs (Fig. A17b) a fluted column appears in its place. When the picture was sold in 1957, the column had disappeared and the wall had returned (Fig. A17a). It may be presumed

Cat. no. A17 (W), ctd.

that the addition of the column and the alterations of Cosimo's physiognomy effected at the same time were the work of a twentieth- rather than sixteenth-century hand. These other changes are visible in the Duke's head (which becomes rounder, softer, and more effeminate) and hair (which becomes squarer in contour and bushier in appearance). The cityscape at all times seems a bit mismanaged as well, with what appears to be a haystack for San Lorenzo (although by 1957 the haystack was furnished with a lantern) and the Empire State Building for the Badia; Morello's outline there is wrongly traced.

Paris, Sedelmeyer: Cat. (1900, p. 68, no. 54 ill.), as Bronzino: Portrait of Giovanni de' Medici. Schubring (1910-1911, p. 33, fig. 7), as Bronzino: Portrait of Cosimo I. Schulze (1911, p. xlvi), without attribution. San Francisco: Cat. Loan (1920, p. 8, no. 12, ill. opp. p. 10), as Bronzino, lent by Knoedler. New York, Union League: Cat. Loan (1926, no. 2), idem. McComb (1928, p. 140), cited. Kansas City: Cat. Loan (1930, no. 20), as Bronzino, lent by Knoedler. Toronto: Cat. Loan (1935, no. 4, p. 16 ill.), idem. Bachelor magazine [sic] (Vol. I, no. 1, April 1937, cover illustration in color), idem. Langedijk (1981, no. 27-19f.), as a copy or replica after Bronzino, illustrating the picture when it had the column.

Cat. no. A18 (X)

Versailles, Despinoy Sale (1850)

Panel, 83 x 65 cm (32 5/8" x 25 5/8")

Coll. Despinoy; whose sale, Versailles, January 14f., 1850,  
lot 37 (as by Bronzino).

Cosimo is described in the catalogue as being about thirty  
years of age, with his right hand on his helmet, having  
short hair and bare neck, and wearing a cuirass and a green  
scarf or sash about his waist.

Cat. no. A19 (A)

Private Collection

Panel, 86 x 67 cm (33 7/8" x 26 3/8")

Inscribed on the tree trunk at lower right: COS . . . MVS /  
MEDICES·DVX / FLOR

Coll. Paolo Giovio, Florence and Borgovico, Como (before  
1551-1552); by descent to the following: Giulio Giovio (1552-  
1562); Paolo Giovio the Younger (1562-1585); Ludovico Giovio  
(1585-1610; painting transferred to Palazzo Giovio in Como);  
Alessandro Giovio (1610-1647); Paolo Giovio (1647-1660);  
Antonio Giovio (1660-1661); Alessandro Giovio (1661-1705);  
Paolo Giovio (1705-1760); Alessandro Giovio (1760-1780);  
Paolo Giovio (1780-1846); Giorgio Raimondi Orchi (or De'

Cat. no. A19 (A), ctd.

Orchi), Como (1846-1860), by whom sold to: Napoleon Joseph Charles Bonaparte (called Jerome, Plon-Plon, and the Prince Napoleon), Palais Royal, Paris (1860-1871), and London (1871-1872); his sale, Christie's, London, May 11, 1872, lot 302 (as "A. Bronzino"); bought by Thomas Hofloway; Coll. Alfred Morrison, Fonthill House, Hindon, Wilts. (until 1897); by descent to the following: Hugh Morrison (1897-1931); John Granville Morrison, 1st Baron Margadale of Islay, Fonthill House, Wilts. (1931-1971); his sale, Christie's, London, November 26, 1971, lot 47 (as "Bronzino"); bought by Cyril Humphris, London, through whom passed to the current owner.

This unpublished portrait is the finest example of the larger format portrait and the only one definitely painted by Bronzino. The Duke is seen before a deep blue background. No Toison d'Or badge is present and the beard is thin and wispy. The helmet rests upon severed tree trunk, on which the inscription appears. From the side of the stump a laurel branch grows to its left and behind the helmet, rising to the right of Cosimo. This is the Medicean symbol of the broncone, which was adopted by the Duke as a personal emblem during the early years of his reign (see Chapter VI, pt. 2).

The execution of this painting is uniformly brilliant with none of the formal faults encountered in some of the

Cat. no. A19 (A), ctd.

workshop copies (see Chapter V). As indicated above, this picture was in the collection of Paolo Giovio, to whom it was probably given by Cosimo I himself (see Chapter VI, pt. 1). Whether the gift was specifically a response to any request, deed, or suggestion of Giovio's is not known. Giovio, who wrote a dialogue on imprese (Giovio, Dialogo, 1551), might have prompted the inclusion of the broncone in the portrait. As a friend and advisor to Cosimo, as well as the leading portrait collector of his day, he was also in a position to counsel the Duke and it is not impossible that the suitability of the larger format portrait was indicated by Giovio himself. It is, in any case, conceivable that Giovio commissioned this portrait directly from Bronzino--or that the Duke converted such a purchase to a gift, much as he had done with the tapestries ordered by Giovio from the Medici Arrazzeria (see Chapter VI, pt. 1, p. 104, note 3).

Giovio refers to the portrait in his Elogia virorum bellica virtute illustrium veris imaginibus supposita, published in 1551; the text of his eloquium is given below. How long before then Giovio received the painting is not clear. Since the inscription on the tree trunk, which is of the sort that appears in all the portraits known to have been owned by Giovio (see Chapter VI, pt. 1, p. 115, note 1),

Cat. no. A19 (A), ctd.

appears contemporary with the rest of the painting, and since the lack of the Toison d'Or places the picture at least before 1546, it would seem likely that this work entered Giovio's collection about that time (ca. 1545).

The painting is in remarkably fine condition throughout with only minor paint losses--mostly along a vertical crack in the panel (cf. Fig. A19d) and, to a lesser extent, atop a horizontal incised mark in the gesso (for which see below). The panel itself has not been cradled or thinned. Two wooden battens have been let in on the rear and serve to hinder warping; these are of the type frequently encountered in Florentine works. The poplar panel shows signs of shaving along all the edges. The reduction would appear to have been minor, except perhaps at the bottom. There, it is possible that a few inches have been lost--the area reflected in the extended armor and codpiece visible in the version at Kassel (Cat. no. A20). The back of the panel bears an insignia or monogram, twice repeated, that has so far proven unidentifiable; it consists of three interlocking letters--either DOV or DON.

This portrait is the earliest extant version of the three-quarter length portrait, and it is likely that it was the first of its type, surviving or not. This conclusion is suggested by certain incised marks in the gesso visible

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on the surface of the portrait in raking light. The most prominent (and the only one clear in the photographs here) is a horizontal line extending from a point three and one-half centimeters from the left of the panel's edge to a point four centimeters from the right side at a distance of ten and one-half centimeters from the bottom of the picture; the 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 one and one-half centimeters 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. The rectangle formed, of 74 x 58.5 cm (29 1/8" x 23"), corresponds with the area described in the half-length portraits in both form and size. This suggests that a half-length cartoon was used by Bronzino as the basis for this picture--the perimeters of which were traced onto the panel--and that those areas of the armor and broncone to be appended were added subsequently. Had a three-quarter length portrait already been produced, a correspondingly large cartoon would have been used as a matrix for the present picture.

X-rays of the painting reveal the presence of at least one abandoned portrait beneath. Either a major change



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had been contemplated for this figure or another composition existed beneath it, since there are several incompatible forms. The most prominent feature in the X-ray (due to the amount of lead white employed) is the head of another figure slightly below and to the left of Cosimo's; this seems to have been worked on to a fair degree of completion as its features and shape appear with equal intensity as those of the portrait of the Duke above. Either this figure (which otherwise could be either a man or a woman) or one beneath it (which would be a man) wears a hat similar to those found in other portraits of this time by Bronzino, such as Ugolino Martelli, the Uffizi Lutanist, and the young men in the Metropolitan Museum and in Kansas City. The hat is clearly visible to the left of the head; either the other side of it or the hair of the subject can be perceived at the right. In any case, the figure seems to be turned slightly to the right and holds an open book at the left. Details of the dress seem only vaguely indicated and were probably never executed. The basic pose, though, can be sufficiently read to indicate its similarity to that found in works by Bronzino such as the Ugolino Martelli, Lutanist, or Portrait of a Lady in Frankfurt, and by Pontormo, the so-called Maria Salviati (Uffizi) or the Portrait of a Man with a Book (formerly private collection in Florence; see Berti, 1973,

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no. 125). What is evident from this abandoned portrait(s) indicates a work, probably by Bronzino, not much earlier than the portrait visible today.

Giovio's elogium follows (Giovio, Elogia, 1551, p. 338):

Sub effigie Cosmi Medicis Florent. Principis  
 Dii vota tua cumultate impleat magnanime Cosme, post quam  
 nihil praeter ipsum absolutae virtutis specimen respiciunt.  
 Tales namq. tibi mores natura tribuit, nusquam hercle  
 noverca, uti fas est videre, sed semper arridens & benigna  
 mater, ut gloriam ex benefactis clarissimisque virtutibus  
 obvenientem contemnas potius quàm affectes. Apud te  
 siquidem pudor atque iustitia viget, & virtuti optimisque  
 artibus domi tuae certissimus est receptus. Literas colis,  
 ingenia foves, magnificentiae studium pulcherrimis operibus  
 extendis. Rempublicam porro ita gubernas, ut nobilitatem  
 in honore habere, populum alere, & patriam tranquillitate  
 atque opibus florentissimam reddere contendas. Quod verò  
 admirabile clementiae tuae munus est, exules facile reducis;  
 parcis rebellibus scilicet ut plures domi sint, qui tibi  
 plurimum debeant, & nomen tuum sincero maxime studio  
 venerentur. Id enim salutare cives agnoscunt, Etrusci omnes  
 certum publicis rebus praesidiu fatentur, & tota iam Italia,  
 atque posteriores gentes felicitis tui & recte constituti

Cat. no. A19 (A), ctd.

Principatus decus concelebrant. Perge igitur optime Princeps, ut te supergressum humanas laudes, & beata tua prole gaudentem, quam longa senecta vitae finem attolerit, ingenem animam conspicua in sede coelites exceptam constituent, & posteritas omnes, cuncta ingenii atque Fortunae tuae monumenta, aeternis laudibus persequatur.

(Under the Effigy of Cosimo Medici, Prince of Florence  
O magnanimous Cosimo, may the gods grant your wishes abundantly, since they see nothing better than you as a specimen of perfect virtue. Indeed Nature [never, by Hercules, a step-mother, but always a smiling and benign mother, as there is good reason to see], bestows such a character on you that you spurn more than strive for the glory coming from your good deeds and your renowned courage [virtue]. Truly, in you modesty and justice flourish, and for virtue and the best arts the refuge of your house is most assured. You cultivate letters, you cherish talents, you increase the pursuit of magnificence with the most beautiful works. Moreover, you govern the state this way, so that you strive to hold the nobility in honor, to foster the people, and to restore the most flourishing [Florentine] nation to tranquility and wealth. What is truly an admirable gift of your mercy, you readily lead back the exiles; you spare the rebels obviously, so that many be those which owe you much, and they venerate

Cat. no. A19 (A), ctd.

your name greatly with sincere zeal. Indeed, the citizens recognize that they revere it [your name], all the Etruscans acknowledge the sure protector of the state, and now all Italy and peoples more remote celebrate the glory and the realm of you, prosperous and rightly established. Press on, therefore, O Prince, so that when you have surpassed all human praises, and rejoicing in your blessed offspring [whom long old age will carry to the end of their life], your great soul received, the gods may establish you in a distinguished abode, and posterity may record everything with eternal praises, everything of your genius and the monuments of your prosperity.)

It is hardly surprising that in Traiano Boccalini's Ragguagli di Parnaso of 1613 (1912, pp. 312-313), Giovio's acceptance into Parnassus should be questioned because of his excessive praise of Cosimo I. The two poems on the portrait by Giovio the Younger and Rinieri published in Giovio's Elogia are given here in Chapter VI. Beneath the engraved illustration of the portrait in the 1575 Basel edition of the Elogia, the following unattributed lines appear:

Non tantum nitet oris honos, quam vivida pulcra  
 Gloria virtutis corde vigente micat.  
 Per te parta quies Patriae, et nova copia rerum,  
 Per te pegaseis artibus ortus honos.

Cat. no. A19 (A), ctd.

Hinc liquet imbelles Aquillam non gignere turdos;

Fortia sed fortes semina ferre Duces.

(Not more does honor shine forth from his mouth than vivid, beautiful glory shines forth from the heart, flourishing with virtues. By you peace is obtained and a new abundance of things; by you the honor has arisen with respect to the Pegasean [muses'] arts. Hence let not the eagle bear unwarlike thrushes, but that strong seeds bear strong dukes.)

Giovio (Elogia, 1551, pp. 338-339), praises the portrait of Cosimo in his elogium (see above); with poems by Paolo Giovio the Younger and Antonio Francesco Rinieri. Giovio (Eloqi, 1559, pp. 191v-192r), *idem.*, the Italian translation. Giovio (1575, pp. 390-391), with, in addition to the elogium, an engraved illustration of the portrait (Fig. 24), reversed to reflect its original orientation; six lines of verse are appended (see above). Fuchs (1615, p. 78), reproduces the head and shoulders of the portrait (Fig. 25). G. Giovio (1881, p. 85), mentions the sale of the Bronzino portrait of Cosimo I to the Prince Napoleon. Ponce de León (1893, p. 15), *idem.* Müntz (1900-1901, pp. 273, 331), *idem.* Rovelli (1928, p. 143, no. 143), *idem.* Langedijk (1981, no. 27-19a), cites Giovio's portrait and illustrates the engraving from the 1575 edition.

Cat. no. A20 (W)

Kassel, Gemäldegalerie Alte Meister, Schloss Wilhelmshöhe,  
no. GK 834

Panel, 94.8 x 65.2 cm (37 3/8" x 25 5/8")

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

This handsome workshop version of the portrait is somewhat compromised by a grimy and only partially cleaned surface. The figure of Cosimo is placed more to the left than usual, perhaps to accommodate a wider tree-trunk support and increased foliage above it. As discussed in the text (Chapter VI, pt. 2), an olive branch rather than a laurel seems to be represented there. A summarily executed Toison d'Or hangs about the Duke's neck and his beard is rather thick. The reflections of the helmet on the breastplate and the underside of the vambrace (forearm armor) are reductively treated and perhaps not properly understood. The overall execution seems careful, accurate, somewhat dry, certainly not brilliant. Slightly more of the armor (as well as part of a codpiece) is visible in this portrait than in the autograph three-quarter length portrait (Cat. no. A19). While it is possible that this addition was an alteration to Bronzino's design--

Cat. no. A20 (W), ctd.

like, it would seem, the wider tree trunk--the variation seems more likely to reflect a loss at the bottom of the autograph picture. In the present version a slight discoloration along the bottom inch or two of the paint surface may indicate that this area was at one time obscured by a frame. The curtain background is of a drab olive-green color. Although the Kassel picture has been almost uniformly considered an autograph work by Bronzino, there is no real justification for that contention in the quality and execution or formal design. A proper cleaning would no doubt improve its aspect but hardly alter a consideration of the painting as a workshop version of the three-quarter length portrait, painted sometime after 1545 and before 1560.

Berlin: Cat. Waagen (1830, p. 85, no. 315), as Vasari.

Berlin: Cat. Waagen (1855, p. 100, no. 332), as Vasari.

Berlin: Cat. Meyer-Bode (1878, p. 399, no. 337), as Vasari.

Berlin: Cat. Bode (1883, p. 472, no. 337), as Vasari. Harck (1889, p. 205), as Vasari. Berlin: Cat. Bode (1891, p. 36), as Bronzino. Berenson (1896, p. 106), as Bronzino. Berlin: Cat. Bode (1898, p. 39, no. 337), as Bronzino. Berenson (1904, p. 110), as Bronzino. Berlin: Cat. Bode (1904, p. 50, no. 337), as Bronzino. Schaeffer (1904, pp. 179 ill., 187-188), as Bronzino. Woermann (1906, p. 82), as Bronzino and,

Cat. no. A20 (W), ctd.

with the Pitti picture (Cat. no. A16), the best version. Berenson (1909, p. 122), as Bronzino (absent from later editions). Schulze (1911, p. vi), as Bronzino and the best version, ca. 1540. Schaeffer (1911, p. 62), as Bronzino. Kassel: Cat. Gronau (1913, p. 9), as Bronzino. Voss (1920, I, 229, fig. 75), as Bronzino. Tinti (1920, p. 25, ill.), as Bronzino. Buttin (1925, pp. 5 ill., 6), as a Bronzino replica of the Pitti portrait (Cat. no. A16). Gamba (1925, p. 147), as a workshop version of the Uffizi portrait (Cat. no. A8). McComb (1928, pp. 12-13, 48-49, pl. 18), as Bronzino. Kassel: Cat. Gronau-Luthmer (1929, p. 11), as Bronzino. Venturi (1933, p. 70), as Bronzino. Kassel: Cat. Voigt (1938, p. 70), as Bronzino. Becherucci (1944, p. 46), as a beautiful replica of the Uffizi portrait (Cat. no. A8). Jenkins (1947, p. 13 and n. 68), as Bronzino and "perhaps the most splendid" of the versions. Becherucci (1949, p. v), as a replica of the Uffizi portrait. Kassel: Cat. Vogel (1958, p. 37), as Bronzino. Emiliani (1960, s.v. pl. 90), as a replica. Matteoli (1969, p. 312, n. 28), as a Bronzino replica of 1546. Forster (1971, pp. 74-75, fig. 11), as Bronzino, after 1553. Baccheschi (1973, no. 54d). Smith (1977, p. 268), as Bronzino. Kassel: Cat. Lehmann (1980, pp. 158-159 ill.), as Bronzino. Schleier, in Berlin: Cat.



Cat. no. A20 (W), ctd.

Bilder (1980, pp. 208-209), as workshop of Bronzino.

Langedijk (1981, p. 82, no. 27-19 ill.), as Bronzino, one of the best examples.

Cat. no. A21 (W)

New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art, No. 08.262.

Panel 95.9 x 70.5 cm (37 3/4" x 27 3/4")

Coll. Strozzi, Florence; Coll. Rev. John Sanford, Florence and London; his sale, Christie's London, March 9, 1839, lot 123 (as Bronzino); Coll. Charles Callahan Perkins, Boston (by 1851-1886); by descent to Charles Bruen Perkins, Boston (1886-1908); purchased by the museum in 1908.

This three-quarter length portrait places the Duke before a variant background of embroidered drapery with a raised curtain before it. The absence of the Golden Fleece insignia and the thinness of Cosimo's beard indicate an early date for the portrait, sometime before 1546. The chronological position of this picture within the series as a whole can be further fixed by an appreciation of the diverse rendering of the armor here, as well as the inclusion of the table and its covering at the lower right. Within the area delimited by the half-length picture in the Uffizi (Cat. no. A8) this

Cat. no. A21 (W), ctd.

version presents a faithful record of the established portrait type. But beyond those confines the copyist has followed his own imagination in his desire to fill out the larger state-portrait format. Thus the skirt of lames (the thigh armor), as well as the bottom of the breastplate, are only generically portrayed--based not on the Duke's armor but on a knowledge of what kind of defense would be there expected. Similarly the fabric on the table is arranged so as to obscure that portion of the helmet (specifically the bottom of the chin-piece and the back, at the extreme right, of the helmet) which does not appear in the half-length version. These alterations appear specifically below and to the right of the perimeter of the smaller-format picture. Further to the right of the helmet appears here the Duke's hand, as well an interpolation of the copyist, which does not appear in any of the other versions of the portrait.

These variations, taken with related evidence from other portraits (cf. Chapter V, pt. 4), suggest that this three-quarter length version was derived from a half-length model because, at the time of its execution, no larger-format portrait yet existed; the copyist here completed the "official" head and torso with appurtenances of his own device. A date, then, after the creation of the half-length version (Summer 1543) and before the development by Bronzino

Cat. no. A21 (W), ctd.

of a three-quarter length version (late 1544-early 1545) would be expected. A very similar curtain background appears in a male portrait, also in the Metropolitan Museum, that has been unconvincingly attributed both to Salviati (at the Medici court in the 1540s) and Siciolante (New York, MMA: Cat. Zeri-Gardner, 1971, pp. 205-207). This portrait seems Florentine but of later date (after 1560 ?); its curtain motif may be derived from, rather than the source of, that in this Portrait of Cosimo I.

A watercolor copy of the portrait by F. Martini, executed in Florence before the Sanford Collection's removal to England, exists in an album in the collection of Lord Methuen at Corsham Court.

Boston: Cat. (1851, no. 91), as Bronzino, lent by C.C. Perkins. Boston: Cat. (1852, no. 89), idem. Boston: Cat. (1853, no. 10), idem. Boston: Cat. (1854, no. 69), idem. Burroughs (1909, p. 69 ill.), as Bronzino. Breck (1909, p. 292), as Bronzino. Schulze (1911, p. xxiv), as a good replica, close to the version in the Accademia (now Uffizi, Cat. no. CA-24). Comstock (1927, pp. 51, 52 ill.), as Bronzino. McComb (1928, pp. 13, 72-73, pl. 17), as Bronzino and probably the original version, ca. 1542-1545. McComb (1931, p. 44), as Bronzino. A. Venturi (1932, p. 73), as Bronzino. New York, MMA: Cat. Wehle (1940, p. 69), as workshop of Bronzino. C. Brandi (in

Cat. no. A21 (W), ctd.

museum archives, 1940), as possibly by Allori. Becherucci (1944, p. 46), as a workshop replica. Jenkins (1947, p. 13, n. 68), as "probably from the hand of Bronzino" and possibly the earliest version, dating from before 1546. Emiliani (1960, s.v. pl. 90), as a replica. Faison (1967, p. 451), as a weak studio replica. Matteoli (1969, p. 312, n. 28), as a replica of the Uffizi portrait (Cat. no. A8). Forster (1971, p. 74, n. 25), as perhaps the version "closest to a lost or unidentified original of ca. 1544-45." New York, MMA: Cat. Zeri-Gardner (1971, p. 203), as workshop. Fredericksen-Zeri (1972, p. 36), as school of Bronzino. Baccheschi (1973, no. 54g), as workshop of Bronzino. Smith (1977, p. 268), as Bronzino. Langedijk (1981, no. 27-29), as workshop of Bronzino.

Cat. no. A22 (X)

London, Christie's Sale (1906)

Panel, 99.1 x 76.2 cm (39" x 30")

Sale, Christie's, London, June 30, 1906, lot 76 (as "Bronzino");  
bought by Abraham.

Described in the catalogue as a "portrait of Charles, The

Cat. no. A22 (X), ctd.

Bold, Duke of Burgundy, in armour, resting his hand upon his helmet." That this portrait instead represents Cosimo I is only a supposition based on this description.

Cat. no. A23 (W)

Toledo (Ohio), Toledo Museum of Art, No. 13.232

Panel, 101.6 x 77.8 cm (41" x 30 5/8")

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

This three-quarter length version of the portrait is of impressive size and good quality, although not from the master's hand. As with the version at Kassel (Cat. no. A20), there is additional space at the right of the picture-- permitting a wider tree trunk, extended helmet, and more florid branch. In the Toledo picture, however, that extra area has been supplemented by comparable extensions of the background space at the left and at top. The result is a larger picture, one perhaps more balanced but at the same time formally weaker; the green curtain backdrop (rather prosaically furled in the extended area) has become too

Cat. no. A23 (W), ctd.

spatially dominant and the force of the Duke's image has thereby become somewhat vitiated.

The Toison d'Or is present; the beard, only moderately heavy. The tree trunk has been extended to the left and now adjoins the side of Cosimo's thigh armor. In the lacuna below the chin-piece and to the left of the stump, a few leaves can be seen of what in the autograph version (Cat. no. A19) is the beginning of the shoot of the broncone. Here no connection with the trunk is visible. This is also the case in the area at the back of the stump, where what appears to be a piece of wood is interpolated between the branch and the trunk. The branch bears berries here; apparently an olive, rather than a laurel branch, is represented (cf. Chapter VI, pt. 2). This variation, in its adoption of a symbol of peace for one denoting Medicean right, complements the evident intention here of presenting the Duke in a manner less monitory and bellicose than that perceived in the earlier versions of the portrait; the work seems, with its inflated background, more spacious, stately, open pacific--if also less dynamic and concentrated.

In its execution the painting lacks Bronzino's vibrancy and delicacy. Although faithful and exacting in the rendering of details, the copyist seems here to have been less successful in the reflections of the armor--which

Cat. no. A23 (W), ctd.

appear if fastidiously then also insipidly reproduced. Further, apparent in the painting of the hand are unsubtle contrasts in the shading of the wrist and digits, a lack of resolution in the contours, and a certain morbidezza foreign to the master's usually adamantine flesh.

This picture is particularly close in composition, iconographic variety, and level of quality with the slightly larger version at St. John's College in Annapolis (Cat. no. A25)--considered as well a workshop product from the period 1545-1560. The Toledo picture, which was transferred to a plywood panel in 1934, has recently been cleaned and restored (1979).

Harck (1889, p. 205), as attributed to Bronzino, a good replica. Hainauer: Cat. Bode (1897, p. 71, no. 68), as Vasari, with incorrect measurements. Bruges: Cat. Toison d'Or (1907, p. 47, no. 158), as by an unknown Italian and incorrectly described as on canvas. Schulze (1911, p. iv), as a Bronzino replica of the picture at Kassel (Cat. no. A20). McComb (1928, p. 133), as "attributed," a replica of the Kassel portrait. Toledo: Cat. Godwin (1939, p. 16), as Bronzino. Berenson (1963, I, 44, II, pl. 1445), as in part autograph. Toledo: Cat. (1966, p. 26 ill.), as Bronzino. Faison (1967, p. 451, fig. 10), as Bronzino. Matteoli (1969, p. 312, n. 28), as replicated by Bronzino in 1546.

Cat. no. A23 (W), ctd.

Levey (1971, pp. 99-100, fig. 81), as Bronzino. Fredericksen-Zeri (1972, pp. 36, 515), as school of Bronzino. Baccheschi (1973, no. 54e). Toledo: Cat. (1976, pp. 31-32, pl. 13), as Bronzino. Smith (1977, p. 208, fig. 2), as Bronzino. Langedijk (1981, no. 27-35), as workshop of Bronzino.

Cat. no. A24 (L)

Florence, Uffizi, Inv. 1890, no. 8739 (old exhibition no. 1613)

Panel, 105 x 87 cm (41 3/8" x 34 1/4")

Convento delle Murate, Florence; Galleria dell'Accademia, Florence (where no. 179); Galleria degli Uffizi, Florence.

This three-quarter length version of the portrait presents Cosimo before a red-brown background, at the left of which two red furls of curtain hang. The helmet rests on what only might be a tree trunk; a table may have been substituted. Behind and to the right an olive-branch, in lieu of the laurels of the broncone (cf. Cat. nos. A20, A23, A25, and Chapter VI, pt. 2), can be dimly seen. The badge of the Toison d'Or is present and the Duke's beard is quite heavy. The lower sections of Cosimo's armor and helmet seem at first to be the products of the artist's own imagination--created



Cat. no. A24 (L), ctd.

in the same additive manner as some of the earlier versions of the portrait (Cat. nos. A17 and A21). However, to some extent the entire suit of armor has been similarly treated--translated into the idiosyncratic language of the executing artist. The style of the work in general is broad, loose, far from the mark of Bronzino; Cosimo here bears a haughty scowl. The painter responsible for this version would seem to be either an artist of strong stylistic personality who sought to reinterpret Bronzino's composition or a copyist of quite remarkable incompetence. The work comes from the Convento delle Murate, which, it has been noted, was under the protection of Eleonora di Toledo; such a happenstance should not prevent one's consideration of the picture as a product of the late sixteenth or perhaps early seventeenth century.

Florence, Accademia: Cat. Ugolini (1827, p. 46, no. 89), probably the work listed as by Bronzino, representing "an armed soldier, believed to be of the Medici family."

Florence, Accademia: Cat. Pieraccini (1893, pp. 88-89, no. 179), as Bronzino, the portrait described by Vasari.

Lafenestre-Richtenberger (n.d., p. 207), as Bronzino.

Schulze (1911, p. viii), as part by Bronzino; the head is one of the earliest of the master, while the armor is work-

shop. Voss (1920, I, 229), as Bronzino. McComb (1928,

Cat. no. A24 (L), ctd.

p. 95), as a replica of the picture at Kassel (Cat. no. A20). Jenkins (1947, p. 13, n. 68), as "probably from the hand of Bronzino." Berenson (1963, I, 41, listed twice, as no. 1613, the old exhibition number, and as no. 8739, of the 1890 inventory), as Bronzino. Baccheschi (1973, no. 54f). Langedijk (1981, no. 27-25), as workshop of Bronzino.

Cat. no. A25 (W)

Annapolis (Maryland), St. John's College  
Panel, 110.5 x 80.6 cm (43 1/2" x 31 3/4")

Coll. Prince Stanislas Lubomirski, Poland (?); Coll. Maurice Pate, New York (1935); Coll. Warren Smadbeck, New York; Gift to St. John's College.

This three-quarter length version of the portrait is very close in composition and quality to the slightly smaller portrait in the Toledo Museum of Art (see the fuller description under Cat. no. A23). The tree stump and olive-branch (the "renovated" peaceful broncone; cf. Chapter VI, pt. 2) are evident at the lower right; the Toison d'Or and thick beard typical of the later replicas are present here as well. The execution of the work is clearly not due to Bronzino; like the Toledo portrait this picture has

Cat. no A25 (W), ctd.

been painted by a competent but neither inspired nor inspiring artist. Some of the reflections and highlights in the armor are rather broadly, indelicately painted; the reflection of the helmet on the breastplate seems particularly simple-minded and a few passages (e.g., the reflection on the cuirass directly below the elbow) seem to have lost all connection with their model (compare the same area in the autograph version, Cat. no. A19). Some damage is present at the bottom of the picture and along several major cracks in the panel--the most prominent of which passes through the hand, helmet, and left besague.

Toledo: Cat. (1976, p. 31), mentioned.

Cat. no. A26 (W)

Lucca, Pinacoteco Nazionale, Inv. 70

Panel, 181 x 103 cm (71 1/4" x 40 1/2")

From the 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).

Cat. no. A26 (W), ctd.

This is a very large version of the portrait, showing Cosimo in three-quarter length format, standing beside a veined marble column that is in part covered by a curtain. On the severed tree trunk rests the helmet--its form, and that of the lower reaches of the suit of armor, properly recorded. The badge of the Toison d'Or is worn about the neck; Cosimo's beard is only moderately full. The work is dirty and not in good condition, showing areas of much abrasion with a consequent loss of much of the fine patterning of the armor. The background appears black but may have been repainted. Milanesi thought this the finest version and Schulze placed it in quality after the version in Kassel (Cat. no. A20). Later critics have been less generous in their tributes. The head and hand seem particularly well done; a needed cleaning of the picture may well upgrade the attribution. The motif of the column at the left does not appear in any of the other versions. The relationship of figure to space here creates a strong composition which, with the magnitude of the panel, makes this one of the most imposing examples of the portrait.

Milanesi, in Vasari-Milanesi (1878, VII, 598, n. 1), as by Bronzino and identifiable with the portrait described by Vasari. Furno (1902, p. 45), possibly the portrait cited by Vasari. Lucca: Cat. (1909, pp. 65-66, no. 160), as the

Cat. no. A26 (W), ctd.

primary version by Bronzino. Schulze (1911, p. xxii), as the best replica after the painting in Kassel (cat. CA-20). Schaeffer (1911, p. 61), as Bronzino. McComb (1928, p. 109), as a replica of the Kassel version. Florence, Pitti: Cat. Rusconi (1937, p. 84), as perhaps the most beautiful and most surely original version. Jenkins (1947, p. 13, n. 68), as possibly not by Bronzino. Emiliani (1960, s.v. pl. 90), cited. Belli Barsali (1970, p. 95), as manner of Bronzino. Baccheschi (1973, no. 54b ill.). Renzoni, in Pisa: Cat. (1980, pp. 373-374), as by Bronzino, the prototype of the three-quarter length composition, but with dimensions of 106 x 82. Langedijk (1981, no. 27-27), as workshop of Bronzino.

Cat. no. A27 (X)

Florence, Collection Marchese Pucci (1911)

Schulze reports that, according to Trifon Trapesnikoff, two portraits of Cosimo "related to the" portrait in Kassel (Cat. no. A20) were to be found in the collection of the Marchese Pucci in the Palazzo Pucci in Florence.

Schulze (1911, p. x), as Bronzino.

## Section B (Portraits of Cosimo I at Age Forty)

Cat. no. B1 (W)

Florence, Uffizi, Inv. 1890, no. 4032 (and/or Inv. 1890,  
no. 9015; old exhibition number, when at the Pitti,  
miniature no. 246)

Panel, tondo, 7.4 cm diam. (2 7/8")

This small portrait miniature of Cosimo closely follows the  
"forty-year" type; it appears to be of relatively good  
quality.

Schulze (1911, p. xxxii), as by or after Bronzino. Langedijk  
(1981, no. 27-61, ill.), as anonymous, after Bronzino.

Cat. no. B2 (L)

Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum, Ambras min. D23.

Paper on cardboard, 13.5 x 10.5 cm (5 1/4" x 4 1/8")

Inscribed at the op: COSMVS. DVX. FLORENT.

From the collection of Ferdinand of Tirol; transferred from  
his castle at Ambras to Vienna around 1770.

This miniature portrait after Bronzino's "forty-year" type  
was executed after 1587 as part of a series of small por-  
traits of the Medici done for Ferdinand of Tirol's portrait

Cat. no. B2 (L), ctd.

collection. The level of quality is not terribly high, but the subject is recognizable--which is more than can be said for some of the other miniatures in the series. The picture was executed by Copyist "A," a hand isolated by Kenner as having been responsible for several works in the Ambras collection.

Kenner (1897, pp. 161-162, no. 23), as after Bronzino.  
Vienna: Cat. Porträtsammlung (1932, no. D23), without attribution. Langedijk (1981, no. 27-15, ill.), as anonymous, after Bronzino.

Cat. no. B3 (A)

Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum, Inv. 212

Tin, 18 x 14 cm (7 1/8" x 5 1/2")

Inscribed on the back: COSMVS MEDICES FLOR. DVX. II /

BRONZINI. OPVS

From the collection of Ferdinand of Tirol; transferred from his castle at Ambras to Vienna in 1780.

This is an excellent bust-length version of the portrait, painted delicately and authoritatively. The high quality suggests an attribution to Bronzino himself. The technique

Cat. no. B3 (A), ctd.

and handling of the paint are directly comparable with the quadretti in the Uffizi (cf. Cosimo in Armor, Cat. no. A1) and suggest that this miniature formed part of such a series. The inscription on the back of the work is conceivably autograph, but has not been seen or photographed.

No. 129 in the 1719 manuscript inventory of Schloss Ambras. No. 1 in the list of pictures transferred to Vienna in 1780. Vienna: Cat. Mechel (1783, p. 146, no. 23). Waagen (1866, p. 66, no. 34), as Bronzino. Vienna: Cat. Engerth (1881, no. 97), as Bronzino, incorrectly as oval. Vienna: Cat. Gluck (1907, no. 111), as Bronzino. Vienna: Cat. (1965, p. 25, no. 473), as Bronzino workshop. Vienna: Cat. (1973, p. 5), as Alessandro Allori. Baccheschi (1973, no. 113f). Vienna, Cat. Porträtgalerie (1976, s.v. no. 244), as attributed to Allori. Schaefer (1976, p. 513, n. 50), as Bronzino-Allori workshop. Langedijk (1981, no. 27-37), as Bronzino workshop, incorrectly as oval, with dimensions reversed.



Cat. no. B4 (W)

London, National Gallery, No. 704

Panel, 21.4 x 17.2 cm (8 3/8" x 6 3/4")

Coll. Maréchal de Luxembourg; Coll. Joseph von Rechberg, Paris (August-September 1815); Coll. Ludwig von Dettingen-Wallerstein, Munich (?) and London (1815-ca. 1848); Coll. Albert of Saxe-Coburg-Gotha, Prince Consort of England, London (ca. 1848-1861); presented by Queen Victoria in fulfillment of the wishes of the Prince Consort, 1863.

This rather lackluster version of the portrait places the head and shoulders of the Duke before a green background. The collar does not follow the same pattern of embroidered decoration found in other examples of the type, nor is the section of the coat where the buttons ought to be (but are not) properly rendered. Proportionally small facial features (the ear and eyes) and a particularly hairy wart do not enhance the overall visual appeal.

Dettingen-Wallerstein: Cat. (ca. 1826, no. 28), as Antonio Moro. Waagen (1857, IV, 223, no. 20), as Bronzino.

Manchester: Cat. Art Treasures (1857, no. 192), as Bronzino.

Schulze (1911, p. xx), as a replica by Bronzino. McComb (1928, p. 107), as a replica not by Bronzino. London, NG: Cat. (1937, p. 69 ill.), as studio of Bronzino. London, NG: Cat. (1973, p. 80 ill.), as studio of Bronzino.

Cat. no. B4 (W), ctd.

Baccheschi (1973, s.v. no. 113h). London, NG: Cat.

Gould (1975, pp. 45-46), as studio of Bronzino. Langedijk  
(1981, no. 27-26, ill.), as workshop of Bronzino.

Cat. no. B5 (X)

Versailles, Musée de Versailles (1861), no. 3350

Panel, 22 x 16 cm (8 5/8" x 6 1/4")

Cited by Langedijk as being a bust copy after Bronzino's  
portrait of the Turin (forty-year) type.

Versailles: Cat. Soulié (1861, no. 3350). Langedijk (1981,  
no. 27-36, copy 23), as a bust copy after Bronzino.

Cat. no. B6 (X)

Florence, Misericordia

Panel, 42 x 33 cm (16 1/2" x 13")

According to Langedijk, this is a bust copy after the  
"forty-year" type portrait.

Langedijk (1981, no. 27-36, copy 19), as after Bronzino.

Cat. no. B7 (W)

Modena, Galleria Estense, No. 512 (Inv. 1924, no. 134)

Panel, 42 x 34.5 cm (16 1/2" x 13 5/8")

A nineteenth-century inscription on the back: "al Sig.r  
Professore/ Gio. Paolo. Lasinio / Firenze" and below  
"Via della Scala / n<sup>o</sup> 4355."

Purchased by Francesco IV d'Este between 1824 and 1836.

This bust portrait is a good workshop piece; three buttons  
of the dress are visible.

Modena: Cat. Valdrighi (1846, p. 9), as Bronzino. Modena:  
Cat. Castellani Tarabani (1854, p. 128, no. 462), as  
Bronzino. Modena: Cat. Venturi (1883, p. 434), as a copy  
after Bronzino's portrait in Dresden (Cat. no. B16).  
Schulze (1911, p. xxxvii), as a school copy after the por-  
trait in the Pitti Palace (Cat. no. B13). Modena: Cat.  
Ricci (1925, p. 145, no. 353), as Bronzino. Modena: Cat.  
Zocca (1933, p. 18), as after Bronzino. Modena: Cat.  
Palluchini (1945, p. 221, no. 512), as after Bronzino.  
Langedijk (1981, no. 27-36, copy 21), as after Bronzino.

Cat. no. B8 (W)

Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum, Inv. 322

Canvas, 43 x 35 cm (16 7/8" x 13 3/4").

Acquired in 1792 by exchange with the Florentine Collections.

An adequate if unexceptional version of the familiar type.

Waagen (1866, p. 86, no. 16), as Bronzino. Vienna: Cat. Engerth (1881, no. 98), as Bronzino. Vienna: Cat. Gluck (1907, p. 27, no. 97), as Bronzino. Schulze (1911, p. xxx), as Bronzino, a replica of the version in the Borghese Gallery (Cat. no. B26), ca. 1558. Clapp (1916, p. 221), as a workshop copy. Voss (1920, I, 229), cited as a replica. McComb (1928, p. 127), as a fine replica of the Borghese picture, ca. 1560. Vienna: Cat. Porträtgalerie (1976, p. 275, no. 244, fig. 78), as Bronzino workshop. Langedijk (1981, no. 27-38, ill.), as workshop of Bronzino.

Cat. no. B9 (X)

Versailles, Despinoy Sale (1850)

Panel, 46 x 41 cm (18 1/8" x 16 1/8")

Coll. Despinoy; his sale, Versailles, January 14f., 1850, lot 38 (as by Bronzino).

Cat. no B9 (X), ctd.

A bust portrait in reddish dress before a green background; probably of the "forty-year" type (the catalogue description infers that the sitter appears to be in his thirties).

Cat. no. B10 (W)

London, Christie's Sale (1959)

Panel, 54.6 x 41.9 cm (21 1/2" x 16 1/2")

Coll. Duke of Hamilton, Glasgow (?); Coll. Seligman; Sale, Christie's, London, March 20, 1959, lot 3 (as "Bronzino"); bought by Dauphine.

In this bust-length version of the portrait (seven buttons worth), the features are painted rather sharply and insensitively. The sale catalogue lists the painting as being from the collection of the Duke of Hamilton. However, the portrait of Cosimo given to Bronzino in that collection (see Cat. no. B29) was considerably larger (86.4 x 66) and included Cosimo's right hand (which is beyond the field of the present picture). Another picture of Cosimo of close dimensions to the present picture (Panel, 55 x 44.5; Cat. no. B12) was sold from the collection of the Duke of Somerset at Christies in 1890. That sale contained many lots (not including the portrait) formerly in the Hamilton Palace

Cat. no. B10 (W), ctd.

collection; perhaps time and sloppiness brought about a mistaken provenance. The ex-Somerset portrait was subsequently in the collection of Sir John Ramsden (sold in 1932) and was last heard of at a Christie's sale in 1939, at which it did not sell; it may therefore be identical with the present picture.

Cat. no. B11 (W)

Le Havre, Musée des Beaux-Arts

Canvas, 55 x 43 cm (21 5/8" x 16 7/8")

Inscribed at top: COSMVS MED MAGNVS AETRVRIAE DVX

Coll. Giovanni Pietro Campana, Rome (until 1861); Musée Napoléon III, Paris (1862-1863); Musée des Beaux-Arts, Le Havre (from 1863).

This bust version of the portrait is very worn throughout. Both the calligraphy of the inscription and the slightly bulbous form of the eyes suggest an attribution to Altissimo.

Paris, Musée Napoléon: Cat. Cornu (1862, p. 130, no. 481), as Bronzino. Le Havre: Cat. Lhuiller (1887, p. 39), as Bronzino. Perdrizet-Jean (1907, p. 40). McComb (1928, p. 104),

Cat. no. B11 (W), ctd.

as a non-autograph replica of the picture in Turin (cat. CF-25). Langedijk (1981, no. 27-36, copy 20), as after Bronzino.

Cat. no. B12 (X)

London, Christie's Sale (1939)

Panel, 55.9 x 44.5 cm (22" x 17 1/2")

Coll. Edward Adolphus, 12th Duke of Somerset ("The Stover Collection"); his sale, Christie's, London, June 28, 1890, lot 51 (as "A. Bronzino"); bought by Sir John Ramsden; Coll. Sir John Ramsden, Gerrards Cross, Bucks. (1890-1932); his sale, Christie's, London, May 27, 1932, lot 45 (as "A. Bronzino"); bought by Freeman; sale, Christie's, London, March 10, 1939, lot 15 (as "A. Bronzino"), unsold.

Described as being in dark green dress with a white collar and fur coat. See the discussion of the portrait of Cosimo sold at Christie's March 20, 1959 (Cat. no. B10), which may be identical with the present picture.

Cat. no. B13 (W)

Florence, Galleria Palatina (Palazzo Pitti), Inv.

Palatina, no. 212

Panel, 57 x 45 cm (22 1/2" x 17 3/4")

Coll. Leopoldo de' Medici (until 1675); his bequest to the Galleria Palatina.

This good bust portrait seems particularly close in style to Altissimo's work.

Florence, Pitti: Cat. Chiavacci (1859, no. 212), as Bronzino. Conti (1893, pp. 101-102), as Bronzino, possibly identifiable with a picture in the Guardaroba inventory of 1553. Schulze (1911, p. xii), as a Bronzino replica. McComb (1928, p. 94), as a replica of a lost Bronzino. Florence, Pitti: Cat. Rusconi (1937, pp. 80-81, no. 212), as Bronzino. Florence, Pitti: Cat. Cipriani (1966, p. 125 ill.), as school of Bronzino. Florence, Pitti: Cat. Ciaranfi (1967, p. 68), as Bronzino, with doubts. Baccheschi (1973, no. 113d). Langedijk (1981, no. 27-20, ill.), as workshop of Bronzino.



Cat. no. B14 (W)

Florence, Galleria Palatina (Palazzo Pitti), Inv. Oggetti  
d'Arte 1911, no. 746.

Panel, 58 x 46 cm (22 7/8" x 18 1/8")

Inscribed at top: COSMVS MED. FLOR. ET SENARVM DVX II

This picture is a full-bust version of the portrait. The elegant gold lettering of the inscription and the individual style of the executing artist--notable in his predilection for rounded, bulbous forms--suggest an attribution to Altissimo. Langedijk has recently associated this work with a group of Medici portraits executed by Altissimo between 1562 and 1565 according to an entry in the inventory of the Medici Guardaroba. This series was exhibited along the west wing of the Uffizi by 1568, when Vasari lists the pictures together with the Altissimo copies after Giovio's portraits in an appendix to the second edition of the Vite. By 1576 some of the portraits, including evidently this one, were transferred to the Palazzo Pitti, where they were seen in the Sala Grande (now Sala delle Nicche) by Alessandro Pezzano. The original series of seventeen portraits was subsequently expanded to include six more portraits. Of the twenty-three portraits twelve are identified by Langedijk, seven by Mosca (the Giovanni di Cosimo I, is questionable), two were stolen from Poggio a Caiano in 1960, and the remaining two have remained unidentified; these are here proposed as being the

Cat. no. B14 (W), ctd.

Portrait of Eleonora di Toledo (Inv. 1890, no. 1469) and  
the Portrait of Ferdinando I (Inv. 1890, no. 4233).

ASF Inv. Guardaroba, Filza 65, 1560-1567, fol. 164a (quoted from Beck, 1974<sup>2</sup>, p. 63, no. 26; from the sequence of entries a date of mid-1562 to 1565 may be inferred), "Diciasette quadri di ritratti di casa Medici, fatti et consegnati da m<sup>o</sup> Cristofano Altissimi pittore, giornale c. 134 Seguono in questo c. 174." Vasari (1568, reprinted in Allegri-Cecchi, 1980, p. 311), a portrait of "D. Cosimo" is listed as part of the "Huomini Illustri di Casa Medici" exhibited along the "Seconda Fila dalla Banda di Ponente" of the Uffizi. Pezzano (1577, reprinted in Mosca, 1980, p. 20), the portrait of "Cosimo Granduca" in the Sala Grande of the Palazzo Pitti. McComb (1928, p. 95), as a non-autograph replica. Baccheschi (1973, no. 133g). Langedijk, in Florence, Pal. Vecchio: Cat. (1980, no. 533), as Altissimo after Bronzino, associating the work with the series cited above. Mosca (1980, p. 17, n. 33), as Altissimo after Bronzino. Langedijk (1981, p. 108, no. 27-6), as Altissimo after Bronzino.

Cat. no. B15 (W)

New York, Private Collection

Panel, 58.4 x 41.9 cm (23" x 16 1/2")

Coll. George A. Ferriss; his gift to Christ's Church, Rye, New York; which sale, Christie's East, New York, November 18, 1980, lot 155 (uncatalogued, but as school of Bronzino); bought by Lescaut; Private Collection, New York.

This is a good bust-length version of the portrait. The size is roughly the equivalent of one by 3/4 braccia, the "grandezza ordinaria" of the portrait copies by Altissimo (cf. Cat. no. B14), who may be the author of the present panel.

Cat. no. B16 (W)

Dresden, Gemäldegalerie, No. 81

Panel, 58.5 x 44.5 cm (23" x 17 1/2")

Inscribed at top: COMVS MED FLOR. ET. SENARVM / DVX. II--

Probably identical with a picture already in the Dresden Kunstkammer at the end of the sixteenth century.

This full bust-length portrait is a very good version of the familiar "forty-year" type. It is of the standard bust dimensions (1 by 3/4 braccia) utilized by Altissimo, but

Cat no. B16 (W), ctd.

the style of execution is disparate from that artist, as is the calligraphy of the inscription. A more sensitive hand, closer in feeling to Bronzino, seems to have produced this work. None of the suggestions for a pendant to this work is tenable.

Pietro Guarienti (Inventory of the Dresden collections, before 1753, no. 105). Dresden: Cat. Woermann (1902, p. 56, no. 81), as Bronzino. Schulze (1911, p. vii), as by Bronzino and probably the pendant to the bust Portrait of Eleonora di Toledo in the Uffizi. McComb (1928, p. 90), as by a different hand than the Uffizi picture and a school-work. Dresden: Cat. (1930, p. 28, no. 81), as Bronzino, noting the probably Kunstkammer provenance. Matteoli (1969, p. 312, n. 28), as Bronzino and a pendant to the Eleonora di Toledo in Berlin. Baccheschi (1973, no. 113e). Dresden: Cat. (1974, p. 32, no. 81), as Bronzino. Schaefer (1976, p. 107), as by the Bronzino-Allori workshop, a probable gift to the Dresden court before 1574. Langedijk (1981, no. 27-36, copy 17), as after Bronzino, possibly by Altissimo, incorrectly as pendant to the Eleonora di Toledo formerly in Dresden of inferior dimensions (39 x 28.5).

Cat. no. B17 (W)

Bucharest, Muzeul de arta al R. S. România, Inv. 8645/ 679

Panel, 64 x 51.5 cm (25 1/8" x 20 1/4")

Coll. Ghesa Gheser, Timisoara (Romania); acquired by the museum in 1949.

This is a full bust version of the familiar type but of rather unexceptional quality.

Bucharest: Cat. (1955, p. 30, no. 72), as Bronzino.

Bucharest: Cat. (1958, p. 17), as Bronzino. Oprescu (1963, no. 52), as Bronzino. Schileru (1966, p. 107), as Bronzino. Bucharest: Cat. Teodosiu (1974, p. 4, no. 13, ill.), as Bronzino. Langedijk (1981, no. 27-36, copy 16), as after Bronzino.

Cat. no. B18 (W)

New York, with Metropolitan Galleries (1932)

Unknown Support, 66 x 53.3 cm (26" x 21")

This version of the "forty-year" portrait is apparently of good quality. A bit more than the usual bust format is included here, the bottom delimited by the lower edge of the Toison d'Or badge (ten buttons of his dress are visible).

Cat. no. B18 (W), ctd.

Advertisement in Art Digest (VI, no. 17: June 1, 1932, illustrated inside back cover), as Bronzino.

Cat. no. B19 (X)

Florence, Guidi Collection

Panel, 67.5 x 62 cm (26 5/8" x 24 3/8")

According to Langedijk, from whom this reference is taken, this version is a bust copy after the Bronzino "forty-year" type and a pendant with a like sized portrait of Eleonora in the same collection.

Langedijk (1981, no. 27-36, copy 22).

Cat. no. B20 (W)

Paris, Musée du Louvre, Inv. MV 4080

Canvas 69 x 51 cm (27 1/8" x 20 1/8")

Formerly at Versailles

In this bust version of the portrait eight buttons of Cosimo's dress are seen. The quality is unexceptional.

Cat. no. B20 (W), ctd.

Versailles: Cat. Soulié (1861, no. 4080). Langedijk  
(1981, no. 27-36, copy 24), as after Bronzino.

Cat. no. B21 (X)

Florence, Galleria Corsi, no. 430/ 1982  
Panel, 74 x 59 cm (29 1/8" x 23 1/4")

According to Langedijk this is a bust copy after Bronzino's  
"forty-year" portrait.

Langedijk (1981, no. 27-36, copy 18), as after Bronzino.

Cat. no. B22 (W)

Paris, Sedelmeyer Gallery Sale (1907)  
Panel, 76 x 65 cm (29 7/8" x 25 5/8")

With Sedelmeyer Gallery, Paris (1902-1907); their sale,  
Paris, June 3-5, 1907, III, lot 99 (as Bronzino, illustrated  
incorrectly as no. 101).

This work is a half-length version of Cosimo at forty,  
showing most of his right hand (holding a handkerchief).  
There are some minor variations in the appearance of the

Cat. no. B22 (W), ctd.

picture between the two catalogues cited--perhaps due to cleaning. The picture appears to be of very good quality. Clapp (1916, p. 221) mentions that Osvald Sirén had seen a portrait "of the same description" as the Sedelmeyer version in the collection of the Principe del Drago; it is unclear whether the same picture or same type was meant.

Paris, Sedelmeyer: Cat. (1902, no. 54 ill.), as Bronzino. McComb (1928, p. 141), cited. Langedijk (1981, no. 27-36, copy 6), as after Bronzino, but with incorrect dimensions.

Cat. no. B23 (W)

Vienna, S. Kende Sale (1937)

Panel, 76.5 x 55.5 cm (30 1/8" x 21 7/8")

Coll. Schmederer, Vienna; their sale, S. Kende, Vienna, November 17-18, 1937, lot 7.

This is a half-length portrait of the Portrait of Cosimo at Age Forty. From the catalogue illustration the painting would not appear to be one of the finer examples of the type. Although the dress appears well wrought, the facial features seem somehow hardened and flattened while the left hand looks to be wholly misshapen.



Cat. no. B24 (W)

London, Christie's Sale (1976)

Panel, 81 x 64 cm (32" x 25 1/4")

Purchased in Florence by Sir John Leslie in 1876; his collection, then by descent to Mrs. Anita Leslie King, Castle Leslie, County Monaghan, Ireland; her sale, Christie's, London, June 21, 1968, lot 109 (as "Angelo Allori, Il Bronzino"); bought by Rochefort; sale, Christie's, London, October 8, 1976, lot 109 (as "Studio of Angelo Allori, Il Bronzino"), unsold.

This version of the "forty-year" portrait is a very good workshop piece. Cosimo is seen at half-length with his hands bordering the lower perimeter of the painting.

London, RA: Cat. (1877, no. 285), as Bronzino: Cosimo de' Medici, Lent by Sir John Leslie, Bart.

Cat. no. B25 (W)

Turin, Galleria Sabauda, No. 123

Panel, 81 x 68 cm (31 7/8" x 26 3/4")

Medici Guardaroba, Florence; gift from Cosimo I de Medici to Emanuele Filiberto, Duke of Savoy, in 1566; collections of the House of Savoy, Palazzo Reale, Turin; Regia Galleria,

Cat. no. B25 (W), ctd.

Palazzo Madama, Turin (1832), renamed Reale Galleria, Turin (1860), removed to Palazzo dell'Accademia delle Scienze (1865), renamed Galleria Sabauda (1932).

This picture is a handsome half-length version of the "forty-year" Cosimo, to be identified with a portrait of the Duke (presumably a workshop copy) recorded in 1566 as a gift to the Duke of Savoy from Cosimo. The painting appears in the inventory of the Medici Guardaroba as follows: "Un ritratto di S.E.I. in tavola, ornamento di noce, alto braccia uno  $\frac{2}{3}$ , largo braccia uno  $\frac{1}{4}$  incassato, per mandare al Duca di Savoia, come al giornale sotto li xxvi d'agosto [15]66 [a carta] 112" (ASF, Inv. Guardaroba, Filza 65, 1560-1567, fol. 160b; quoted from Beck, 1974<sup>2</sup>, p. 61). The dimensions given--equivalent roughly to 97 x 73 cm--evidently include either the frame or the crate in which the picture was packed (it is described as "incassato"). The picture was sent, together with a letter from Cosimo dated August 28, 1566; it arrived, it would seem, on October 31 and was acknowledged by Emanuele Filiberto in a letter of that date thanking Cosimo for his gift:

Hoggi solamente ho ricevuto il desiderato ritratto,  
et l'amorevolissima lettera di V. Eccellenza de' 28.  
d'agosto a me più cari assai di quel ch'io sapessi  
esprimere. Le no ho quelle gratie che posso maggiori:

Cat. no. B25 (W), ctd.

Et in vero de l'un et de l'altra ne voglio haver  
 a L'Eccellenza Vostra certa special et inusitata  
 obligatione havendo con esse ricevuto un piacer  
 et contento straordinario. Il ritratto si  
 rivedrà da me tanto più spesso et volentieri,  
 quanto più, amando et osservando, come faccio  
 l'Eccellenza Vostro, desidero nutrir et rinforzar  
 la bona volontà, che in molti modi ella dimostra  
 verso di me; corrispondendole interiamente con la  
 sincerità, et constanza, che tanto so propria di  
 Lei, in ogni occorrenza che le piacerà commandarmi,  
 o che per me stesso la potrà servire. Nostro  
 Signor Iddio conceda a L'Eccellenza Vostra tutta  
 felicità.

Da Turino l'ultimo di ottobre M.D. LXVI. /  
 Affectionatissimo Servitore / Il Duca di Savoia /  
 D.V.E. / Al signor Duca di Fiorenza (quoted from  
 Cibrario, 1861, p. 215).

Such documentation for replicated works is rare and this  
 letter is particularly instructive. From the word "desiderato"  
 it may be assumed that the portrait was solicited by the  
 Duke of Savoy; from the tone of the letter and the lack of  
 mention of an artist's name it is moreover clear that the  
 portrait is of interest for the subject represented, rather

Cat. no. B25 (W), ctd.

than the artist that produced it. Emanuele Filiberto's letter is gracious, thankful, obsequious; it implies a role for the portrait that is almost idolatrous. The Duke of Savoy states that he will look at the picture time and again, so as to strengthen and nourish the feelings of good will that exist between the two dukes. The gift of the portrait is revealed here not only as an indication of esteem but as an element of statecraft.

With the portrait in the Galleria Borghese (Cat. no. B26) the Turin portrait has rightly been considered the finest of the versions of the "forty-year" type. The intricacies of the dress design are clearly detailed as are the embroidered patterns on the Duke's shirt and handkerchief. A ring, different in design from that which appears in some of the other versions, appears on the index finger of the right hand. The facial features are rendered convincingly and sensitively, but hardly with the sense of power and intensity typical of Bronzino's hand.

Guardaroba inventory (August 26, 1566; see above), as a portrait of Cosimo to be sent to the Duke of Savoy; Emanuele Filiberto, Duke of Savoy (letter of October 31, 1566; see above), acknowledging receipt of the portrait of Cosimo. Turin: Cat. D'Azeglio (I, 1836, p. 119), as Bronzino and a

Cat. no. B25 (W), ctd.

companion to Bronzino's Portrait of a Lady also at Turin, sometimes incorrectly believed to represent Eleonora di Toledo. Turin: Cat. Gallery (1859, p. 143), as Bronzino. D'Azeglio (1863, p. 308), as Bronzino. Turin: Cat. D'Azeglio (1866, p. 20), as Bronzino. Angelucci (1868, p. 60), as Bronzino. Jacobsen (1897, p. 130), as Bronzino. Turin: Cat. Baudi (1899, p. 55), as Bronzino. Turin: Cat. Baudi (1909, p. 56), as Bronzino. Schulze (1911, p. xxx), as Bronzino, a replica. Clapp (1916, p. 235), cited as ascribed to Bronzino. McComb (1928, p. 125), as a Bronzino school piece, a replica of a lost original. Turin: Cat. Pacchioni (1932, pp. 9, 13), as Bronzino. Venturi (1933, p. 73), as Bronzino. Van Marle (1935, p. 312), as Bronzino. Turin: Cat. Gabrielli (1959, p. 17). Emiliani (1960, s.v. pl. 74). Turin: Cat. Gabrielli (1965, p. 20). Heikamp (1966, pp. 60, 62, n. 18), as a school-work replica. Turin: Cat. Gabrielli (1971, p. 83, no. 123, fig. 98), as a replica of the portrait of Cosimo in Vienna (Cat. no. B8) and incorrectly as on canvas. Baccheschi (1973, no. 113b). Bigazzi, in Prato: Cat. Medici (1980, p. 98), as Bronzino, replica. Langedijk (1981, no. 27-36, ill.), as workshop of Bronzino.

Cat. no. B26 (W)

Rome, Galleria Borghese, Inv. 94

Panel, 84 x 66 cm (33 1/8" x 26")

This half-length example of the Portrait of Cosimo I at Age Forty is one of the finest extant versions of the composition. Both in the execution of the detailed decoration of the dress and in the rendering of the hands and face that conveys a suggestion of nobility and serious purpose, this portrait seems --with the versions in Turin, Moscow, and Florence (Cat. nos. B25, B30, B31) best to reflect the lost original of Bronzino. The dress is of a purplish brown color, articulated by gold embroidery.

Rome, Borghese: Inv. Fid. (1833, p. 13), as Cristofano Allori. Harck (1889, p. 205), cited. Rome, Borghese: Cat. Piancastelli (1891, p. 250), as Cristofano Allori. Rome, Borghese: Cat. Venturi (1893, p. 81), as workshop of Bronzino. Lafenestre-Richtenberger (1905, p. 14), as a Bronzino school-work. Schulze (1911, p. xxxvii), as a school-work. Voss (1920, I, 229), as a replica, presumably by Bronzino. Longhi (1928, p. 186), as Bronzino workshop. McComb (1928, pp. 119, 127, 140), as "attributed," a copy after the version in Turin (cat. CF-25). Venturi (1933, p. 73), as by Bronzino. Rome, Borghese: Cat. Pergola (II, 1959, pp. 20-21, no. 19, ill.), as Bronzino workshop. Baccheschi (1973, no. 113a). Langedijk (1981, no. 27-34), as Bronzino workshop.

Cat. no. B27 (W)

Arezzo, Galleria e Museo Medioevale e Moderno

Panel, 85 x 70 cm (33 1/2" x 27 1/2")

Pinacoteca Comunale, Arezzo; subsequently Galleria e Museo Medioevale e Moderno, Arezzo.

This half-length version is a relatively good example of the type with most details clearly articulated and visible. Unfortunately, the picture is marred by considerable surface grime. The attribution of this picture to Vasari seems regional enthusiasm.

Gamurrini (1911, p. 36), as probably by Vasari. Arezzo: Cat. Del Vita (1915, p. 118), as attributed to Bronzino but perhaps by Vasari. Arezzo: Cat. Salmi (1921, no. 64), as a Vasari copy after Bronzino's portrait of Cosimo in the Uffizi (unspecified).

Cat. no. B28 (W)

Lyon, Musée des Beaux-Arts

Panel, 86 x 65 cm (33 7/8" x 25 5/8")

Purchased by the city of Lyon in 1861.

This is a somewhat damaged half-length version of the portrait

Cat. no. B28 (W), ctd.

evidently of good quality. Like another version in Florence of similar size (Cat. no. B31; 87 x 68 cm), this picture shows more of Cosimo's hands at the lower right than usual; here a ring appears on the ring finger of the left hand. Common to both of these versions is the omission of the handkerchief in the right hand and the inclusion of what are apparently folded gloves in the left.

Lyon: Cat. Dissard (1912, p. 2), as by Bronzino.

Cat. no. B29 (X)

London, Christie's Sale (1882)

Panel, 86.4 x 66 cm (34" x 26")

Coll. Duke of Hamilton, Hamilton Palace, Glasgow; his sale, Christie's, London, July 1, 1882, lot 855 (as "A. Bronzino"); bought by C.H. Waters.

Described in the catalogue as showing Cosimo "in violet dress richly embroidered, and white embroidered collar, holding a handkerchief in his right hand," this work would seem to have been of the "forty-year" type. It was a companion to lot 756 of the same sale, a Portrait of Eleonora di Toledo to be identified with a version now in the National Gallery of Art



Cat. no. B29 (X), ctd.

in Washington. Waagen described the works as follows:

"Portraits of Cosimo I and his wife Isabella [sic]. She is consumptive-looking. Half-length figures. Very true and careful." It has not been possible to associate this picture with any of the versions known today.

Waagen (1854, III, 302), as Bronzino. Langedijk (1981, no. 27-36, copy 4), as after Bronzino.

Cat. no. B30 (W)

Moscow, State Pushkin Museum of Fine Arts

Canvas (transferred from panel), 87 x 66 cm (34 1/4" x 26")

Coll. Senator Smirnov, St. Petersburg; acquired by the museum in 1934.

This is an excellent version of the portrait, half-length, with superb rendering of details and a noble and stately conception of character. The handkerchief is made to extend between the fingers of the right hand (as in some of the larger versions) and the left hand appears to be gesturing.

Waagen (1864, p. 434), as Bronzino. Bastin (1866, p. 166),

Cat. no. B30 (W), ctd.

as Bronzino. Mseriantz (1939, pp. 24-28), as Bronzino, the best of several versions. Moscow: Cat. (1961, p. 26), as Bronzino. Langedijk (1981, no. 27-28), as workshop of Bronzino.

Cat. no. B31 (W)

Florence, Uffizi, Inv. 1890, no. 3241 (old exhibition no. 3425; variant inventory number, 683 rosso).

Panel, 87 x 68 cm (34 1/4" x 26 3/4")

This version is one of the finest examples of the portrait. As with the version in the Musée des Beaux-Arts in Lyon (Cat. no. B28), Cosimo's right hand lacks its wonted handkerchief and ring on the index finger; the left hand has acquired folded gloves, as well as a ring or two to adorn the little finger.

Schulze (1911, p. xvi), as autograph in design but workshop in execution. Florence, Uffizi: Cat. Pieraccini (n.d., p. 74), as Bronzino. McComb (1928, pp. 100-101), as an atelier replica. Venturi (1933, p. 32, fig. 14), as Bronzino. Baccheschi (1973, no. 113c). Langedijk, in Florence, Pal. Vecchio: Cat. (1980, no. 516), as Bronzino workshop, with

Cat. no. B31 (W), ctd.

dimensions 97 x 70 cm. Langedijk (1981, listed twice as nos. 27-23 and 27-36, copy 1, ill. both with wrong dimensions), as Bronzino workshop and as after Bronzino.

Cat. no. B32 (W)

Mexico City (?), Romero Collection (1946)

Panel, 87.6 x 68.6 cm (34 1/2" x 27")

Inscribed at top: ANNI XXXVI

Sale, Christie's, London, May 11, 1925, lot 142 (as "Bronzino"); bought by Leger; with Galerie Erhardt & Co., Berlin (1928); Private Collection, California; which sale, Parke-Bernet, New York, October 18, 1945, lot 99 (as "Bronzino, Angelo Allori"); bought by B. Heimerdinger, New York; by whom sold to Romero Coll., Mexico.

This picture is a good workshop version of the portrait, distinguished by the inscription "ANNI XXXVI." As discussed in the text (see Chapter VII, pt. 1), the thirty-six years may refer to Cosimo's age at the time of the picture (thereby gainsaying the use of the term "forty-year" portrait); or the lettering may be a posthumous record of Cosimo's tenure as duke. All details of the portrait seem accurately rendered--with an embroidered handkerchief and a ring on the

Cat. no. B32 (W), ctd.

right index finger here--while the face seems weak in both execution and effect.

Wilhelm von Bode (certificate of February 28, 1928, cited in 1945 sale catalogue), as Bronzino. Illustration in Pantheon (I, no. 7, July 1928), as Bronzino. Heikamp (1960, p. 135, n. 13), cites the picture and suggests that the original version of this type would have been painted in 1555. Heikamp (1966, p. 62, n. 18), idem. Langedijk (1968, p. 61), as a replica. Matteoli (1969, p. 312, n. 28), cited. Baccheschi (1973, s.v. no. 113e). Langedijk (1981, no. 27-36, copy 8), as after Bronzino.

Cat. no. B33 (W)

Paris, with Galeries Mori (1927)

Panel, 88 x 68 cm (34 5/8" x 26 3/4")

Private Collection, England; with Galeries Mori, Paris, 1927.

This is a good half-length workshop version of the portrait. Here the handkerchief in the right hand is embroidered a bit more than usually (it extends beneath the right index

Cat. no. B33 (W), ctd.

finger). A more extensive background space than that found in other versions is here encountered.

McComb (1928, p. 140), as "an obvious school-piece."

Langedijk (1981, no. 27-36, copy 7), as after Bronzino.

Cat. no. B34 (W)

London, Sotheby's Sale (1962)

Panel, 92.1 x 73.7 cm (36 1/4" x 29")

Coll. C. Zilva, London (1939); Sale, Sotheby's, London, May 30, 1962, lot 35 (as "Bronzino"); bought by Dauphine.

This picture, which was favorably catalogued in the 1939 Medici exhibition in Florence, seems a rather hard, but not unattractive workshop replica of the Bronzino portrait. The Duke holds an embroidered handkerchief in his ringless right hand and seems to hold some small object lightly between the thumb and second finger of his left hand. Part of the upper forehead and hairline is clearly damaged and repainted.

Florence, Pal. Medici: Cat. Medicea (1939, p. 143, no. 7, fig. 59), as by Bronzino and probably the prototype. Baccheschi (1973, no. 113h). Langedijk (1981, no. 27-36, copy 5), as after Bronzino.

Cat. no. B35 (X)

Florence, Uffizi, Inv. 1890, no. 5455

Panel 93 x 74 cm (36 5/8" x 29 1/8")

Described by Langedijk as "half-length, with handkerchief and Order of Golden Fleece."

Langedijk (1981, no. 27-24), as after Bronzino.

Cat. no. B36 (L)

Livorno, Museo Civico

Panel, 140 x 119 cm (55 1/8" x 46 7/8")

Inscribed on the letter held in the right hand:

"Cosmo: Med. duc. II"

Uffizi, Florence, where Inv. 1890, no. 2254 (exhibited in the Vasari corridor); on deposit to the Museo Civico, Livorno.

This large work is a three-quarter length portrait derived from Bronzino's Portrait of Cosimo I at Age Forty. The pose is basically the same here as in its source, but the composition has been extended at the bottom and the costume has been altered: a dark cloak, open at the center, now covers the Duke. The right hand holds a letter (rather than the handkerchief of the other versions) inscribed with the

Cat. no. B36 (L), ctd.

subject's name. The left hand lightly holds some object (perhaps the arm of a chair or the hilt of a sword); this hand is not derived from Bronzino's composition. The painting appears pasty and somewhat crude in execution. It is clearly dark and dirty, but seems in any case to be a late variant (perhaps seventeenth century) of the Bronzino portrait.

Florence, Uffizi: Cat. Pieraccini (n.d., p. 226, no. 37), as Cosimo I, without attribution. Meloni Trkulja, in Florence, Uffizi: Cat. (1979, no. Ic997, and 1980, no. Ic996), as a copy, perhaps seventeenth-century, after Bronzino; incorrectly as inscribed at top. Langedijk (1981, no. 27-36, copy 2), as a free copy after Bronzino, seventeenth century.

Cat. no. B37 (W)

Location Unknown

Support and Dimensions, Unknown

A photograph (Florence, Lionello Ciacchi) illustrates this good workshop version of the portrait--particularly close to the excellent example in the Pushkin Museum in Moscow (Cat. no. B30).

Cat. no. B38 (W)

Location Unknown

Support and Dimensions Unknown

A photograph of unknown origin illustrates what appears to be a good workshop version of the "forty-year" portrait with the Duke holding the rumpled handkerchief in his right hand over what might be a table.

Cat. no. B39 (X)

Paris (?), Collection Principe del Drago (1916)

Support and Dimensions Unknown

Clapp reported that Osvald Sirén had seen in the collection of the Principe del Drago a Portrait of Cosimo I of the same description as that in the Sedelmeyer collection of 1907 (Cat. no. B22). It is possible that the two pictures are the same.

Clapp (1916, p. 221).



Section C (Portraits of Cosimo I of  
the "Grandducal" Type

Cat. no. C1

Florence, Uffizi, Inv. 1890, no. 8852 (old number when at  
the Pitti, miniature no. 83)

Tin, oval, 2.3 x 1.9 cm (7/8" x 3/4")

In the Estate of Cardinal Leopoldo de' Medici, 1675.

This is a head-and-shoulders miniature of Cosimo, wearing  
the grandducal crown and ermine cape.

Schulze (1911, p. xxxii), as by or after Bronzino. Meloni  
(1975, p. 35, n. 45), as a portrait of Cosimo I, without  
attribution, noting provenance. Langedijk (1981, no. 27-  
60), as anonymous.

Cat. no. C2 (X)

Bern, Kunstmuseum, Inv. M9

Copper, oval, 4.1 x 3.3 cm (1 5/8" x 1 1/4")

From the Collection of Adolf von Stürler; gift to the museum  
in 1902.

Cat. no. C2 (X), ctd.

According to Langedijk, this is a copy after the Bronzino "grandducal" type--specifically the miniature here catalogued as no. C4.

Langedijk (1981, no. 27-57, copy a).

Cat. no. C3

Florence, Uffizi, Inv. 1890, no. 4509

Copper, oval, 5.7 x 4.8 cm (2 1/4" x 1 7/8")

A head-and-shoulders miniature of similar format to the slightly larger Uffizi miniature (Cat. no. C4), but showing Cosimo appearing slightly older.

Langedijk (1981, no. 27-59), as anonymous.

Cat. no. C4

Florence, Uffizi, Inv. 1890, no. 4036

Copper, oval, 6.4 x 5 cm (2 1/2" x 2")

This small oval miniature is a head-and-shoulders portrayal of the Duke. The portrait follows the "grandducal" type, but does not include the regalia of the title. Cosimo is

Cat. no. C4, ctd.

attired in dark clothes with a white embroidered collar.

Langedijk (1968, p. 62), as the best version of this type. Langedijk (1981, no. 27-57, ill. and p. 88), as anonymous after Bronzino, and the best version.

Cat. no. C5 (X)

Florence, Uffizi, Inv. 1890, no. 4169

Copper, 17 x 12.5 cm (6 3/4" x 4 7/8")

This miniature portrait is a bust reduction of the "grand-ducal" portrait without the crown and with a perforated white collar. It is a companion to portraits of Eleonora di Toledo, Giovanni di Cosimo I, and Pietro di Cosimo I (Inv. 1890, nos. 4168, 4166, and 4167).

Florence, ASF: Cat. Pitti (1960, no. 14). Langedijk (1981, no. 27-58), as anonymous after Bronzino.

Cat. no. C6

Brussels, Fievez Sale (1930)

Panel (?), 46 x 38 cm (18 1/8" x 15")

Coll. "Mme M.S."; her sale, Fievez, Brussels, March 14, 1930, lot 3 (as Alessandro Allori: Portrait of a Man).

This is an evidently repainted bust version of the "grand-ducal" type portrait with softened features, a neater beard, and a heavy black cap that covers the forehead and thinning hair above.

Dr. Abels (certificate at 1930 sale), as Alessandro Allori.

Cat. no. C7

New York (and Antwerp ?), with Sam Hartveld (1940s)

Support unknown, ca. 50 x 36 cm (19 5/8" x 14 1/8")

Cosimo appears in this bust portrait wearing an embroidered collar over dark clothing. None of the regalia is present, nor the chain of the Toison d'Or.

Cat. no. C8

London, Sotheby's Sale (1968)

Canvas, 52.1 x 41.9 cm (20 1/2" x 16 1/2")

Sale Sotheby's, London, July 24, 1968, lot 208 (as after  
Bronzino); bought by Richter.

In this torn and damaged bust-length version of the portrait,  
the ermine cape is worn under a lace collar.

Cat. no. C9 (X)

Cheverney, Château de Beauregard

Canvas, 55 x 42-45 cm (21 5/8" x 16 1/2-17 3/4")

A portrait of "Cosme de Medicis GD Duc De Toscane" is one  
of the 363 portraits in the collection. According to  
Langedijk, the picture is a bust copy after Naldini's por-  
trait (Cat. no. C22).

Paris, BN: Cat. Bochot (1884, p. 356), as a portrait of  
Cosimo. Langedijk (1981, no. 27-48, copy a), as after  
Naldini.

Cat. no. C10

St. Germain-en-Laye and Hamburg, Collection de  
Hultschler (1932)

Panel, 56 x 43.5 cm (22" x 17 1/8")

Coll. "A Spanish Family"; bought by "Fitzgerald" (Xavière  
Deparmet Fitz-gerald ?); Coll. Baronesse de Hultschler.

A poor bust version of the "grandducal" type; both the  
Toison d'Or and ermine cloak are visible.

Harris-Delancey (1932, pp. 122-123, ill. p. 127), as  
Spanish School: Portrait of Christopher Columbus. F.M.  
Kelly (1932, pp. 241-243), as representing Cosimo I and  
"an indifferent copy after Bronzino or one of his pupils."  
Langedijk (1981, no. 27-51, copy a), as after the portrait  
of Cosimo attributed to Salviati in the Stibbert Museum.

Cat. no. C11

Milan, Scopinich Sale (1932)

Panel, 60 x 48 cm (23 5/8" x 18 7/8")

Coll. Gallo; his sale, Scopinich, Milan, November 21-22,  
1932, lot 55 (as manner of Bronzino).

Cat. no. C11, ctd.

This is a bust version of the "grandducal" type portrait. Cosimo's collar is solid and he wears the heavy gold chain with the Toison d'Or; his expression suggests consternation, worry, or a bitten lip.

Cat. no. C12

New Haven, Yale University Art Gallery, No. 1871.78

Panel, 61.4 x 47.3 cm (24 3/16" x 18 5/8")

Coll. James Jackson Jarves, Florence; purchased by Yale University in 1871.

Here the heavy gold chain of the Toison d'Or (the badge not visible) hangs about Cosimo's shoulders. A solid white, somewhat rumpled collar lies over a slightly patterned dark dress. The Duke bears a rather bewildered look.

New Haven: Cat. Jarves (1860, no. 100), as Pontormo. New Haven: Cat. Sturgis (1868, p. 84), as Pontormo. Berenson (1909, p. 176), as Pontormo. New Haven: Cat. Sirén (1916, pp. 199-200, no. 78), as "too lifeless" for Pontormo, by Allori's workshop. Clapp (1916, pp. 220-221), as an Allori workshop copy of a late Pontormo. Comstock (1927, p. 55), as an obvious copy after Bronzino. McComb (1928, pp. 113-

Cat. no. C12, ctd.

114), as after a Pontormo portrait, probably from Allori's workshop. Berenson (1932, p. 468), as Pontormo. Berenson (1936, p. 402), as Pontormo. Fredericksen-Zeri (1972, p. 168), as manner of Pontormo. Langedijk (1981, no. 27-33, copy c), as after Bronzino, incorrectly as between the "forty-year" and "grandducal" types.

Cat. no. C13

Florence, Museo dell'Opificio delle Pietre Dure  
Canvas, 64 x 51.5 cm (25 1/4" x 20 1/4")

In this bust (actually just to below the collar) portrait, Cosimo is seen wearing the grandducal crown, with a white collar over the ermine cape. This work has long been identified with "il modello a olio del ritratto di Cosimo I in pietre dure," for which Domenico Passignano submitted a bill on December 10, 1597. The portrait in pietre dure was executed by Francesco di Simone Ferrucci del Tadda the following year and survives, together with its model, in the Museo dell'Opificio delle Pietre Dure in Florence.

Zobi (1853, pp. 184-185), as Passignano with documentation.  
Florence, Opificio: Cat. Bartoli-Maser (1953, p. 27, fig. 49), as Passignano. Florence, Uffizi: Cat. Abbondanza



Cat. no. C13, ctd.

(1958, nos. 110, 113, 114), as Passignano. Berti (1967, p. 252, n. 31), as Passignano. Langedijk (1968, p. 117), as Passignano. Langedijk (1971, p. 576, fig. 6), as Passignano. Nissman (1979, cat. 26, fig. 46), as Passignano. A.M.G. (Antonio Guarnotta?), in Florence, Pal Vecchio: Cat. (1980, s.v. no. 456), as Passignano. Langedijk (1981, no. 27-49, ill.), as Passignano.

Cat. no. C14

Rome, Jandolo and Tavazzi Sale (1908)

Panel, 64 x 54 cm (25 1/4" x 21 1/4")

Coll. Gagliardi; his sale, Jandolo and Tavazzi, Rome, May 1908, lot 303 (as Bronzino School: Portrait of Francesco de' Medici).

Despite the incorrect identification of the sitter, this is a bust portrait of Cosimo of the "grandducal" type. The Duke appears wearing the heavy gold chain with the Toison d'Or badge partially visible. A solid white collar with frilled edges overlaps the dark dress.

Cat. no. C15

Florence, Uffizi, Inv. 1890, no. 5207

Canvas, 66 x 51 cm (26" x 20 1/8")

Inscribed faintly at top: COSIMO MEDICI-GR-DV-DI-TOSCA. . .

This is a rather crude bust version of the "grandducal" portrait. The Toison d'Or badge hangs from a thin ribbon rather than the more frequently encountered gold chain. The collar is solid with slight frill appendages.

Langedijk (1981, no. 27-33, copy b), as seventeenth-century, after Bronzino.

Cat. no. C16

Locko Park, Collection Patrick Drury-Lowe

Canvas, 83.8 x 61 cm (33" x 24")

This half-length portrait of Cosimo utilizes the head and shirt-collar of the "grandducal" portrait and joins them to a body covered with a suit of armor disparate from that worn by the Duke in other portraits. The Toison d'Or and the necklace that holds it are typical of the "grandducal" type as well.

Drury-Lowe: Cat. Richter (1901, p. 91, no. 221), as studio of Bronzino.

Cat. no. C17

Arezzo, Museo di Casa Vasari

Panel, 87 x 64 cm (34 1/4" x 25 1/4")

Grandducal collections; Villa Medicea di Poggio Imperiale (Inv. Imp., no. 1981); Uffizi; on deposit to Museo di Casa Vasari, Arezzo.

This work is a relatively good half-length version of the "grandducal" type portrait. The heavy chain is absent but the badge of the Order of the Golden Fleece hangs on the Duke's chest--just above his left hand, which holds a handkerchief. The white collar is embroidered and has short frills.

Arezzo: Cat. Berti (1955, p. 23, no. 22), as a replica after an original by Allori. Langedijk (1981, no. 27-33, copy a), as after Bronzino.

Cat. no. C18

Rome, Palazzo di Montecitorio

Panel, 88 x 70 cm (34 5/8" x 27 5/8")

Uffizi, Florence (where Inv. 1890, no. 5150); on deposit to the Palazzo di Montecitorio in Rome since 1925.

Cat. no. C18, ctd.

This "grandducal" portrait shows Cosimo half-length, holding a handkerchief at the lower left. Here the heavy chain supporting the Toison d'Or is present; the collar is embroidered.

Langedijk (1981, no. 27-33, copy e, ill.), as after Bronzino.

Cat. no. C19

Florence, Accademia delle Arti del Disegno

Panel, 88.5 x 74 cm (34 7/8" x 29 1/8")

Convento di San Marco, Florence; Uffizi, Florence (where Inv. 1890, no. 5238); on deposit to the Accademia delle Arti del Disegno, Florence.

This half-length portrait features Cosimo seated in grand-ducal regalia. He wears the crown of the office and is draped with the ermine cloak as well. His right arm is held across and above his left; the right hand holds a sceptre surmounted by the Florentine giglio. Langedijk believes that this picture may directly reflect the effigy displayed at the Duke's funeral; this connection, however, seems speculative and strained. Naldini's Cosimo I (Cat. no. C22) of 1585 is related to the present portrait, but whether as

Cat. no. C19, ctd.

source or later expanded variant (more likely) is not clear. The pose and basic dress are the same, although there are minor variations in details; the collar is patterned in the Naldini and solid here, while the fur "tails" are disparately arranged on the stole. The left hand appears similarly in both, but in differing positions, while the sceptre is held here in the right hand, but in the left in Naldini's work.

Langedijk (1968, p. 68), cited. Langedijk (1981, p. 96, no. 27-8, ill.), as anonymous, a posthumous portrait perhaps reflecting the funerary effigy of Cosimo.

Cat. no. C20

New York, Sotheby Parke Bernet Sale (1978)

Panel, 93 x 71 cm (36 1/2" x 28")

With Sedelmeyer Gallery, Paris; their sale, Paris, June 3-5, 1907, part III, lot 101 (illustrated incorrectly as no. 99, as by Bronzino); Sale, Sotheby Parke Bernet, New York, November 28, 1978, lot 171 (as Circle of Agnolo Bronzino: Portrait of a Nobleman).

This is a good variant of the "grandducal" portrait. Here the Duke is presented in half-length format, holding a

Cat. no. C20, ctd.

handkerchief in his left hand and wearing the gold chain of the Toison d'Or.

McComb (1928, p. 141), cited. Langedijk (1981, no. 27-33, copy d), as after Bronzino, with incorrect measurements.

Cat. no. C21

New York, Plaza Art Gallery Sale (1945)

Panel, 114.3 x 86.4 cm (45" x 34")

Coll. Lucien Bonaparte, Prince of Canino, Rome (until 1814); with W. Buchanan, London (1814-1840); Coll. Robert S. Holford, London (1840-1892); Coll. Sir George L. Holford, London (1892-1927); his sale, Christie's, London, July 15, 1927, lot 23 (as "Angelo Bronzino"); bought by Strauss; sale, Plaza Art Gallery, New York, October 19, 1945, lot 69 (as by Bronzino).

This "grandducal" portrait is extended at the bottom of the composition. As in other half-length compositions the left hand is held before the Duke's right chest, holding a handkerchief; the Toison d'Or chain and badge are seen; a white embroidered collar overlaps a dark dress. Here what might be Cosimo's right hand is visible at the extreme

Cat. no. C21, ctd.

lower left of the picture and what is clearly the hilt of a sword appears at the lower right. This picture was evidently a pendant to an Eleonora di Toledo of like size and provenance.

Buchanan (1824, II, 275, no. 103, 292, no. 130), as Bronzino, citing catalogues of the Bonaparte collection. London, Brit. Inst.: Cat. (1841, no. 9), as Bronzino. Waagen (1854, II, 195), as Bronzino, with the Eleonora, "Both belong, in truth of conception and in equality of completion to the first works of this master." Manchester: Cat. Art Treasures (1857, no. 181), as Bronzino. London, RA: Cat. (1887, no. 125), as Bronzino. Chancellor (1908, p. 252), as Bronzino. Holford: Cat. Dorchester (1927, I, no. 101, pl. xci), as Bronzino. Kelly (1932, pp. 241-243), as Bronzino. Langedijk (1981, no. 27-33), as workshop of Bronzino.

Cat. no. C22

Florence, Uffizi, Inv. 1890, no. 2238

Panel, 140 x 116 cm (55 1/8" x 45 5/8")

Here the Duke appears seated, wearing his ermine stole and grandducal crown. His left arm is bent at the elbow and held against his chest, the hand holding a qiglio-topped

Cat. no. C22, ctd.

sceptre. His right hand rests on the arm of the chair. A squared column or pilaster is visible at the rear left; in the distance at right a three-storied building, no doubt the Uffizi, is clearly seen. Attributed to Bronzino by Bunt in his article on the grandducal crown, this picture is rather the documented Portrait of Cosimo I that Battista Naldini painted for the series of large Medici portraits known as the "Serie Aulica." Like most of the examples of that series (Chapter V, pt. 4, and p. 89, note 2), the portrait is an expansion of a pre-existing prototype, in this case our "grandducal" type. Poggi published the documentation on the "Serie Aulica"--from which it is known that Naldini's Cosimo was completed before July 16, 1585 and that the artist was paid twenty scudi for it on July 26, 1586.

Poggi (1909, p. 322, pp. 330-331, doc. no. 12), as Naldini, with documentation. Florence, Uffizi: Cat. Pieraccini (n.d., p. 226, no. 21), as Cosimo I, without attribution. Florence, Pal. Medici: Cat. Medicea (1939, p. 50, no. 4), as by Naldini, probably deriving from a lost original by Bronzino). Bunt (1941, p. 117, fig. iv), as Bronzino. Richelson (1973, pp. 9-10, fig. 3), as unknown Bronzinesque. Meloni Trkulja, in Florence, Uffizi: Cat. (1979 and 1980, no. Ic635, ill.), as by Naldini perhaps after Bronzino. Langedijk (no. 27-48, ill.), as Naldini.



Cat. no. C23

Florence, Palazzo Medici-Riccardi

Canvas, 189 x 124 cm (74 3/8" x 48 7/8")

Palazzo Pitti, Florence; Ospedale di S. Maria Nuova,  
Florence, Uffizi, Florence (where Inv. 1890, no. 3200);  
on deposit to Palazzo Medici-Riccardi, Florence.

This full-length portrait of the seated Grand Duke is derived from Naldini's portrait of 1585 for the "Serie Aulica" (Cat. no. C22). The pose and dress are the same as in the source, but here the crown has been removed from the head and placed on an adjacent table. A plain hanging forms the background, gloves now appear in the right hand, and the drapery is a bit disparately folded. This work probably dates after 1602-1603, since until then only half-length portraits existed of the Duke in grandducal regalia (see the document published by Langedijk, 1981, s.v., no. 27-43; see here Cat. no. C29).

Langedijk (1978, p. 64, ill.), as possibly by Anastasio Fontebuoni. Langedijk (1981, no. 27-7, ill.), as anonymous, after Naldini.

Cat. no. C24

Pisa, Museo Nazionale di San Matteo, Inv. no. 1499 (146)

Canvas, 201 x 115 cm (79 1/8" x 45 1/4")

From the Order of the Knights of San Stefano

According to the catalogue description, this picture is a full-length work representing the Duke standing, turned to the left, with his right hand on a table that holds the sceptre, crown, and helmet. Langedijk describes the subject as "in grand-ducal robes, seated. Head slightly to the left. Crown on head, left hand holding sceptre." Perhaps this picture is identical with the large painting in the Archivio di Stato in Pisa, of similar description and size (Cat. no. C27).

Pisa: Cat. Bellini Pietri (1906, p. 213, no. 8), as an old copy after Sustermans. Langedijk (1981, no. 27-10), as anonymous.

Cat. no. C25

Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum, Inv. no. 8235

Canvas, 205 x 105 cm (80 3/4" x 41 3/8")

This full-length standing portrait of the Duke in grand-ducal costume holding the sceptre over a helmet and with

Cat. no. C25, ctd.

the crown atop his head seems to be derived from Cigoli's state-portrait of 1602/1603 (Cat. no. C29); the attribution to the seicento court painters Valore and Domenico Casini seems sensible.

Heinz (1963, s.v., no. 212), as workshop of Casini.

Langedijk (1978, p. 65, pl. 9), as attributed to Domenico and Valore Casini. Langedijk (1981, no. 27-41, ill.), as attributed to Domenico and Valore Casini.

Cat. no. C26

Livorno, Ufficio della Provincia

Canvas, 205 x 118 cm (80 3/4" x 46 1/2")

Uffizi, Florence (where Inv. 1890, no. 4398); on deposit to the Ufficio della Provincia, Livorno.

This large work is a full-length portrait of the Duke, standing by a table to three-quarters right. Cosimo is grandduccally attired, with crown, sceptre, and cape. This portrait is, as Langedijk has indicated, a copy after Cigoli's even larger painting of 1602/1603 (Cat. no. C29). The presence of feet in this version raises the question as to whether the Cigoli (which is foot-less) has been cut

Cat. no. C26, ctd.

down; that picture measures 395 cm in height, but, as a commission of eight braccia, the canvas should measure about 460 cm.

Langedijk (1971, p. 579, fig. 4), as after Cigoli. Richelson (1973, p. 10, fig. 4), as unknown, "untouched by Bronzino's idiom." Langedijk (1981, no. 27-43, copy a, ill.), as after Cigoli.

Cat. no. C27

Pisa, Archivio di Stato

Canvas, 205 x 139 cm (80 3/4" x 54 3/4")

Florence, Uffizi (where Inv. 1890, no. 3774); Archivio di Stato, Pisa.

This full-length portrait, like another version in the Palazzo Medici-Riccardi (Cat. no. C23) is derived from Naldini's Portrait of Cosimo I (Cat. no. C22). Here the crown is maintained on the head and the drapery more closely followed. The sceptre appears in the left hand (as in Naldini's picture). Perhaps this picture is identical with

Cat. no. C27, ctd.

one of similar description that was in the Pisa Museum in 1906 (Cat. no. C24).

Pisa: Cat. (1962, p. 9, ill. p. 14), as early seventeenth century after Bronzino. Langedijk (1981, no. 27-9, ill.), as anonymous after Naldini.

Cat. no. C28

Florence, Uffizi, Inv. 1890, no. 4407

Canvas, 224 x 153 cm (88 1/4" x 60 1/4")

In this full-length portrait, the Duke appears standing, turned three-quarters left, and holding a giglio-topped sceptre in his right hand. A table appears at the left rear and a curtain hangs down at the right. The left hand rests on the hilt of a sword. The ermine grandducal robes are worn and the crown appears atop Cosimo's head. The portrait seems a free reversal of Cigoli's portrait of the Duke of 1602/1603 (Cat. no. C29). Langedijk has sensibly attributed this work to the Casini brothers, who delivered the five Medici portraits with which this picture seems to be mated (portraits of Clement VII, Leo X, Ferdinando I, Francesco I, and Cosimo II) in 1628; these pictures appear

Cat. no. C28, ctd.

with the Cosimo in the 1638 inventory of the Pitti Palace. According to Baldinucci (III, 1846, p. 451), Valore Casini specialized in posthumous portrait heads, while his brother executed the subsidiary parts of the paintings: Valore "faceva solamente le teste e le mani, e Domenico le vestiva."

Langedijk (1978, pp. 64-65, pl. 8), as attributed to Valore and Domenico Casini. Langedijk (1981, no. 27-40, ill., pp. 186-187), idem.

Cat. no. C29

Florence, Palazzo Medici-Riccardi

Canvas, 395 x 215 cm (155 1/2" x 84 5/8")

Uffizi, Florence (where Inv. 1890, no. 3784); on deposit to the Palazzo Medici-Riccardi (Prefettura).

The Duke is seen standing, turned three-quarters to the right, wearing the ermine cape of the grandducal title, and holding the sceptre of his rule in his right hand. His left rests on the hilt of his sword and on his head the crown is placed. In the background the cortile of the Palazzo Vecchio is visible. As Langedijk has shown, this portrait is identifiable with the Portrait of Cosimo I painted by Ludovico

Cat. no. C29, ctd.

Cigoli in 1602/1603. That work was intended as a model for a pietre dure portrait for Cosimo's tomb in San Lorenzo (never executed). Documents published by Langedijk indicate that in September 1602 Cigoli borrowed the grand-ducal robes from the guardaroba for his painting. A letter of February 1602 further states that the grandducal robes had previously been employed only in half-length compositions (Naldini's portrait, Cat. no. C22, which is not actually full-length, is the one possible exception); Jacques Bijlivelst thus wrote to Belisario Vinta (who functioned as Ferdinando I's first secretary), "In quanto alli ritratti che S.A.S. comandò che si debbano fare, metterei mano subito ma desidererei sapere se il gran ducha Cosimo ha da essere vistito con l'abito reale come sta nel corridore et in quanto alla grandetza lo farò fare come quelli che sono fatto altre voute infino alla cintura" (ASF, M.D.P., Filza 901, c. 647, letter of February 21, 1601/1602; quoted from Langedijk, 1981, p. 427). Cigoli's portrait was found in 1701 with the canvas folded back on all sides; Langedijk publishes a record of its restoration in that year. Since Cigoli's Cosimo I was to be eight braccia high (ca. 460 cm) and the picture today measures only 395 cm in height, it seems more than likely that part of the picture is lost (or perhaps still folded up at the

Cat. no. C29, ctd.

bottom ?). The copy of the picture at Livorno (Cat. no. C26) includes the Duke's feet at the bottom; these do not appear in Cigoli's portrait today and may thus reflect part of a lost portion of this work.

Baldinucci (1681; ed. 1846, III, 256), as Cigoli, in the Sala dell'Oriuolo of the Palazzo Vecchio. Langedijk (1968, p. 117), as Cigoli. Langedijk (1971, pp. 575-579, fig. 2), as Cigoli, and with documentation. Langedijk (1981, pp. 165-166, no. 27-43, ill.), as Cigoli, with documentation.

Cat. no. C30

New York (and Antwerp ?), with Sam Hartveld (1940s)  
Panel (?), Dimensions Unknown

This is a bust version of the "grandducal" type portrait, showing Cosimo with a solid white collar (with frills) over a dark dress. He wears the gold Toison d'Or chain, but the badge itself is not in the field of the picture. This picture is not identical with another bust portrait of similar appearance (Cat. no. C7) also at one time with Hartveld.



Cat. no. C31

Munich, Bayerische Staatsgemäldegalerie, Inv. 3212

Panel (?), Dimensions Unknown

Inscribed at top: COSIMVS. I. MAGNVS-DVX HETRVRIAE

This little-known picture is a half-length version of the "grandducal" portrait. Cosimo wears his embroidered collar and heavy gold chain with the badge of the Toison d'Or.

In his left hand (held at the lower left) he handles a rumpled handkerchief. Below and at the lower left corner appear the fingers of the Duke's right hand--apparently resting on the bottom edge of the picture plane. The surface of the picture is much damaged.

## Section D

## (Portraits of Cosimo I de' Medici of Other Types)

Cat. no. D1

Kent (Connecticut), Mrs. Arthur Erlanger Collection

Slate, 30.5 x 24 cm (12" x 9 1/2")

Inscribed at the top left: 1546. A map appears below with the following indications made: ARNO, PISA, CALCESANA, PORTONE, FOSSETTO, OSOLI, S. ZENO MALMIGL., POR. LUCCA, C. LIONE, S. GIORGIO, REVELEA[?]

Collection Princess Mathilde Bonaparte, Paris; her estate sale, Paris, Gal Georges Petit, May 17-21, 1904, lot 56 (as attributed to Alessandro Allori, called Bronzino; with A. Seligmann and Rey, New York; with F. Kleinberger & Co., New York (until 1937); Collection Arthur Erlanger, New York (1937- ); thence to Mrs. Erlanger.

This fascinating double portrait presents Cosimo and Eleonora di Toledo before a landscape background with Florence visible at the right. High in the distance four angels are seen supporting the Medici coat-of-arms. The Duke's head is directly after the type of the portrait in armor, but here Cosimo is seen in dark, unornamented dress. His outstretched right hand holds dividers which he putatively uses to calculate distances on the map which is rolled out before

Cat. no. D1, ctd.

him. This map is marked with what seem to be indications of ditches and canals in the area surrounding Pisa. Eleonora's portrait is directly based on Bronzino's portrait of the Duchess now in the National Museum in Prague. What was clearly a pendant to this portrait of the Duke and Duchess also appeared at the Mathilde Bonaparte sale: a portrait of Francesco, Maria, Garcia, and Giovanni de' Medici (lot 57 as a portrait of Francesco, Ferdinando, Pietro, Isabella de' Medici). Although the location of this picture is not known, its appearance, as well as that of the portrait of Cosimo and Eleonora, is recorded in eighteenth-century drawings after the pictures--Florence, Gabinetto di Disegni e Stampe, Uffizi, Santarelli nos. 1494 (Medici children) and 1495 (Cosimo and Eleonora; Fig. 53). The picture of the children of Cosimo is inscribed 1551 and has been used by Heikamp (1955) as a key for the identification and dating of Bronzino's portraits of these young Medici.

It is not clear from photographs whether the inscribed dates should be taken to indicate the date of execution of these pictures as well as the dates of iconographic origin. The map would seem to allude to Cosimo's draining of the marshes about Pisa. However, this operation was not undertaken until 1554-1556; the engineer Luca

Cat. no. D1, ctd.

Martini, who directed the draining, is shown holding a map of the canals in Bronzino's portrait in the Galleria Palatina. Although the source of both the portraits of Cosimo and Eleonora is quite clearly Bronzino, the softness in the modelling of the features is hardly typical of the artist's style. The picture, like its pendant, is a pastiche, but whether this pastiche was executed in 1546, at another moment in the Duke's reign, or even later cannot be now determined.

Washington Post (October 15, 1939), concerning its exhibition at the Baltimore Museum of Art. Heikamp (1955, p. 137), discussion of Uffizi drawings and mention of Bonaparte sale. Emiliani (1960, pp. 68-69), as perhaps Allori. Heikamp (1963, p. 212, fig. 39), as workshop of Bronzino. Richelson (1973, p. 58, n. 31), as attributed to Bronzino. Langedijk (1981, no. 27-32, ill.), as workshop of Bronzino.

Cat. no. D2

New York, Private Collection

Panel, 61 x 44.5 cm (24" x 17 1/2")

Coll. W. C. Buckley, Banbury, Northamptonshire; with F. Kleinberger & Co., Paris (until 1928); with F. Kleinberger & Co., New York (1928-1937); sale, A.A.A.-Anderson, New York, October 21, 1937, lot 29 (as by "Angelo di Cosimo Allori, called Il Bronzino"); sale, Christie's East, New York, March 13, 1980, lot 12 (as school of Bronzino); bought by Lescaut; Private Collection, New York.

Cosimo is seen in advanced age, wearing a green cloak with a white collar. His hair is thin and his beard slightly grayed; he wears the badge of the Order of the Golden Fleece. This painting is clearly related to the large portrait of Cosimo (97 x 73 cm) in the Museo Stibbert in Florence (for which, see Chapter IV, p. 47, note 2). That work, once given to Allori, has been of late ascribed to Salviati. Which attribution cannot be sustained--beyond reasons of style--as Salviati died in 1563 and, judging from the Duke's apparent age, the portrait must have been painted close to 1570. Lecchini Giovannoni has proposed the name of Francesco Brina for the Stibbert picture, a far more convincing attribution than the others; there remains, however, so much confusion between the works of Francesco, his brother

Cat. no. D2, ctd.

Giovanni Brina, and Michele di Ridolfo (del Ghirlandaio) Tosini, that a confident proposal cannot be now made. The bust portrait in New York is clearly by the same hand as the picture in the Stibbert Museum and perhaps served as a preliminary portrait study of the Duke. Also by the same artist and essentially following the same type is a triple portrait attributed to Tosini that was sold at Bonham's, London, December 15, 1977 (101.6 x 80 cm [40" x 31 1/2"]). Cosimo there appears at center, his son Francesco I at the left, and an unidentified bearded gentleman at the right.

On the Stibbert portrait see the following:

Florence, Stibbert: Cat. Lenzi (1918, II, 706, no. 4118), as Alessandro Allori. Giovannoni (1968, p. 56, n. 4), not Allori, towards F. Brina. Florence, Stibbert: Cat. Cantelli (1974, II, 55, no. 306, pl. 126), as Salviati? Langedijk (1981, no. 27-51), as attributed to Salviati.

Cat. no. D3

Florence, Gerini Collection (1759)

Support Unknown, 89 x 71.5 cm (35 1/8" x 28 1/8")

This portrait (as discussed in Chapter VIII, pt. 1) is a variant of Pontormo's Portrait of a Halberdier (Cosimo I) (Cat. no. D4). As seen in an eighteenth-century engraving of the picture, the subject appears with his left arm akimbo and his right bent at the elbow with his hand turned inwards to hold a letter (the letter "D" is visible). The pose and posture is otherwise essentially the same as that of the Halberdier. Here a more modest cap appears and no background detail is visible (this may have been the engraver's alteration).

Gerini (1759, pl. XXVIII, an engraving by Violante Varini on a design of Lorenzo Lorenzi), as by Alessandro Allori.  
Ewald (1976, p. 356, n. 22, fig. 16), as Pontormo.

Cat. no. D4

New York, Chauncey Stillman Collection

Panel, 92 x 72 cm (36 1/4" x 28 3/8")

Coll. Riccardo Romolo Riccardi, Florence (before 1612);  
Riccardi Family, Florence (1612-ca. 1809); with J.B.P. Lebrun,

Cat. no. D4, ctd.

Paris (ca. 1809-1810); his sale, Paris, March 20-24, 1810, lot 108 (as "attributed to J.F. Penni"); bought by Simon, for Fesch; Collection Cardinal Fesch, Rome (1810-1845); his estate sale, Rome, L.H. George Gall., March 17-18, 1845, lot 754-682 (as style of Andrea del Sarto); Coll. Leroy D'Etoilles; his sale, Paris, February 21-22, 1861 (as Penni); Coll. Mathilde Bonaparte; her estate sale, Paris, Gal. Georges Petit, May 17-21, 1904, lot 52 (as by Alessandro Allori); Coll. James Stillman, New York (by 1914); by descent to C.C. Stillman, New York (1921-1927); his estate sale, New York, A.A.A., February 3, 1927, lot 35 (as Pontormo); bought by Chauncey Stillman (son of the previous owner).

This extraordinary work, generally known as the Portrait of a Halberdier, is now universally considered to be by Pontormo, but there remains a great deal of controversy concerning who the subject is and when the picture was painted. These issues are discussed in Chapter VIII, pt. 1. In this study the work is considered a Portrait of Cosimo I, painted by Pontormo around 1537.

Lebrun (1809, I, 17), as Penni, noting Riccardi provenance. Voss (1920, I, 174-176, fig. 53), as Pontormo's Portrait of Francesco Guardi, ca. 1529-1530. Gamba (1921, p. 11, pl. 31), as possibly Pontormo's Guardi, 1525-1530. Mather (1922, passim),



Cat. no. D4, ctd.

as by Pontormo but not the portrait of Guardi. Clapp (1923, passim), ca. 1530. Alazard (1924, pp. 168-169, and 1948, p. 150), impossible to say whether the subject is Guardi. L. Venturi (1931, II, pl. cccxlv). Berenson (1932, p. 467), as Pontormo. A. Venturi (1932, pp. 172-174). Chicago: Cat. Century (1933, p. 21, no. 131). Voss (1933, p. 251), as representing Guardi, ca. 1531. Berenson (1938, p. 318). Steinbart (1939, pp. 7, 12). New York, World's Fair: Cat. McCall-Valentiner (1939, p. 139, no. 287, pl. 28), as ca. 1530, but not Guardi. Toesca (1943, p. 23, pl. 51). Becherucci (1944, pp. 19, 60), ca. 1529, probably Guardi. Indianapolis: Cat. Pontormo (1954, no. 11), possibly Guardi, ca. 1529-1530. Smyth (1955, pp. 111-112, and n. 4, 118 and n. 3, 119 and n. 3), as quite possibly Guardi, ca. 1529, compares with the Youth in the Metropolitan Museum. Berti, in Florence, Pal. Strozzi: Cat. Pontormo (1956, no. 63), ca. 1530. Keutner (1959, pp. 148, 150, 152), publishes 1612 inventory of Riccardi family on the basis of which he identifies the subject as Cosimo I with a date of 1537. Berenson (1963, p. 181, pl. 1430). Cox Rearick (1964, pp. 241, 269-271, 276-277, 402, 404), rejects identifications as Guardi and Cosimo, proposing Ercole Rangone, dates the work ca. 1527-1528, discusses drawings. Forster (1964, p. 380), as Cosimo I, ca. 1537-1539. Berti (1966, pp. cxxxiv-cxxxvii), doubts veracity

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of inventory identification, dates either 1530 or 1537, and (1966<sup>2</sup>, pp. 53 and 56, n. 27), as Guardi. Forster (1966, pp. 106-107, 146, cat. 43 and 1971, pp. 72-73), as Cosimo I, ca. 1537-1538. Pope-Hennessy (1966, pp. 110, 316, n. 10), ca. 1527-1528. Freedberg (1970, pp. 126, 484, n. 20), not Cosimo I, ca. 1528-1529. Berti (1973, no. 106). Richelson (1973, p. 81), as Cosimo I. Langedijk (1981, pp. 80-81, no. 27-50), as Cosimo I.

Cat. no. D5

Philadelphia, Philadelphia Museum of Art, Inv. no. 50-86-1  
Panel, 94 x 76.2 cm (37" x 30")

Coll. Major Eric Knight, Wolverley House, Kidderminster (by 1939); with Roland, Browse, and Delbanco, London (1948); given by Mrs. John Wintersteen to the Philadelphia Museum (1950).

This Portrait of Cosimo I as Orpheus is painted by Bronzino and is the subject of Chapter III. It is possible that the painting is to be identified with a work listed in an inventory of about 1650 of the collection of Messer Simone Berti (in Florence). Edward Sanchez has found the following entry: "Sopra la credenza / Un' orfeo ignudo a sedere grande

Cat. no. D5, ctd.

quanto al naturale: vi apparisce testa di un canino; con ornamento di noce dorato alto circa due braccia." Also possibly identifiable with this picture is a work sold at Christie's, London, on March 15, 1777, lot 43; catalogued simply as Orpheus by Bronzino the work was consigned by someone indicated as "Lu<sup>n</sup>" and purchased by one Serafini.

Pope-Hennessy, in Cellini (1939, pl. 49), as Bronzino: Francesco de' Medici. Art News Annual (1948, p. 176, advt.), idem. Bronzino for Philadelphia (1950, p. 11), idem. W.G. Constable (ms. note in museum archives, 1955), possibly by Allori or a good follower of Bronzino. Berenson (1963, I, 43 and II, fig. 1444), as Bronzino: Cosimo de' Medici (?) as Orpheus. Forster (1971, p. 83, n. 53), as from Bronzino's shop, Cosimo I as Orpheus, perhaps for the wedding decorations of 1539. Beccheschi (1973, no. 132), as attributed to Bronzino, Cosimo I (?). Langedijk (1976, p. 48, fig. 13, and 1981, p. 117, 418, no. 27-30), as Bronzino, Cosimo I as Orpheus, painted "not much after 1540." Schaefer (1978, p. 18, fig. 8), idem.

Cat. no. D6

New York, with Wildenstein and Company

Panel, 101 x 76.2 cm (39 3/4" x 30")

Coll. Riccardo Romolo Riccardi, Florence (by 1612); Coll. Charles T.D. Crews, London; his sale, Christie's, London, July 2, 1915, lot 144. (as "A. Bronzino"); bought by Smith. Coll. L. Breitmeyer, London and Rushton Park Hall, Kettering; his sale, Christie's, London, June 27, 1930, lot 19 (as A. Bronzino); bought by Pawsey and Payne. Coll. Sir Thomas Merton, Winfarton House, Hereford; with F.A. Drey, London (at one time as well in the collection of Lord Burton); with Wildenstein, New York.

This Portrait of a Young Man with a Plume is a variant of the Halberdier portrait (Cat. no. D4) and seems as well to represent Cosimo shortly after his accession to the dukedom. The picture is discussed in Chapter VIII, pt. 1. Authorship is impossible to ascertain on the basis of photographs alone.

Baltimore: Cat. Bacchiacca (1961, no. 56, ill. p. 16), as Pontormo. Berenson (1963, I, 181), as Pontormo. Forster (1964, p. 380, fig. 5), as Bronzino workshop, ca. 1540-1541.

Cat. no. D7

Florence, Palazzo Vecchio, Studiolo

Slate tondo, Diameter 112 cm (44 1/8")

Painted for and still in the Studiolo of Francesco I in the Palazzo Vecchio.

Cosimo is seen three-quarter length, in armor, with his right arm akimbo and his left hand gesturing at the lower right. The armor is different from that encountered in the series of portraits of the Duke in armor; here the design is simpler and unornamented. The actual suit represented survives in the Waffensammlung des Kunsthistorischen Museums in Vienna (Inv. A 406; for which see Florence, Pal. Vecchio: Cat., 1980, no. 237; illustrated in Boccia, 1980, fig. 158). The head of Cosimo is taken from the Portrait of Cosimo at Age Forty. This work (and its companion Portrait of Eleonora di Toledo) must date from the early 1570s when the Studiolo project was undertaken by various artists. The attribution to Bronzino is traditional but unwarranted. Documentary evidence might well give the authorship of the portrait to one of the so-called Studiolo painters, perhaps even Allori; at this time it were best to consider the picture as "workshop of Bronzino." It ought to be noted that Cosimo's portrait is surrounded by zodiacal signs (at the left, Capricorn, Aquarius, Pisces; at the right Sagittarius,

Cat. no. D7, ctd.

Scorpio, Libra) which seem to refer to the Duke's horoscope.

Lensi (1911, pp. 201, 259 and 1929, p. 250), as Bronzino.  
 Schulze (1911, p. xi), as Bronzino, late. Gamba (1925, p. 147), as Bronzino, making use of his earlier portrait of the Duke, cat. CA-8. McComb (1928, pp. 54-55, pl. 31), as Bronzino, ca. 1550-1552. Venturi (1933, p. 73), as Bronzino. Berenson (1932, p. 115 and 1936, p. 99), as Bronzino. Emiliani (1960, p. 69), citing them as by Bronzino but doubting their originality. Berenson (1963, I, 43), as studio of Bronzino. Bucci (1965, n.p.), ca. 1570-1572. Berti (1967, p. 227, n. 15), doubting the attribution and noting the appropriateness of Cosimo's portrait in armor being near the bronze statuette of Vulcan in the Studiolo. Langedijk (1968, p. 67), as derived from the "Turin-type," that is "Forty-year" portrait of the Duke. Vitzthum (1968, pp. 15, 53 ill.), as workshop of Bronzino. Baccheschi (1973, no. 54h, ill.). Schaefer (1976, pp. 249, 278, 290-291), as by Bronzino, commissioned 1560, put in place in early 1570s. Dezzi Bardeschi (1980, fig. 6), as after Bronzino. Allegri-Cecchi (1980, p. 327), as Allori, after Bronzino. Langedijk (1981, p. 92, no. 27-182, ill.), as workshop of Bronzino.

Cat. no. D8

Lucerne, Fischer Sale (1967)

Canvas, 125 x 85 cm (49 1/4" x 33 1/2")

With A.S. Drey, Munich (1914); Private Collection, U.S.A. and/or Coll. Vogel, Lucerne (until 1967); which sale, Fischer, Lucerne, June 17, 1967, lot 81 (as Salviati).

This is an interesting three-quarter length work which is derived from the Portrait of Cosimo in Armor. The Duke, in the pose and at the age of that earlier portrait, stands before a red curtain, which is raised at the right to show a landscape of Florence. Cosimo wears a black and gold dress covered with a fur stole. His left hand holds the hilt of a sword at the lower right. His right arm, mimicking its position in the portrait in armor, is held across his chest to the right; the hand has been altered to create a proprietary gesture towards the cityscape. The gold chain bearing the badge of the Toison d'Or is of the design found in the late "grandducal" Portraits; the sword hilt as well is reminiscent of that found in the version formerly in the Holford Collection (Cat. no. C21). These details, when considered with the style of the picture, make one think of this work as a retrospective portrait of the young Cosimo, executed towards the end of his life or after his death. The auction attribution to Salviati is more suggestive than

Cat. no. D8, ctd.

the Bronzino label the painting bore when with Drey in 1914; closer, perhaps, would be the styles of Tosini and the Brina brothers. Matteoli associated a Portrait of Eleonora di Toledo (127 x 98.4 cm) sold at Christie's, London, in 1902 (from the Bardini Collection) with this portrait as pendants --a likely pairing in view of the similar size, format, curtain hangings, style.

Cheney (1963, p. 487), mentioned under pictures attributed to Salviati. Matteoli (1969, p. 312, n. 28), as above. Langedijk (1981, no. 27-52), as attributed to Salviati.



## Section E

(Portraits of Cosimo I de' Medici of Unknown Type)

Cat. no. E1

Rome, Palazzo Lante (?) (1865)

Panel, 17 x 15 cm (6 3/4" x 5 7/8")

Cited by Defer as being in the "Pal. Lanti," presumably the Palazzo Lante in Rome. The portrait, as well as a companion Portrait of Eleonora di Toledo, are listed as being bust-length.

Defer (1865, II, 1, p. 63), as Bronzino.

Cat. no. E2

Paris, Solirène Collection Sale (1830) (?)

Panel, 32 x 23 cm (12 5/8" x 9")

According to Defer and Mireur, a painting of "Cosme 1<sup>er</sup> Grand Duc de Toscane" by Bronzino was in the Solirène Sale in Paris in 1830--where it brought 180 francs. Such a sale catalogue has proven unlocatable; the picture does not appear in the Solirène Sale of April 22-24, 1829 (postponed

Cat. no. E2, ctd.

to May 5, 1829).

Defer (1865, II, 1, p. 62), as Bronzino. Mireur (1911, I, 27), as Bronzino.

Cat. no. E3

London, Christie's Sale (1930)

Panel, 47 x 38.1 cm (18 1/2" x 15")

Coll. Cardinal G.B. Cossetta, Rome; Sale, Christie's, London, November 21, 1930, lot 146 (as "Bronzino"); bought by Ackermann.

Described as follows: "Portrait of Cosimo de' Medici I, Grand Duke of Tuscany, 1569, in black dress, with small white collar and spotted fur cloak." The wording of the description suggests that the picture might have been inscribed.

Cat. no. E4

London, Christie's Sale (1946)

Panel, 55.9 x 40.6 cm (22" x 16")

Sale, Christie's, London, July 12, 1946, lot 106 (as "Bronzino"); bought by Berlany.

Described as a portrait of Cosimo, "in black doublet and white collar, wearing a gold chain."

Cat. no. E5

Althorp (Northampton), Collection of Earl Spencer

Support Unknown, 58.4 x 45.7 cm (23" x 18")

Collection Quintin Craufurd; his sale, Delaroche et Paillet, Paris, November 2, 1820, lot 327 (as an unattributed presumed portrait of Michel de Montaigne); bought by George John, Second Earl Spencer; by descent to Edward John, Eighth Earl Spencer.

According to Garlick, this is a bust portrait of Cosimo by a follower of Bronzino; the subject is seen turned slightly to the left and wearing the Toison d'Or.

Cat. no. E5, ctd.

Althorp: Cat. Dibdin (1822, p. 265), as a portrait of Montaigne. Althorp: Cat. (1851, no. 369), idem. Althorp: Cat. Garlick (1976, p. 9), as a portrait of Cosimo I de' Medici by a follower of Bronzino.

Cat. no. E6

New York, A.A.A. Sale (1924)

Support Unknown, 59.7 x 43.2 cm (23 1/2" x 17")

Coll. Ilo Giacomo Nunes, Rome; his sale, A.A.A., New York, December 10, 1924, lot 135 (as by "Cristofano Allori Bronzino").

In the sale catalogue the portrait is listed as representing Cosimo and described as "The Grand Duke of Tuscany, wearing a costume of black velvet and lace."

Cat. no. E7

London, Christie's Sale (1927)

Panel, 59.7 x 52.1 cm (23 1/2" x 20 1/2")

Sale, Christie's, London, July 4, 1927, lot 93 (as "Bronzino"); bought by Greves or Grieves.

Described as a portrait of Cosimo "in embroidered dress with white collar."

Cat. no. E8

Rome, Gallery of the Monte di Pietà (1857)

Panel, 70 x 53 cm (27 1/2" x 20 7/8")

Listed as a supposed portrait of Cosimo in a catalogue issued in December 1857; the picture may have been an unredeemed pledge.

Rome, Monte di Pietà (1857, no. 1295), as manner of Bronzino.

Cat. no. E9

Paris, Hôtel Drouot Sale (1905)

Panel, 70 x 53 cm (27 1/2" x 20 7/8")

Coll. M. Edwards; his sale, Hôtel Drouot (C-P Paul Chevallier), Paris, May 25, 1905, lot 4 (as attributed to Allori called Bronzino).

Listed in the catalogue as a portrait of Cosimo de' Medici.

Cat. no. E10

Madrid, Collection of the Duke of Berwick and Alba (1911)

Panel, 84 x 69 cm (33 1/8" x 27 1/8")

Acquired in Florence in 1817 for Duke Carlos Miguel; thence by descent.

Called a portrait of Cosimo I de' Medici in the catalogue cited, where the subject is described as being about thirty years old, with short hair and a dark blond beard. His right hand holds a handkerchief, while his left grasps the hilt of a sword; he is dressed in violet clothing braided with gold at the cuffs and shoulders, with a white embroidered

Cat. no. E10, ctd.

collar and with the emblem of the Toison d'Or.

Berwick y Alba: Cat. Barcia (1911, pp. 103-104, no. 103),  
as by Bronzino.

Cat. no. E11

London, Christie's Sale (1895)

Canvas, 84.5 x 70.5 cm (33 1/4" x 27 3/4")

Coll. Duke of Roxburghe; Coll. Henry Doetsch; his sale,  
Christie's, London, June 24, 1895, lot 159 (as by "Angelo  
Bronzino").

Identified as a portrait of Cosimo and described as "a  
bust, seen down to the waist; both hands are shown."

Cat. no. E12

London, Christie's Sale (1919)

Panel, 86.4 x 67.3 cm (34" x 26 1/2")

Sale, Christie's, London, November 13, 1919, lot 202 (as  
"Bronzino"); bought by Bowyer.

Cat. no. E12, ctd.

Catalogued as a portrait of "Cosimo di Medici," presumably here meaning Cosimo I. A picture of almost identical dimensions (Cat. no. E13) sold at Christie's in 1906 was also so catalogued and may be the same as this painting.

Cat. no. E13

London, Christie's Sale (1906)

Support Unknown, 86.4 x 68.6 cm (34" x 27")

Sale, Christie's, London, July 20, 1906 (as "Bronzino");  
bought by Poste.

Catalogued as a portrait of "Cosimo di Medici," and possibly identical with the previous picture (Cat. no. E12).  
The subject is described as being "in rich dress."

Cat. no. E14

London, Christie's Sale (1911)

Panel, 87.6 x 69.9 cm (34 1/2" x 27 1/2")

Coll. Bethell Walrond, Devon; his sale, Christie's, London,  
July 12-13, 1878, lot 152 (as "Bronzino"); Coll. Charles



Cat. no. E 14, ctd.

Butler, London; his sale, Christie's, London, May 25, 1911, lot 9 (as "A. Bronzino"); bought by Cohen.

Described as a portrait of Cosimo I "in grey dress, with white collar and cuffs, and dark cloak; curtain background.

Cat. no. E15

Munich, with F.W. Weisenheimer Gallery (1965)

Panel, 94 x 73.7 cm (37" x 29")

Coll. Benjamin Penn Serem; by descent to S. Quentin Quale; his sale, Robinson and Fisher, London, May 7, 1896, lot 14 (as "Bronzino"); bought by Flake; Coll. Cipriano Lisante, London and Milan; thence to Coll. Mikhail Ostorog, New York; his sale, Plaza Art Galleries, New York, October 15, 1963, lot 31 (as "Bonzoni" [sic]); bought by Borminez; with F.W. Weisenheimer Gallery, Asuncion and Munich (1965).

Described as a portrait of "The Grand Duke Cosimo, of the Medici, in rich dress, with a pipe in his left hand [probably a mis-reading] and a whip in his right [ditto]. He is bearded and carries the sign of the Golden Fleece on a chain about his neck."

Cat. no. E16

London, Sotheby's Sale (1949)

Canvas, 95.9 x 73.7 cm (37 3/4" x 29")

Sale, Sotheby's, London, May 18, 1949, lot 81 (as "Bronzino");  
bought by Nicholls.

Described as a portrait of "Cosimo I, Grand Duke of Tuscany,  
holding a letter."

Cat. no. E17

London, Christie's Sale (1937)

Panel, 149.9 x 94 cm (59" x 37")

Coll. Rt. Hon. Mary Anne, Baroness Forester and Col.  
W.S.W. Parker-Jervis; whose estate sale, Christie's, London,  
June 18, 1937, lot 54 (as "Bronzino"); bought by Baird.

In the catalogue as a "Portrait of Cosimo di Medici,  
The Duke of Tuscany, in embroidered dress, holding a  
letter."

Cat. no. E18

London, Christie's Sale (1770)

Support Unknown, Dimensions Unknown

Coll. Count Bruhl; his estate sale, Christie's, London, March 23, 1770, lot 21 (as "Allori"); unsold.

Catalogued as "a portrait of Signor Cosimo," and most likely to have been the Duke.

Cat. no. E19

London, Christie's Sale (1824)

Support unknown, Dimensions Unknown

Coll. Count Fries, Vienna; his sale, Christie's, London, June 26, 1824, lot 8 (as "Bronzino"); unsold.

Described in the catalogue as follows: "Portrait of Cosmo de Medicis, the 1st of the name, a Grand Duke of Tuscany, 1/2 length figure; bearing the order of the Golden Fleece and holding a letter in the left hand; a finely coloured and well finished picture."

Cat. no. E20

London, Christie's Sale (1828)

Support Unknown, Dimensions Unknown

Coll. Casa Bartolotti, Florence; which sale, Christie's,  
London, December 12, 1828, lot 15 (as "Bronzino");  
bought by Thompson.

Catalogued as a "Portrait of Cosmo de' Medici."

Cat. no. E21

Paris, Durand-Duclos Sale (1840)

Support Unknown, Dimensions Unknown

Coll. Durand-Duclos, Paris; which sale, Paris, May 13,  
1840 (as by Cristofano or Alessandro Allori).

Cited by Defer and Mireur as a portrait of Cosimo.

Defer (1865-1868, II, 1, p. 68). Mireur (1911-1912, I, 28).

Cat. no. E22

England, Collection Sir Charles Russell (1862)

Support Unknown, Dimensions Unknown

A portrait of "Cosmo de Medici" by Bronzino appeared in the 1862 exhibition at the British Institution, lent by Sir Charles Russell.

London, Brit. Inst.: Cat. (1862, no. 116), as Bronzino.

Cat. no. E23

London, Puttick & Simpson Sale (1878)

Support Unknown, Dimensions Unknown

Coll. Georges Quiniff, Brussels; his sale, Fievez, Brussels, May 16, 1857, lot 5 (as Bronzino); bought by Soltner; Coll. V.C. Dartée, Paris; whose sale, Hôtel Drouot (C-P Rouget), Paris, June 3, 1868, lot 13 (as Allori called Bronzino); bought by Trunque; Coll. Paul Drake, London; his estate sale, Puttick & Simpson, London, November 13, 1878, lot 148 (as "Bronzino"); bought by Altamont.

Described as a portrait of "Cosmo the Magnificent, Grand Duke of Tuscany, half length with rich dress and holding a napkin in his left hand."

Cat. no. E24

Vienna, Sterne Sale (1881)

Support Unknown, Dimensions Unknown

Coll. Sterne; which sale, Vienna, December 12, 1885.

Schulze notes this picture as a portrait of Cosimo I given to Bronzino; further information as to this collection, sale, and publication of the picture have proved elusive.

Schulze (1911, p. xl, no. 19), cited with reference to Kunstfreund (1881, p. 378).

Cat. no. E25

Schloss Beynahunen (Lithuania), Coll. Fahrenheid (1886)

Support Unknown, Dimensions Unknown

Volckmann describes the painting as a portrait by Bronzino of Cosimo "at a ripe old age."

Volckmann (1886, p. 75), as Bronzino. Schulze (1911, p. v), as Bronzino.

Cat. no. E26

Paris, Hôtel Drouot Sale (1922)

Panel, Dimensions Unknown

Sale, Hôtel Drouot (C-P Leon de Cagny), January 13,  
1922 (as school of Angiolo Bronzino).

Cited simply as a portrait of Cosimo de' Medici.

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Fig. 2

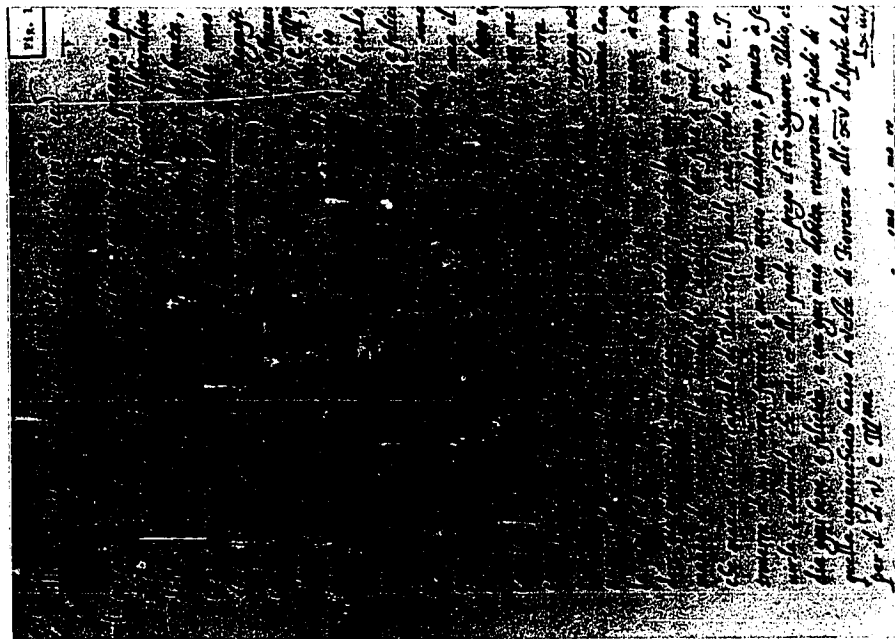


Fig. 1

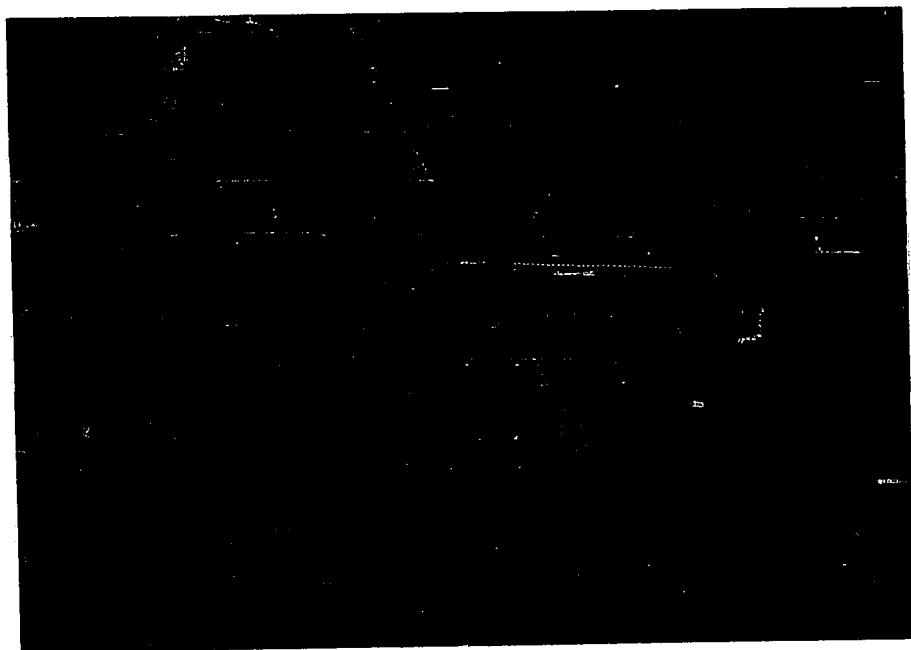


Fig. 3



Fig. 4



Fig. 5

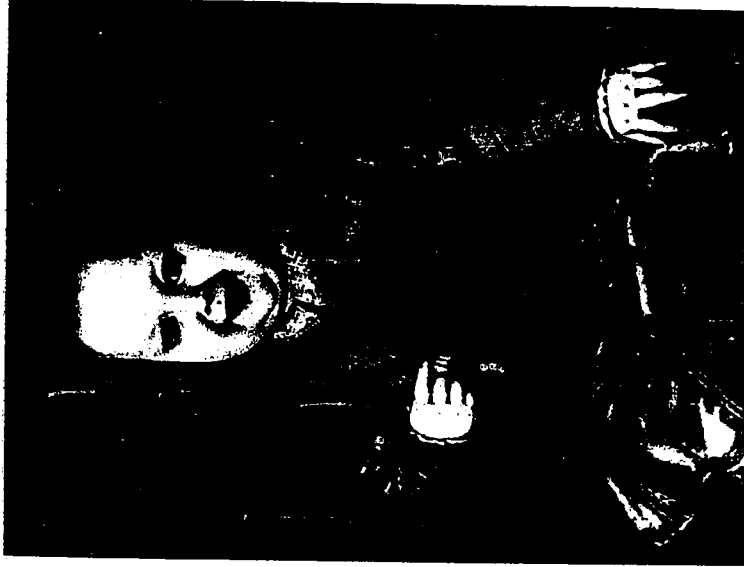


Fig. 7



Fig. 6





Fig. 9



Fig. 8

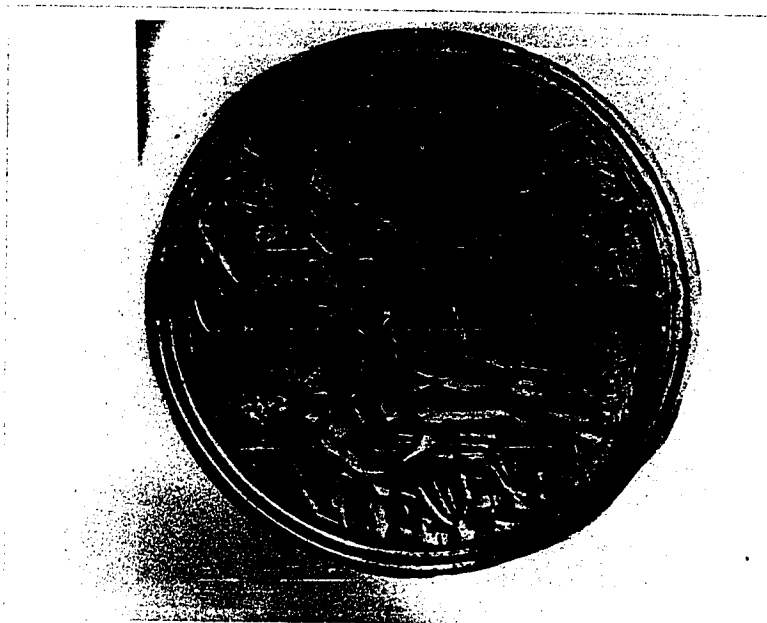


Fig. 11



Fig. 10



Fig. 13

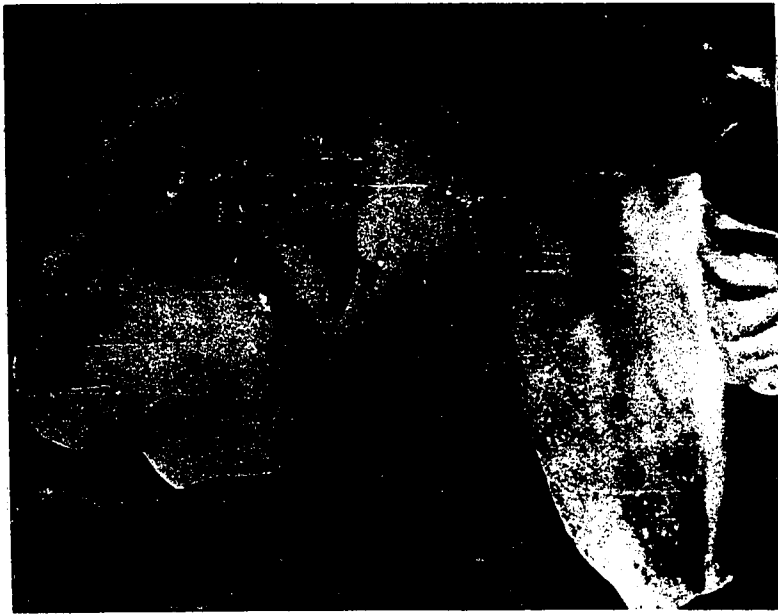


Fig. 12



Fig. 15

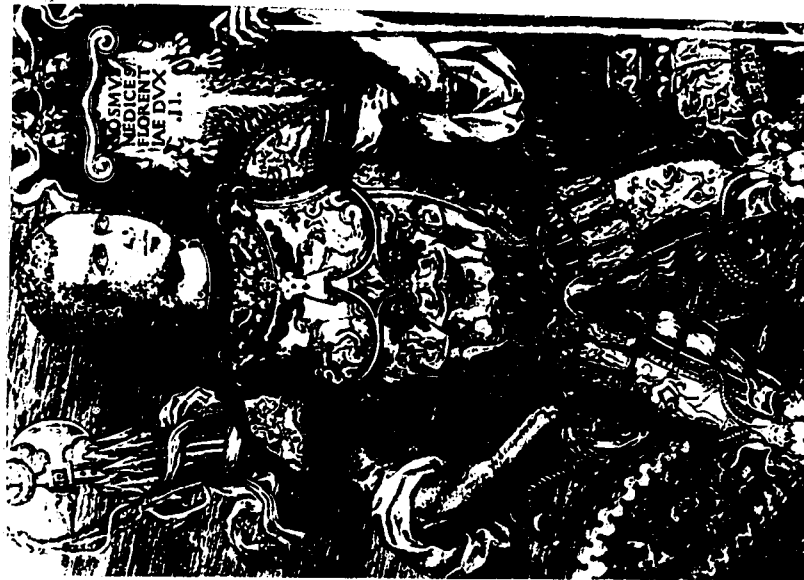


Fig. 14



Fig. 17



Fig. 16



Fig. 19



Fig. 18



Fig. 21b

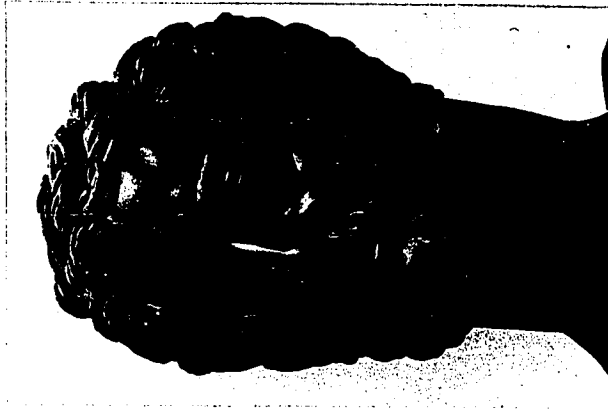


Fig. 21a



Fig. 20



Fig. 23



Fig. 22



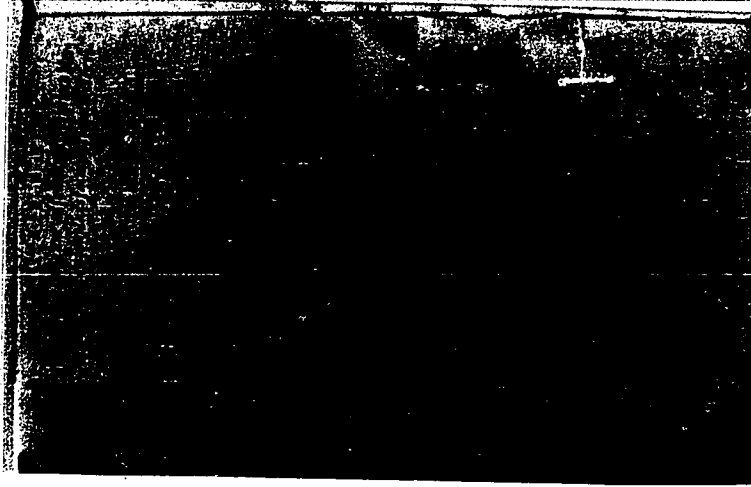


Fig. 25



Fig. 24



Fig. 27

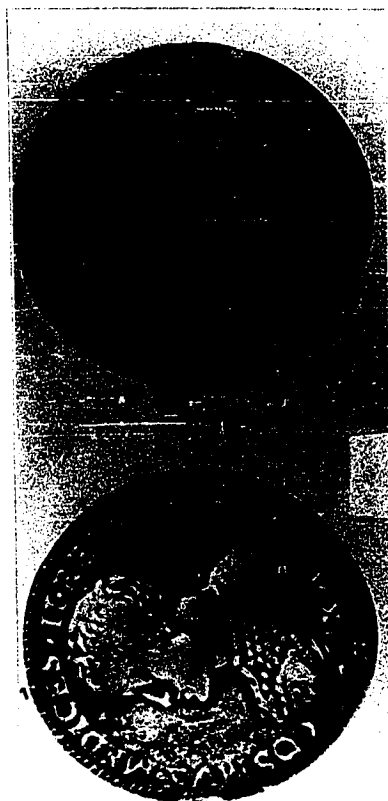


Fig. 26



Fig. 29

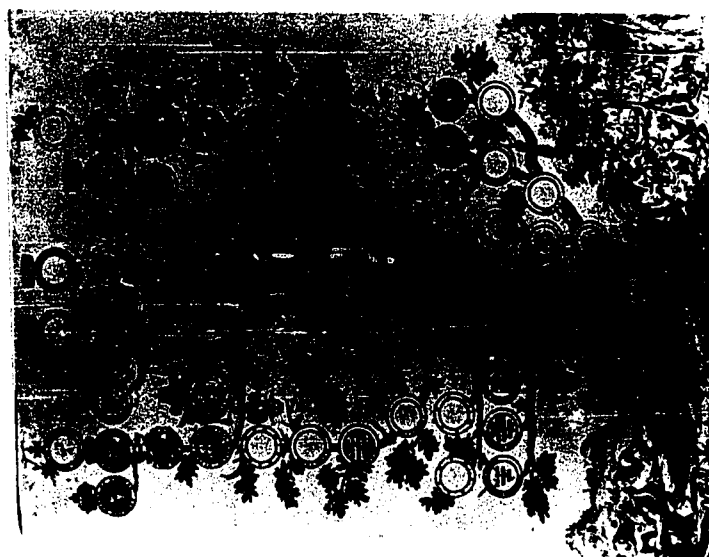


Fig. 28

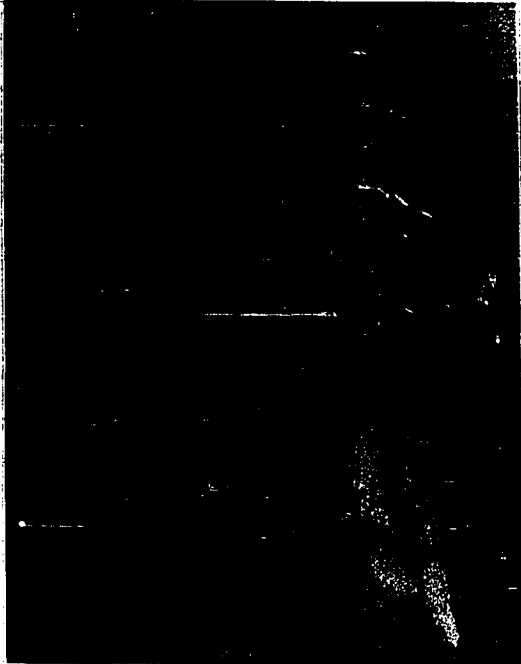


Fig. 30a



Fig. 30b



Fig. 30c

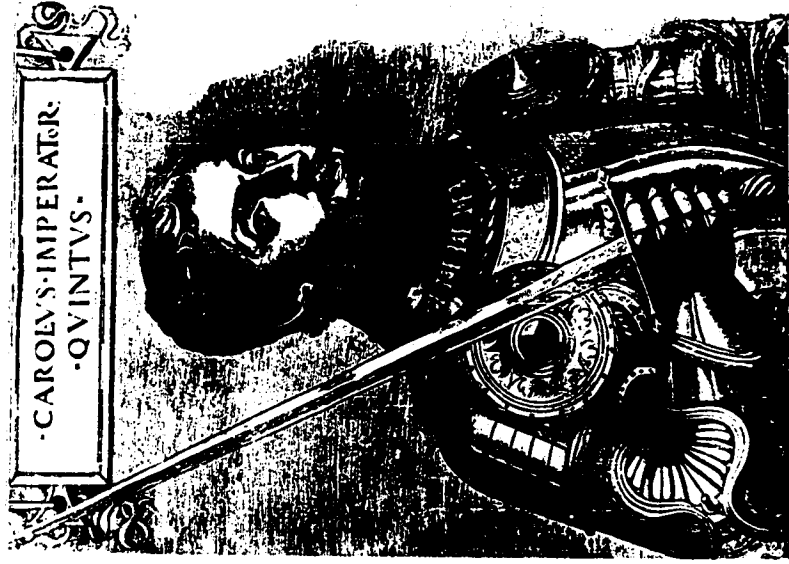


Fig. 32

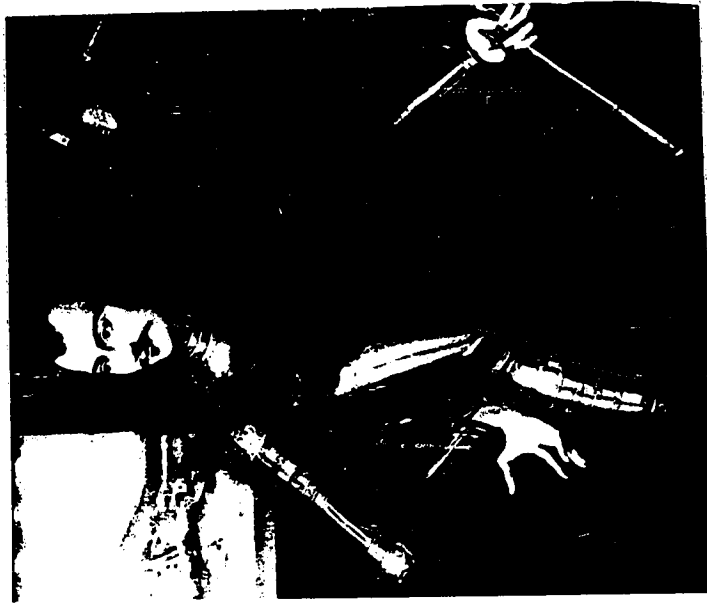


Fig. 31



Fig. 33



Fig. 35



Fig. 34



Fig. 37



Fig. 36





Fig. 39

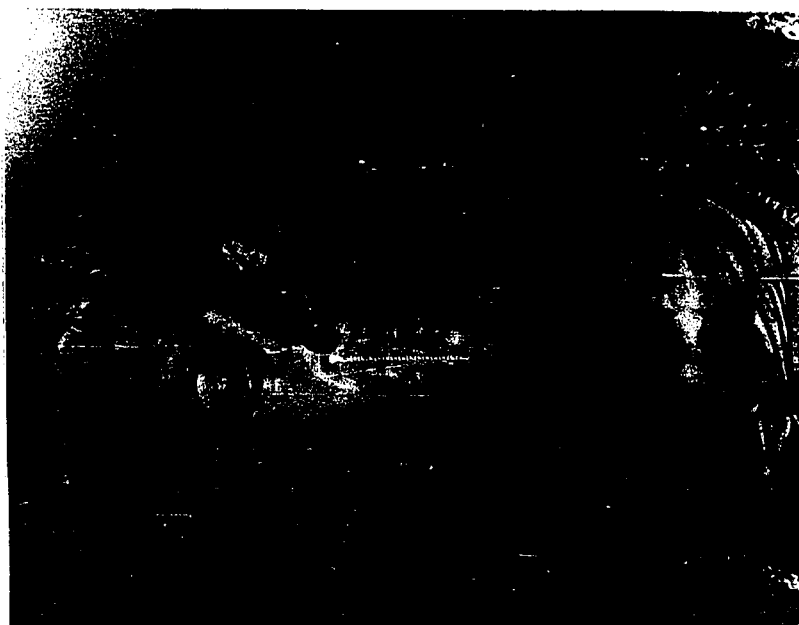


Fig. 38

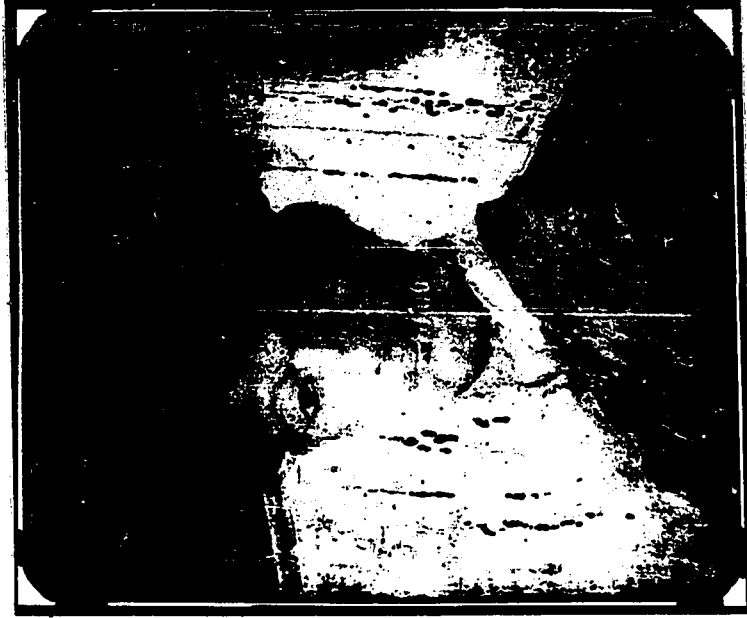


Fig. 41



Fig. 40

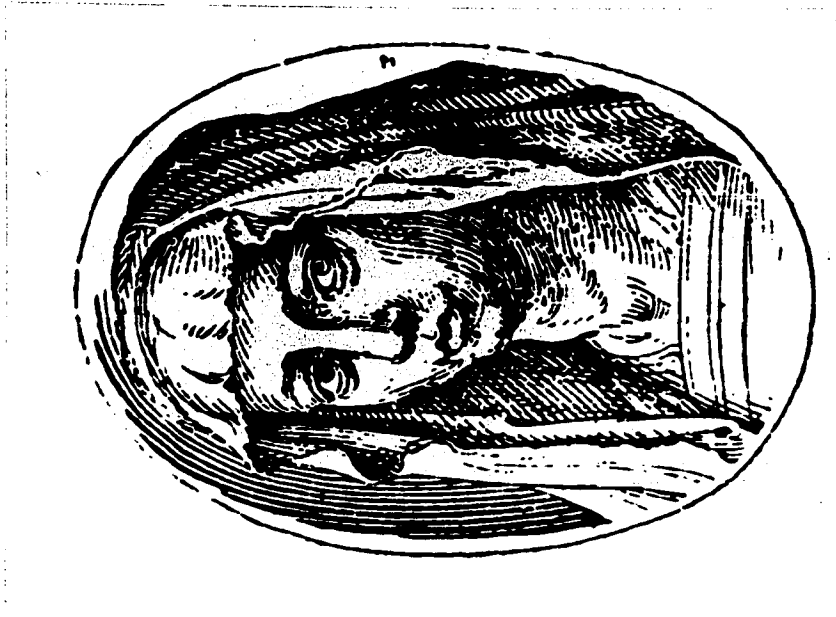


Fig. 43

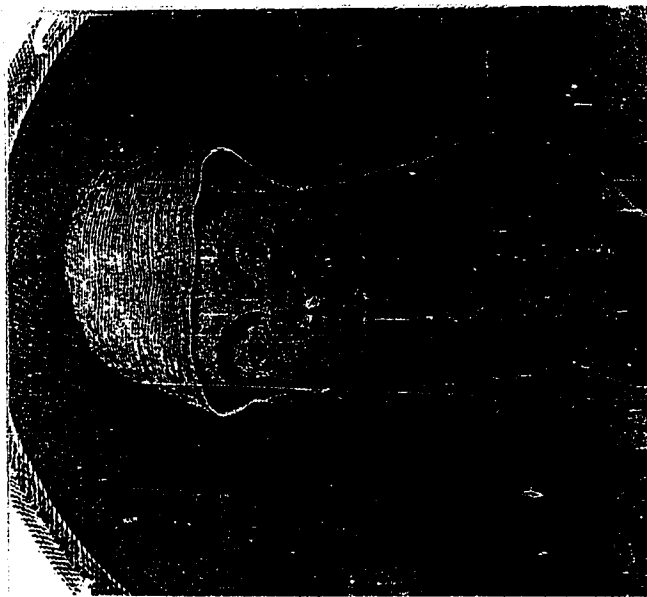


Fig. 42



Fig. 45



Fig. 44



Fig. 47



Fig. 46

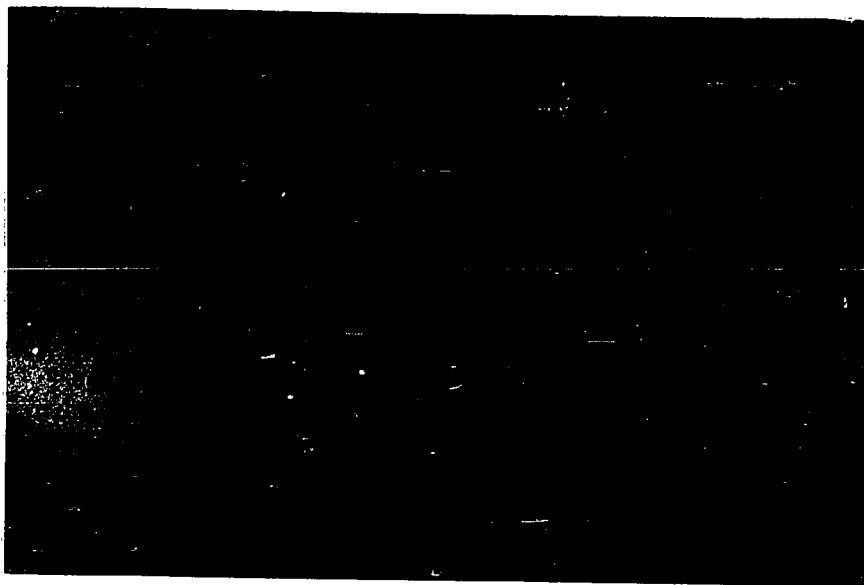


Fig. 48b



Fig. 48c



Fig. 48a

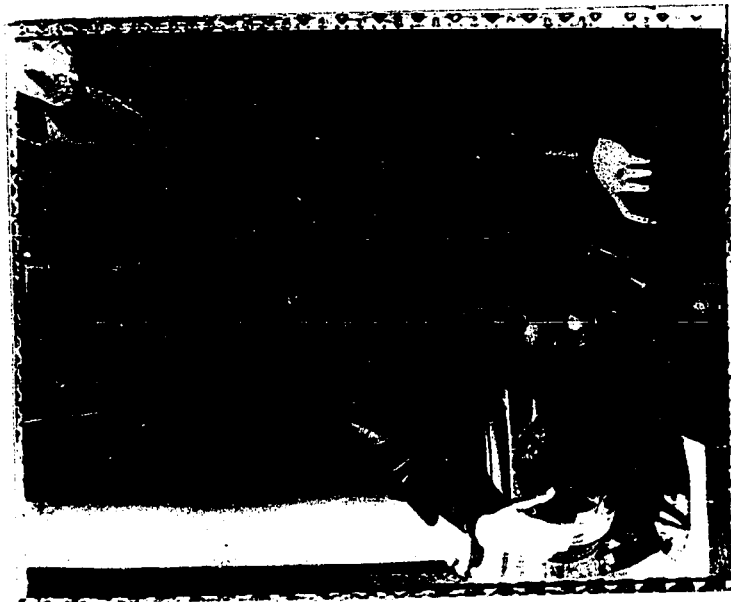


Fig. 51



Fig. 50



Fig. 49



Fig. 53



Fig. 52



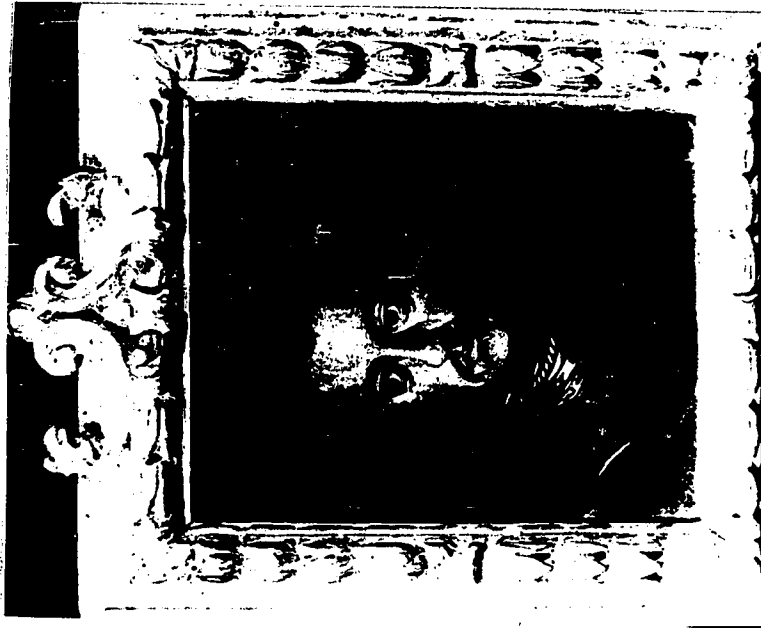


Fig. A2



Fig. A1



Fig. A4



Fig. A3



Fig. A7



Fig. A6

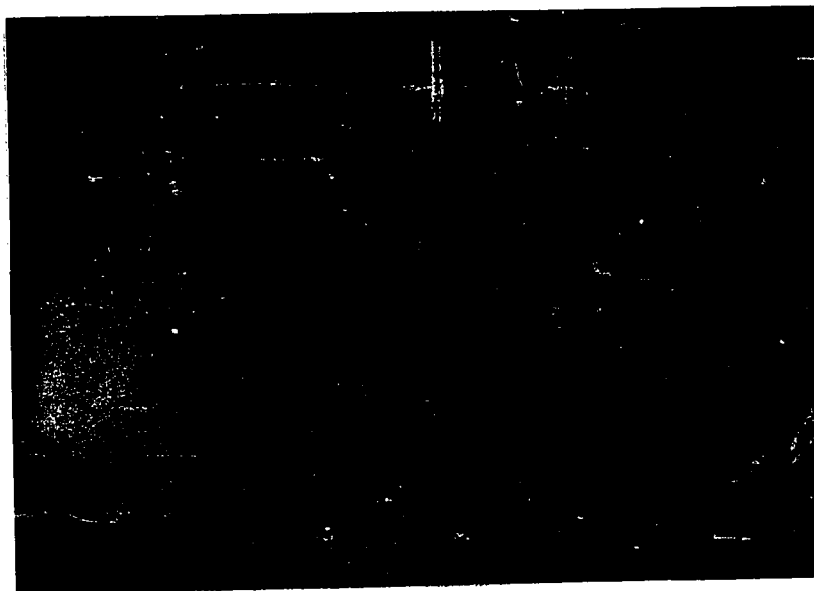


Fig. A8b



Fig. A8a



Fig. A9

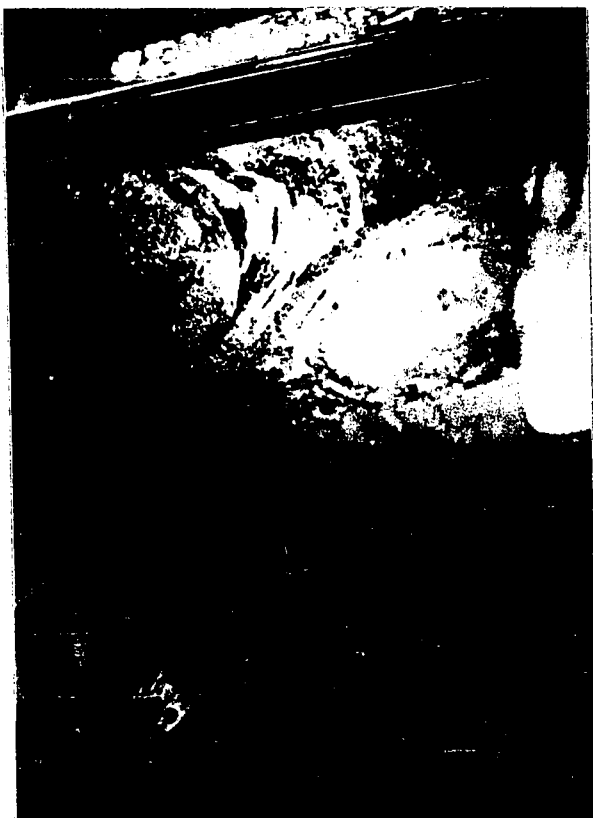


Fig. A8c



Fig. A12

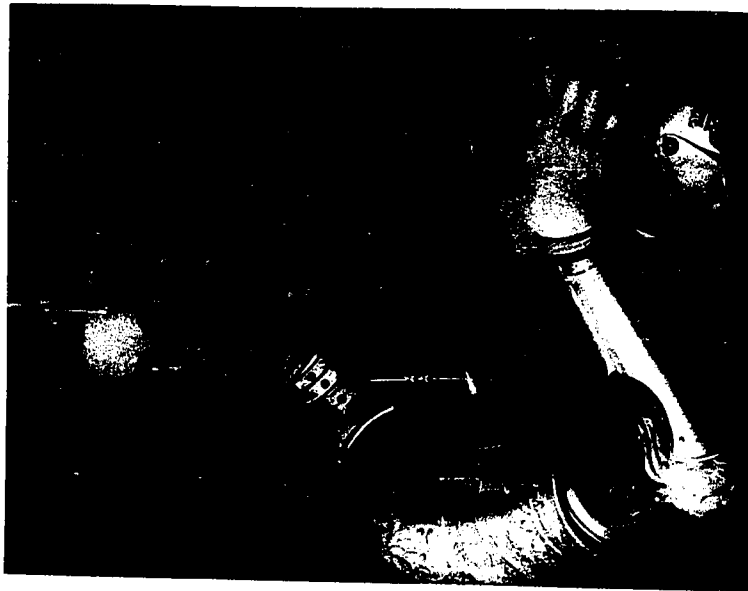


Fig. A11



Fig. A14



Fig. A13



Fig. A16



Fig. A15





Fig. A17b



Fig. A17a



Fig. A19b



Fig. A19a



Fig. A19d



Fig. A19c

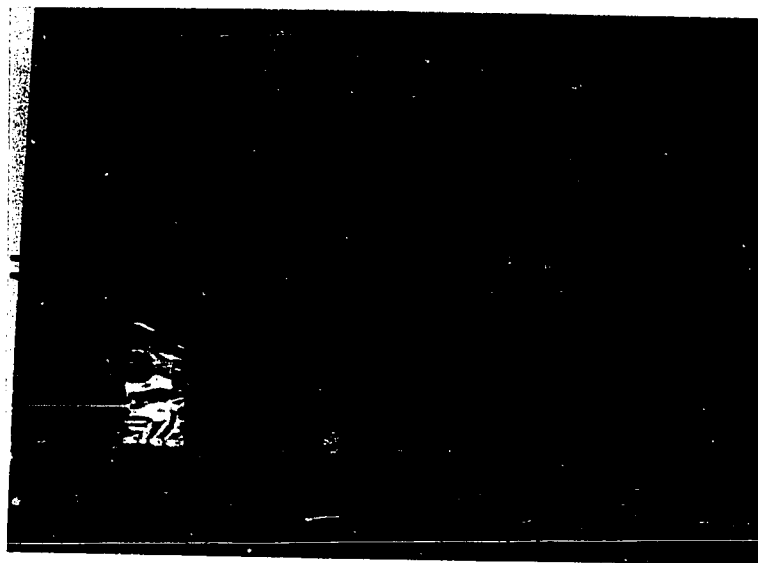


Fig. A19f



Fig. A19e



Fig. A20b



Fig. A20a

440



Fig. A21

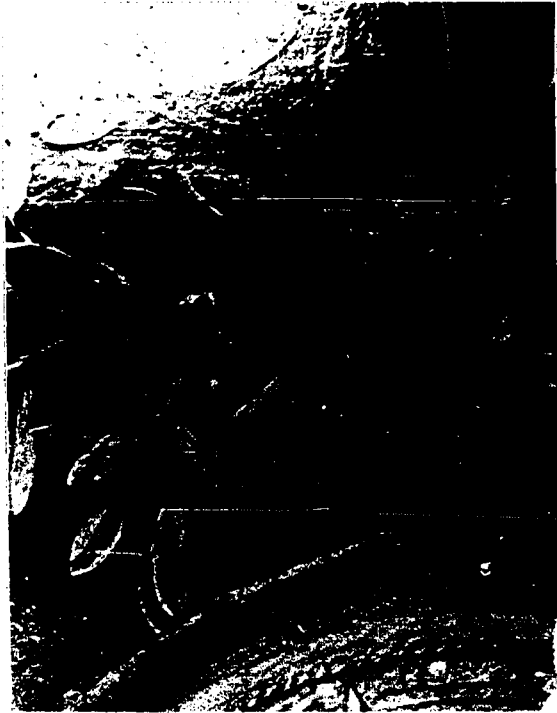


Fig. A20c



Fig. A23b



Fig. A23a

442



Fig. A25



Fig. A24





Fig. B1



Fig. A26



Fig. B3



Fig. B2



Fig. B7



Fig. B4

446



Fig. B10



Fig. B8

447



Fig. B13



Fig. B11



Fig. B15



Fig. B14

449

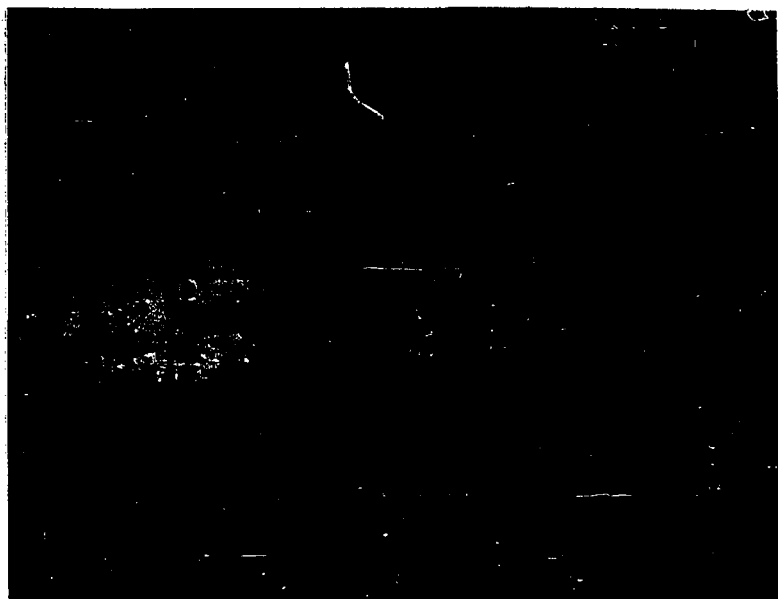


Fig. B17



Fig. B16



Fig. B20



Fig. B18



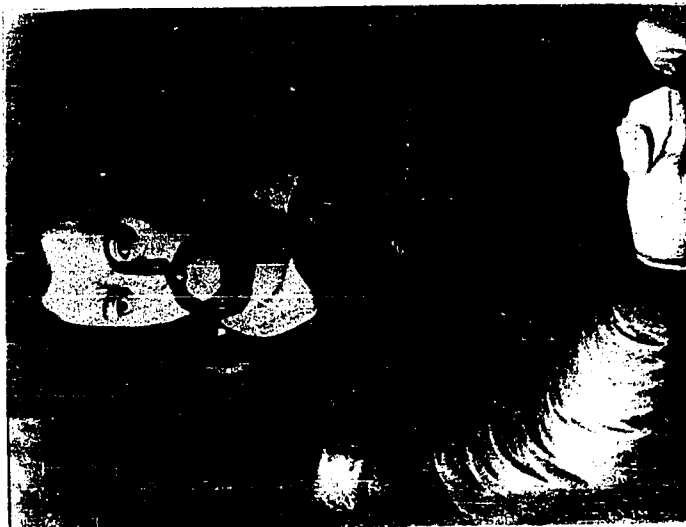


Fig. B23

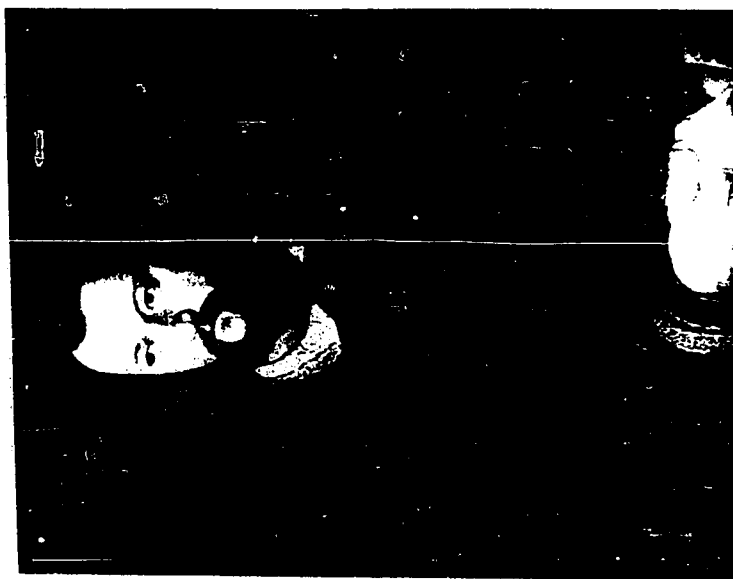


Fig. B22



Fig. B25



Fig. B24



Fig. B26b



Fig. B26a

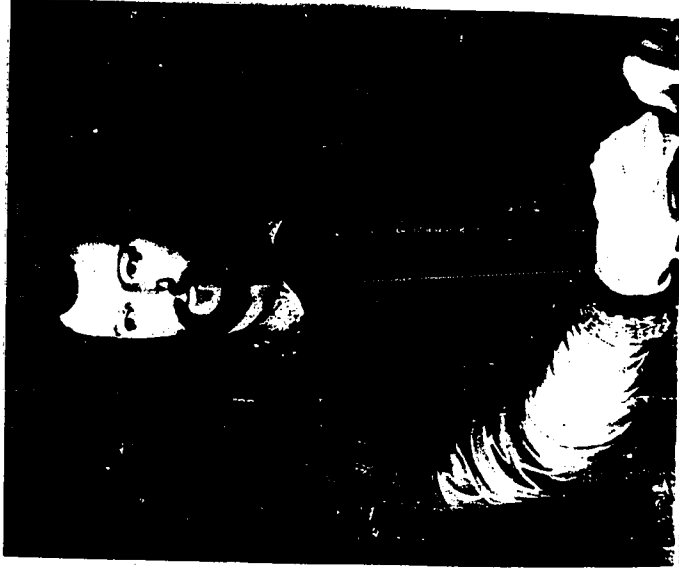


Fig. B27



Fig. B26C



Fig. B30



Fig. B28



Fig. B32



Fig. B31



Fig. B34



Fig. B33



Fig. B37



Fig. B36



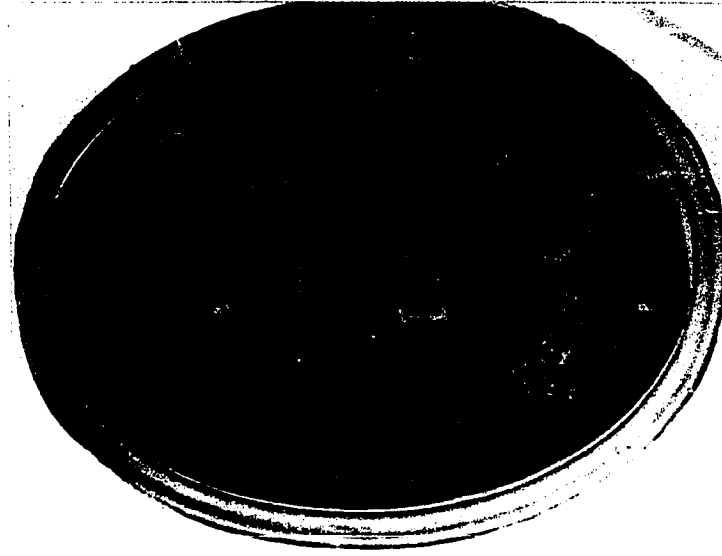


Fig. C3

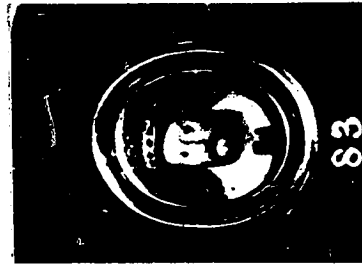


Fig. C1

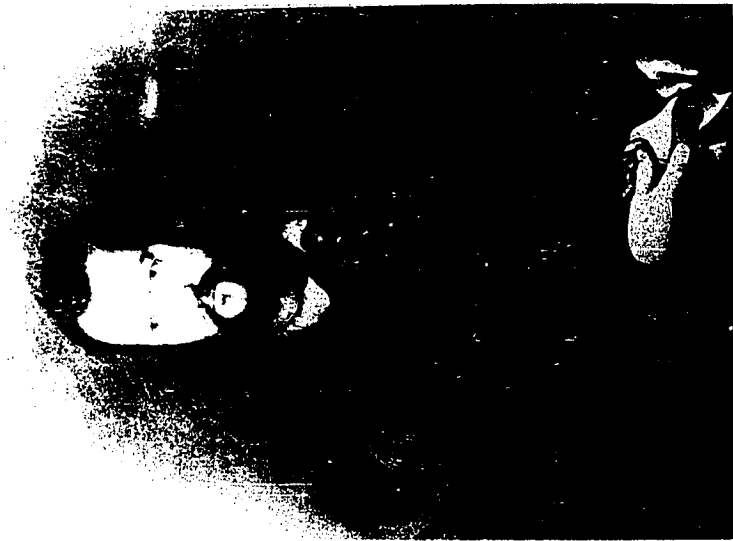


Fig. B38

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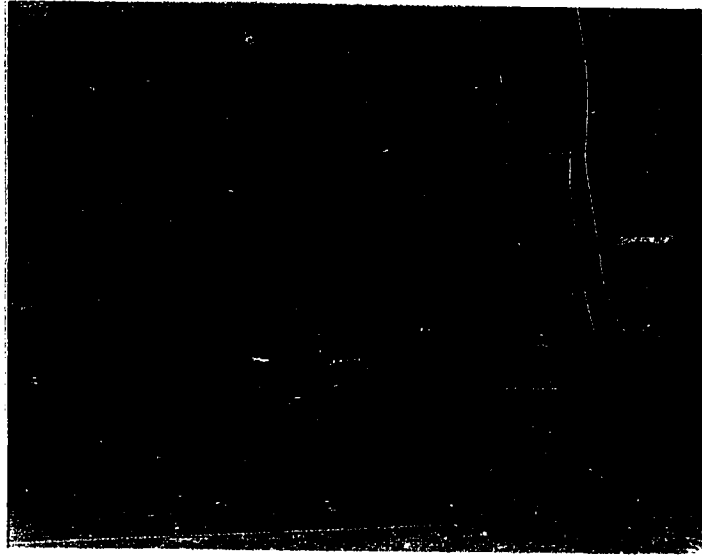


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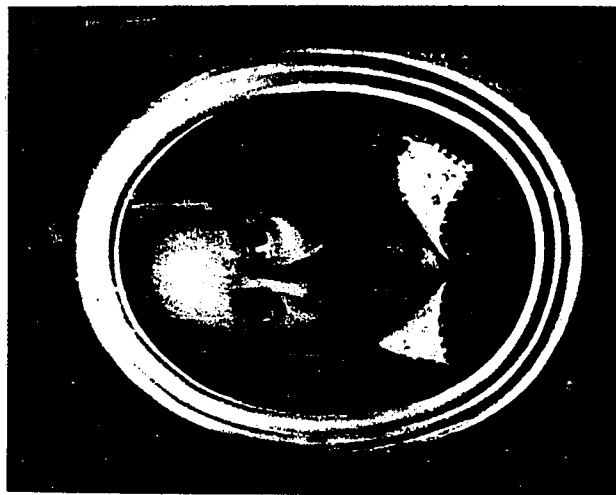


Fig. C4



Fig. C8

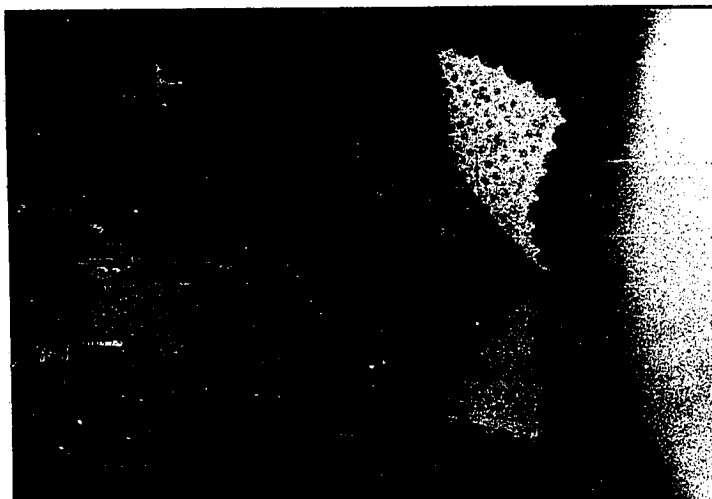


Fig. C7



Fig. C12

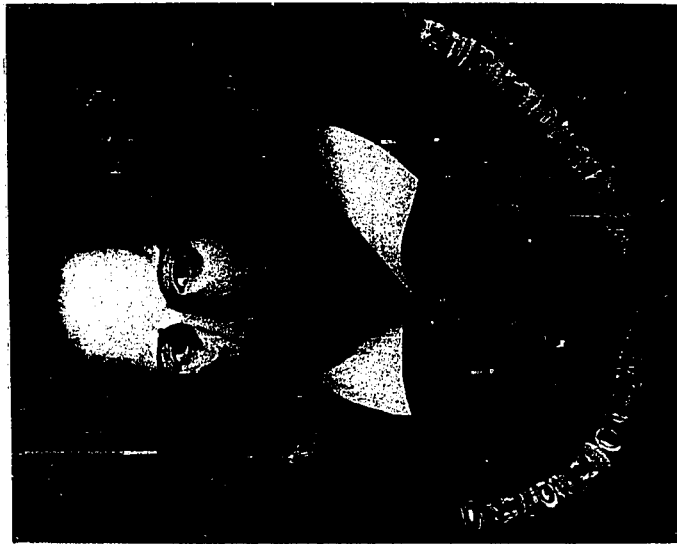


Fig. C11



Fig. C14



Fig. C13

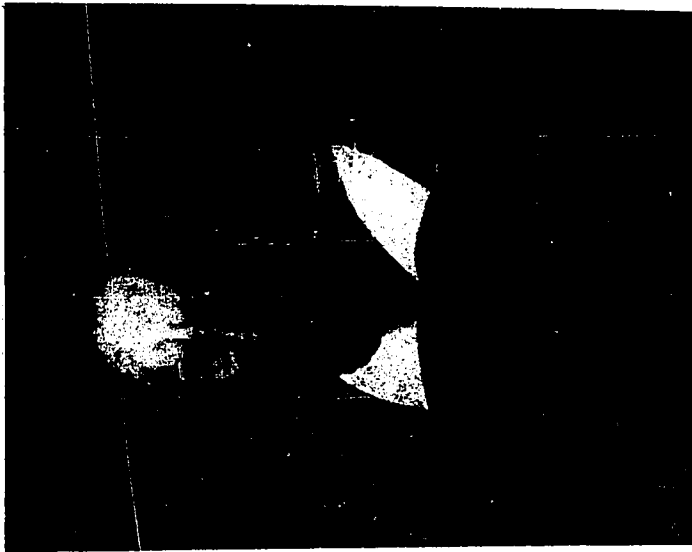


Fig. C15



Fig. C16

465



Fig. C18

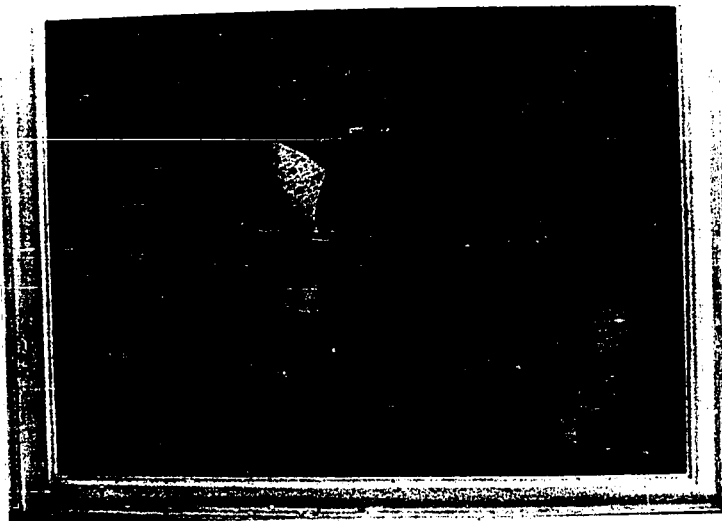


Fig. C17

466



Fig. C20

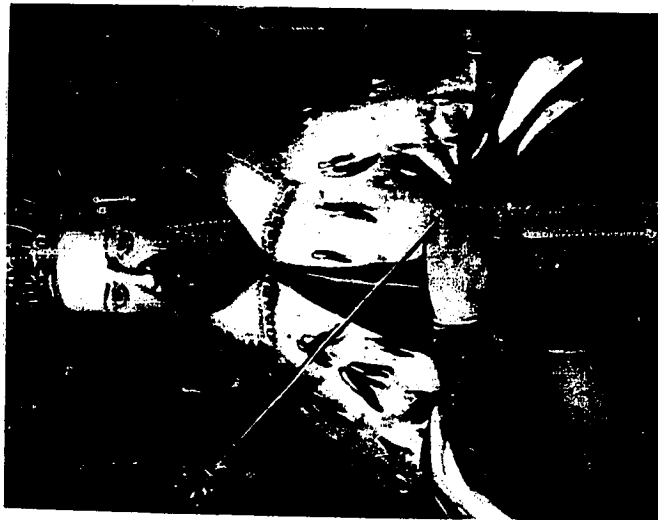


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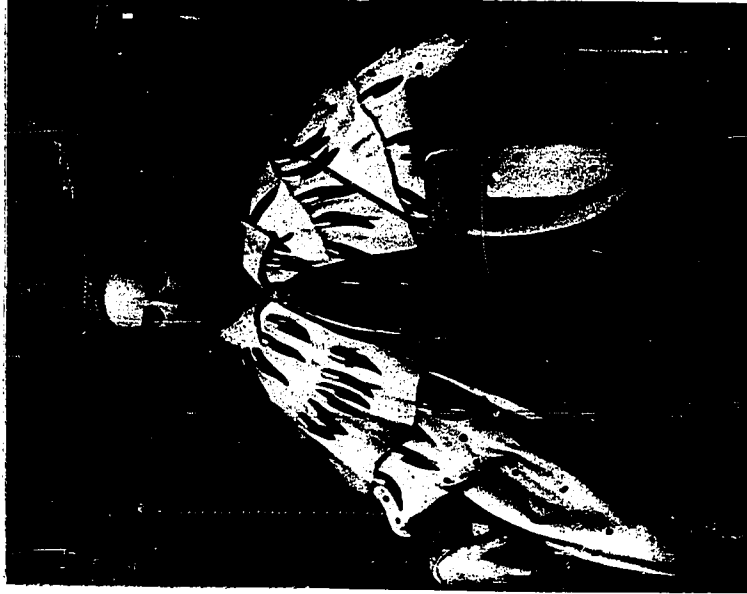


Fig. C22



Fig. C21

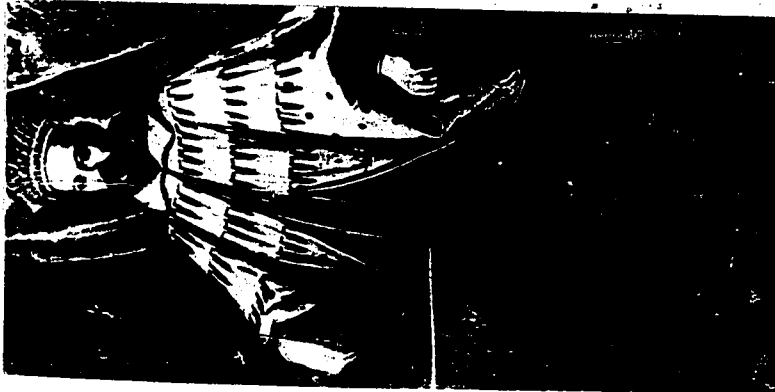


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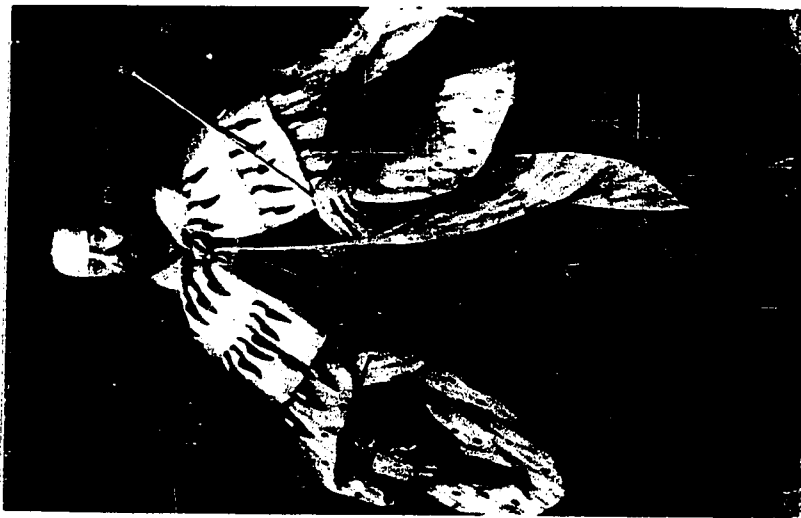


Fig. C23



Fig. C27

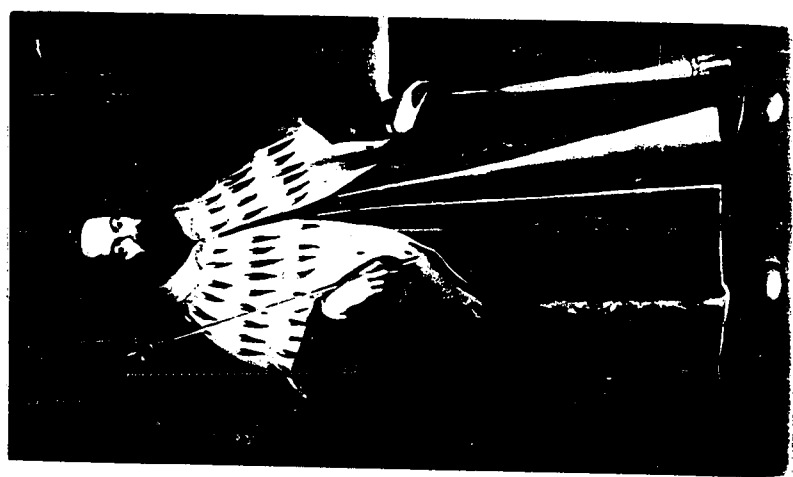


Fig. C26



Fig. C29

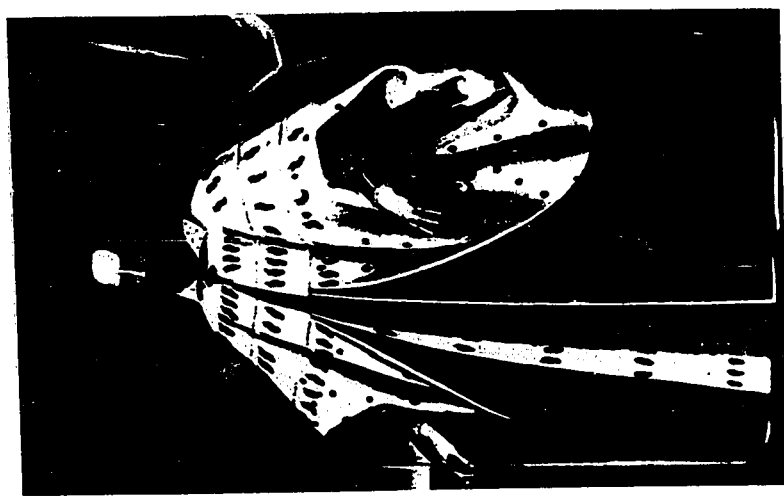


Fig. C28

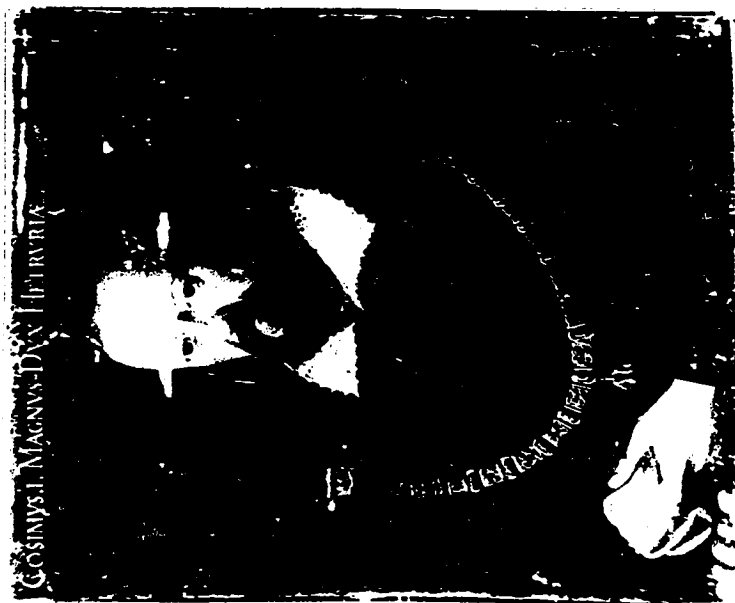


Fig. C31

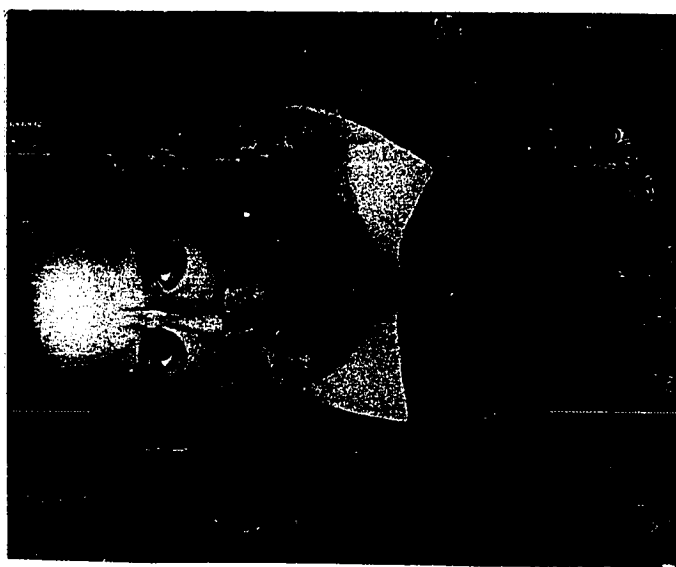


Fig. C30



Fig. D2



Fig. D1

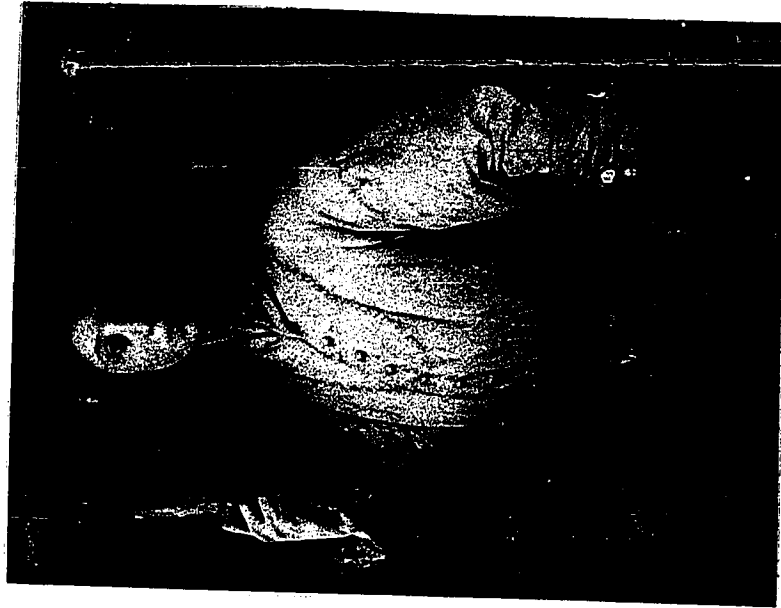


Fig. D4



Quadro di Agostino Allori intitolato il Biondino  
con il nome di una famiglia fiorentina

Fig. D3



Fig. D5





Fig. D6b



Fig. D6a

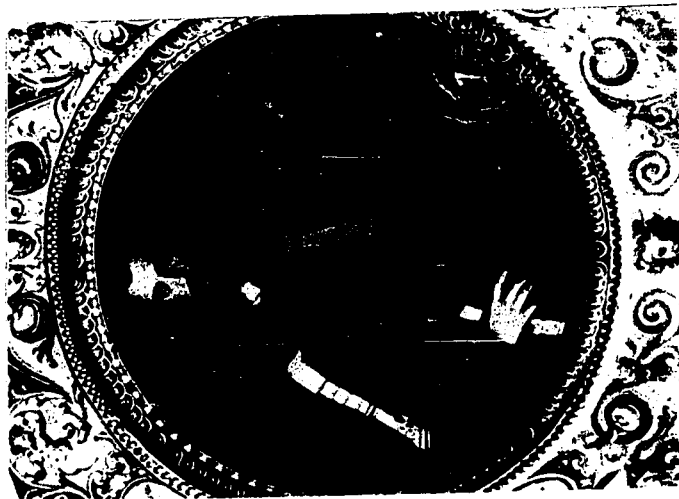


Fig. D7b



Fig. D7a



Fig. D8