

## How Chrestienne Became Cristina Political and Cultural Encounters between Tuscany and Lorraine

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While Florence has recently celebrated Caterina and Maria de' Medici, the two Florentine queens of France,<sup>1</sup> a third highly influential woman, who had close ties to both of them, has hitherto received only very little attention: Christine of Lorraine, Grand Duchess of Tuscany (fig. 1). Christine, born in 1565, was Caterina's favourite grand-daughter and had been raised at the French court since her mother, Caterina's daughter Claude, had died in childbirth in 1575.<sup>2</sup> Caterina instructed the girl in politics<sup>3</sup> and arranged the marriage match with her Tuscan relative, Grand Duke Ferdinando de' Medici. From her wedding in 1589 until her death in 1636 Christine developed numerous political and cultural initiatives that have left their mark on Florence and Tuscany.<sup>4</sup> She maintained multi-layered relationships both with France and with Lorraine, the latter then still an independent state, governed in turn by Christine's father, Duke Charles III (reigned 1559–1608), and her brothers Henry II (1608–1624) and François II (1624), before her nephew Charles IV of Lorraine (1624–1675) finally had to accept the French occupation of his duchy.<sup>5</sup> Although much could be said about Christine's dealings with the French court and with Maria de' Medici in particular,<sup>6</sup> in this paper I would like to focus only on the relationships between Tuscany and Lorraine sponsored by the Grand Duchess – a topic that has never been the object of sustained investigation. As I am going to demonstrate, during Christine's lifetime there existed an intense cultural exchange between Lorraine and Tuscany which did not only involve the courts, but also larger segments of the population and had a beneficial, long-lasting impact on the culture of both states.

### Christine's wedding and its political and economic consequences

Rather surprisingly, after more than twenty years spent as a cardinal at the court of Rome, in 1587 Ferdinando de' Medici became Grand Duke of Tuscany – due to the sudden death of his brother Francesco in whose demise Ferdinando most likely had a part.<sup>7</sup> In order to secure the future of the dynasty, he hastened to find a suitable bride. The match with Christine of Lorraine, which began to be negotiated soon after his accession,<sup>8</sup> had numerous advantages for Ferdinando: apart from an attractive dowry, his wife brought him in 1589 a part of the inheritance of the recently deceased Caterina de' Medici plus the full possession of several Medici palaces which had been claimed by Caterina during her lifetime.<sup>9</sup> Moreover, in a secret accord with Caterina's son, King Henry III of France, Ferdinando acquired an option to add the territory of Saluzzo to his own state.<sup>10</sup>

As Henry III was assassinated in the summer of 1589 and did not have sons, a violent struggle over his succession ensued. The designated heir Henry of Navarra met with opposition since he was a Protestant. Ferdinando and Christine backed her father Charles III of Lorraine,



1. Anonymous artist, *Christine of Lorraine*, c. 1580. Uffizi, Florence, inv. 1890, no. 4338

who hoped to become the Catholic King of France.<sup>11</sup> Charles wrote to Christine asking for help, and got financial and military support from Ferdinando.<sup>12</sup>

Christine was intimately involved in this process. Her formative diplomatic training with the French Queen Caterina de' Medici and her intelligence were stressed by many sixteenth- and seventeenth-century authors.<sup>13</sup> Already during the marriage negotiations, one of Ferdinando's agents wrote to Florence that Caterina had instructed her granddaughter in the management of public affairs and that except for the Queen of England and Caterina herself, no living woman was better informed about politics than Christine.<sup>14</sup> Consequently, she won Ferdinando's confidence early on. As a letter of 1590 tells us, she was allowed to open diplomatic correspondence in his absence and could personally decipher messages in code.<sup>15</sup>

However, the Duke of Lorraine ultimately lost the battle for the French crown. In 1593 he accepted that Navarra would become King of France as Henry IV and made peace with him.<sup>16</sup> In the following decades France and Lorraine sought to maintain a harmonious relationship, and Tuscany aimed to be friends with both states. It is often overlooked that this alliance was strengthened not by one, but by two marriages: while King Henry IV of France married Ferdinando's niece Maria de' Medici in 1600, the year before Christine's brother Henry of Lorraine had married the French king's sister Catherine of Bourbon.<sup>17</sup> In 1601 Christine of Lorraine sold the Hôtel de la Reine, a stately palace in Paris which she had inherited from the French Queen Caterina de' Medici,<sup>18</sup> to her new sister-in-law Catherine of Bourbon.<sup>19</sup> The sale symbolized and strengthened the new union of the houses of France and Lorraine.

Once this union was settled, Christine insisted that her dowry be finally paid. The marriage contract foresaw a payment in several instalments: In 1589 Christine had received the stately sum of 300.000 *scudi* (made up of 50.000 from her father plus 200.000 and jewellery worth another 50.000 from Caterina de' Medici), but according to the contract, she still had to get 250.000 *scudi* from the royal house of France and 50.000 from Charles III of Lorraine.<sup>20</sup> Because of the assassination of Henry III and the subsequent war, these very considerable funds had not been disbursed. During the first two decades of the seventeenth century the diplomatic correspondence with France and Lorraine contains numerous references to these debts.<sup>21</sup> It is interesting to note that the economic interests of the Grand Duchess were a driving force behind Tuscan foreign policy: for instance, when Christine of Lorraine mediated between the young King Louis XIII and his exiled mother Maria de' Medici, their reconciliation was also intended to guarantee the payment of Christine's dowry.<sup>22</sup>

### Transfer of knowledge and of goods

As the basis of cultural exchange is the exchange of information, some remarks need to be made about the channels through which information was conveyed.<sup>23</sup> The Archivio di Stato di Firenze contains hundreds of letters from members of the court of Lorraine, alongside drafts and copies of the responses sent out by Christine and her secretaries. The correspondence between Christine and the ducal family is very formal, sometimes enlivened by *inserti* which deal with questions of particular importance in treatise-like form. The central political issues were normally handled by secretaries or by special envoys sent from Florence. Christine provided them with precise written instructions for their missions, and they reported back to her personally by express letters. Moreover, the Grand Duchess had "agents" in Lorraine, e.g. a certain Monsieur Gleysenove, who supplied her with detailed insider information about the

court and who also forwarded the newspaper-like reports called *avvisi*. Only a few letters mention works of art, usually regarding the exchange of presents. It is however very likely that information about cultural matters was also conveyed orally. The *Diari di Etichetta* of the Medici court register numerous visitors from Lorraine,<sup>24</sup> and Tuscan diplomats as well as family members like Giovanni and Lorenzo de' Medici travelled regularly to Nancy.<sup>25</sup> Moreover, in the 1630s the Medici court hosted both the Duc de Guise<sup>26</sup> and the dukes of Lorraine who sought exile in Florence.<sup>27</sup>

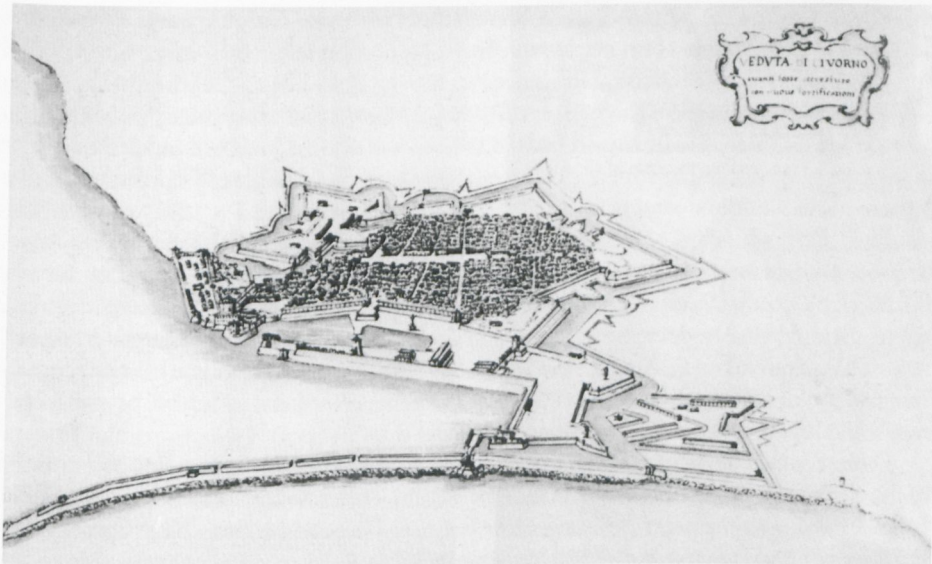
One such traveller who transferred cultural information was the engineer Orfeo Galeani.<sup>28</sup> Ferdinando de' Medici and Charles III of Lorraine both tried to boost the economic development of their respective states by building new, fortified centres of commerce: Ferdinando enlarged and fortified Livorno (fig. 2), while Charles added the so-called Ville-neuve to Nancy, the capital of Lorraine (fig. 3).<sup>29</sup> Orfeo Galeani, who had been employed by Ferdinando since 1587 as a fortification engineer, was "lent" to Charles III, and although Ferdinando wanted him back, Christine of Lorraine persuaded her husband to let him stay on in Nancy.<sup>30</sup> In 1594, Galeani visited Tuscany and was asked by Ferdinando to write a report on the fortifications of Livorno.<sup>31</sup> This experience came in handy when he designed the fortifications for the Ville-neuve of Nancy in or before 1598.<sup>32</sup>

In 1600, Galeani travelled again from Lorraine to Italy.<sup>33</sup> His goal was Rome, where he would seek to obtain the Pope's permission for the wedding of Henry of Lorraine with the protestant Catherine of Bourbon.<sup>34</sup> Christine of Lorraine was involved in this business, too,<sup>35</sup> since she often acted as a mediator between the house of Lorraine and the Pope.<sup>36</sup> On his way to Rome, Galeani stopped in Florence and fulfilled an economic mission: on the orders of Duke Charles III of Lorraine he was to gather information on the Florentine Monte di Pietà, as the Duke wished to set up a similar bank in Nancy.<sup>37</sup>

Both Nancy and Florence were centres of the cloth industry. Charles III of Lorraine called Italian specialists to Nancy in order to establish the fabrication of silks and velvets.<sup>38</sup> Not surprisingly, Christine of Lorraine wanted to be up to date and requested fabrics from Lorraine from her sister.<sup>39</sup> In Florence, Christine made a fortune by planting mulberry trees and renting them out to those who needed them for the production of silk. She imported silk worms from Valencia in 1593,<sup>40</sup> and in 1608 a Venetian ambassador estimated that she earned 12,000 *scudi* per year from this source of income.<sup>41</sup> She also helped to establish this industry in Lorraine, sending mulberry trees along with an experienced gardener.<sup>42</sup> The trees grew well, while it proved impossible to cultivate the rice which Christine had dispatched on the same occasion.<sup>43</sup>

Contrary to the long-standing prejudice that Christine of Lorraine was chiefly concerned with religious devotion, she seems to have been an astute businesswoman. Like her husband Ferdinando de' Medici, she took a keen interest in the Tuscan navy and its seaport Livorno.<sup>44</sup> She possessed several armed ships<sup>45</sup> which were allowed to prey on the trading vessels of the infidels; their gains were at least in part used to finance charitable projects.<sup>46</sup> Christine's correspondence reveals that she encouraged acts of piracy and even ordered that English and Dutch corsairs' ships should be plundered, too.<sup>47</sup> She also accepted that the crew of the conquered Turkish ships were enslaved and sold.<sup>48</sup>

Several commanders of Christine's ships came from France and Lorraine:<sup>49</sup> thus it was only natural that the Grand Duchess also helped to outfit the chapel of the French nation in the Chiesa della Madonna at Livorno.<sup>50</sup> Thereby she underlined her commitment to making Livorno a place of commercial exchange which invited merchants and military experts from France and Lorraine to make their fortune there.



2. Plan of Livorno, drawing, mid-seventeenth century



3. Plan of Nancy, engraving, c. 1645

## Artistic exchange I: Lorraine to Florence

The artistic exchange between Lorraine and Tuscany was particularly strong during the second decade of the seventeenth century, which coincides with the period of Christine's maximum power. Ferdinando de' Medici's death in 1609 meant the succession of their teenage son Cosimo II. Cosimo's frail health confined him to bed for long periods; eventually he died at the age of 30 in 1621. During the twelve years of his reign, his mother Christine of Lorraine wielded decisive political influence.<sup>51</sup>

Ferdinando de' Medici had become a father late in life and thus expected to die long before his son Cosimo reached maturity; so, back in 1592 he had drawn up his will and declared that in the case of his death Christine of Lorraine (rather than one of his brothers) was to govern Tuscany until Cosimo's coming of age.<sup>52</sup> Consequently, the Grand Duchess was kept well informed about the affairs of State,<sup>53</sup> and towards the end of Ferdinando's reign her influence became stronger and stronger.<sup>54</sup> Thus even though Cosimo II had just turned 18 before Ferdinando's death, it was in fact the 44-year-old Christine of Lorraine who took over the government, having been trained for this job for seventeen years. A Venetian ambassador reported that the young and inexperienced Grand Duke depended heavily on his mother, and concluded: "Onde si può dire ... che sia ella il capo principale in tutti li negozi e che sortiscano le cose conforme al parer ed al consiglio di lei".<sup>55</sup>

It is certainly no coincidence that in this period Jacques Callot from Lorraine became one of the most prominent court artists in Florence. Callot originated from a noble family which had close ties with the court at Nancy; his father Jean Callot had served Duke Charles III of Lorraine as herold and painter of heraldic images.<sup>56</sup> Among Jacques Callot's earliest works is an engraved portrait of the Duke. This beautiful likeness of Christine's father may well have attracted her attention to Callot.<sup>57</sup>

In May 1608 Charles III of Lorraine died and was honoured with sumptuous obsequies in Nancy. Jean Callot executed a large part of the ephemeral decorations.<sup>58</sup> Soon after, the funeral speech and a description of the ceremonies were prepared for publication. Several artists from Lorraine produced 74 illustrations of the event which were then engraved by Frédéric Brentel and Matthäus Merian in Strasbourg. The lavish volume finally appeared in 1611. The high degree of detail and finish of these prints surpassed contemporary Florentine productions by far.<sup>59</sup>

Although in Florence there had been very magnificent obsequies for the Medici Grand Dukes Cosimo I and Francesco I as well as for foreign dignitaries, the related publications were either not illustrated at all or contained just a few rather coarse prints.<sup>60</sup> According to his last will, Grand Duke Ferdinando's funeral in 1609 was an extremely modest affair.<sup>61</sup> But soon after the accession of his son Cosimo II the situation began to change. In September 1610 lavish obsequies for the French King Henry IV were staged in Florence, accompanied by a booklet illustrating each of the 26 scenes from Henry's life which were immortalized in history paintings placed in the nave of San Lorenzo.<sup>62</sup> In the beginning of 1612 the Spanish Queen Margaret of Austria, Cosimo's sister-in-law, was honoured in a similar way. Again 26 large biographical paintings lined the nave of San Lorenzo and were reproduced in a commemorative volume.<sup>63</sup> I think it rather likely that these efforts to create an impressive record of the Florentine ceremonies were inspired by the book in memory of Christine's father Charles III of Lorraine produced and published at the same time.<sup>64</sup> It was probably Christine herself who recognized the effectiveness of such a publication as a propaganda tool and who ordered that something similar be done in Florence.

The volume honouring Margaret of Austria was the first Medici commission in which Jacques Callot had a share. He supplied the majority of the prints, among them the most prominent general views of the facade, the nave and the catafalque.<sup>65</sup> During the following years he sought the patronage of various members of the Medici court. In 1614 he was called upon to illustrate two publications in honour of Francesco de' Medici, a son of Christine of Lorraine who had died at age 20 (fig. 4).<sup>66</sup> Shortly after, Callot finally became an official Medici court artist in that he was allocated a studio in the Uffizi and a stable salary. It is generally assumed that Cosimo II bestowed this privilege on Callot.<sup>67</sup> However, the relevant order was not signed by the Grand Duke, but by the Medici *guardaroba* Vincenzo Giugni who served both Cosimo II and Christine of Lorraine.<sup>68</sup> In the case of the painter Giovanni Bilivelt a document from 1611 proves that Christine herself could command Giugni to allocate studios in the Uffizi to the artists she liked.<sup>69</sup>

Giugni's order of 1614 says explicitly that Callot received the studio at the Uffizi in order to work on prints illustrating the life of Ferdinando de' Medici which were to accompany a written biography: "certe stampe per le storie che vanno nelli libri che scrivano la vita del Serenissimo Gran Ferdinando di Gloriosa Memoria".<sup>70</sup> The resulting series of 16 prints<sup>71</sup> is always portrayed as a commission from Ferdinando's successor Cosimo II,<sup>72</sup> but there are no documents to prove this assumption. On the contrary, it seems that Christine of Lorraine initiated numerous projects to glorify her late husband. Shortly after Ferdinando's death she asked the Bishop Borghi to write a biography of the Grand Duke, stating that it was her mission to immortalize Ferdinando's deeds in the loftiest style: "Tra tutti gli offizij di pietà che da me si possono contribuire alla gloriosa memoria del Gran Duca mio Signore et Consorte stimo principalmente il procurare, che le sue azzioni siano rappresentati alla posterità con stile più degno che sia possibile".<sup>73</sup> In the following years, at least four biographies of the Grand Duke were written.<sup>74</sup> All of them represent Christine of Lorraine in a very favourable light which suggests they may have been written at her request. Given that the commission to Callot mentions a written biography, it is quite likely that the original plan was to publish one of these texts alongside his engravings. However, none of the four texts seems to have satisfied the Grand Duchess completely, since they all remained in manuscript state.

While the Callot scholarship tends to focus only on single prints from the Ferdinando series, its overall structure has not yet been discussed. I think it is striking that the first and last engravings of the Ferdinando series actually honour Christine of Lorraine.<sup>75</sup> The first engraving shows how Ferdinando crowned her when she made her entry into Florence as a bride in 1589 (fig. 5).<sup>76</sup> The last print returns to the theme of marriage in that it depicts the procession of the virgins who received their dowries from a fund instituted in Ferdinando's last will. The annual distribution of such dowries already began during Ferdinando's lifetime, and Christine of Lorraine played a central role in the ceremonies.<sup>77</sup> In the print (fig. 6) she appears as a widow just behind her daughter-in-law Maria Magdalena of Austria who is presented in the centre as an isolated, dressed-up idol. Christine, on the contrary, wears modest dress and talks pleasantly to her neighbour. Her affability, gentle manners and approachable ways were indeed highlighted by many of her contemporaries.<sup>78</sup> The inscription added to the print in the nineteenth century underlines Christine's central role in the image.<sup>79</sup> The choice of this episode draws attention to Christine's many charitable actions and her important role in the institution of the grand-ducal dowries.

In later years, Callot's print series on the historic buildings in the Holy Land can be linked to Christine's patronage.<sup>80</sup> In total Callot spent nine years in Florence before he returned to



4. Jacques Callot, *Portrait of Francesco de' Medici*, 1614

Lorraine in 1621. The Italian experience provided him with important stimuli, and sustained Medici patronage enabled him to develop his talents in many ways. The artistic exchange was mutually beneficial, since Callot had a huge impact both on print culture in Lorraine and on Tuscan print-makers including Stefano Della Bella.

The role of Christine of Lorraine in establishing Callot at the Medici court has hitherto been underrated. It is quite likely that the lavish publication on the obsequies of Christine's father Charles III aroused her interest in the print culture of Lorraine and may have led to Callot's first Medici commission, namely the biographical prints for the obsequies of Margaret of Austria. His Ferdinando series is a continuation of this sort of work. As Christine of Lorraine explicitly declared her wish to immortalize her husband's deeds and encouraged writers to produce biographies of Ferdinando and since the first and the last print of Callot's Ferdinando series honour the Grand Duchess, I think it was she who gave her fellow national from Lorraine this important commission and the studio in the Uffizi, thereby making him an official Medici artist and initiating his prosperous court career.

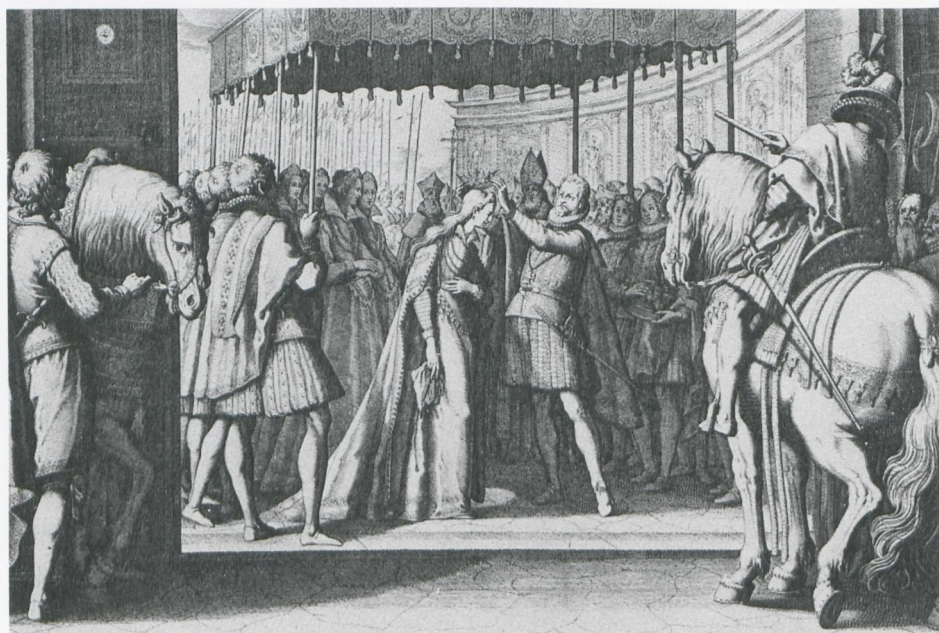
### Artistic exchange II: Florence to Lorraine

In an article published in *Le pays lorrain* in 1973, Pierre Marot drew attention to the fact that Christine of Lorraine was involved in the commission of an equestrian statue in honour of her father Charles III. Building on Marot's findings, I have discovered further documents relating to this matter.

As Marot pointed out, Christine of Lorraine asked her brother, Duke Henry of Lorraine, to send one of his bronze founders "pour servir en ce qu'il pourra de son art, tant le grand duc qu'elle-même". David Chaligny arrived in Florence in the autumn of 1614, but Marot was unsure about his return.<sup>81</sup> It is now possible to date his stay more precisely: he remained in Florence for a whole year, until October 1615,<sup>82</sup> that is exactly during the period in which Pietro Tacca's equestrian statue of Philip III, a prestigious gift from the Medici court, was finished and awaited its transport to Spain.<sup>83</sup>

While in Florence Chaligny could also study the equestrian monuments to Cosimo I and Ferdinando I displayed on the Piazza della Signoria and in front of the Santissima Annunziata respectively (fig. 7).<sup>84</sup> These were to serve as models for an equestrian statue of Charles III of Lorraine, as we learn from a letter which the Medici diplomat Stefano Arbinot sent from Nancy in October 1618. Arbinot informed Christine of Lorraine that the erection of this statue in Nancy had finally been agreed upon, not least because of his own persuasiveness. Chaligny was to execute the work. Arbinot's letter quoted by Marot states somewhat enigmatically that in this context "quelque grâce" was desired from Christine and Cosimo.<sup>85</sup> As a newly discovered letter reveals, this special grace was "un cavallino di Bronzo, conforme a quello che è nell'Armeria del Ser.mo Padrone" as a model for Chaligny. In addition the letter clarifies that the Duke would supply the bronze for the equestrian monument, while the city of Nancy was willing to cover all other expenses.<sup>86</sup>

In January 1619 an equestrian statuette of Ferdinando de' Medici was indeed sent to Lorraine. The relevant entry in the *Inventario Generale della Guardaroba* tells us that the statuette measured two thirds of a *braccio*, roughly 40 cm.<sup>87</sup> This means it cannot be identical with the statuette today in the Liechtenstein collection which is much taller.<sup>88</sup> Moreover, the Liechtenstein statuette reflects an early stage of the planning process; eventually, the



5. Jacques Callot, *The Coronation of Christine of Lorraine*



6. Jacques Callot, *The Distribution of the Grand-Ducal Dowries*



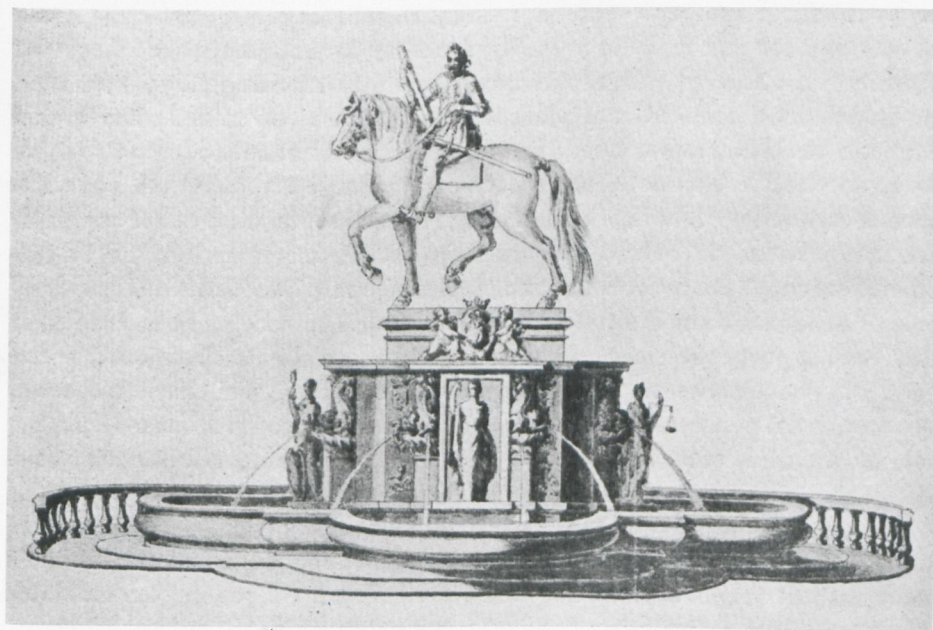
7. Giambologna and Pietro Tacca, *Ferdinando I de' Medici*.  
Piazza Santissima Annunziata, Florence



8. Antonio Susini, *Bronze statuette of a horse*.  
Victoria and Albert Museum, London, inv. A 11-1924



9. Equestrian statuette, here identified as *Duke Henry II of Lorraine*.  
Musée historique lorrain, Nancy



10. Drawing recording the intended setting for the equestrian statue of Duke Charles III in Nancy

composition was reversed. Thus, it is more likely that the statuette sent to Lorraine can be identified with an object today in the Victoria and Albert Museum (fig. 8).<sup>89</sup> The close link between this horse and Ferdinando's horse has long been pointed out. The existence of reins and an opening in the horse's back indicate that the horse may originally have been mounted by a rider. As the height of the statuette corresponds to the "cavallino" dispatched to Lorraine, I suggest that the V&A holds the rest of an equestrian statuette of Ferdinando de' Medici which once served as an inspiration to David Chaligny.

An imposing bronze group with a height of nearly a metre, recently exhibited in Paris, has since the eighteenth century been regarded as Chaligny's model for the equestrian statue of Charles III of Lorraine (fig. 9).<sup>90</sup> However, this cannot be verified as we do not have a finished monument to compare it with. The Chaligny brothers were able to execute only the horse before political troubles in Lorraine arrested the project. The monumental bronze horse was brought to Paris in 1671, but seems to have been destroyed subsequently.<sup>91</sup>

A drawing which records the intended setting of Charles' statue (fig. 10)<sup>92</sup> corresponds exactly with the horse in the Victoria and Albert Museum, while the Chaligny statuette looks quite different (for instance, the *contrapposto* of the horse's legs is reversed). A possible explanation for this mystery can be found in Christine of Lorraine's correspondence.

According to newly discovered documents, Christine's interest in the execution of an equestrian monument in honour of her father needs to be seen in the context of fervent quarrels over the dynastic succession in Lorraine. The current duke, Christine's brother Henry II, did not have male heirs and wished to marry his eldest daughter Nicole to his *protégé*, an illegitimate son of the Cardinal de Guise.<sup>93</sup> In the eyes of Christine and many others, this was a dangerous *mésalliance*. From 1618, Christine deployed all her diplomatic ability in order to persuade her brother that he should give Nicole to his nephew Charles, the son of their younger brother François.<sup>94</sup> After long negotiations this marriage was finally concluded in May 1621. In order to get the dangerous *protégé* Louis de Guise out of the way, he was married on the very same day to Charles' ten-year-old sister Henriette.<sup>95</sup> Just a few days later, the Chaligny brothers received the official commission for the equestrian statue.<sup>96</sup> Honouring Charles III in this way underlined the legitimacy of the dynastic succession since the future duke Charles IV was his grandchild.

However, before this marriage settlement was reached, Henry II had to be "conquered" in order to change his mind. Gifts were certainly a good way to do this. Thus, in 1618 Stefano Arbinot suggested that Christine should send an equestrian statuette of her brother Henry which could inspire Chaligny for his statue of Charles III but would then remain in Henry's possession as an ornament for his *cabinet*.<sup>97</sup> Christine agreed to this idea and wrote back that she expected a painted portrait of Henry in order to have a model for his statuette.<sup>98</sup>

The Archives départementales de Meurthe-et-Moselle contain a bill from the painter Claude Chaveneau, stating that in 1618 he supplied the duke ("Son Altesse") with "Une grand peintures [*sic*] de Son Altesse tout De song long armé", priced 100 *francs*, "pour envoyer a Florence".<sup>99</sup> A letter of 3 November 1618 informs us that by then the portrait had arrived in Florence.<sup>100</sup> The Uffizi gallery owns a life-size portrait of Duke Henry II of Lorraine in arms which bears an inscription dating it precisely to 1618 (fig. 11).<sup>101</sup> Interestingly, this portrait resembles the rider on the bronze horse in Nancy quite closely. Therefore I would like to suggest that this statuette was actually a diplomatic gift sent to Lorraine from Florence, representing Henry II rather than Charles III.

It has as yet gone unnoticed that three drawings by Jacques Callot may refer to the same diplomatic action. All of them present a dynamic young rider on horseback. One is the



11. Claude Chaveneau, *Duke Henry II of Lorraine*, 1618. Uffizi, Florence, inv. 1890/2365

young Charles of Lorraine who through Christine's intercession was to become the future duke (fig. 12),<sup>102</sup> the other two drawings depict Charles' former rival, Louis de Guise.<sup>103</sup> Originally Duke Henry II had wanted him to marry his eldest daughter Nicole, but in the end Charles got Nicole and the duchy, while Louis was given Nicole's younger sister Henriette. Callot's drawings honouring both men in similar fashion may well have been intended as an act of pacification.

### The role of Lorraine in the construction of Christine's cultural identity

Although from her arrival in 1589 Christine of Lorraine had taken pains to emphasize her loyalty with Florence and the Medici, she continued to stress her descent from Lorraine in numerous ways. She encouraged various authors to write about her family history,<sup>104</sup> and she herself did research on the women of the house of Lorraine.<sup>105</sup> Of course she was also interested in visual representations of her family<sup>106</sup> and possessed numerous family portraits,<sup>107</sup> some of which she displayed in her apartment in the Palazzo Pitti.<sup>108</sup> A double portrait painted on 37 prismatic bars of wood constitutes a particularly extravagant example: the frontal view shows Charles III of Lorraine, but with the help of a mirror the portrait of his daughter Christine can be detected (fig. 13). Interestingly, this optical game commissioned in 1593 was not put on show in a private room, but in the semi-public Uffizi setting.<sup>109</sup> It demonstrated the ingenuity of the Florentine inventors and at the same time it visualized the close ties between Christine and her father. The innovative structure of the portrait may have signified even more: since in the early 1590s Charles' bid for the crown of France had been backed by the Medici, the portrait shows literally who was "behind" him, drawing attention to the diplomatic and financial support which he had received from Florence.

The courtyard decoration of the Villa La Petraia needs to be seen in the same context. The frescoes were created in the early 1590s on Christine's orders, according to Baldinucci.<sup>110</sup> They depict the conquest of Jerusalem under Godfrey of Bouillon, the most famous ancestor of the house of Lorraine. The frescoes obviously highlight the ancient nobility of Christine's family and point to the contemporary "crusading" efforts of the Medici, who had allegedly established the order of Saint Stephen in order to protect the Mediterranean from the infidels. However, at the time of their creation these paintings may have carried a more precise meaning, aimed at legitimizing Charles's claim to the French crown.<sup>111</sup> To the contemporary viewer who knew about the political situation in France, the frescoes may have suggested a parallel between Godfrey and Charles III. Like Godfrey, who had defended the true faith, his descendant Charles III of Lorraine was especially qualified to defend Catholicism – in his case against the protestants in France.

Godfrey's deeds were represented in numerous other works of art and became a point of reference for the whole Medici dynasty.<sup>112</sup> For instance, the crusading ideology pervaded the conception of the Medici burial chapel at San Lorenzo, since it was allegedly meant to house the Holy Sepulchre which the Medici sought to transfer from Jerusalem to Florence.<sup>113</sup> In this context it is interesting to note that Callot undertook his etchings of famous sites in the Holy Land expressly at the request of Christine of Lorraine.<sup>114</sup> One of the plates shows Godfrey's burial chapel which lies directly underneath the Mount Calvary where Christ was crucified. According to Paulette Choné, "il est permis de penser que cette indication, rappel des origines héroïques de la Maison de Lorraine, justifiait à elle seule la publication de l'ouvrage".<sup>115</sup>



12. Jacques Callot, *Equestrian Portrait of Duke Charles IV of Lorraine*, drawing.  
Louvre, Paris, Rothschild Collection



13. Ludovico Buti, *Double portrait of Duke Charles of Lorraine and his daughter Christine*, 1593.  
Museo Galileo, Florence

So far I have discussed the ways in which Christine's famous ancestors and especially Godfrey of Bouillon were presented in Florence, thereby defining both her own image and that of the Medici dynasty. My last case study will focus on a monument which was entirely Christine's and is thus especially explicit about her view of her cultural identity: the altar of Saint Fiacre in the sacristy of Santo Spirito, which she commissioned from Alessandro Allori (fig. 14).<sup>116</sup>

The cult of Fiacre, a saint venerated both in France and in Lorraine, was introduced to Florence by the Grand Duchess.<sup>117</sup> The inscription below the altar proudly stresses the act of cultural transfer by stating that "Christiana a Lotharingia" ordered this altar to be erected for a saint whom she had venerated in France.<sup>118</sup> According to the inscription, the altar dates from 1596 – a disastrous year for Florence with a bad harvest, followed by famine and contagious diseases.<sup>119</sup> Francesco Settignano, generally quite critical of the Medici,<sup>120</sup> praises their charity in this case: the Grand Duke helped his people with grain supplies, while the Grand Duchess distributed generous alms to the poor.<sup>121</sup> Both acted in a sense as healers, trying to reduce the mortality among the famine- and disease-ridden population.

Saint Fiacre is particularly venerated as a healer, and this aspect was highlighted in the design process. While in the preparatory drawing a woman and a child dominate the foreground,<sup>122</sup> probably alluding to the charity of the Grand Duchess, in the final version (fig. 14) the shocking figures of the sick girl and the crippled man engage the beholder. However, at second glance one also notices the female helpers: the women who hold the sick girl on the right and the sick baby on the left. The Madonna above is their supreme model. By inserting the Florentine patron Saint John into this heavenly group, Allori managed to visualize the cultural transfer which is spelled out by the inscription: just as Christine of Lorraine worshipped Saint Fiacre in France, she has now adorned a place for him in Florence where he can help to cure the diseased Florentine people.

As the ruling family of Florence was graced with the name "Medici" (literally, "doctors"), its bearers had long striven to be acknowledged as the healers of the State. It was an established tradition to pun on this name and to make propagandistic use of it.<sup>123</sup> Accordingly, soon after his accession Ferdinando de' Medici reorganized the hospitals of Santa Maria Nuova, San Giovanni di Dio and San Paolo dei Convalescenti;<sup>124</sup> Christine of Lorraine played a prominent role in the solemn opening of the Convalescenti hospital in 1592.<sup>125</sup> In the same year a medical treatise was dedicated to her: an Italian translation of Laurent Joubert's *Erreurs populaires en fait de la médecine et régime de santé*.<sup>126</sup>

An interest in medicine was part of Christine's role as a Medici grand duchess. Numerous letters attest that she dispatched medical advice and medicines to Lorraine and other countries.<sup>127</sup> The composition of these drugs was kept secret, since remedies which had proved efficient were much desired and solicited by other courts and could be used to get important favours in return.

By establishing the cult of the healer Saint Fiacre in Florence, Christine made a self-confident statement. Through the inscription she drew attention to her personal history, namely to her descent from the house of Lorraine and to her devotion to Saint Fiacre in France before she came to Florence. Thereby she stressed her cultural identity, while at the same time Allori's painting evoked the link between Fiacre and the Florentine patron Saint John, asserting Christine's devotion to the Medici mission of helping and healing the Florentine people. This is one of the cases which the title of this book alludes to: Christine became indeed an "artful ally" of her husband.



14. Alessandro Allori, *Saint Fiacre Heals the Diseased*. Sacristy of Santo Spirito, Florence

## How Chrestienne became Cristina

Christine of Lorraine is generally known in Italy as Cristina di Lorena. However, it has hitherto gone unnoticed that this very name is the product of a process of cultural transfer. On her birth in 1565, she had been named Chrestienne, which means literally "female Christian person".<sup>128</sup> Her name expressed a special devotion to Christ, since Chrestienne's birthday, the 6 of August 1565, fell on the feast of the Transfiguration, one of the most important christological feast days of the church.<sup>129</sup> Moreover, the name alluded to both her grandmothers. Her paternal grandmother, who had ruled Lorraine as regent during the minority of Charles III, was Cristierna of Denmark,<sup>130</sup> a name which in Danish also denotes a female Christian person<sup>131</sup> and which was accordingly translated into French as Chrestienne. The baby's maternal grandmother, Caterina de' Medici, carried as Queen of France the title "Reine très chrétienne", the most Christian queen.<sup>132</sup> All in all, the choice of the name Chrestienne for the baby was highly programmatic: she had to become a good Christian and to emulate her powerful grandmothers.

When Chrestienne married Ferdinando de' Medici in 1589, her name was correctly italianized as "Christiana".<sup>133</sup> This was the form she preferred, as is clear from numerous documents, publications and works of art.<sup>134</sup> However, many contemporaries referred to her with the more Italianate name Cristina. She accepted this and signed her letters with an abbreviation which could be read both as "Chrestiana" and as "Chrestina".<sup>135</sup>

The longer she remained in Florence, the stronger became her association with Cristina from Bolsena, who was regarded as a Tuscan saint.<sup>136</sup> In 1626 Agnolo Guazzesi dedicated his epic poem on Saint Cristina's life to the Grand Duchess,<sup>137</sup> and after her death the new church of Saints Augustine and Cristina was founded in her memory since Christine had established the reformed branch of the Augustinians in Florence.<sup>138</sup> Thus the girl Chrestienne, whom her name had destined to become an exemplary Christian woman, was finally identified with a saint from her adopted country. This change of name illustrates in an exemplary manner how profoundly the move from one country to another affected the cultural identity of the women who entered a foreign court.

## Conclusions

In this paper I have tried to map a territory which has as yet remained largely unexplored. From a panoramic view of the cultural and political contacts between Tuscany and Lorraine, it emerges that exchange took place on many levels:

- exchange of knowledge and of goods (regarding the silk and cloth trade, medical plants and medicines, the cultivation of mulberry trees and rice in Lorraine, the merchants and military experts who came from Lorraine to Livorno, and the attempt to “copy” the Florentine Monte di Pietà in Lorraine)
- exchange on a religious level (with Christine acting as a mediator between the house of Lorraine and the Pope, and establishing the cult of Saint Fiacre in Florence)<sup>139</sup>
- artistic exchange brought about by travelling artists like Jacques Callot and David Chaligny as well as by the exchange of artefacts (the publication of the obsequies in honour of Charles III, the portrait painting of Henry II, the equestrian statuettes of Ferdinando de’ Medici and Henry II, etc.)
- exchange of ideas (e.g. the Florentine adaptation of Christine’s famous crusading ancestor Godfrey of Bouillon as a cultural model).

I have sought to show how closely artistic, economic and political exchange were interwoven: for instance, the intention to recuperate Christine’s dowry motivated some far-reaching political moves, the alliance between France, Tuscany and Lorraine was sealed by the sale of the Hôtel de la Reine, and the statuettes sent to Nancy were meant to bring about important decisions regarding the future of the State of Lorraine. All in all, I have intended to demonstrate that Christine of Lorraine acted as a cultural mediator between Lorraine and Tuscany, but that the scope of this exchange went far beyond the court life. Via the economic, religious and artistic exchange it involved large segments of the population and had a long-lasting influence on the culture of both states.

### Abbreviations used

ASF: Archivio di Stato di Firenze

BNCF: Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale di Firenze

MAP: Medici Archive Project (see its online edition of Medici documents: [www.medici.org](http://www.medici.org))

MDP: Mediceo del Principato

*I would like to thank the staff of the institutions mentioned above, especially the collaborators of the Medici Archive Project.*

<sup>1</sup> Caneva / Solinas 2005; Innocenti 2008. See also the recent publications by Frommel / Wolf 2008 and Dubost 2009.

<sup>2</sup> Poull 1991, 217–18; Carolus-Curien 2007, 105–19.

<sup>3</sup> See below notes 13 and 14.

<sup>4</sup> Strunck 2011.

<sup>5</sup> On the history of the house of Lorraine cfr. Poull 1991 and Monter 2007; see also the pedigree in *L'art en Lorraine* 1992, 29.

<sup>6</sup> This article presents just some of the numerous documentary findings that will be part of my forthcoming book on the cultural exchange between France, Lorraine and Tuscany in the period during which Christine of Lorraine was Grand Duchess of Tuscany (1589–1636).

<sup>7</sup> This question is discussed in detail in Strunck 2009.

<sup>8</sup> Baguenault de Puchesse 1905, IX, 277–78, 330–31, 482; Michahelles 2007, 563; Menicucci 2009, 37–44.

<sup>9</sup> Chevalier 1862, 17; Baguenault de Puchesse 1905, IX, 438–51, 480–82; Parigino 1999, 51–56, 163–64; Michahelles 2007, 562–66.

<sup>10</sup> Canestrini / Desjardins 1872, IV, 883–84; Menicucci 2009, 39.

<sup>11</sup> Poull 1991, 214–15; Monter 2007, 71–78.

<sup>12</sup> An *avviso* of 23 September 1589 mentions rumours that Charles III received from Florence “denari in buona somma” (MAP Doc. 19507). The diplomatic transactions between Charles III and Ferdinando de’ Medici in this period are documented in ASF, MDP 4267 (“Lettere di Loreno dell’Anno 1588 fin 1615”). Christine’s role as an intermediary in the secret dealings between Charles and Ferdinando is attested by a letter from Charles III to the Medici court secretary Belisario Vinta, dated 21 July 1589 (*Ibid.*, no pagination): “... Monsignor Il Gran Duca ha fatto elezione di vostra capacità et fedeltà per assistere et servire mia figliuola sua sposa ne suoi più secreti negotij ...”. See also ASF, MDP 4272, fasc. 8 (Charles III to Christine of Lorraine, 22 April 1592). On Christine’s interest in the financial affairs of her father cfr. Butters 2007, 249, 306.

<sup>13</sup> Ammirato 1594, dedicatory letter (no pagination); Boccaccio and Serdonati 1596, 645–55, 671–76; *Alcune memorie* (BNCF, II.III.450), ff. 11r–v, 20r–22v.

<sup>14</sup> Canestrini / Desjardins 1872, IV, 757: “non si può trovare principessa di costumi più santi e casti di lei;

e se dicessi che non ve n’è alcuna, trattone la Reina Madre e la reina d’Inghilterra, più instrutta nei maneggi di Stato, io credo di non mentire; perché la buona Reina l’ha nodrita negli affari e consigli pubblici: di modo che io stimerei felicissimo il principe che la sposasse”.

<sup>15</sup> ASF, MDP 5963, Ferdinando de’ Medici to Christine of Lorraine, 31 March 1590 (no pagination): “Con la lettera di V(ostra) A(ltezza) de 28 ho ricevute le salutationi, che mi ha mandate V(ostra) A(ltezza) per parte del Ser.mo suo Padre [Charles III of Lorraine], et del Signor Marchese suo fratello, et può, et deve molto ben credere, che le mi siano state sommamente care, et il Cavalier Vinta mi ha letto la scrittura deciferata da V(ostra) A(ltezza) medesima ...”.

<sup>16</sup> Poull 1991, 214–15.

<sup>17</sup> Poull 1991, 222–23.

<sup>18</sup> Chevalier 1862, 17. On other aspects of this inheritance see Michahelles 2007. On the Hôtel de la Reine see the following note and zum Kolk 2007; zum Kolk 2008; zum Kolk 2010.

<sup>19</sup> Renée 1857, 445; Turbide 1999, 57; Turbide 2005, 51; Turbide 2007, 512–13, 520; Zvereva 2002, 16; Zvereva 2008, 33.

<sup>20</sup> Parigino 1999, 163–64. See also the summary of the contract in ASF, Manoscritti 130, c. 80r–82v.

<sup>21</sup> See e.g. ASF, MDP 6023, cc. 260, 262; Monter 2007, 85.

<sup>22</sup> ASF, MDP 2639, cc. 349v–350r; ASF, MDP 4634, c. 85 (letters of 29 August 1618).

<sup>23</sup> The following paragraph is based on the unpublished documents which will be part of the book mentioned in note 6 above.

<sup>24</sup> ASF, Guardaroba Medicea, Diari di Etichetta 3, c. 106 (16 June 1597), c. 153 (6 May 1600), c. 154 (8 May 1600), to quote but a few examples.

<sup>25</sup> Don Giovanni de’ Medici visited Nancy in 1608 on the occasion of Duke Charles’ death (Lepage 1873b, 377, B 7709), while Christine’s son Lorenzo travelled to Lorraine in 1626 (ASF, Carte strozziane, Serie prima, vol. 22, cc. 176, 213r–216r). On the frequent sojourns of Medici special envoys in Nancy see e.g. ASF, MDP 6023 (“Negozianti in Francia et Lorena del P. Stefano Albinotti”).

<sup>26</sup> Des Robert 1885, 86–87.

<sup>27</sup> Des Robert 1885, 81–104; Pfister 1902–08, III, 70; Fourier Bonnard 1933, 198–217; Monter 2007, 141–43.

<sup>28</sup> On his biography see Choné 2005.

<sup>29</sup> On the Ville-neuve see Ciotta 1978; Taveneaux 1978, 135–49.

<sup>30</sup> ASF, MDP 5963, Ferdinando de’ Medici to Christine of Lorraine, 22 March 1589 (*stile fiorentino*, i.e. 1590), no pagination.

<sup>31</sup> ASF, MDP 2637, c. 33.

<sup>32</sup> These plans were however modified by Giovanni Battista Stabili who oversaw the construction: Ciotta 1978, 61; Choné 2005, 421. On Galeani’s role as a fortification engineer in Nancy see Marot 1934,

36–37; Taveneaux 1978, 141; Ciotta 1978, 57, 58, 60; Marot 1981, 110.

<sup>33</sup> ASR, Guardaroba Medicea, Diari di Etichetta 3, c. 154 (8 May 1600).

<sup>34</sup> Pfister 1902–08, II, 383; Poull 1991, 222–23.

<sup>35</sup> A copy of the request for the Papal dispensation is preserved among Christine's papers: ASF, MDP 4272, fasc. 13.

<sup>36</sup> See e.g. ASF, MDP 6008, c. 338; ASF, Carte strozziane, Serie prima, vol. 56, c. 147; Fourier Bonnard 1933, 183, 204, 211, 213.

<sup>37</sup> Pfister 1902–08, II, 383, 617–18.

<sup>38</sup> Pfister 1902–08, II, 609–14; Taveneaux 1978, 149–52.

<sup>39</sup> ASF, MDP 6023, c. 592; MAP Doc. 16167 (Stefano Arbinot to Camillo Guidi, 28 November 1618).

<sup>40</sup> MAP Doc. 10371 (Francesco Guicciardini to Belisario Vinta, 6 November 1593). On the silk industry in the countryside, see also Suzanne Butters's article in this volume.

<sup>41</sup> Segarizzi 1916, III/2, 131.

<sup>42</sup> Lepage 1873a, 155, B 1274; Lepage 1879, 167, B 9538 and 239, B 10324.

<sup>43</sup> Taveneaux 1978, 151.

<sup>44</sup> See for instance Urbani 2006.

<sup>45</sup> MAP Doc. 14911 (Lionardo Baccelli to Belisario Vinta, 29 October 1602); ASF, MDP 6037, c. 127r.

<sup>46</sup> ASF, MDP 6038, c. 3r (Christine of Lorraine to Matteo Mattei, 24 July 1608): "Havendo voi in mano scudi duemila centotrenta tre di moneta et soldi X appartenenti a Noi della preda fatta da Nostri vasselli, li pagherete in virtù di quest'ordine a Francesco Buti nostro depositario, il quale di commissione Nostra gli ha da sborsare per il pagamento delle Case, che facciamo comprare per il nuovo Monasterio di Pisa".

<sup>47</sup> ASF, MDP 2638, fasc. 71: "... se troverete Inglesi ò Fiamminghi che siano Corsari, cercherete di prender tutto, come se fossero Vasselli Turcheschi". This document was mentioned, though not transcribed by Wieland 2004, 395, note 561.

<sup>48</sup> ASF, MDP 6037, c. 125v; ASF, MDP 6038, c. 20v, 24r, 25r. On slaves given as presents by Christine see MAP Doc. 5856 (Christine of Lorraine to Eleonora de' Medici-Gonzaga, 3 December 1606) and MAP Doc. 5371 (Vincenzo II Gonzaga to Christine of Lorraine, 21 June 1623).

<sup>49</sup> ASF, MDP 2638, fasc. 71; ASF, MDP 6037, c. 127r; ASF, MDP 6038, c. 6r, 37v.

<sup>50</sup> ASF, Miscellanea Medicea 601, ins. 3, c. 31. On this church see Bevilacqua / Romby 2007, 491.

<sup>51</sup> Martelli 1999, 78; Angiolini 2003, 67–70; Menicucci 2010, 43.

<sup>52</sup> ASF, Miscellanea Medicea 667 contains an Italian translation of Ferdinando's testament. Ferdinando declared his trust in Christine's prudence (Ibid., 4r: "confidati in la sua prudentia Dichiariamo, che sia admissa a detta tutela"), but wished her to be supervised by some counsellors: "Et perché

l'amministrazione di detti nostri stati, et governo di Madama Tutrice, et curatrice con più prudenza si stabilisca, et l'intentione nostra si exequisca maxime nelli infra[scritti] nostri comandamenti, et ricordi, statuamo, che al detto governo assista un nostro consiglio secreto, quale partecipi di tutte le gravi deliberationi, che si dovranno fare, et invigili l'administrationi, et actioni di Madama in detto governo ..." (Ibid., 5r).

<sup>53</sup> According to Ferdinando's secretary Piero Usimbardi, the Grand Duke wished Christine to be informed of all the matters of State: "talmente si restrinse seco, che di tutte le cose la voleva partecipe, et nessuna cosa passava, assente lei, che egli, da se stesso o pei suoi ministri, non le comunicassi poi; dicendo di scoprir in lei valore et consiglio che a ciò lo persuadeva" (Saltini 1880, 383). Christine was part of the *Consulta*, i.e. the small group of counsellors who discussed government affairs with the sovereign: Angiolini 1992, 713–17, 719; Angiolini 1995, 463, 466–69; Martelli 1999, 74–75.

<sup>54</sup> Segarizzi 1916, III/2, 137, 153, 162, 164, 166.

<sup>55</sup> Segarizzi 1916, III/2, 164.

<sup>56</sup> Choné / Ternois 1992, 59.

<sup>57</sup> Choné / Ternois 1992, 60–61, 118–19, cat. 4.

<sup>58</sup> Choné 1988, 9, note 8 (very considerable payments to Jean Callot); Choné / Ternois 1992, 61.

<sup>59</sup> Choné 1988; Martin 2008.

<sup>60</sup> The fundamental study on Cosimo's obsequies is Borsook 1965–66; on Francesco's funeral cfr. Berti 2002, 286–88, 305; Strunck 2009, 225–26, and the illustrations in Bietti 1999, 26; see also Ibid., 88–89, some illustrations published in conjunction with the Florentine obsequies for Philip II of Spain in 1598.

<sup>61</sup> In his testament Ferdinando had decreed that he did not wish lavish obsequies but instead the distribution of dowries for poor virgins: Fubini Leuzzi 1999, 182. On his testament see note 52 above.

<sup>62</sup> Bietti / Fiorelli / Malesci / Mironneau 2010, 113–75.

<sup>63</sup> Bietti 1999, 143–91.

<sup>64</sup> The illustrations of Charles's obsequies had been submitted to Frédéric Brentel in the summer of 1610, i.e. before the Florentine ceremony in honour of Henry IV: Choné / Ternois 1992, 61.

<sup>65</sup> Bietti 1999, 20–21, 69, 71, 155, 156, 159, 165, 167, 170, 171, 173, 175, 181, 183, 185, 187, 189, 191, 196.

<sup>66</sup> Grassellini / Fracassini 1982, 101; Choné / Ternois 1992, 257, cat. 272. Further illustrations in Adimari 1614; Lieure 1924–29, III, 41–50, and IV, nos. 121–44.

<sup>67</sup> Choné / Ternois 1992, 173; but the document in question, signed by Vincenzo Giugni (Ibid., 62, 23 October 1614), does not mention the Grand Duke.

<sup>68</sup> See the document quoted in the previous note.

<sup>69</sup> ASF, Guardaroba Medicea 308, doc. 218, c. 279 bis, order from Vincenzo Giugni to Cosimo Latini, 9

March 1610 (*stile fiorentino*, i.e. 1611): "M. Cosimo Proveditore della galleria amette a cotesto corridore o galleria Giovanni Bilivelti così comanda Madama Serenissima acciò faccia quelli disegni che sonno da fare ...".

<sup>70</sup> Quoted according to Romei 2001, 98. Slightly different transcriptions in Choné / Ternois 1992, 62 (23 October 1614) and Barocchi / Gaeta Bertela 2002, I, 164, note 596.

<sup>71</sup> Lieure 1924–29, IV, nos. 147–64.

<sup>72</sup> Choné / Ternois 1992, 173–79, cat. 66–76; Romei 2001, 98.

<sup>73</sup> ASF, MDP 6038, c. 31r.

<sup>74</sup> *Alcune memorie* (BNCF, II.III.450); *Vita del Gran Duca Ferdinando primo di Toscana scritta dal Signor Domizio Peroni* (ASF, Carte strozziane, prima serie, 53); Saltini 1880; Ronen 1969–70, 429 note 13.

<sup>75</sup> Originally the plates were not numbered. The copper plate representing Christine's coronation was separated from the rest of the set early on. At some later stage the remaining plates were numbered, and the inscriptions were added in the nineteenth century (Lieure 1924–29, III, 52). However, this numbering does not necessarily reflect the originally intended sequence. Considering the date of the events depicted, Christine's coronation is the earliest scene, the distribution of the dowries the latest. As both of them refer to weddings, it would have made sense to pair them as the beginning and the end of the cycle.

<sup>76</sup> Ballerini / Di Pino Gambi / Vignolini 1976, 30, catalogued as no. 16, but the print does not bear a number. Lieure 1924–29, III, 58, cat. 162 and IV, no. 162.

<sup>77</sup> Fubini Leuzzi 1999, 179–93, 261, 267, who mentions also the institution of a similar dowry fund by Christine in 1630 (Ibid., 184). On Christine's central role in the ceremonies surrounding the distribution of the grand ducal dowries see e.g. ASF, Manoscritti 130, cc. 312v–313r and Martelli 1999, 76; on her own dowry fund cfr. her testament (ASF, Miscellanea Medicea, 601, ins. 22, ff. 14r–21v).

<sup>78</sup> Ammirato 1594, dedication to Christine of Lorraine; Boccaccio / Serdonati 1596, 673.

<sup>79</sup> Biblioteche Riccardiana e Moreniana 1998, 180–81: "Madama Cristina di Lorena vedova, che colla G. Duchessa M.a Maddalena si porta alla processione delle Fanciulle".

<sup>80</sup> See below note 114. The print series *Scelta d'alcuni Miracoli, e Grazie della Santissima Nunziata di Firenze Descritti Dal P. F. Gio. Angiolo Lottini dell'Ordine de Servi / Alla Ser.ma Cristiana [sic] di Loreno Gran Duchessa di Toscana* (Lieure 1924–29, IV, nos. 78–119) was dedicated to Christine of Lorraine, but she was not involved in the commission, as Ruben Rebmann has established on the basis of newly-found documentation (cfr. Rebmann 2012).

<sup>81</sup> Marot 1973, 19.

<sup>82</sup> ASF, MDP 87, c. 240 is a copy of the *Passaporto* dated 23 October 1615 with which "David de Challigny" was provided for his return to Lorraine. He was back in Nancy by 28 November, when Henry de Lorraine wrote to his sister Christine: "... Je l'assureuray aussy que Jay esté bien aise d'entendre par les lettres que David de Challigny m'a apportés de Monsieur le Granduc mon Nepveu et de V. A. que soyez tous deux demeurés contents de son service ..." (ASF, Carte strozziane, Serie prima, vol. 56, c. 132).

<sup>83</sup> According to a document quoted by Lo Vullo Bianchi 1931, 197–99, the monument to Philip III was finished by 25 July 1614, i.e. before Chaligny's arrival in Florence. See also Goldberg 1996, 532–34: this author mentions that the statue of Philip III was originally meant to be presented by Roberto Dati, but finally Andrea Tacca took his place. A hitherto unknown letter from Dati to Giovanni Bartolini (from Rome, 10 July 1615) relates to this matter. Dati attributes his misfortune to the death of Medici secretary Belisario Vinta and to the machinations of sculptor Pietro Tacca; he asks Bartolini to intercede with the Grand Duchess on his behalf (ASF, MDP 6007, unpaginated). In the end, the monument was sent to Spain only in 1616: Falletti 2007, 211.

<sup>84</sup> On these equestrian monuments see e.g. Avery 1987, 257–58, cat. 38, 47; Erben 1997; Gasparotto 2006; Zikos 2007; Hunecke 2008, 150–60.

<sup>85</sup> Marot 1973, 15.

<sup>86</sup> ASF, MDP 6023, c. 550v. It is interesting to note that this letter links the commission to the Duke himself, while Arbinot's letter to Christine states that the monument will be erected by "le grand prince" (Marot 1973, 15).

<sup>87</sup> ASF, Guardaroba Medicea 373, f. 71, 7 January 1618 (*stile fiorentino*, i.e. 7.1.1619). The relevant document was quoted by Langedijk 1981–87, II, 751, but with a wrong date (7 January 1624).

<sup>88</sup> Avery / Radcliffe 1978, 173, cat. 150; Avery 1987, 267–69, cat. 137 (height 64 cm); Paolozzi Strozzi / Zikos 2006, 277, cat. 62 (height 65.8 cm [sic]).

<sup>89</sup> Avery 1987, 158–62, 268, cat. 132; Paolozzi Strozzi / Zikos 2006, 276, cat. 61. The height of this statuette is 35.25 cm, but when mounted with a rider it was originally somewhat taller.

<sup>90</sup> Marot 1973, 28–32; *L'art en Lorraine* 1992, 350–51, cat. 139; Bresc-Bautier / Scherf 2008, 180–81, cat. 46.

<sup>91</sup> Pfister 1902–08, III, 205–06; Marot 1973, 20–23, 25–26.

<sup>92</sup> Pfister 1902–08, II, 521; Marot 1973, 22, 23 (note 49).

<sup>93</sup> Poull 1991, 225–26.

<sup>94</sup> ASF, MDP 4272, fasc. 17.

<sup>95</sup> Poull 1991, 225, 227.

<sup>96</sup> Marot 1973, 13, 19–20 (quoting from the contract dated 18 June 1621).

<sup>97</sup> ASF, MDP 6023, c. 550v, Stefano Arbinot to Andrea

Cioli, 5 October 1618: "Acciò si potesse fare cosa degna si desiderarebbe un cavallino di Bronzo, conforme a quello che è nell'Armeria del Ser.mo Padrone et Chaligni ne scrive a Madama Serenissima: se li Ser.mi padroni restassero serviti di mandarlo forse non saria fuor di proposito di fare mettere di sopra la statua di questa Altezza presente, et mandarlo all'istessa Altezza poichè servirebbe per modello al detto Chaligny che deve fare detto cavallo, et la statua anchora, et poi servirebbe per ornato del gabinetto di detta Altezza, et li saria presente gratissimo essendo con la sua statua".

<sup>98</sup> ASF, MDP 6023, cc. 308–09, Andrea Cioli to Stefano Arbinot, 20 October 1618: "... Ho dato a Madama Ser.ma la lettera di Chaligni, et havendo sentito grandissimo gusto, della determinazione fattasi costi, di drizzare la statua del Ser.mo suo Padre nel mezzo della Piazza della Città nuova, ha detto, che il Gran Duca manderà volentieri costà al Ser.mo Sig. Duca un cavallino di bronzo simile a quello, che è in Armeria di questa Altezza, conforme alla proposizione di detto Chaligni, acciò serva, et per modello della statua da farsi, et per ornamento del gabinetto del S. Duca, ma dovendovi esser sopra la statua di S. A., dice Madama, che non si potrà mandar prima, che non sia venuto quà il ritratto del medesimo Signor Duca ...".

<sup>99</sup> Nancy, Archives départementales de Meurthe-et-Moselle, B 1399: *Acquits servant au compte de Nicolas de Pullenoy*, 1618 (loose leaf without pagination). A further related document is quoted in Roy 1914, 78.

<sup>100</sup> ASF, MDP 6023, cc. 311–12.

<sup>101</sup> *Gli Uffizi* 1979, 751, Ic 980.

<sup>102</sup> *Chefs-d'œuvre* 2004, 159, cat. 40 (by Pascal Torrès Guardiola, with illustration). Quoting Ternois, Torrès has pointed out a possible link with the wedding of 1621. However, it has not yet been realized that this drawing may have formed a pair with the very similar representation of Louis de Guise.

<sup>103</sup> Choné / Ternois 1992, 390–91, cat. 492 and 493. The print based on these drawings must date from 1624 (*Ibid.*, 389, cat. 494); however, this does not preclude an earlier date of the drawing.

<sup>104</sup> Francesco Serdonati added numerous biographies of "famous women" from Lorraine to his new edition of Boccaccio's *Donne Illustri* which he dedicated to Christine of Lorraine: Boccaccio / Serdonati 1596, 525–27, 532–33, 671–76. In a letter to the Grand Duchess, Christine's brother François mentions her research project concerning "ceux de notre maison qui estoient canonizez et tenue pour sainte" (MAP Doc. 18575, 22 November 1613). De Blasi 1963, 692, quotes a source from 1625 according to which Medici protégé Baccio Bandinelli was about to publish a biography of "Filippa di Gheldria, già Duchessa di Lorena". Bronzini 1632, 59, refers to a

genealogy of the house of Lorraine by Baccio Bandinelli, dedicated to the Grand Duchess.

<sup>105</sup> ASF, MDP 6023, c. 269–74, especially cc. 270r–273r: Christine analyses the social status of the women belonging to the house of Lorraine, from the Middle Ages to the present.

<sup>106</sup> In the Villa La Petraia Christine's famous ancestors were celebrated in fresco painting: not only Godfrey of Bouillon (see below), but also his great-uncle, Pope Stephen IX from Lorraine, who appears in the Petraia chapel; cfr. Acidini Luchinat / Galletti 1995, 75, 78. As Massimiliano Rossi recently pointed out, Christine also planned to erect a magnificent monument in Stephen's honour in the Florentine cathedral: Rossi 2008, 127–28.

<sup>107</sup> As Christine had inherited half of the contents of the Hôtel de la Reine (Chevalier 1862, 17), a large part of Caterina de' Medici's collection of family portraits came to Florence. See Turbide 1999, Turbide 2005, Zvereva 2008 and especially Zvereva 2002, 15–16.

<sup>108</sup> ASF, Guardaroba medicea 152, cc. 51–52.

<sup>109</sup> Zanieri 2000; Camerota / Miniati 2008, 238, cat. IV.2.5.

<sup>110</sup> Acidini Luchinat / Galletti 1995, 78–83; Fumagalli / Rossi / Spinelli 2001, 225–27; Bastogi 2005, 105–09.

<sup>111</sup> See notes 11 and 12 above.

<sup>112</sup> Fumagalli / Rossi / Spinelli 2001; Rossi / Gioffredi Superbi 2004.

<sup>113</sup> Strunck 1998, 112–15; Rossi 2001. Christine's role in the conception of this chapel and its influence on the ducal chapel in Nancy are analysed in detail in my forthcoming book (see note 6) and in an article for the volume *San Lorenzo: A Florentine Church*, ed. by Robert Gaston and Louis Waldman.

<sup>114</sup> Choné / Ternois 1992, 66 (document of 7 March 1618). The edition was a "re-make" of a book created under the auspices of Ferdinando de' Medici: cfr. Leuschner 2005, 355–64, especially 363.

<sup>115</sup> Choné / Ternois 1992, 181.

<sup>116</sup> Lecchini Giovannoni 1991, 285, 312.

<sup>117</sup> On the cult of Saint Fiacre see Desbordes 1970; Lerou 1987. According to Richa (IX, 1761, 33) the painting was commissioned by Grand Duchess Christine "per consolazione sua, e de' Nazionali Lorenesi divoti d'un tanto Santo loro Tutelare".

<sup>118</sup> "D. O. M./ SERENISSIMA CHRISTIANA A LOTHARINGIA/ MAGNA DUCISSA ETRURIAE SACRUM HOC SACELLUM/ RELIGIONIS ERGO DIVO FIACRIO DICATUM IN HOC SA/ CRARIO; UT AUGUSTIOREM LOCUM TANTO DIVO EX=/ ORNARET QUEM PIE, SANCTEQ., IN PRIMIS, TUM IN GAL=/ LIA PRIMUM, TUM IN HIS PARTIBUS POSTEA COLUISSET/ EXTRUENDUM CURAVIT/ AN. D. MDLXXXVI".

<sup>119</sup> A *memoriale* of the convent gives the following dates: "Altare In Sagrestia di S. Fiacrio fondato, et eretto da Madama Serenissima per sua devozione

l'anno 1595. Si cominciò a dir messa il giorno della Pentecoste nel 1597". ASF, Corporazioni religiose sopresse dal governo francese, serie 122 (Santo Spirito), pezzo 37: "Memoriale G", f. 31v.

<sup>120</sup> Benedetti 1875, 12, 28, 35, 38.

<sup>121</sup> ASF, Manoscritti 131, cc. 16r, 30v, 33r, 40r–40v.

<sup>122</sup> Lecchini Giovannoni 1991, 285 and fig. 339.

<sup>123</sup> See for instance Cox-Rearick 1984, 30, 32–34, 39–40, 141.

<sup>124</sup> Paatz 1940–54, II, 288; Artusi / Patruno 2000, 301–12, especially 307; Ciuccetti 2002, 30.

<sup>125</sup> ASF, Manoscritti 130, cc. 312v–313r.

<sup>126</sup> Joubert 1592.

<sup>127</sup> See e.g. MAP Doc. 14848 (Belisario Vinta to Tarugio Sallusti, 1 April 1607); ASF, MDP 86, c. 341r–v; ASF, MDP 5962, cc. 441r, 752; ASF, MDP 6023, cc. 283–84; ASF, MDP 6039, c. 58v.

<sup>128</sup> Chevalier 1862, 17; Baguenault de Puchesse 1905, IX, 471; Poull 1991, 217; *L'art en Lorraine* 1992, 29.

<sup>129</sup> Ribadeneira 1621, II, 104–12.

<sup>130</sup> On Cristierna see Poull 1991, 210–11; Carolus-Curien 2007, 91–103.

<sup>131</sup> Knudsen / Kristensen 1936–40, I, 794. I would like to thank Martin Olin for his help in this matter.

<sup>132</sup> See e.g. Frommel / Wolf 2008, 404, fig. 8 (from Paradin's *Devises héroïques*, 1557): "Madame Cathe-

rine, tres chretienne Royne de France ...".

<sup>133</sup> Bartoli Bacherini 2000, 96–101 (see especially figs 52 and 54).

<sup>134</sup> BNCF, G. Capponi 261/2, f. 2r; ASF, Miscellanea Medicea, 601, ins. 12, c. 2r; Ammirato 1594 (dedicated to "Christiana di Loreno"); Boccaccio / Serdonati 1596, dedication and 671–76 (biography of "Madama Cristiana di Lorena"); Langedijk 1981–87, I, 670–72, nos. 34–37. See also note 80 above.

<sup>135</sup> Her signature is reproduced in Pieraccini 1925, II, between 314 and 315.

<sup>136</sup> Ribadeneira 1621, II, 50–51.

<sup>137</sup> Guazzesi 1626.

<sup>138</sup> Martelli 2008, 82–84, 87–103, especially 102. Richa calls the church only "Santa Cristina" and stresses its ties with the Grand Duchess: Richa 1762, X, 249–57.

<sup>139</sup> A further instance of transfer on a religious level was the establishment of the French congregation of the Feuillants in Tuscany in 1615: cfr. Martelli 2008, 76–78. In her will of 1630 (see note 77 above) Christine left their Florentine convent, Santa Maria della Pace, and its community a yearly income of 600 *scudi* – provided, however, that its members were to originate only from France, Lorraine and Tuscany.

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