



THE FEMALE CONTRIBUTION

Grand Duchess Christine of Lorraine, the Cappella dei Principi, and the New High Altar for San Lorenzo (1592–1628)

CHRISTINA STRUNCK

QUITE SURPRISINGLY, WHEN BUILDING WORK ON the Cappella dei Principi, the burial chapel of the Medici grand dukes, commenced on 10 January 1604 (*stile comune* 1605), Grand Duke Ferdinando de' Medici and his entourage did not even sojourn in the capital. They stayed in Montevetturini, approximately fifty kilometers to the west of Florence, where it was too cold to leave the house, as Cesare Tinghi annotated in his court diary.¹ In the following weeks the court moved to Fucecchio, Pisa, and Livorno; spent time at the Villa Ferdinanda and the Villa Ambrogiana; and returned to Florence only in May of 1605.² Thus, a solemn laying of the foundation stone on 10 January cannot have taken place. Ferdinando's contemporary Baccio Cancellieri asserted that a void was left in the foundations where the grand duke would be able to insert medals and inscriptions later on.³ But despite the absence of the court, the date 10 January must have been important, as it was commemorated twice within the building.⁴ Moreover, the foundation stone for the Fortezza at Livorno was laid on 10 January, too, albeit in the year 1590.⁵ What significance did this particular date hold for the Medici?

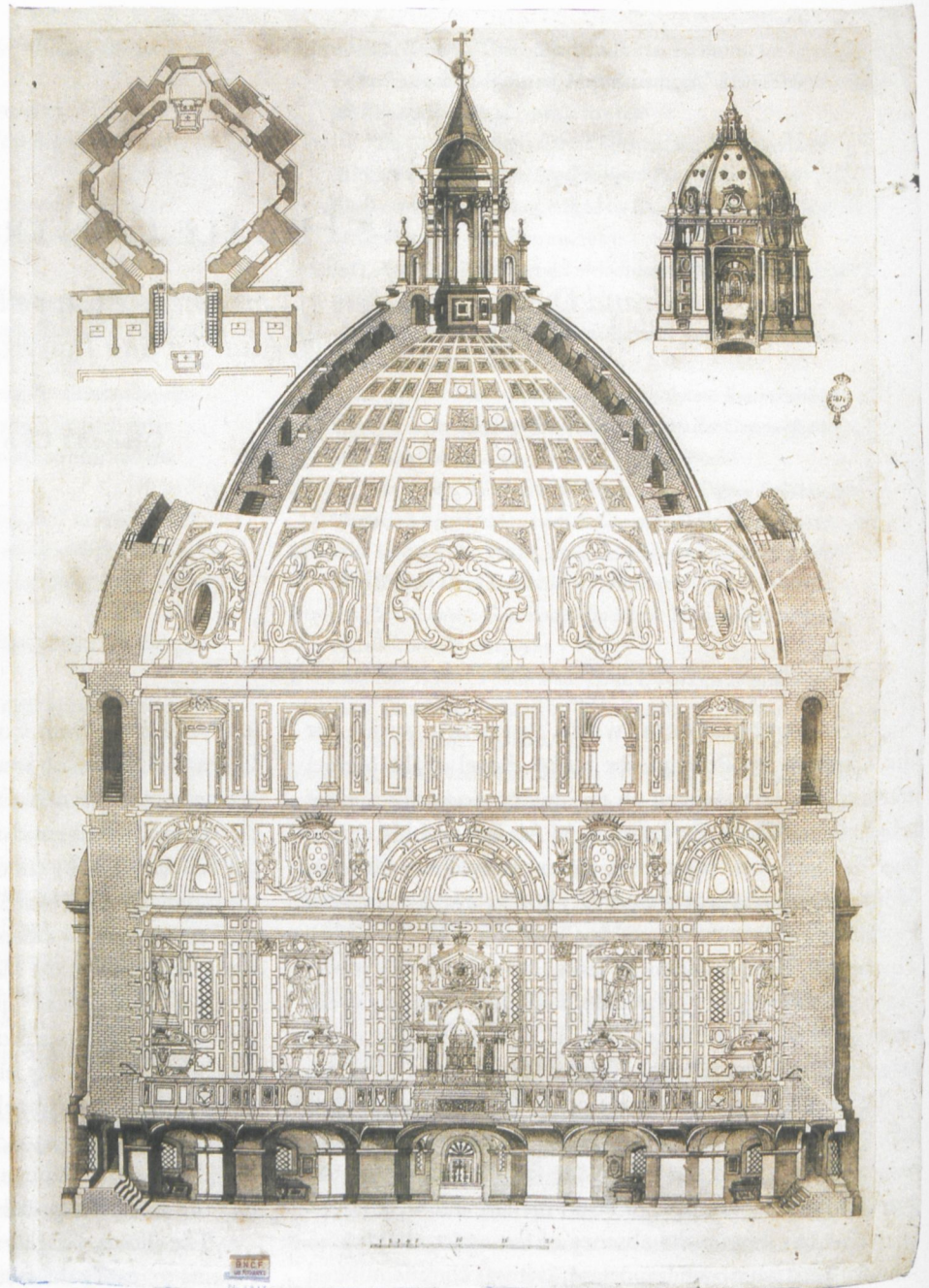
While looking for an explanation, I noticed that quite a few memorable dates surround the 10th of January: On 5 January (1589), the French queen Caterina de' Medici had died;⁶ on 6 January (1563) Ferdinando de' Medici had been raised to the cardinalate;⁷ and on 11 January (1519) his mother Eleonora di Toledo had been born.⁸ On 9 January 1537 Cosimo de' Medici, Eleonora's future husband, succeeded the assassinated duke Alessandro de' Medici. Thereby the main family

line originating from Cosimo il Vecchio *pater patriae* and Lorenzo il Magnifico was superseded by a once secondary, less prestigious branch of the Medici family. On the following day the Senate bestowed on Cosimo the title "capo e primario della città."⁹ Thus, by choosing 10 January for the beginning of the building activities at San Lorenzo, Ferdinando alluded to the beginning of his father's reign. Cosimo I, who became the first grand duke of the Medici dynasty, styled himself as the "builder" of his state;¹⁰ quite appropriately, the new resting place for his dynasty, a project already conceived by Cosimo,¹¹ was begun on the day of his ascension to power. The first dated plan for the Cappella dei Principi bears an inscription from 28 September 1592,¹² created just after the feast day of Sts. Cosmas and Damian, the time-honored Medici protectors and Cosimo's special patrons.¹³

The choice of highly symbolic dates referring to Cosimo I seems to justify the fact that all accounts of the genesis of the Cappella dei Principi focus solely on the grand dukes. However, it is impossible to establish a dynasty without women. This was tacitly acknowledged through the date chosen for the official court ceremony marking the start of work on the chapel by digging the first turf. It has hitherto gone unnoticed that the date in question, 6 August 1604,¹⁴ was the birthday of Ferdinando de' Medici's wife, Grand Duchess Christine of Lorraine.¹⁵ What might at first appear as a simple gallant gesture of the grand duke toward his spouse held a deeper significance, as I will demonstrate.

Christine of Lorraine had a continuing influence on the planning of the ducal chapel and the adjacent choir of

27.1.
 Section, elevation, and
 ground plan of the
 Cappella dei Principi.
 Engraving, here dated
 to about 1628. (Photo:
 BNCF, Man. Palat. 3. B. 1. 7.
 [Formati Grandi 184], fol. 1.)



San Lorenzo. Doubtlessly, Medici men took center stage in these projects, but our view is distorted if we lose sight of the female contribution. Therefore, contrary to the traditional narratives of the chapel's creation, I will foreground a female protagonist. First Christine's involvement in the planning of the chapel will be analyzed, then new insights into her role after Ferdinando's death and especially during her regency will be presented. Finally, I will argue that the famous engraving of the chapel (Fig. 27.1), which is generally dated to 1604, was created in about 1628 as the grand duchess's "legacy."

THE CAPPELLA DEI PRINCIPI AND THE VALOIS CHAPEL

Christine of Lorraine (1565–1636) descended from Duke Charles III of Lorraine and his wife Claude de France, daughter of the French king Henri II and Caterina de' Medici. As Claude had died in 1575,¹⁶ Christine was raised at the French royal court by her Florentine grandmother.¹⁷ Caterina instructed the girl in the management of public affairs and arranged the match with her Tuscan relative, Grand Duke Ferdinando de' Medici. During the marriage negotiations,

one of Ferdinando's agents wrote to Florence that, except for the queen of England and Caterina herself, no living woman was better informed about politics than Christine.¹⁸ From her wedding in 1589 until her death in 1636, Christine of Lorraine developed numerous political and cultural initiatives that left their mark on Florence and Tuscany.¹⁹

Christine won Ferdinando's confidence soon after the wedding. As early as 1590 she was allowed to open diplomatic correspondence in his absence and personally deciphered messages in code.²⁰ Ferdinando accorded her a prominent share in his building projects, too. When the foundation stone for the Fortezza del Belvedere was laid on 28 October 1590, it carried an inscription that not only commemorated Ferdinando as the building's patron but also his "most beloved wife": FERDINANDUS. MEDICES. MAGNUS DUX ETRURIE I.I.I. CUM. CHRISTIANA. LOTHARINGA. CONIUGE. AMATISSIMA.²¹

In the spring of 1592, the desired male heir was baptized in a pompous ceremony with international guests and received the auspicious name Cosimo. In order to secure his dynasty, in the autumn of 1592 the grand duke, aged forty-three and free of serious health problems,²² drew up his testament 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.²³ This measure was without precedent in Florence and was probably inspired by Christine's grandmothers, who had both been named regents in the testaments of Charles IX of France and François I de Lorraine, respectively.²⁴ Christine's prominent position as designated regent was commemorated in a gold medal coined in 1592 that visualized the harmonious union of the ducal couple.²⁵

It is certainly no coincidence that the planning of the Medici burial chapel began in 1592, the year in which Ferdinando ordered his succession. His testament obliged his heirs to finish the chapel, for which he intended to furnish the plans.²⁶ Moreover, he assigned to Christine for the duration of her lifetime "the administration and government of the City of Montepulciano and its *capitanato* as well as the estate of Pietrasanta and its *capitanato* with all its income and ordinary and extraordinary revenues, with the exercise of civil and criminal jurisdiction, with the mine, the quarries and palace of Seravezza, with the faculty to delegate administrators and officials for juridical and military purposes, as we ourselves do in these *capitanati*."²⁷ The quarries of Seravezza had been discovered by Cosimo I in 1563, and the white and colored marbles extracted there "were to form an essential part of Vasari's project for the Cappella de' Principi."²⁸ Later on, Seravezza furnished marbles both for the chapel and the Palazzo Pitti.²⁹ By giving Christine control over these quarries,

Ferdinando sought to provide his wife with the means to finish the Cappella dei Principi after his death.

It was a widow's uppermost task to ensure that her deceased husband received an honorable burial place. Christine of Lorraine knew this very well, as she had watched Caterina de' Medici's efforts to erect a mausoleum for the Valois dynasty. In 1572 the widowed queen had begun to build a chapel, which was joined to the basilica of St. Denis near Paris.³⁰ By the time Christine left the French court in 1589, the structure was not yet finished, but she had been able to witness the ongoing work and was well aware of the propagandistic and political messages of such a project.³¹

In 1983 André Chastel suggested the Valois chapel as one of the models for the Florentine Cappella dei Principi.³² His hypothesis did not meet with general acclaim, as the two buildings do not seem to have much in common apart from the fact that they were both multistoried, domed, central-plan structures annexed to the traditional burial place of the ruling dynasty and articulated by a very elaborate interior decoration of colored marbles. The planning of the Cappella dei Principi was a long and complex process involving numerous architects who drew on many different sources of inspiration.³³ Nevertheless, I think that the Valois chapel may well have been at the origin of the project as conceived by the patrons. Ferdinando aspired to the title of king and undertook costly military campaigns in order to obtain that dignity.³⁴ His aim was to make his state independent from Spain, which had long controlled the destiny of Tuscany. Choosing a bride with close ties to the French court marked a paradigmatic change of alliance.³⁵ As the new Florentine chapel was meant to be a burial place worthy of kings (the documents name it "Cappella Reale" or "Royal Chapel"),³⁶ the mausoleum of the French dynasty constituted the logical model.

Although Cosimo I and Francesco I had already wished to erect a new Medici chapel at San Lorenzo, the relevant documents do not speak of a central-plan structure but rather of a "third sacristy," a rectangular domed building resembling the Old and New Sacristies of San Lorenzo.³⁷ It was probably Christine of Lorraine who introduced the idea of creating a central-plan mausoleum modeled on the Valois chapel, which she knew firsthand. A project ascribed to Buontalenti comes quite close to the plan of the Valois rotunda,³⁸ and another design presents a centrally placed sarcophagus,³⁹ thus envisaging a situation analogous to the burial of Henri II and Caterina de' Medici in the middle of the Valois chapel.

In the design process, these ideas underwent numerous changes, not least because the project of placing a monument, ciborium, or altar in the center of the building was abandoned by 1602.⁴⁰ This decision has long been connected

with rumors about a possible transfer of the Holy Sepulcher to the Cappella dei Principi.

THE CAPPELLA DEI PRINCIPI AND THE HOLY SEPULCHER

On 12 May 1604, the fourteenth birthday of Ferdinando's presumptive heir Cosimo, the court assembled behind San Lorenzo and watched how the architects "drew the ropes" in order to project the plan on the ground where the foundations for the chapel were to be dug.⁴¹ The day after, Ferdinando and his entourage went to the church of Santissima Annunziata, where Christine of Lorraine had arranged a Forty Hours prayer "to implore God for the victory of the seven galleys and three ships of His Highness full of soldiers sent to the Greek islands in order to destroy the Turks, enemies of the Christian blood and of the belief in Jesus Christ our almighty God, Lord, and Redeemer."⁴² On 16 May the court attended another devotion of the Forty Hours at the Duomo, again praying for the successful mission of the galleys.⁴³

These public ceremonies suggested a close link between the new chapel and the activities of the Medici "crusading" order of St. Stephen.⁴⁴ Therefore, the legend arose that the soldiers sent out in 1604 had tried to remove the Holy Sepulcher from Jerusalem, "and although they succeeded in cutting the stone to which the Holy Sepulcher was joined with remarkable secrecy and extracting it from the custody which held it, and while the swift galleys were ready to receive it, the plot was discovered through fraud and malice of the Schismatics, the proud enemies of the Catholics, and the admiral Inghirami had to flee; the Turks, however remained so shocked that they remind pilgrims still today of this coup, showing them the cut that was made at the Holy Sepulcher on that occasion."⁴⁵ Although this assertion may well be doubted, treaties concluded by Ferdinando with the pasha of Aleppo Ali Jambulad and the Lebanese Emir Fakhr ad-Din in 1607 and 1608, respectively, contain explicit clauses concerning the joint conquest of Jerusalem.⁴⁶

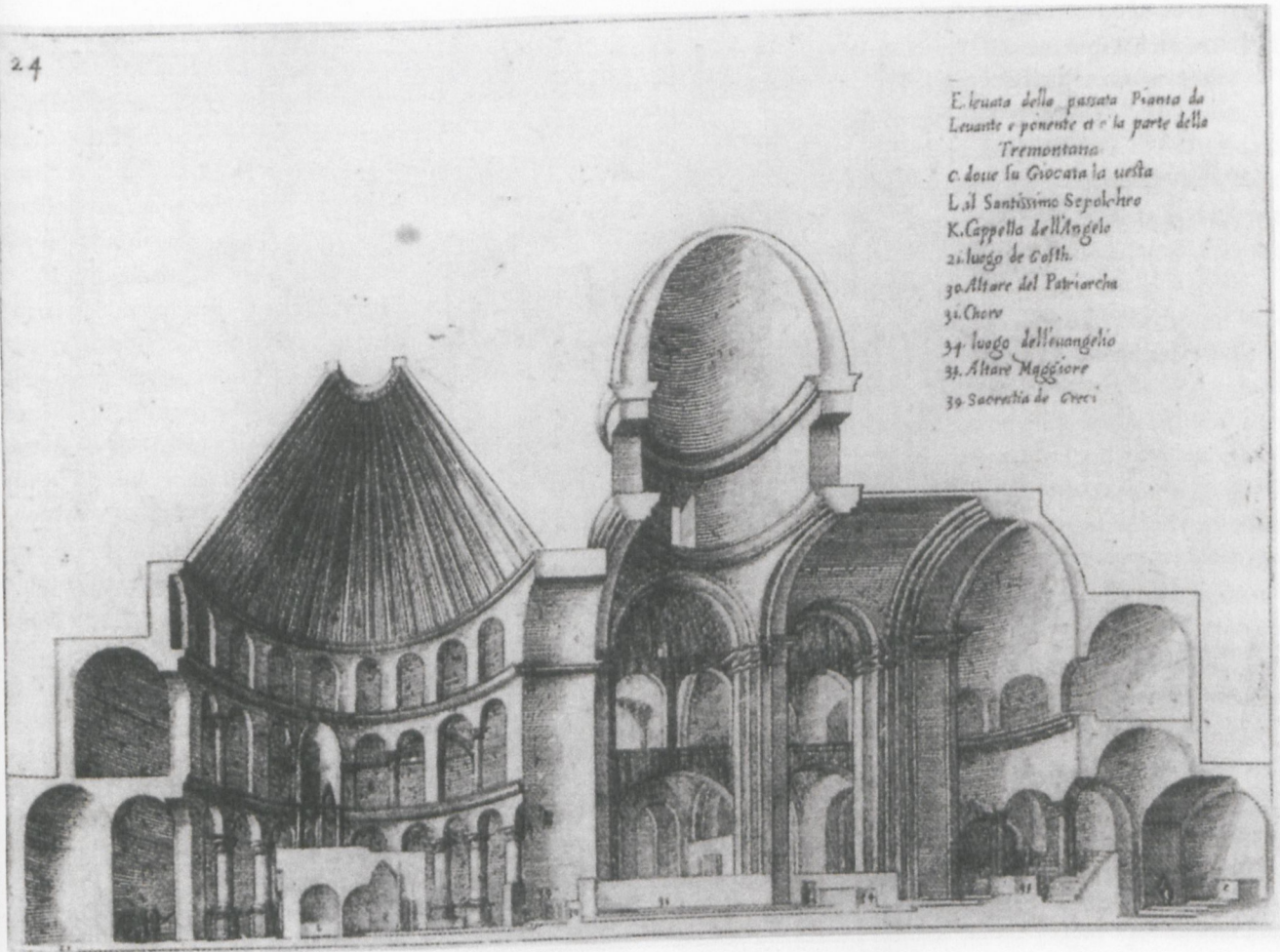
Not accidentally, it was Christine of Lorraine who arranged the Forty Hours devotion to implore God's help for the galleys. Christine descended from Godfrey of Bouillon, who had conquered Jerusalem during the first crusade in 1099. Through the union with her, true "crusader's blood" was injected into the Medici veins, a fact repeatedly underlined by the court propaganda.⁴⁷ Godfrey's exploits were shown on one of the triumphal arches that welcomed the bride in 1589;⁴⁸ he appeared in the fresco decoration of her villa La Petraia⁴⁹ and on one of Christine's reliquaries;⁵⁰ and numerous poetical creations alluding to Godfrey and the Medici "crusades" were dedicated to her.⁵¹

While still a cardinal, Ferdinando had been named protector of the patriarchates of Antioch, Alexandria, and Ethiopia;⁵² he had commissioned an epic about the first crusade, Pietro Angeli da Barga's *Syrias*;⁵³ and in 1584 he had founded the Stamperia Medicea Orientale (Medici Oriental Press), whose most ambitious project was the publication of the Gospels in Arabic.⁵⁴ In 1588 he commissioned bronze reliefs as a decoration for the Stone of the Unction in the church of the Holy Sepulcher.⁵⁵ This church figured prominently among the precise plans of the sites of worship in the Holy Land drawn by Bernardino Amico between 1593 and 1597, a project probably initiated by or evolved in collaboration with Giovanni Battista Raimondi, the director of the Stamperia Medicea Orientale. The book, illustrated with etchings by Antonio Tempesta, finally appeared in 1609, some months after Ferdinando's death.⁵⁶

Shortly after her husband's demise, Christine of Lorraine stated that it was her mission to immortalize his deeds in the loftiest style.⁵⁷ In the following years, several biographies of the grand duke were written that make explicit reference to his crusading activities, thus probably codifying Christine's vision of her husband's intentions. Ferdinando's secretary Domizio Peroni wrote that the grand duke was admired for his plans to "recapture the Holy Sepulcher of Christ our Redeemer from the hands of the infidels,"⁵⁸ and Ortensio Cavalcani recounted, probably referring to Carlo Bocchineri's and Giovambattista Strozzi's orations in praise of the deceased grand duke,⁵⁹ that "if the rumor spread after Don Ferdinando's death truly reveals his saintly and secret plans which he always guarded carefully, he hoped to transport the most venerable, though immobile relic of the Holy Sepulcher of our Lord Jesus with heavenly and supernatural help to Florence."⁶⁰

According to Christine's own words, it was her intention to imitate Ferdinando, especially in his war against the infidels.⁶¹ And, indeed, during the years following his death, with the help of "sultan Yahya" and Fakhr ad-Din, various plans for military campaigns in the Holy Land were made.⁶² Until well into the 1630s Christine maintained close contacts with Fakhr ad-Din, who had promised his help in the conquest of Jerusalem.⁶³ In 1619 Bernardino Amico's treatise on the buildings of the Holy Land was reissued with etchings by Jacques Callot, an artist from Lorraine who created these graphics expressly at the request of the grand duchess.⁶⁴ One of the plates shows Godfrey of Bouillon's burial chapel in the church of the Holy Sepulcher, an allusion to the heroic roots of the House of Lorraine, which, in Paulette Choné's view, was in itself sufficient to justify the publication of the whole book.⁶⁵

Although the Florentine Cappella dei Principi bears only a very general resemblance to the rotunda sheltering the



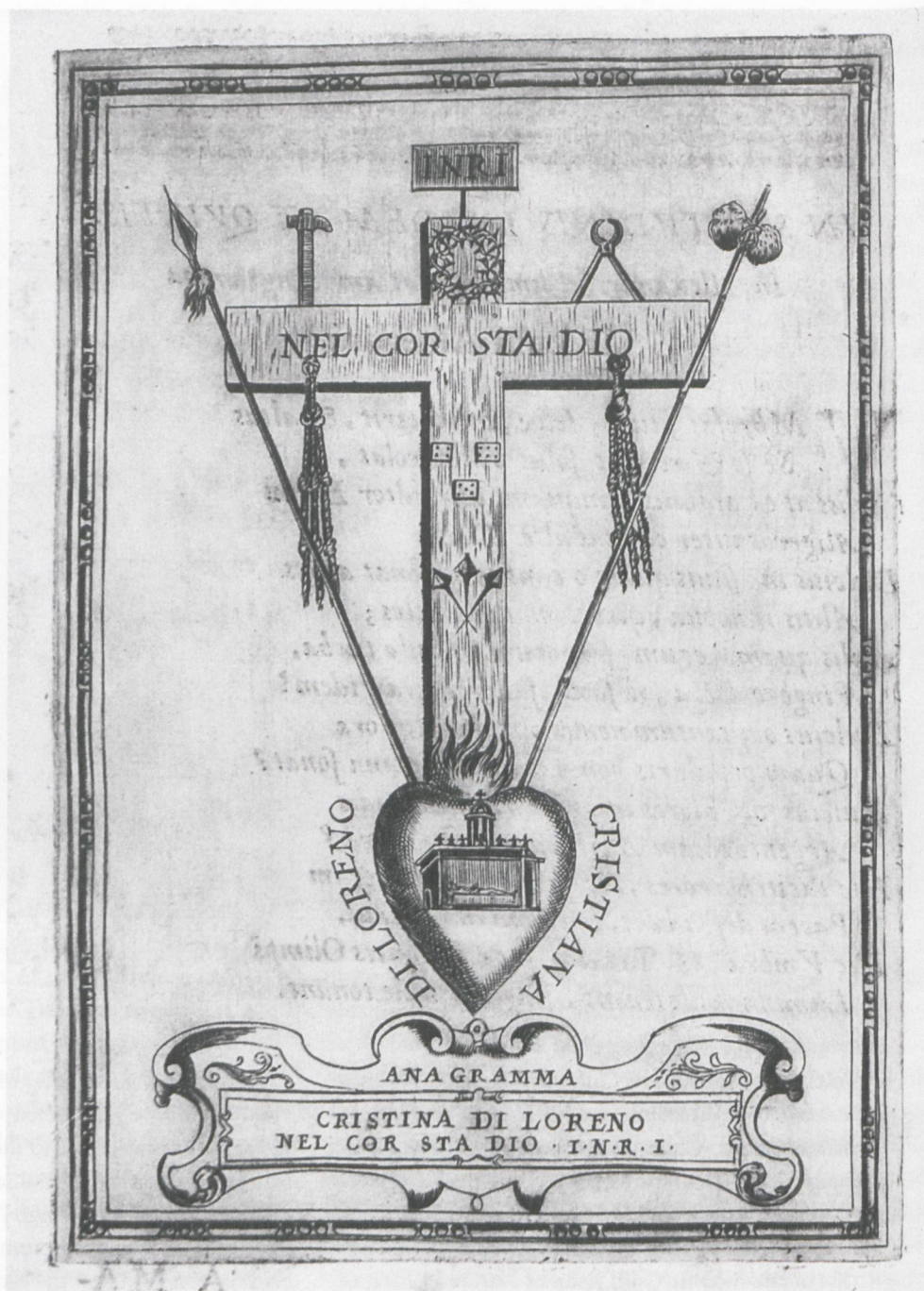
27.2. The church of the Holy Sepulcher. Section from BERNARDINO AMICO, *Trattato delle Pianta & Immagini de Sacri Edifizi di Terra Santa Disegnate in Ierusalemme*, etched by JACQUES CALLOT, 1619.

Holy Sepulcher as visualized by Callot (Fig. 27.2),⁶⁶ the tomb of the Redeemer was certainly very much on Ferdinando and Christine's mind. Christine owned several models of the Holy Sepulcher,⁶⁷ and a treatise on her villa La Quiete published in 1632 was prefaced with a representation of the Holy Sepulcher within a heart and the motto "Nel cor sta Dio I. N. R. I" (In the heart is God, Jesus of Nazareth, King of the Jews), an anagram of the name Cristina di Lorena (Fig. 27.3).⁶⁸ In 1634 Christine donated a symbolic equivalent of the Holy Sepulcher to San Lorenzo: a precious shrine made of gold, silver, and rock crystal that was to house the Eucharist as "tomb" (*sepulcro*) of the Redeemer on Maundy Thursday.⁶⁹

While the alleged project to transfer the Holy Sepulcher to Florence has often been dismissed as a mere propaganda ploy postdating the conception of the Cappella dei Principi,⁷⁰ recent studies have underlined the symbolic potential and tangible reality of that plan.⁷¹ Despite the fact that most of the sources regarding the Medicean cult of the Holy Sepulcher

date after 1604, three pieces of early evidence are remarkable. First, the above-mentioned ceremony at San Lorenzo on 12 May 1604 was linked to the Forty Hours devotions organized by Christine of Lorraine in support of the Tuscan "crusaders."⁷² Second, although "masculine" memorable dates abounded during the summer months (e.g., Ferdinando's birthday on 19 July;⁷³ the recurrence of the important victory over Siena, an official Medici holiday, on 2 August;⁷⁴ or the feast day of San Lorenzo on 10 August), these were not chosen for the main inaugural ceremony; instead, work on the foundations of the Cappella dei Principi was begun by Ferdinando's presumptive heir Cosimo on his mother's birthday (6 August 1604),⁷⁵ thus foregrounding the two persons who could claim to be direct successors of the first conqueror of Jerusalem, Godfrey of Bouillon, ancestor of the house of Lorraine. And third, a void was left in the foundations where medals or inscriptions could be placed later on,⁷⁶ perhaps in view of the expected military conquests of the Tuscan galleys.

The Holy Sepulcher and the anagram of "Cristina di Loreno" (Christine of Lorraine). Illustration in ALESSANDRO ADIMARI, *La Quiete*, 1632.



All in all, it seems possible that the decision to abandon the central monument in the Cappella dei Principi documented since 1602 was, indeed, motivated by the wish to reserve this space (at least notionally) for the Holy Sepulcher. But be this as it may, after her husband's death, Christine of Lorraine doubtlessly took great care to keep the idea of the liberation of the Holy Sepulcher alive and give it public currency, thus preparing the ground for an interpretation of the Cappella dei Principi in terms of a crusader's monument.

Christine, more than Ferdinando, provided the interpretative framework for the chapel's reception.

FEMALE PATRONAGE: Direct and Indirect Influence

Some documents gathered by Claudia Przyborowski prove the grand duchess's involvement in the planning process of the Cappella dei Principi. For instance, in 1598, Ferdinando,

Christine, and Giovanni de' Medici discussed Giacomo della Porta's project with the Roman architect,⁷⁷ and in 1602 Christine's opinion on the design for the altar of the chapel was sought. She proposed changes that met with approval; in particular, she suggested that reliquaries be displayed in the architectural superstructure framing the ciborium, placed in windowlike niches made of rock crystal.⁷⁸

It is a general problem in the study of female patronage (or rather "matronage") that much of it took place behind the scenes. Women may have been involved in discussions about art projects quite frequently, but only rarely was that documented. Still more rarely did women rule (and, therefore, decide) in their own right. In the case of Christine of Lorraine, she had been trained to act as a regent since 1592, and toward the end of Ferdinando's reign her influence became stronger and stronger,⁷⁹ but when he finally died in 1609, his eldest son Cosimo had just turned eighteen and could, therefore, succeed his father as grand duke. Nevertheless, it was, in fact, his forty-four-year-old mother who took over the government. A Venetian ambassador reported that the young and inexperienced Cosimo depended heavily on Christine, whom he identified as the driving force at court: "One can say that she is the principal leader in all matters and that decisions are made according to her advice and opinion."⁸⁰

Christine of Lorraine did not rule independently, so she could not dispense grand ducal treasure. Official commissions involving money needed to be ordered by the grand duke. Just as in politics, however, Christine exerted indirect influence. For instance, on 23 January 1610, the superintendent of the Galleria, Vincenzo Giugni,⁸¹ asked Cosimo II to assign funds for a new *pietra dura* pavement for the chapel of the Santissima Annunziata, adding that he solicited him on behalf of his mother, the grand duchess ("et io lo sollecito a Vostra Altezza perché Madama Serenissima madre m'ha detto che sia bene pensarci").⁸² As documents regarding a court festival in 1613 reveal, official orders had to come from the grand duke, while the actual planning was left to Christine.⁸³

Soon after Ferdinando's death, Christine began to fulfill her obligations regarding his burial place. He had been laid to rest in the New Sacristy at San Lorenzo,⁸⁴ and she saw to it that the altar of the sacristy received special spiritual graces from Pope Paul V.⁸⁵ In the meantime the grand ducal workshops continued to produce elaborate decorations for the Cappella dei Principi made from colored hardstone (*pietre dure*), according to Ferdinando's wishes. Since the craftsmen were overseen by a highly bureaucratic institution, the so-called Galleria (literally "gallery," meaning the administration of the various workshops located off the top-floor gallery in the Uffizi building), it is hard to pinpoint the personal input coming from Cosimo II and Christine of

Lorraine. Only occasionally do the sources make direct reference to the patrons, as when Christine of Lorraine assigned a workshop and a stable salary to Giovanni Bilibert in 1611.⁸⁶ Bilibert, whose father Jacques had already been patronized by Christine, not only produced altarpieces on her command but was also responsible for designing figurative *pietra dura* panels for the altar of the Cappella dei Principi;⁸⁷ thus, her choice and protection of this artist had a direct impact on the style of the chapel's decorations.

In 1614, 1615, and 1616 Carlo Catastini, Christine's personal treasurer (*tesauriere*), issued payments for a bronze altar frontal (*paliotto*). In this case, the grand duchess tapped her own sources of income, assigned to her in Ferdinando's will. However, she paid for only part of the work, described in the bill as "a *paliotto* made of cast bronze, 4 *braccia* long and 1¾ *braccia* high [2.33 × 1.02 meters], pierced so that it seems to consist of foliage with the name of I. H. S. [Jesus Hominum Salvator] in the middle, and two coats of arms with *palle* [the Medici balls] with four terms with cherubs and pilasters that go around the angles with a frieze and cornice."⁸⁸ The sculptors Francesco Susini and Biagio Lupicini addressed their final bill to the grand duke, who, in a letter of 1 July 1619, declared he was willing to settle it "in order to satisfy the most serene Madam his mother."⁸⁹ Nevertheless, the sculptors had to appeal to Christine before the payment was actually made. On that occasion, it was noted that "Sua Altezza"—a term that can refer both to a male and a female "Highness"—wished to have the *paliotto* "for the chapel" (*per servizio della cappella*).⁹⁰ Since "cappella" is not qualified by more precise indications, "the chapel" refers most likely to the main Medici chapel, the Cappella dei Principi. The intended setting of the *paliotto* will be discussed below.

Another instance of joint patronage concerns the monumental statues of Ferdinando I and Cosimo II placed above their tombs in the Cappella dei Principi (Fig. 27.4). According to Baldinucci, they were commissioned by Ferdinando II after his return from Prague, in 1628 or later.⁹¹ Ferdinando II had become grand duke at age ten following the untimely death of his father Cosimo II in 1621. For the regency period that lasted until Ferdinando's majority in 1628, Cosimo had entrusted the government to his wife Maria Magdalena of Austria and his mother Christine of Lorraine, advised by four counselors.⁹² Baldinucci obviously wanted to place the prestigious sculptural commission in the period of Ferdinando's independent reign, but a document published by Simonetta Lo Vullo Bianchi proves that the planning was begun during the regency (in 1626, at the latest). A letter from Pietro Tacca dated 19 August 1626 informs us that the sculptor was ready to embark on the over life-size models for the bronze statues of Ferdinando I and Cosimo II. Unfortunately, Lo

27.4.

PIETRO and
FERDINANDO
TACCA, Ferdinando I
de' Medici. Gilt bronze
statue in the Cappella
dei Principi. (Photo:
Gabinetto Fotografico
degli Uffizi, Giani 14.)



Vullo Bianchi made a significant mistake in her transcription of the source: she identified the person from whom the initiative for the commission emanated as “Magnifica Serenissima.”⁹³ In fact, however, the document speaks of “Madama Serenissima,” Christine of Lorraine.⁹⁴ As in the case of the *pietra dura* pavement mentioned above, Christine urged the teenaged grand duke to order the commencement of the work,⁹⁵ a formality required by the hierarchical organization of the court. Although Christine was the driving force behind these commissions, she had to foreground her son and grandson, respectively, because the supreme authority resided in them.

THE NEW HIGH ALTAR FOR SAN LORENZO

On 28 February 1622, the first anniversary of the death of Cosimo II, a procession moved from the Duomo to San Lorenzo, where the grand ducal dowries instituted in Cosimo’s testament were distributed for the first time.⁹⁶ As the ceremony took place in the choir and crossing of San Lorenzo, it focused the attention of the regents on the high altar, which probably seemed rather old-fashioned and indecorous to them.⁹⁷ Shortly thereafter, it was decided to donate a new high altar to the church.

It is not documented who initiated this commission; officially, it was presented as a joint project of the



27.5. COSIMO MERLINI, reliquary for Saints Marcus, Amatus, and Concordia, 1622, detail. San Lorenzo, Florence.
(Photo: Villa I Tatti.)

eleven-year-old Ferdinando II and the two regents, his mother, Maria Magdalena of Austria, and his grandmother Christine of Lorraine.⁹⁸ Among the earliest known sources referring to the project is a letter from court architect Giulio Parigi of 28 April 1622 addressed to all three highnesses.⁹⁹ On 23 April the relics kept in the old high altar had been extracted and transferred to the sacristy.¹⁰⁰ Parigi suggested that the relics of three saints (Pope Mark, Abbot Amatus, and the martyr Concordia) should be enclosed in a wooden urn decorated with a silver relief. He illustrated this idea with a drawing, now lost.¹⁰¹ His design was approved on 28 April and executed by Cosimo Merlini within roughly one hundred days. Merlini delivered the relief to the grand ducal Guardaroba on the eve of the feast day of San Lorenzo, 9 August 1622,¹⁰² and the relics were placed in the new high altar on 26 September of that year,¹⁰³ just before the feast day of the Medici patron saints Cosmas and Damian.¹⁰⁴

Merlini's relief (Fig. 27.5) represents a solemn vow of Ferdinando II and is linked to three similar altar frontals commissioned by the Medici between 1594 and 1617. These *paliotti* did not only have religious but also propagandistic messages: they made the altars of important public churches sites of

"Medici worship."¹⁰⁵ The earliest of the four reliefs, destined for the altar of the cult image at Santissima Annunziata, is flanked by the coats of arms of Ferdinando I and Christine of Lorraine.¹⁰⁶ It was finished long before Christine's later coregent Maria Magdalena of Austria moved to Tuscany. Therefore, it seems likely that of the two regents, Christine of Lorraine was the one who opted for the adoption of a similar scheme at San Lorenzo, thus establishing a conscious link with Santissima Annunziata, a church that, like San Lorenzo, had particularly close ties with the Medici.

While at Santissima Annunziata the silver relief with the representation of the praying grand duke was placed in front of the *mensa*, in San Lorenzo the urn decorated with a similar relief was on display inside the altar, protected by a bronze grate.¹⁰⁷ Parigi had suggested reusing "the bronze *paliotto* which is already finished and kept in the Galleria,"¹⁰⁸ most probably the altar frontal commissioned by Christine of Lorraine in 1614.¹⁰⁹ As explained above, it consisted of foliage surrounding the central letters "IHS" flanked by two Medici coats of arms. Because the *paliotto* had a pierced, gratelike character, the relief on the urn inside the altar block remained visible, though only on close inspection, because



27.6. ANDREA DEL VERROCCHIO, *Floor-Marker, Tomb of Cosimo de' Medici the Elder*, 1465–67. Nave, San Lorenzo, Florence. (Photo: Villa I Tatti.)

it was partly covered by the “IHS.” Much more prominent were the coats of arms and the inscription on the bronze altar frontal. According to Richa (1757), who saw the altar still in situ, the crests of Maria Magdalena of Austria and Christine of Lorraine decorated the *paliotto*,¹¹⁰ thus making it a monument to their joint regency.

The inscription engraved in the *paliotto* ascribed the commission to Ferdinando II and dated it to 1622. Moreover, it mentioned that the altar had been moved “forward.”¹¹¹ A newly discovered document confirms this. In a letter of 20 March 1625 (*stile comune* 1626), the administrator Paolo Savini asked the three highnesses what he was to do with a certain amount of bronze that comprised “a rose made of bronze weighing 250 *libbre*, which was removed from the pavement of the tomb of Cosimo il Vecchio Pater Patriae at San Lorenzo

when Giulio Parigi turned the high altar around so that the steps covered one of the said roses which was therefore removed.”¹¹² The “roses” mentioned by Savini refer to the four circular bronze grates that originally surrounded the memorial to Cosimo il Vecchio in the center of the crossing.¹¹³ Today one of them is missing, covered by the steps in front of the present high altar (Fig. 27.6), which is, however, not the altar created in 1622 but the result of a subsequent remodeling in 1785–87.¹¹⁴

Old ground plans of the basilica show that the Renaissance high altar was placed inside the walls of the choir. There was no space between the steps and the altar,¹¹⁵ because, according to the special liturgical practice at San Lorenzo, the priest stood behind the altar facing the congregation (and facing east, as the choir of San Lorenzo is oriented to the west).¹¹⁶

The document of 1626 proves that the high altar erected by the regents was placed further to the east, thereby occupying a part of the crossing that had once been reserved for the tomb of Cosimo il Vecchio. This corresponds to the ground plan in the engraving (Fig. 27.1), where the altar appears outside the choir walls. The likely reason for that innovation is also indicated by the document of 1626: Giulio Parigi "turned the high altar around."

According to Giuseppe Richa, in 1622 Ferdinando II had ordered "that the high altar be turned toward the people, as it had been turned toward the choir when it was erected."¹¹⁷ Richa's testimony is important, because the altar of 1622 still existed when he published his *Notizie* in 1757. However, he may not have known the liturgical position that was originally intended, as the choir had been remodeled in 1689.¹¹⁸ That the first altars in San Lorenzo were oriented toward the congregation is confirmed by sixteenth-century sources.¹¹⁹ The old placement of the altar can still be observed in an engraving of 1598.¹²⁰ If, in 1622, the altar was indeed turned (again) toward the people, this would mean that its orientation had been altered some time after 1598.¹²¹ However, as a printed description of the obsequies celebrated in honor of Henri IV in San Lorenzo certifies, in 1610 the main altar still occupied the same position as in the sixteenth century.¹²² An etching of 1619 recording the obsequies for Emperor Matthias shows a freestanding altar in the crossing of San Lorenzo,¹²³ but the description of the event in Cesare Tinghi's court diary indicates it was an ephemeral altar erected for this particular occasion.¹²⁴ Therefore, it is more likely to be assumed that the old high altar was still in place in 1622, as always bordering on the steps between the crossing and the choir. Indeed, when the altar was opened on 23 April 1622, the same relics were found that had been placed there in 1461.¹²⁵

When Parigi "turned the altar around" in 1622 he added more space in front of it, thereby partly covering the monument to Cosimo il Vecchio in the crossing. Most probably this was done in order to gain space for the priest so that he could stand between the steps and the altar, facing the choir. The ground plan on the engraving (Fig. 27.1) represents just such an arrangement, where the small raised podium for the priest is located in front (to the east) of the altar. The ground plan drawn in about 1604 contains an analogous configuration.¹²⁶ Thus, by creating the new high altar in 1622, a much older project was carried out.

The ground plan envisages the situation that was meant to exist after the completion of the Cappella dei Principi. While the chapel was being built, it had no internal communication with the basilica. But as soon as it was finished, the rear wall of the choir had to be torn down.¹²⁷ As early as 1602 the intention that the chapel be visible from the interior of the

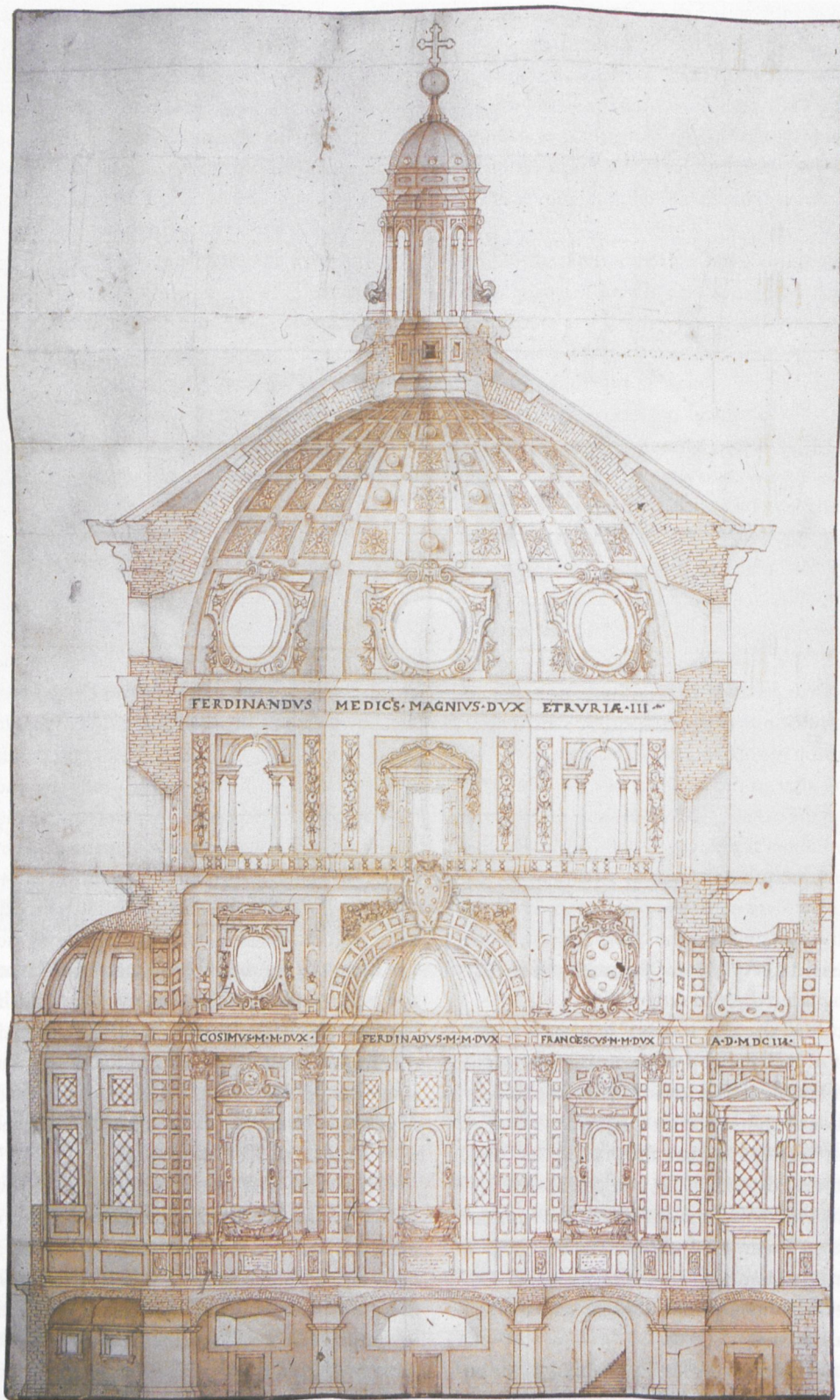
basilica is documented.¹²⁸ Thus, the monumental and highly ornate altar for the sacrament in the Cappella dei Principi should become the focus of the liturgical disposition.¹²⁹ Turning the high altar of San Lorenzo meant that the celebrating priest looked toward the altar in the Cappella dei Principi. Making the priest turn toward the chapel not only visualized his reverence for the sacrament but also his respect for the Medici dynasty buried there.

Although the regents realized a reconfiguration of the relationship between church and chapel that had already been planned much earlier, they also introduced new elements, like the urn with the depiction of Ferdinando II and the *paliotto* with their heraldry. Whenever the priest genuflected in front of the new high altar, he also bent his knees before the portrait of the grand duke and the coats of arms of the two female regents.

GALILEO GALILEI, CHRISTINE OF LORRAINE, AND CHANGES IN THE DESIGN OF THE CAPPELLA DEI PRINCIPI

It is generally assumed that the design of the Cappella dei Principi was defined before Grand Duke Ferdinando's death and executed exactly according to his wishes later on. In light of recent research on baroque building practice, this seems rather unlikely. Projects evolved gradually, and changes were often introduced while construction was already under way.¹³⁰ The famous engraving of the Cappella dei Principi (Fig. 27.1) is usually dated to 1604,¹³¹ suggesting that everything had already been determined in the year in which the foundations were dug. However, neither the engraving nor the preparative drawings for the chapel's interior decoration bear dates and may very well reflect the evolution of the project after Ferdinando's death. For instance, the extant documentation reveals that most of the designs for the figurative reliefs and statuettes on the altar of the chapel were made after 1609.¹³² Accordingly, a dating of 1628 has been proposed for a drawing of the final design for the ciborium.¹³³

The same ciborium appears in the engraving (Fig. 27.1). At first glance, the engraving resembles quite closely a drawing inscribed with the date "MDCIII" (1603),¹³⁴ which does, however, omit the altar (Fig. 27.7). On closer inspection, there are other significant differences regarding the sarcophagi and the niches above, the decoration of the wall's lowermost zone, and the shape and ornamentation of the dome. In the drawing of 1603 the six *palle* of the Medici coat of arms are inserted into the coffers of the dome as large, three-dimensional balls (Fig. 27.7). The design enhances the round, plastic character of these balls through the shadowing projected onto the coffers. In the engraving (Fig. 27.1), the *palle*



27.7. Cappella dei Principi, section inscribed with the date "MDCHIII" (1603). (Photo: BNCF, Man. Palat. 3. B. 1. 7. [Formati Grandi 184], fol. 36.)

appear in the same location, but they are rendered as flat circles. The position of the four lateral *palle* corresponds with the small windows that can be seen in the exterior view of the cupola between the large *oculi* and the lantern. Therefore, it was planned to stage a luminous Medici device. While the top and bottom *palle* had to be represented through painting or *pietra dura* inlays, the four lateral *palle* were conceived as circular openings onto the sky.

This new observation constitutes a strong argument for dating the engraving after 1610, after the discovery of the "Medicea Sidera" (Medici stars). In 1610 Galileo Galilei, who had been employed by Christine of Lorraine as Prince Cosimo's math tutor, had discovered four satellites of Jupiter, which he named after his benefactors.¹³⁵ The Medici were quick to exploit the propagandistic value of this gesture.¹³⁶ In his biography of Ferdinando, written shortly after the grand duke's death, Domizio Peroni identified the four satellites with the deceased members of the Medici dynasty who watch over Florence from above.¹³⁷ Evidently, the design for the cupola of the Cappella dei Principi alluded to this conceit.

Galileo Galilei was particularly close to Christine of Lorraine, to whom he dedicated a long treatise on the relationship between the natural sciences and religion in 1615.¹³⁸ It is unknown who suggested the inclusion of Galilei's discovery in the project for the chapel, but it seems important to stress that the plans for the Cappella dei Principi, as well as the designs for the altar, were refined in the period after Ferdinando's death. Probably his widow, Christine of Lorraine, had a large share in these decisions, though this can only be documented for Pietro Tacca's statues of Ferdinando I and Cosimo II.

As noted above, the monumental bronze sculptures were commissioned on Christine's initiative.¹³⁹ Originally, Ferdinando had wished over life-size representations of the grand dukes in colorful *pietra dura*. The earliest references to that project date from 1597.¹⁴⁰ Explicitly as a model for this commission, Lodovico Cigoli produced a large painting of Cosimo I in grand ducal robes in 1602/3.¹⁴¹ From 1603, Bernardo Buontalenti oversaw work on an over life-size, three-dimensional statue of Cosimo I made of colored marbles, but the project was abandoned in 1609 after the deaths of Buontalenti and Ferdinando.¹⁴²

By initiating the commission of the bronze sculptures, Christine of Lorraine introduced a significant change of design. The sculptures were gilded,¹⁴³ thus making the grand dukes shine like the sun. Ferdinando de' Medici's biographer Peroni had described his death as a sunset,¹⁴⁴ and Cosimo II was likewise eulogized as a beneficent sun.¹⁴⁵ As a visual reference to the sun, the gilding of the statues strengthened the cosmic imagery of the chapel, which had already been introduced through the allusion to the "Medici stars."

Just as with the *pietra dura* work, the production of colossal bronze statues required a high degree of technical knowledge and skill. Pietro Tacca had inherited Giambologna's workshop with its glorious tradition and continued to produce monumental bronze sculptures that the Medici proudly employed as diplomatical gifts on an international level.¹⁴⁶ Thus, by including bronze *colossi* in the design of the Cappella dei Principi, the particularly advanced "state of the arts" in Tuscany could be underlined.

The earliest known document referring to Tacca's statues, the letter of 19 August 1626 quoted above, states that the gesso models should be eight *braccia* high (468 centimeters).¹⁴⁷ Cigoli's painting of Cosimo I created in 1602/3 as a model for the decoration of the chapel was also eight *braccia* high.¹⁴⁸ The executed statues measure only 340 centimeters in height.¹⁴⁹ They fit comfortably in their niches (Fig. 27.4). If we compare the project of 1603 (Fig. 27.7) to the engraving (Fig. 27.1), it is evident that the size of the niches was reduced. The niches in their present state cannot accommodate the considerably larger statues that were planned initially. In August 1626, Tacca was still assuming that he had to fill the large niches. Only later did he reduce the scale of his project, and consequently the lower part of the niches had to be walled in. Therefore, the engraving represents a project made in the second half of 1626 or after.

Baldinucci relates that Tacca's original large plaster model for the statue of Ferdinando I was rejected because it showed him in a short garment with one leg exposed.¹⁵⁰ Interestingly, a figure with such characteristics appears in the engraving (Fig. 27.1) in the niche to the left of the altar, confirming the evidence that the engraving dates after the commission to Tacca, after August 1626. According to Baldinucci, Tacca had to create a second version of Ferdinando's statue, which probably explains why the first statue to be cast was Cosimo II (in 1631 or after)¹⁵¹ and the definitive model for Ferdinando was only ready by 1634.¹⁵²

If, in the engraving, the figure to the left of the high altar is Ferdinando I, it can be assumed that the other two niches on the left side of the chapel were to be filled with his two predecessors, Cosimo I (the first Medici grand duke) and Francesco I. Following the dynastic line, the person to the right of the altar must be Ferdinando's son Cosimo II, while the last visible statue was meant to mark the future burial place of his son Ferdinando II, who had nominally become grand duke at age ten in 1621. The sixth and last niche on the right, not visible in the engraving, was probably reserved for Ferdinando's successor.

Before the definitive model for Ferdinando I was begun, a change of plan must have occurred. Ferdinando turns his head toward his right shoulder (Fig. 27.4), which means that

he would have turned away from the altar had this statue been placed in the left niche, an unconceivable breach of decorum. Thus, some time before 1634 it must have been decided to install Ferdinando's statue in the niche to the right of the altar, where it stands today.

Considering the evidence, the engraving (Fig. 27.1) must have been created some time between August 1626 and 1634. I think the most likely date is 1628, as in April of that year Valore and Domenico Casini delivered three over life-size portraits of Francesco I, Ferdinando I, and Cosimo II, in grand ducal robes with scepters in hand and crowns on their heads, in the same attitudes in which they were to be immortalized in the chapel. The portraits were immediately placed in the Palazzo Pitti "nel salone dello appartamento nuovo" (in the big salon of the new apartment), where the series was completed by a copy of Cigoli's similar "Cosimo I" that he had created as a model for the Cappella dei Principi in 1602/3.¹⁵³

The "new apartment" mentioned in the document is the apartment of Ferdinando II in the newly built north wing of the Palazzo Pitti. When the paintings were installed there in April 1628, Ferdinando toured Europe on his long journey to Prague.¹⁵⁴ Shortly after his return in July 1628, the regency of Maria Magdalena of Austria and Christine of Lorraine ended. Ferdinando celebrated his eighteenth birthday and began to reign independently. For his guidance, Christine's protégé Alessandro Adimari published a book of advice for the ideal prince in 1628.¹⁵⁵ The frescoes that were created in the Palazzo

Pitti during the regency are characterized by a similar didactic quality, extolling the virtues of the ideal ruler.¹⁵⁶ I think that the decoration of Ferdinando's main "sala" with monumental portraits of his predecessors had a corresponding message. They were to act as his models, and they should remind him of his task to complete an honorable burial place for them. The engraving (Fig. 27.1) fits quite well in this chronological context. It documents the stage the project had reached by 1628 and serves as a visual reminder for the young grand duke not to neglect this costly enterprise.¹⁵⁷

At the same time, the engraving can be understood as the legacy of the female regents. It contains two implicit references to them. First, the ground plan includes the new high altar of San Lorenzo that they had realized in 1622, and second the crypt below the chapel that appears empty in the drawing of 1603 (Fig. 27.7) is now outfitted with four sarcophagi, probably the future burial places for the grand duchesses.¹⁵⁸

In conclusion, I hope to have demonstrated that Christine of Lorraine was involved in the planning of the Cappella dei Principi from its inception. The building work commenced officially on her birthday (6 August 1604), and she constantly worked toward its completion in the decades following Ferdinando's death. In doing so, she helped to shape the design that had only been roughly defined during his lifetime. The engraving that is generally thought to record Ferdinando's intentions was most probably meant as a testament to Christine's achievements (Fig. 27.1).

NOTES

1 Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale di Firenze (henceforth BNCF), G. Capponi 261/1, Diario di Ferdinando I° Gran Duca di Toscana scritto da Cesare Tinghi suo Ajutante di Camera, 1: fol. 117v.

2 Ibid., fol. 132r.

3 Cancellieri, as quoted by Moreni 1813, 209. Francesca Fantappiè, who has transcribed Cesare Tinghi's complete court diary, has kindly confirmed that no such later ceremony is documented.

4 The inscription of 1625 placed on the level of the cupola is quoted in Cresti 1987, 71 n. 97. The inscription of 1640 (still visible above a stairway that leads from the crypt into the Cappella dei Principi) was transcribed by Berti 1950, 177 n. 35.

5 Lapini 1900, 294–295.

6 Langedijk 1981–87, 3:1517.

7 Van Gulik and Eubel 1923, 3:40.

8 Langedijk 1981–87, 3:1517.

9 Fasano Guarini 1984, 33.

10 On the influential metaphor of the Medici as "architects," see Langedijk 1981–87, 1:139–174.

11 Przyborski 2009, 134.

12 BNCF, Man. Palat. 3. B. 1. 7. (Formati Grandi 184), fol. 3; Przyborski 1982, fig. 8.

13 The feast day of Cosmas and Damian is 27 September: Zacconi 1612, 147–148, 158.

14 BNCF, G. Capponi 261/1, Diario di Ferdinando I° Gran Duca di Toscana scritto da Cesare Tinghi suo Ajutante di Camera, vol. 1, fol. 101r. The date 5 August, which is sometimes given in the literature, is due to a misreading of Tinghi's text. Tinghi himself corrected the date on fol. 101v.

15 On Christine's date of birth, see Poull 1991, 217.

16 Ibid., 217–218; Carolus-Curien 2007, 105–119.

17 Bertoni 1985, 37; Strunck 2011a, 75–76.

18 Canestrini and Desjardins 1872, 4:757.

19 Christine's role in the cultural exchange between France, Lorraine, and Florence is explored in detail in my forthcoming book *Christiane von Lothringen am Hof der Medici (1589–1636): Geschlechterdiskurs und Kulturtransfer zwischen Florenz, Frankreich und Lothringen* (Petersberg, 2016). Some of the results are anticipated in Strunck 2011a and 2011b.

20 Archivio di Stato di Firenze (henceforth ASF), MDP 5963, Ferdinando de' Medici to Christine of Lorraine, 31 Mar. 1590 (no pagination): "[...] il

Cavalier Vinta mi ha letto la scrittura deciferata da V(ostra) A(ltezza) medesima [...]” (Chevalier Vinta has read to me the text deciphered by your Highness in person).

21 BNCF, Palat. 853, fol. 58v.

22 Pieraccini 1924–25, 2:297.

23 ASF, Miscellanea Medicea 667 contains an Italian translation of Ferdinando’s testament. Ferdinando declared his trust in Christine’s prudence but established a small body of counselors (“consiglio secreto”) both for her assistance and supervision.

24 Carolus-Curien 2007, 95; Knecht 1998, 172.

25 Strunck 2011a, 79 (with color illustration).

26 ASF, Miscellanea Medicea 667, insert without numeration, fol. 1v.

27 “L’administratione et governo della Città di Monte Pulciano, et suo capitanato, della terra di Pietra Santa, et suo capitanato con tutti li emolumenti, et entrate, che si cavano ordinarie et extraordinarie, et exercitio di ogni iurisdictione civile, et criminale, miniere, cave et Palazzo di Seravezza, con facultà di Deputar ministri, et offitiali di iustitia, et di guerra, come Noi stessi in detti capitanati facciamo”: *ibid.*, fols. 4v–5r.

28 Morrogh 1985, 313–314.

29 See, e.g., ASF, Scrittoio delle Fortezze e Fabbriche, Fabbriche Medicee, 32, fol. 65: “Marmi rossi e bianchi di Seravezza tutti per servizio di questa fabrica nuova de Pitti.” Cf. Cresti 1998, 70.

30 Lersch 1965, 36. The planning of the chapel must have started considerably earlier, as it was already mentioned in Vasari’s 1568 edition of the *Vite*. Cf. Frommel 2008, 297.

31 Lersch 1965, 39–40; ffoliott 2011, 35–37.

32 Chastel 1983, 787–799. For illustrations of the Valois chapel, see Frommel and Wolf 2008, 484–86.

33 See Andrew Morrogh’s essay, this volume.

34 El Bibas 2010, 51–57.

35 Diaz 1987, 285–287.

36 The terms “Cappella Reale” and “Real Cappella” appear frequently in the documents gathered by Przyborowski 1982; an early instance of 1606 is 560, doc. LIX.3.

37 Vasari 1881, 7:712.

38 Przyborowski 1982, fig. 9 (dated 1 Oct. 1592). Compare the plan of the Valois rotunda published by Frommel and Wolf 2008, 484, fig. 20.

39 BNCF, Man. Palat. 3. B. 1. 7. (Formati Grandi 184), fol. 6. The central monument with the sarcophagus is sketched in with graphite.

40 The models presented by Buontalenti and Giovanni de’ Medici in 1602 designated the apse as the place for the altar: Przyborowski 1982, 88, 121. This configuration also appears in two drawings by Buontalenti, which Przyborowski dates hypothetically to 1599: *ibid.*, 79–80; Przyborowski 2009, 135–137. In 1599 Giorgio Vasari the Younger had furnished two drawings visualizing alternative placements of the altar either in the center or at the rear wall of the chapel: Przyborowski 1982, 61–66.

41 “Fu alla presenza di S. A. [Ferdinando de’ Medici] et del Serenissimo Don Cosimo Principe suo Primogenito tirato da essi arcitetti le corde del disegno della sudetta nominata cappella per dare principio a fare e fondamenti”: BNCF, G. Capponi 261/1, Diario di Ferdinando I° Gran Duca di Toscana scritto da Cesare Tinghi suo Ajutante di Camera, 1: fol. 93r.

42 “S. A. [Ferdinando de’ Medici] andò alle quarantore alla ciesa della Santissima Nunziata fattavele porre da Madama Serenissima [Christine of Lorraine] per occasione di preghare il Signore Dio per la vittoria che si spera delle galere 7 et nave 3 di S. A. cariche di fanteria mandate in levante nel arcipelago a distruzione de turchi in(i)mici del sanghue cristiano et della fede di Gesù Cristo altissimo Dio Signore et redentore Nostro”: *ibid.*, fol. 93r.

43 “Adi 16 detto in domenica S. A. andò alla messa a Santa Maria del Fiore con il Nuntio et stette a vedere metere l’oratione delle quaranta ore per occasione delle galere ite in corso come di sopra s’è detto”: *ibid.*, fol. 93r.

44 On this order, see, e.g., Guarnieri 1960.

45 “Nè trascurò Ferdinando i mezzi più efficaci, onde ottenere l’acquisto, imperciocchè accertato egli dell’arrivo del suddetto Bassà in Gerusalemme, e della sua fedeltà, nel 1604 spedì in Soria le sua Galere sotto il comando del Capitan Generale Iacopo Inghirami, con buone munizioni da combattere bisognando. E benchè fosse loro riuscito di romper con segretezza notabile la pietra, colla quale era collegato il santo Sepolcro, e cavarlo dalla custodia, che lo teneva serrato, e le galere leste a riceverlo, la cosa fu scoperta per frode, e malizia degli Scismatici fieri nemici de’ Cattolici, e l’Inghirami dovette prender la fuga, rimaso [*sic*] però presso de’ Turchi un sì grande spavento, che anche inoggi ricordano un tale attentato a i divoti Pellegrini, mostrando il taglio fatto nel santo Sepolcro in quell’occasione”: Richa 1757, 5.1:61, quoting an earlier source (Giovanni Lami’s *Vita del Marchese Romolo Riccardi*).

46 Moreni 1813, 204; Carali 1936, 146–153; El Bibas 2010, 51–52.

47 Strunck 1998, 107–115; Rossi 2001, 32–41.

48 Saslow 1996, 191–193; Bietti and Giusti 2009, 112–116.

49 The frescoes were created in the early 1590s, according to Baldinucci on Christine’s orders: cf. Acidini Luchinat and Galletti 1995, 78–83; Fumagalli, Rossi, and Spinelli 2001, 225–227; Bastogi 2005, 105–109.

50 Caneva and Solinas 2005, 94, cat. I.38.

51 De Cardi 1590, stanzas 78–84; Gualterotti 1608, 6–7; Salvadori 1668, 1:316–317 and 2:63, 334–335; Cole 2007, 281.

52 El Bibas 2010, 35.

53 Rossi 2001, 32. The *Syrias* was illustrated at Villa La Petraia: see above, note 49.

54 Leuschner 2005, 355–364. A current research project directed by Eckhard Leuschner will shed more light on the *Typographia Medicea*.

55 The reliefs reached Jerusalem only in 1595 and were used to form the Altar of the Crucifixion: Ronen 1969/70, 415, 417, 432, 442; Fumagalli, Rossi, and Spinelli 2001, 144–146, cat. 23.

56 Leuschner 2005, 363. The imprimatur of the book is dated 20 July 1609.

57 “Tra tutti gli officij 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”: ASF, MDP 6038, fol. 31r.

58 “Recuperare dalle mani dell’Infedeli il Sepolcro Santissimo di Christo nostro Redentore”: ASF, Carte Stroziane, prima serie, 53, fol. 200r.

59 Strozzi 1635, 77, mentions in the *Orazione delle lodi del Serenissimo Gran Duca di Toscana Ferdinando Primo* the planned “liberation of the glorious tomb” (*liberazione del glorioso Sepolcro*). Bocchineri’s speech is quoted in Rossi 2001, 34.

60 “E se la fama doppo la morte di D. Ferdinando sparsa potè esser vera relatrice de santi, et occulti pensieri suoi, de quali egli fu sempre diligentissimo custode, hebbe speranza col divino, e soprannaturale aiuto di trasportare quella Santissima, benchè immobile Reliquia del Sacratissimo Sepolcro di Giesù Nostro Signore di Gierusalemme in Fiorenza”: *Alcune memorie attenenti al Gran Duca Ferdinando del Gran Duca Cosimo primo e della famiglia de Medici Regnante* (BNCF, Sala Manoscritti, II.III.450), fol. 17r. The text is not dated, but the author mentions on fol. 23r that he was elected *podestà* of Tortona in 1588, that is, he knew Ferdinando’s reign from long personal experience. A *terminus ante quem* is 1621, as the author does not mention the regency but only speaks of Grand Duke Cosimo II.

61 “Havendo Noi grandissima cagione di imitare le azzioni del Gran Duca nostro Signore, tanto piu volentieri lo facciamo in questa del perseguire gli

Infedeli": ASF, Mediceo del Principato, 2638, fasc. 71 ("Istruzione de' 29. Aprile 1608").

62 El Bibas 2010, 87–138.

63 Carali 1936, 289, 318–413; Cuffaro 2010, 213–215; El Bibas 2010, 156–62.

64 Choné and Ternois 1992, 66 (document of 7 Mar. 1618).

65 Ibid., 181.

66 Amico 1619, plate between p. 31 and p. 32.

67 ASF, Guardaroba Medicea 571, 101r, 104v.

68 Adimari 1632, no pagination. The motto "Nel cor sta Dio I. N. R. I." was also represented in the villa: see Gregori 2005, 365.

69 ASF, Miscellanea Medicea 601, ins. 12, fol. 9r, 12r; Richa 1757, 5.1:78.

70 See, e.g., Bianchini 1741, 66, and Moreni 1813, 201–208.

71 Strunck 1998, 114–115; Rossi 2001; El Bibas 2010, 118–119.

72 See above note 42.

73 Ferdinando's genuine date of birth is a matter of debate (cf. Fasano Guarini 1996, 258); however, his birthday was officially celebrated on 19 July: Lapini 1900, 270–271.

74 BNCF, G. Capponi 261/1, Diario di Ferdinando I° Gran Duca di Toscana scritto da Cesare Tinghi suo Ajutante di Camera, vol. 1, 101r.

75 See above note 14.

76 See above note 3.

77 Przyborowski 1982, 67–68, 428.

78 Moreni 1813, 303, 342; Przyborowski 1982, 123, 313; Przyborowski 2009, 137, 141, fig. 8. Rock crystal was a material particularly valued by the grand duchess, which she also chose for politically significant gifts: Strocchi 1986, 35.

79 Segarizzi 1916, 3.2:137, 153, 162, 164, 166.

80 "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": *ibid.*, 3.2:164.

81 Giugni had succeeded Jaques Bylivelt as "sopra intendente della Galleria": cf. Moreni 1813, 318–320, and Przyborowski 1982, 441.

82 Barocchi and Gaeta Bertelà 2002, 2:560–561 (with the addressee of the letter wrongly identified as Ferdinando I, who was dead by that date).

83 ASF, Scrittoio delle fortezze e fabbriche, Fabbriche Medicee, 124, fol. 15v, 16v.

84 The Medici tombs, among them Ferdinando's, were still in the New Sacristy in 1757 when Richa published his *Notizie*, 5.1:42–43.

85 The inscription on the altar frontal that records these indulgences dates them to 1610. Christine's intercession with Paul V is stressed by Richa 1757, 5.1:43. The plan was to place her coat of arms, together with that of Paul V and an inscription referring to Ferdinando, above the altar of the New Sacristy, but the project seems to have been abandoned: Przyborowski 1982, 264; Bietti and Giusti 2009, 82, cat. 6.

86 ASF, Guardaroba Medicea 308, doc. 218, c. 279 bis, order from Vincenzo Giugni to Cosimo Latini, 9 Mar. 1610 (*stile comune* 1611): "M. Cosimo Proveditore della galleria amettete a cotesto corridore o galleria Giovanni Bilivelti così comanda Madama Serenissima acciò faccia quelli disegni che sonno da fare [...]" (Messer Cosimo *proveditore* of the Galleria admit to this corridor or gallery Giovanni Bilivelti, as the most serene Madame [Christine of Lorraine] commands this so that he makes such designs as are required). In a second letter by Giugni to Latini of 16 March 1611 (Guardaroba Medicea 308, doc. 218, c. 279), Giugni added that "loro Altezze" (their highnesses, meaning Cosimo II and his mother) had assigned a stable salary to Bilivelt who was responsible for works in stone, "sendo ammesso Gio. Bilivelt alla cura del trovare le pietre, e cheme" (Giovanni Bilivelt being hired to find [choose?] [hard]stones and gems). The spelling "Bilivelt" or "Bilivelti" is derived from his father's name

Jaques Bylivelt (see Fock 1974), but is sometimes also rendered as "Bilivert" (Matteoli 1970).

87 Matteoli 1970, 327–329. On his father Jacques's role at the Medici court, see Fock 1974.

88 "un paliotto di bronzo gettato di lunghezza braccia 4 e alto braccia 1—trasforato di fogliami con un nome di I. H. S. nel mezzo, e due armi di palle con quattro termini con i cherubini, et i pilastri che rivolgono su le cantonate con il suo fregio, e cornicione": ASF, Guardaroba Medicea 375, fol. 110.

89 "Per sodisfare alla Serenissima Madama sua madre": *ibid.*, fol. 113.

90 *Ibid.*, fol. 110.

91 Baldinucci 1845–47, 4:91.

92 Bertoni 1985, 39.

93 Lo Vullo Bianchi 1931, 204, doc. XIII.

94 ASF, Scrittoio delle Fortezze e Fabbriche, Fabbriche Medicee 126, fol. 29r.: "Madama Serenissima" was Christine's habitual title (cf. notes 42, 82, 86, and 89, above). This form of address distinguished her from her daughter-in-law Maria Magdalena of Austria, who was always referred to as the "arciduchessa."

95 *Ibid.*: "Madama Serenissima mi ha comandato di dire a Vostra Signoria Illustrissima che ella ricordi a S. A. di dare ordine per fare dua delle figure grandi per la regia Cappella cioè quella del Gran Duca Ferdinando, e Gran Duca Cosimo" (the most serene Madam has commanded me [Pietro Tacca] to tell you [the unnamed addressee of the letter] that you remember His Highness [Ferdinando II] to give the order for making the two large figures for the royal chapel, i.e., the statues of Grand Duke Ferdinando and Grand Duke Cosimo).

96 ASF, Guardaroba Medicea 382, fol. 45r. On the institution of these dowries see Fubini Leuzzi 1999, 179–214.

97 On the previous high altars, see Ruschi 1993, and Christa Gardner's essay, this volume.

98 Moreni 1816–17, 2:15.

99 Tarchi and Turrini 1987, 761.

100 Moreni 1816–17, 2:15–18.

101 Tarchi and Turrini 1987, 745, 761.

102 *Ibid.*, 762–763; Bemporad 1993, 1:118–119, 2:154–157; Nardinocchi and Sebreghondi 2007, 84–85, cat. no. 10.

103 Moreni 1816–17, 2:23.

104 On the feast day of Cosmas and Damian (27 September), see above note 13.

105 For a detailed analysis of these four works and their complex meaning, see Strunck 2009, 231–246.

106 *Ibid.*, 232, fig. 8.

107 Ruschi 1993, 179. Cf. Moreni 1816–17, 2:23: the relics were "collocate nel vuoto del nuovo Altare" (placed in the void of the new altar).

108 "Il paliotto di bronzo già fatto, quale si trova in Galleria": Tarchi and Turrini 1987, 761.

109 The description of Christine's *paliotto* in the document quoted above (note 88) corresponds with Richa's description of the high altar in San Lorenzo (see note 110). The placement that Christine had intended originally for this *paliotto* is not documented. According to the source quoted in note 88, after the completion of the *paliotto* it was decided to use it "for the chapel," probably just a *lapsus*, as the Cappella dei Principi is adjacent to the choir of San Lorenzo. The *paliotto* for the Cappella dei Principi was begun in 1605 and had a completely different design. Cf. Przyborowski 1982, 133, 548, 557–558.

110 Richa 1757, 5.1:57, states that on one side was "l'Arme de' Medici, e di Maddalena d'Austria" (i.e., a horizontally divided shield featuring both the

Habsburg arms of Maria Magdalena and the Medici *palle* of her husband Cosimo II), while on the other side "lo Scudo di Lorena in memoria della Granduchessa Cristina" ("the shield of Lorraine in memory of the Grand Duchess Christine") could be seen. The description of the *paliotto* in the document quoted above (note 88) is more general, mentioning only "due armi di palle." Thus, perhaps, Christine's coat of arms was combined with the Medici *palle* of her husband, too. It is also possible that new coats of arms were inserted before the *paliotto* reached its final destination in 1622.

111 The text of the inscription can be found in Richa 1757, 5.1:58, and in Moreni 1816-17, 2:18.

112 "Una rosa di bronzo che pesa libbre 250 quale si levò dal pavimento del sepolcro di S. Lorenzo di Cosimo vecchio primo Pater Patriae, mentre che Giulio Parigi fece rivoltare l'altar maggiore che dalle scalee ne veniva coperta una di dette rose, e perciò si fecie levare": ASF, Scrittoio delle Fortezze e Fabbriche, Fabbriche Medicee 126, fol. 22v.

113 Cresti 2008, 67-69, 83 n. 14 (with illustration).

114 *San Lorenzo* 393-1993, 158, cat. no. 18.8.

115 See the ground plans in *ibid.*, 75, 180.

116 See Christa Gardner von Teuffel's essay, this volume.

117 "E ritornando all'Altar maggiore, osserviamo sempre più le magnifiche innovazioni in onore de' tre sopraddetti Sacri Corpi. L'anno 1622. il Granduca Ferdinando II. fece loro fare una Cassa d'argento, ordinando in quell'occasione, che l'Altar maggiore si rivoltasse verso il Popolo, essendo stato nella sua erezione volto verso il Coro": Richa 1757, 5.1:57. Moreni 1816-17, 2:15, seems to have copied this statement from Richa.

118 *Ibid.*, 2:59.

119 *Ibid.*, 1:384, quotes from a description of Francesco de' Medici's obsequies in 1587: "Terminasi la lunghezza della Nave di mezzo dalla Cupola, il cui diametro è braccia venti, sostenuta dai due gran pilastri già detti, e da due altri eguali, che formano un grand'arco, sotto il quale è il maggiore Altare, che volgendosi come la porta ad Oriente, lascia doppio se spazio chiamato Cappella maggiore [...]" See also Christa Gardner von Teuffel's essay, this volume.

120 Ruschi 1993, 179, 180.

121 This opinion was advocated by Ruschi (*ibid.*, 179).

122 Giraldi 1610, 6.

123 Blumenthal 1980, 124, cat. no. 62.

124 BNCF, G. Capponi 261, vol. 2, fol. 198r.

125 Moreni 1816-17, 2:15-18.

126 BNCF, Man. Palat. 3. B. 1. 7. (Formati Grandi 184), fol. 34. See the illustration in Przyborowski 2009, 136, fig. 5. The design for the high altar appears on a flap that may have been glued to the ground plan considerably later.

127 Cf. Przyborowski 1982, 50, 115-116.

128 Moreni 1813, 328, 338. Cf. Przyborowski 2009, 135, fig. 2.

129 For an illustration of that altar which was never completed see Bietti and Giusti 2009, 149.

130 The example I have studied most intensely is the Galleria Colonna, but many other cases can also be adduced. Cf. Strunck 2007, 301-302, 376-384 with further references.

131 Berti 1950, 172-173, argued that the engraving must predate the beginning of the building work, as the ground plan on the engraving differs from the present ground plan. However, these divergences were probably caused by the nineteenth-century building campaign, as a comparison with a precise plan drawn in 1797 reveals: cf. Cresti 1988, 62, fig. 1. Berti's dating for the engraving was accepted by Chappell 1971, 581; Baldini, Giusti, and Pampaloni Martelli 1979, pl. III; Fara 1988, 274-275; Vaccaro 2009, 128; Przyborowski 2009, 134. Przyborowski 1982, fig. 2, dated the engraving to "around 1605."

132 These documents are quoted in Bietti and Giusti 2009, 158, 161, 163, 164, 166, 168.

133 Baldini, Giusti, and Pampaloni Martelli 1979, pl. IX (with the date of "1628," which is, however, not explained in the text).

134 *Ibid.*, pl. II.

135 Van Helden 2009; Bredekamp 2009.

136 Biagioli 1993, 8, 126-128, 133, 137, 139-144.

137 ASF, Carte Stroziane, prima serie, 53, fol. 3r.

138 Galilei 2000; Biagioli 1993, 20-33, 120-128, 164-165; Shea and Artigas 2003, 15, 55-56, 106-107, 110. New evidence on the relationship between Galileo and Christine will be published in my forthcoming book (see note 19 above).

139 Cf. note 95 above.

140 Przyborowski 1982, 98, 417, doc. XI.2, and 419, doc. XIV.2; Langedijk 1981-87, 1:431, cat. no. 27,49.

141 Przyborowski 1982, 77-78; Langedijk 1981-87, 1:427, cat. no. 27,43; Sframeli 2003, 60-61, cat. no. 2 (by Lisa Goldenberg Stoppato), with color illustration.

142 Przyborowski 1982, 98-99, 443-445 (docs. XLVIII.2, XLIX.2), 460-464 (docs. LXIII.2, LXV.2, LXVII.2), 469-470 (doc. LXXIII.2), 473-474 (doc. LXXXI.2).

143 Przyborowski 1982, 477, doc. LXXXVII.2.

144 ASF, Carte Stroziane, prima serie, 53, fol. 218r.

145 ASF, MDP 6420, ins. 4 (poem by Maffeo Veniero in honor of Cosimo II, "che quasi vivo sol fra noi splendea": who shone like a living sun amongst us).

146 Zikos 2007.

147 Lo Vullo Bianchi 1931, 204, doc. XIII.

148 Langedijk 1981-87, 1:427, cat. no. 27,43; Sframeli 2003, 60-61, cat. no. 2; Przyborowski 1982, 440, doc. XLIV.2. Today the painting measures only 395 cm in height, that is, even though a restorer stated in 1701 that he had recovered the parts that had been folded in, the canvas as we see it today must have been cut down by about 70 cm.

149 Langedijk 1981-87, 1:567-68, cat. no. 28,91 and 2:757, cat. no. 37,88.

150 Baldinucci 1845-47, 4:91-92.

151 Mack-Andrick 2005, 202 n. 1408.

152 *Ibid.*, 202, 236-37, docs. A.11, A.12.

153 Langedijk 1981-87, 1:186-187; 1:539, cat. no. 28,22; 2:727, cat. no. 37,23; 2:863, cat. no. 42,29; 2:1402, cat. no. 103,7.

154 On Ferdinando's "grand tour," see Costa 1630 and Barocchi 1996.

155 Adimari 1628. Adimari's close connection to Christine of Lorraine is documented through Adimari 1632.

156 Gregori 2005, 156-187 (texts by Elisa Acanfora and Nadia Bastogi).

157 It is possible that the volume of drawings for the chapel, which is prefaced with the engraving, was assembled on the same occasion, perhaps as a gift to Ferdinando II on his accession. The volume presently kept at the Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale di Firenze (Man. Palat. 3. B. 1. 7. / Formati Grandi 184) was damaged in the flood of 1965 and subsequently restored, receiving a new binding and cover. Therefore, its original form cannot be ascertained.

158 The Medici grand dukes, their wives, and children were buried in the New Sacristy of San Lorenzo, but it was planned to transfer them to the crypt of the Cappella dei Principi once the chapel was finished. As it happened, the corpses were transferred only between 1791 and 1795. See Richa 1757, 5:42-43; Bianchini 1741, 189-190; Przyborowski 1982, 105. Since the grand dukes are commemorated through the elaborate sarcophagi in the chapel, it is likely that the sarcophagi in the crypt were not destined for the grand dukes but as monuments to the grand duchesses. The actual corpses inside their wooden coffins were usually buried underground.

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