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## **The cultural importance of Florentine patricians**

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# 2

## Florentine patricians in their role as ambassadors and chamberlains and their influence on the social and cultural representation of the Medici in Florence, Rome and at other courts

### Introduction

Florentine patrician ambassadors and chamberlains of the Medici court had to be very versatile in all kind of activities and judgments. They had to occupy themselves for example with food gifts, the acquisition of paintings, and the entry of Medici Cardinals and they also had to give advice in complicated political questions such as issues of precedence. Also their cultural and architectural advice was requested.

In this chapter, which is based mainly on unpublished archival sources, we illustrate the large trust the Medici had in both the cultural knowledge and the political and diplomatic skills of some individual Florentine patricians. We analyze the importance of the patricians' decisions for the cultural and social representation of the Medici within Florence, as well as in Rome, and at other courts.

We start with a general outline of the patricians' functions as diplomats and ambassadors and focus on how the Medici issued their instructions, compared

to other rulers. Then we concentrate on some case studies. We analyze the importance of the advice of ambassador Giovanni Niccolini in the precedence issue with the Savoy Dukes and his involvement with food gifts, based on archival sources from the Florentine State archive and the Guicciardini archive. Then we continue with ambassador Piero Guicciardini, his acquisitions of paintings for the Medici court, and his cultural and diplomatic advice regarding the stay of the young Cardinal Carlo de' Medici in Rome.<sup>191</sup> We consider briefly ambassador Francesco Guicciardini's advice about cultural gifts and the architectural advice of ambassador Francesco Niccolini. Finally we use the correspondence between chamberlain Filippo Niccolini and *guardarobiere*<sup>192</sup> of the Medici in Rome, Monanno Monanni, kept in the Niccolini archive in Florence, to show the influence the decisions of a patrician chamberlain could have on the representational aspects of the entry of a Medici Cardinal, also regarding the emulation with other people of high rank.

## 2.1 Patricians as diplomats

Patricians undertook many diplomatic travels. On behalf of the Medici, they had to congratulate other rulers with their marriages, births, promotions of themselves or their relatives, assumptions of the throne and their peace agreements. They also had to offer condolences on the death of these rulers or their relatives. Besides that, they had to announce the death of their own Grand Duke and the name of his successor. Furthermore they conducted negotiations for peace and marriage agreements and the size and contents of dowries, and they were also the people who handed over the dowries. At other times they had to prepare the trips of a Medici Grand Duke or another member of the family. These and other such missions brought the patricians to many foreign courts in what are now Germany (Braunschweig, Berlin, Kassel, Nurnberg, Ulm, Heidelberg, Mainz, Wurtemberg, Munich), Sweden (Stockholm), Austria (Innsbruck, Graz, Vienna), Hungary, Poland, Holland, England, France and Spain. At all these courts they experienced cultural influences.

We can find some concrete examples of the kind of diplomatic missions the patricians had to carry out, and the importance of these missions for the Medici family and Tuscany, by analyzing the activities of some members of the Corsi,

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191 This case study is based on archival sources from the Florentine State Archive collected by Barrocchi and Bertelà.

192 A *guardarobiere* was the Master of the Wardrobe.

Bardi and Riccardi families. In the first place, patricians led important marriage negotiations. Jacopo Corsi (1561-1602) was sent to France in 1600 to negotiate the marriage of Maria de' Medici, the daughter of Cosimo I, with King Henry IV of France, which took place in the same year. In 1620 his brother Bardo was sent to Urbino to negotiate the marriage between Claudia de' Medici, daughter of Ferdinand I and Federigo della Rovere, which took place the year after.<sup>193</sup> In the second place, the patricians had to prevent international conflicts. Ferdinando di Pietro Bardi (1610-1680) had to negotiate for the Grand Duke between King Louis XIV and Pope Alexander VIII, after an accident involving the French ambassador in Rome, as a result of which Louis XIV threatened to attack Italy.<sup>194</sup> In the third place, patricians could assist the Medici with social and economic matters. During a famine in Tuscany and the rest of Italy in 1590, Grand Duke Ferdinand I used the already established mercantile contacts of certain patrician families to be able to import grain from distant countries like Poland.<sup>195</sup> Together with the patrician Neri Giral di (1560-1620), Riccardo Romolo Riccardi (1558-1612) travelled for the Grand Duke to Germany and Poland (Lübeck and Danzig) to import several shiploads of grain to the port of Livorno in Tuscany.<sup>196</sup> The grain sufficed for Tuscany and they could even sell some of it to the papal state. Riccardo himself also bought a ship which he sent to his brother, Senator Francesco Riccardi, in Livorno with the order to distribute the grain to the poor. During his trip he also bought manuscripts for the Riccardi library which was then called *Libreria dell'Orto de SS.ri Riccardi*.<sup>197</sup> The diplomatic missions thus led to the increase of the patricians' cultural prestige.

Marcello del Piazzo made a list of all the diplomatic missions to different cities that were carried out in service of the Medici in the period 1537-1737.<sup>198</sup> This list gives some insight into how the Medici maintained their political bonds with other rulers by fulfilling all the ceremonial needs. To Rome they

193 Carter 1985a: 60-70.

194 Magini 2000: appendix.

195 Tabacchi 2001: 457-59.

196 Neri Giral di already worked as an apprentice in the Soderini-company in Cracow in 1579 and had constantly maintained the contacts between the Grand Duchy and Poland. After his trip in 1590 with Riccardo Riccardi, Giral di returned to Poland (and also to Nuremberg) with Luca Torrigiani one year later to import more grain. In 1601, he made a similar trip, and in 1605 he went to Danzig on a diplomatic mission at the court of King Sigismund III Vasa. In 1617 he returned again to Poland to buy grain for the Grand Duchy of Tuscany, this time with his son Giovan Francesco Giral di. See Tabacchi 2001: 457-59; Del Piazzo 1952.

197 Minicucci 1983: 113-19 + ASF Riccardi f. 818, ins 1. In 1632 the library contained already 350 books and manuscripts.

198 Del Piazzo 1952: 57-106. The following two paragraphs are based on the list of Del Piazzo.

sent Matteo Botti in 1601 to offer the Medici's condolences on the death of Giovanni Francesco Aldobrandini, the son in law of Pope Clement VIII. In 1603 they sent Piero Guicciardini to Rome to congratulate the Pope on the appointment of his brother Silvestro Aldobrandini as cardinal. To Modena the Medici sent two patricians (Domenico Pandolfini and Pier Francesco Rinuccini in 1642) for peace negotiations with the Duke of Parma during the First War of Castro, a conflict between the papacy and the Farnese Dukes of Parma.<sup>199</sup> The Tuscan armies played an important role in this conflict, fighting at the side of the Farnese (together with Venetian and Modenese armies), as Odoardo Farnese, the duke of Parma, was the brother-in-law of Grand Duke Ferdinand II de' Medici.

There were other diplomatic missions in which the patricians were involved. To Venice the Medici sent several representatives to compliment the new doges. Among these were the patricians Lorenzo Salviati, in 1595, and Girolamo Guicciardini, in 1607.<sup>200</sup> Girolamo Guicciardini also went there in 1605 to help with peace agreements between the Republic of Venice and the Papal States. To France they sent representatives to congratulate the kings with the births of new princes (Vincenzo Giugni in 1601, at the birth of Prince Louis, later Louis XIII, and Alessandro del Nero in 1639, at the birth of Louis XIV). To the Duchy of Saxony they sent Filippo Capponi in 1611 to offer the Medici's condolences on the death of the Elector Christian II of Saxony. To Poland they sent Orazio Rucellai to offer the Medici's condolences on the death of the two brothers of King Wladislaw IV Vasa, Alexander Charles Vasa and the Cardinal of Poland, John Albert Vasa (1612-1634), both of whom in all probability died of smallpox.

In 1609 the Medici sent a large number of patrician representatives to cities across Europe to communicate the death of Grand Duke Ferdinand I. Vincenzo Salviati went to Savoia, the Duchy of Lorraine, the Swiss Confederacy (Lucerne), England, and the Netherlands. Lorenzo Gondi went to Venice and Graz,

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199 On Pier Francesco Rinuccini, see 4.3, *Leopoldo's interest in the theatre life at different Italian courts* and on Domenico Pandolfini, see 5.7.1 Social and geographic mobility of artists (to bring patrons in contact with painters and vice versa).

200 In 1595 the new doge was Marino Grimani, who was succeeded in 1607 by Leonardo Donato. Lorenzo di Jacopo Salviati (1568-1609), marquis of Giuliano, was married with Maddalena Strozzi. Their daughter Isabella Salviati married Prince Federico Cesi, the founder of the Accademia dei Lincei in Rome. In 1610, Francesco Bocchi wrote an oration in honour of the deceased Lorenzo Salviati. Girolamo Guicciardini (1550-1623), the brother of ambassador Piero, was married with Lucrezia di Ottavio Bardi di Vernio. Girolamo made several diplomatic missions to Venice in 1605, 1607 and 1608. See Insabato/Romanelli 2007: 5; Fallani 1996: 173; Fallani 1991-1992: 12.

Piero Guicciardini to France, Matteo Botti to Spain, and Lorenzo Salviati to the County Palatine of the Rhine. Besides patricians, the Medici also sent nobles from other cities as their envoys. Luigi Bevilacqua made a long journey of six months to Modena, Parma, Mantua, Trent, Innsbruck, the Duchy of Saxony, Brunswick, Berlin, Kassel, Trier, Magonza, Heidelberg, Stuttgart, Nuremberg, Ulm, Munich, Augsburg, Poland, the Kingdoms of Bohemia and Hungary and finally the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth.<sup>201</sup> Gabriele de Tassis went to Württemberg where he had to convert the duke to the Catholic faith at the same time. These itineraries give an impression of the widespread network of connections the Medici had created and which they could retain thanks to the travels and devotion of the patricians and the other envoys.

## 2.2 Patricians as ambassadors

In his book on Roman-Florentine diplomatic relations in the early seventeenth century, Wieland makes a comparison between the duties of the Roman representatives in Florence, the nuncios,<sup>202</sup> and two Florentine representatives in Rome, the patricians Giovanni Niccolini (1544-1611) and Piero Guicciardini (1569-1626). One of the great differences between the Roman and Florentine representatives was that the nuncios were mostly non-Roman persons, who did not have many links with the papal patronage networks, while the Tuscan ambassadors were Florentines, who were closely connected to the Medici court and to the society in their city of origin. The patricians were proud to represent Florence and were fully conscious of the republican history they shared with the Medici family. Their predecessors had always carried out diplomatic missions, so the patricians considered this as their civic duty. Their knowledge of history was important to predict and judge new cases using the information from historical cases recorded by their predecessors.<sup>203</sup>

201 Marquis Luigi Bevilacqua (1561-1616), whose family originated from Ferrara, was a Tuscan envoy. His father Count Antonio Bevilacqua was chamberlain of Alfonso II d'Este. Together with his brother, Cardinal Bonifazio Bevilacqua, Luigi possessed a palace in Saliceto, Palazzo Tusculano. In 1607, Pope Paul V appointed Luigi as *capitano delle corazze* and a few years after, Ferdinand I nominated him as Leader of the Compagnia di cinquanta Celate. In 1601, Pope Clement VIII had incorporated Luigi and his brothers Alfonso II and Bonifazio in his own family, after which they were allowed to bear the name Bevilacqua Aldobrandini. See Tygielski 1999; Frizzi/Bodoni 1779: 150-51.

202 The nuncios in Florence were Erminio Valenti, Lanfranco Margotti, Giovanni Battista Perugini, and Porfirio Feliciani. Wieland 2004b: 147.

203 Frigo 2008: 28.

Another difference between the nuncios and the Florentine ambassadors was that both the ambassador and his wife were seen as real substitutes for the Grand Duke and his wife, not only as representatives, like the *segretari di legazione* of the Florentine ambassadors and the nuncios.<sup>204</sup> The ambassadors, as substitutes of the Medici, associated with Roman elite families, to maintain the connections between the Medici and these families and they were even allowed to solemnize marriages of Florentines in Rome. The wives of the ambassadors frequented circles of *nobildonne* in Rome, relatives of the papal families, of other renowned families and of ambassadors of other cities and countries. The Roman nuncios of course did not have wives, so the Florentine ambassador couple mixed much more with the Roman society than vice versa.<sup>205</sup> For the Medici this was valuable, because the ambassador's couple could provide inside information about (court) ceremonies and cultural innovations, both at the official papal courts, the cardinal's courts and the courts of other renowned families in Rome. Moreover they could act as negotiators and intermediaries. This mechanism was also put into practise at the other European courts where Florentine patricians resided as ambassadors.

The last difference between the nuncios and the Florentine ambassadors was the way in which they received their specific orders. According to Wieland, the Florentine ambassador was the 'mouth, ears and eyes' of the Grand Duke, his 'imago principis et umbra'.<sup>206</sup> This became clear from the orders to the Florentines, which were very flexible and concentrated on the gestures to be made, the dynamic of the body and the intonation that had to be used and not on the content of the message that had to be delivered. Only the main goals were described, not the details. Which arguments the patricians wanted to use during their colloquiums with (representatives of) the Pope they could find out for themselves, while their secretaries and also the Roman nuncios were instructed much more in detail.<sup>207</sup> In his *Ricordi civili e politici* (1512-1530) the famous historian Francesco Guicciardini already wrote that ambassadors needed room for interpretation to be able to negotiate in the best way possible.<sup>208</sup>

In general the function of agents and ambassadors was to keep a continuing contact with their city of residence, to show the reputation of the own country

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204 The *segretari di legazione* were mostly *huomini nuovi*. See section 1.7.

205 Wieland 2004a: 372.

206 Ibid.: 377.

207 Ibid.: 374.

208 Frigo 2008: 21. Guicciardini is cited by Frigo in the 1977 edition of the *Ricordi*, edited by Rizzoli, p. 182.



and to generate confidence.<sup>209</sup> This confidence could create alliances and friendship relations and could provide for military and financial support and help in case of wars.<sup>210</sup> The ambassador had to collect information about his country of residence, had to sign treaties and to come to agreements and meet all kinds of ceremonial standards.<sup>211</sup> Apart from these official functions, ambassadors were often the procurers of goods and merchandise for their home court, such as art works, rare books and manuscripts, pieces of furniture and other luxury goods. They also arranged the passage of men, such as artists, actors, musicians and literati.<sup>212</sup> Thanks to representatives such as agents, diplomats and ambassadors princes from different states stood in a continuing contact.<sup>213</sup>

Qualities that most ambassadors and diplomats possessed were a juridical and humanist education, knowledge of the etiquettes and customs in the foreign cities, experience with travelling and court life, skills in rhetoric and eloquence, relations with aristocrats in other cities and the financial means to cope with unforeseen circumstances.<sup>214</sup> Patricians were men of culture and possessed many of these qualities which made them ideal diplomats. Moreover, the Tuscan ambassadors had much knowledge of the local customs at foreign courts, because they could stay there for many years and were not succeeded every three years, like the Venetian representatives.<sup>215</sup>

### 2.2.1 Giovanni Niccolini (Tuscan ambassador in Rome from 1587 until 1610)

Giovanni Niccolini resided as ambassador of Tuscany at the court of Rome from 1587 until 1610. One of his tasks was to influence the papal elections and during his ambassadorship three Tuscan popes were elected.<sup>216</sup> In a volume of letters

209 Butterfield: 1970: 365.

210 Frigo 2008: 20.

211 Frigo 1995: 355 She discusses G. Bragaccia's *L'ambasciatore*, Padua 1626.

212 Frigo 2008: 21.

213 Osborne 2007: 4. In reality, ambassadors could only be sent by the pope, the emperor of the Holy Roman Empire or crowned kings, such as the Kings of France, Spain and England. Also the Doges of Venice were regarded in this respect as crowned kings. All representatives of other states (such as Savoy, Tuscany, Lucca, Genoa, Parma, Mantua, Urbino) were not officially ambassadors, but merely agents, although their princes kept calling them ambassadors, a name also used by themselves. See Carter 1966: 274.

214 Frigo 2008: 22, 28.

215 Carter 1966: 279.

216 Heikamp 1978: 239. During his embassy seven different Popes reigned in Rome: Sixtus V (Felice Peretti di Montalto) (1585-1590), Urban VII (Giovanni Battista Castagna) (september 1590), Gregory XIV (Niccolò Sfondrati) (dec. 1590-oct 1591), Innocent IX (Giovanni Antonio Facchinetti) (Oct.-Dec. 1591), Clement VIII (Ippolito Aldobrandini) (1592-1605), Leo XI (Alessandro Ottaviano de' Medici) (April 1605), and Paul V (Camillo Borghese) (1605-1621).

in the Florentine State Archive which should contain letters to Prince Giovan Carlo de' Medici (1611-1663), in fact letters are stored from the Medici secretary Belisario Vinta to Giovanni Niccolini from the years 1606-10, when Prince Giovan Carlo was not even born yet. This volume contains useful information for the understanding of the position of Giovanni Niccolini in Rome. In these letters to Niccolini we can see the large trust the Medici had in the political and cultural knowledge of the patrician-ambassadors. We can now illustrate with concrete examples the argument of Wieland that the Medici mostly only gave instructions while the ambassadors could see for themselves how to execute the orders.<sup>217</sup> As will be demonstrated from the letters to Niccolini, the Medici sometimes were even very uncertain about how things had to be arranged, because from Florence they could not follow all the new developments and the ever changing power balances and customs at the different European courts. In those cases they consulted the ambassadors to help them to take the right decisions and not come off badly. To illustrate how important the patricians were in influencing the social representation of the Medici at foreign courts, some examples will be given of the different things that were asked from Giovanni Niccolini.

### Food gifts

Food gifts were well appreciated by cardinals and noblemen in Rome. On several instances Niccolini gets letters from the Medici secretary Belisario Vinta in which he is asked to pass on a food gift from the Medici Grand Duke Ferdinand I to some important cardinals in Rome. The instructions in these letters show the Medici's trust in the diplomatic skills of Niccolini. In May 1606 for example the Grand Duke sends six bottles of Trebbiano-wine, a wine with a fruity taste and an almond-like aftertaste. He asks Niccolini to send them to Cardinal Scipione Borghese, and to the brothers of Pope Paul V (Camillo Borghese), Francesco and Giambattista Borghese. Vinta explains that Niccolini has to send two different kinds of Trebbiano to each of the three Borghese's and concludes by saying that Niccolini has to see for himself how he presents this gift, because he is best informed which style is most suitable ("et del modo del presentarlo io ne lascio il pensiero a lei, che sà lo stile che si usi in simile cose").<sup>218</sup>

217 Wieland 2004a: 371, 374.

218 ASF Mediceo del Principato 3501 Lettere di diversi al Cardinale Giovan Carlo, 14 May 1606 (see appendix).

So the Grand Duke and his secretary Vinta trusted Niccolini in his contact with these important people. This is proved also one year later, in September 1607 when they send boxes with plums, which are destined for the cardinals which Niccolini thinks most need them, for themselves or for sick people (“vuole che ella le doni a Cardinali a quali parrà a lei che ne possino haver più bisogno o per loro stessi o per ammalati”).<sup>219</sup> Of course the food-gifts could sometimes decay, so when the Grand Duke sends a box with pears (cinquanta pere belle) for Cardinal Scipione Borghese, Niccolini is urged to send them very fastly (“et perche questo anno le si infradicion ella le faccia mandare a Casa del signor Cardinale prestissimo”).<sup>220</sup> From these letters results that food-gifts were part of the strategies the Grand Duke applied to find favour with cardinals in Rome.<sup>221</sup> The ambassadors helped them to execute these strategies. The instructions were often flexible and the ambassadors had to decide for themselves what was the most suitable way to present the gifts and who were the most appropriate cardinals to send the gifts to at specific moments.

#### Other gifts of Grand Duke Ferdinand I

Apart from food gifts Niccolini most probably also had to present all kinds of other gifts to the cardinals and members of renowned families in Rome. An article by Suzanne Butters gives a lively idea of the kind of gifts Ferdinand I gave to other rulers, clients and friends.<sup>222</sup> To Cardinal Alessandro Montalto he gave dogs and monkeys, to Del Bufalo bitter oranges, to Cardinal Aragona a hat of beaver fur and to Francesco Orsini the strange gift of rings of the teeth of a hippopotamus. To humanists like Pietro Angeli da Barga he gave window glasses, compasses, peacock's feathers and rulers. Among his favorite gifts were studioli (cabinets), of which he could fill the little drawers with jewels and precious stones. To the King of England, James I, he gave a very large gift, which consisted of two sedan chairs, two horses, four mules, a large amount of wine from his own farmlands, jewels, Portuguese quince jam, dried plums, large Parmesan cheeses, lemons, limes and candied peels. The receivers of such

219 Ibid., 15 September 1607 (see appendix).

220 Ibid., 10 January 1608 (see appendix).

221 For information about food gifts at the Grand Ducal court in the sixteenth century, see Sarah Bercusson, *Gift-giving, consumption and the female court in sixteenth-century Italy*, 2009 (PhD thesis Queen Mary College, University of London), in particular chapters Eight ('The mechanics of food gifts in societal relations', pp. 190-209) and Nine ('Food gifts as social signifiers', pp. 210-220). Bercusson writes that plums were often sent to sick people.

222 Butters 2007: 245-296.

kind of gifts, in this case James I, often increased in status as soon as the fame of the gift had spread by the accounts of several foreign ambassadors.

### **Visitors in the garden of Villa Medici**

Niccolini did also occupy himself with cultural matters and with important social and political questions. In June 1606 there is a small problem because a certain Monsignor Alincurt (which must be Charles de Neufville, marquis de Villeroy et d'Alincourt (1566-1642) (fig. 1), the ambassador of the French King Henry IV in Rome in those days) wanted to borrow some paintings from the garden rooms of Villa Medici, while the Medici did not want the paintings to leave the garden under no circumstances. Niccolini had to tell this to the ambassador, but in a way that the ambassador was not offended and did not take it personally, so with sweet politeness ("ma con dolcissima cortesia, et di una maniera, che Monsignor d'Alincurt conosca, che mai questi quadri si sono lasciati uscire dal giardino per nessuno"). Niccolini had to inform Alincourt that his painters could come to the garden rooms to copy the paintings there on site.<sup>223</sup>

### **The issue of precedence: the entry of the new ambassador Piero Guicciardini in Rome**

The patrician ambassadors at foreign courts were very important in taking decisions regarding the issue of precedence, the ever continuing question if representatives of certain states or kingdoms had priority above others or not. For this issue, the Medici trusted the patricians to act in an appropriate way, according to the ceremonial customs at the courts of residence and the political balances between different important persons and states.

### **The preliminary concerns**

The Medici trusted the Florentine patricians to be well-informed about the political relations on the European scale. One of the main goals was to maintain the equilibrium between the Medici and the Habsburg in the Holy Roman

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223 ASF Mediceo del Principato 3501 Lettere di diversi al Cardinale Giovan Carlo, 26 June 1606 (see appendix). In another letter of 23 July 1606 (ASF Mediceo del Principato 3322, c.344, cited in Ważbiński 1994: 118) Giovanni Niccolini spoke of two or three paintings 'delle camere di detto giardino' which Monsignor Alincurt wanted to borrow to let them be copied by the painter who lived in his house. It is not known which paintings it concerned. From the collection of paintings in Florence of the ambassador Piero Guicciardini we know that it contained copies of four paintings with Stories of Noah's Ark by Jacopo and Francesco Bassano from the garden of Villa Medici in Rome.

Empire, the Habsburg in Spain, the Bourbon in France and the Pope.<sup>224</sup> This equilibrium was bound by strict regulations, even between all the ambassadors in Rome. The advice of the patrician ambassador was therefore essential. In a couple of letters we see how the Medici relied on Niccolini's experience with the etiquette and customs in Rome, when they asked him advice how to act with the entry of his successor as ambassador in Rome, Piero Guicciardini. First Vinta writes him in April 1610 that Guicciardini is going to live in the newly decorated apartment intended for the future Cardinal Carlo de' Medici in the Palazzo di Firenze at Campo Marzio (fig. 2) and that the Medici trust Niccolini to help him to get settled in Rome and learn all the functions he has to execute there.<sup>225</sup> One of the most important tasks of the newly arrived ambassador was to visit the other ambassadors in Rome. Niccolini had to take care that this should happen according to the rules of precedence. Sometimes the other ambassadors had to visit Guicciardini, sometimes Guicciardini had to visit them, this depended on the social status and the political importance of the countries and cities of origin, compared to the Medici court. The Medici were apparently very unsure what was the actual status of certain foreign states or monarchies. They did not want to make mistakes and trusted Niccolini to arrange these things in the right way. They write him he has to guide Guicciardini how to behave and to help him with the customs of the visits and they express their uncertainties about the ambassadors of Savoy:

Quanto a instruttione io durerò poca fatica a fargliene, perche la più importante instruttione ha da essere la viva voce di V.S. *Illustrissima*, et li ricordi et documenti, ch'ella gli darà del modo di governarsi in tutti i conti, et quanto alle visite ce ne rimettiremo parimente a lei, et solamente ci restarono scrupolo, se egli habbia a essere il primo a visitare, o, aspettar d'essere visitato il primo, et se questo l'habbia a usare con tutti li *signori ambasciatori* indifferentemente, o, se pure habbia a visitare il primo li *Ambasciatori Repubblicani* et di Venetia, et da gl'altri aspettar d'esser visitato; [...], si sono mutati due *ambasciatori* di Savoia Residenti. *Sua Altezza* haverebbe carissimo, che, senza farne rumore, elle si informasse, come questi *Ambasciatori* si siano governati in questo et po del visitare loro i primi, o, di aspettar d'esser visitati, perche queste A.A. sono

224 Wieland 2004a: 373.

225 Apparently they already knew by 1610 that Carlo de' Medici was going to become cardinal. Vinta writes they expect that the designation was going to take some time and this was true, because Carlo was not nominated as a cardinal until 1615. In the meantime Guicciardini was allowed to live in his apartment until he had found a house for himself and his wife.

come resolute di voler, che i loro *ambasciatori* si trattino, come si trattano quei di Savoia, et questi due esempli quasi addossa l'uno allo altro, son di così fresca memoria, che V.S. *Illustrissima* ne saprà il certo.<sup>226</sup>

Regarding the order of precedence it was extremely important that the situation was not misjudged, because very recently things had gone wrong. In 1609 Marquis Salviati visited Rome to communicate the death of Grand Duke Ferdinand I. Salviati was received by Giovanni Niccolini, who visited together with him the Spanish and French ambassadors, in this specific order. After the visits the French were furious that they had visited the Spanish ambassador before the French one.<sup>227</sup> To prevent a scandal for the new Grand Duke Cosimo II, Giovanni Niccolini admitted his guilt and resigned from his function, while in reality he had probably received wrong instructions and was innocent. Because of this incident he had to leave Rome, which he did in 1610 as we can read in these letters. Notwithstanding his coming resignation, Giovanni Niccolini was entrusted with the reception and installation of his successor Guicciardini.

Apart from the order of precedence, the Medici were also uncertain if the new ambassador Piero Guicciardini had to enter the city publicly with an organised entry or in secret by night and if his wife could join him or not.<sup>228</sup> They ask Niccolini to give them advice. If Guicciardini could not take his wife during the entry, she should stay behind in Bracciano or in the garden of Santa Trinità. Vinta refers to the new Savoy-ambassadors who took their wives as well. They are very anxious not to make mistakes in the etiquette and they want Niccolini to tell them what the most recent customs are (“per levare ogni disputa ella scriverà a noi qualche si usi”).<sup>229</sup> Niccolini has to communicate this in secret (“senza farne rumore”), so that they are prepared as good as possible.<sup>230</sup>

### **The Medici and the Savoy: the conflict of precedence**

As results from the cited fragment about the issue of precedence the Medici were very concerned that their representatives should be treated as equals of

226 ASF Mediceo del Principato 3501 Lettere di diversi al Cardinale Giovan Carlo, 17 April 1610 (see appendix).

227 Wieland 2004b: 171.

228 ASF Mediceo del Principato 3501 Lettere di diversi al Cardinale Giovan Carlo, 22 April 1610 (see appendix).

229 Ibid.

230 ‘Senza farne rumore’ is a quote from the letter of 17 April. Some letters of Piero Guicciardini to Giovanni Niccolini are preserved in the Niccolini Archive in Florence (ANCFI, fondo antico 228, inserto 15). On 10 June 1611, he wrote that he was glad Niccolini arrived safely in Florence.

the Savoy-representatives (“queste A.A. sono come resolute di voler, che i loro ambasciatori si trattino, come si trattano quei di Savoia”). The precedence issue with the Savoy-Dukes was a long drawn-out conflict.<sup>231</sup> Important aspects of the question of precedence were the seating arrangements in court chapels, the nearness to the prince during ceremonies, the frequency of visits to each other and the customs used during these visits: who visited who, in which rooms the host accompanied the guest (and did he stop at the threshold or walk with him into the room) and until which stairs or door the host descended to say the guest goodbye after the visit. These details seem exaggerated, but were of the utmost importance for diplomats and ambassadors in the early modern time.

The conflict of precedence between the Medici and the Savoy began at the moment Cosimo I was crowned Grand Duke of Tuscany in 1569. After he had crowned Cosimo I, Pope Pius V promised the Duke of Savoy Emmanuel Filibert that the Savoy should retain precedence over the Medici in the papal chapel. The holy Roman Emperor Maximilian II however, after having recognised the Grand Ducal title in 1576, decided that the Medici should have precedence over the Savoy-princes in the imperial chapel. Maximilian's successor Rudolf II held the same view. In the years after, the Medici and the Savoy contested for their diplomatic status.

At the beginning of the seventeenth century a tractate about the precedence issue was written at the papal court: *Discorso sopra la precedenza delli Ser.mi principi il gran duca di Toscana e il duca di Savoia*.<sup>232</sup> During the reign of Urban VIII another tractate was written about the same issue, by the Venetian Gaspare Lonigo: *Trattato delle precedenze dei principi*.<sup>233</sup> In these tractates the arguments for the eventual precedence of both parties were explained. One of the most significant arguments of the Savoy-Dukes in the first tractate was the antiquity of their lineage. They derived from the Dukes of Saxony, Electors of the Holy Roman Empire.<sup>234</sup> They were of noble blood and their sixteen counts and ten dukes had always married with exponents of important European dynasties. Their lineage originated 500 years ago and was the eldest of the whole of Italy. The Savoy thought that precedence should be obtained thanks to the

231 Osborne 2007: 1-21. The following paragraphs are based on the article of Osborne, except where noted.

232 Visceglia 1997: 152. Several versions of this tractate are preserved, one in the Vatican and one in the Medici archives: BAV Barb. Lat. ms. 5319 or 5009 (with a dedication to the Barberini) and ASF, Mediceo del Principato 2961 stampe, avvisi e documenti diversi relativi alla storia del ducato di Savoia e alle sue relazioni con i Medici.

233 Osborne 2007: 6. Gaspare Lonigo, *Trattato delle precedenze dei principi*, BAV Barb. Lat. 5548, ms. 410.

234 Visceglia 1997: 153.

antiquity of the lineage, or otherwise to a larger or smaller dignity or greatness of the lineage, or thanks to a difference in power. In any case they thought precedence should not be obtained by the status of one particular prince or his domain. The Medici had created a myth and claimed that their lineage derived from Etruscan rulers. They thought that the fact that Cosimo I was crowned by the hand of the Pope was enough to obtain a higher dignity than all the other dukes at the peninsula.<sup>235</sup> Besides that the Medici used their richness as an argument. What the Medici originally could not reach with their dignity and the antiquity of their lineage they simply paid for. They had paid Maximilian II 100,000 scudi for the recognition of the Grand Ducal title and 200,000 scudi for their precedence in the papal chapel. The Savoy did not have these kinds of financial resources, but also thought this could not be valid as an argument.

On the basis of the facts, the Savoy thought that in any case they should be treated equally as the Medici Dukes. They fought for this and tried to convince Emperor Rudolf II, with the help of the Electors of Mainz, Saxony and Trier, but Rudolf II did not want to change their position, maybe also because of his cultural relations with the Medici court and probably thanks to another sum of money.

In several countries and states people were interested in the conflict between the Medici and the Savoy, because it was a test if precedence derived from sovereignty and blood lineage or from the wealth of a family. Because the Emperor did not want to change the decisions the only thing the Savoy could do was compete for a royal title. Even when the Medici should buy one, the Savoy still should outrank them as kings on the basis of their blood lineage.<sup>236</sup>

### **A precedence issue of 1608: Don Antonio de' Medici visits Mantua**

The treatment of the representatives of the Medici and Savoy Dukes was an ever changing topic, there was no static equilibrium. This is proved by the uncertainties we saw in the letter from the Medici to Niccolini in 1610, but also by the visit of Don Antonio de' Medici (fig. 3) to Mantua in 1608, described by Corrado Casini.<sup>237</sup> In that year there were two marriages in Turin of the two daughters of the Duke of Savoy, Carlo Emanuele I. Margherita di Savoia

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235 Spagnoletti 2003: 55.

236 In the second half of the seventeenth century the Savoy began to succeed in their quest, because the Spanish kings needed them as kings to compete with the growing influence of Louis XIV of France. At the beginning of the eighteenth century they began to reign as kings of Sicily (1713), later of Sardinia (from 1720), and in 1861 Victor Emanuel was crowned King of Italy.

237 Casini 1997: 253-280. The following paragraphs about Don Antonio are based on Casini's article.



married Francesco Gonzaga and Isabella di Savoia married Alfonso d'Este. After the festivities of the marriages in Turin, other festivities were held in the cities of the two grooms, Modena and Mantua. Don Antonio de' Medici attended the one in Mantua as representative of the Medici court. He went there with instructions from Ferdinand I de' Medici, in which the order of precedence with the Savoy-Duke was the most important. It had to be clear that the Medici-prince was equal to the Savoy-Duke and did not have to behave himself as subordinate to him. Another problem was the order of precedence with the ambassador of Venice.

Don Antonio de' Medici was very uncertain about the instructions for the order of precedence and did not want to leave Florence before everything was clear. Just before leaving he got the desired instructions which told to give precedence to the ambassadors of Venice and of the Archduke Ferdinand of Graz, even if these had given precedence to the Duke of Savoy. If for some reason both these ambassadors did not participate in some festivities out of obstinacy to give precedence to the Savoy-Duke (and feigning they were ill or late), Don Antonio de' Medici had to cancel these ceremonies as well. Now everything seemed clear with the instructions, but to complicate things again in a second letter Ferdinand de' Medici wrote that he had to give precedence to the Duke of Savoy, but never to his two sons Emanuele Filiberto and Vittorio. Again Don Antonio was in doubt. A commission of politicians, which consisted among others of the patricians Donato dell'Antella and Girolamo Guicciardini had to give advice about these contradictory documents. They concluded that Don Antonio in any case had to arrive after the other ambassadors so that he could analyze what were their decisions and movements. The commission had decided so, because if Don Antonio arrived before the others and decided not to attend the ceremonies the wish of Grand Duke Ferdinand I to be equal and not inferior to the Savoy-princes would be too obvious.

Don Antonio finally left Florence on 12 May 1608 with all these instructions, accompanied by a retinue of gentlemen, with many patricians among them, like Alessandro del Nero, Iacopo Giraldi, Bartolommeo Panciatichi, Filippo Valori, Filippo Guadagni, Antonio Antinori, Agnolo Guicciardini and Filippo Manelli. Of course all the ambassadors from other states had had similar discussions about the order of precedence as well. The consequence was that every party waited in small cities or villages somewhere outside Mantua for the decisions of the other representatives. Nobody wanted to arrive first in Mantua, because then the risk of making the wrong decisions was the largest. When Don Antonio and his retinue finally arrived it became clear from the presents from other representatives that the present of the Medici for the princess of Savoy

was not valuable enough and in very short time a new present had to be send from Florence. But in the end Don Antonio de' Medici and his retinue of Florentine gentlemen and servants made a very good impression at the ceremonies because they wore new clothes which attracted a great deal of attention.

Because he was fearful to meet the Savoy-princes, Don Antonio went incognito to the first theatre-performance, *Arianna*, written by the Florentine patrician Ottavio Rinuccini. The encounter with the princes the next day however proved better than was expected. They had a lot of common interests and Don Antonio invited them to come to Florence.<sup>238</sup> When the Savoy-princes left, however, they did not come to say goodbye to Don Antonio in his temporary residence. Don Antonio had to come out and say goodbye on the threshold of his palace, which was an offence to the Medici family. Don Antonio thought this was an order from the Duke of Savoy, because the princes had behaved so friendly all the time.

From this elaborate account of the visit of Don Antonio to Mantua, based on the article of Casini, it turns out that the issue of precedence was extremely important and two years later, in 1610, the Medici trusted again the Florentine patricians, in this case Giovanni Niccolini, to make the right decisions, so that the social prestige of the Medici was not at stake. Certainly also other patrician ambassadors at foreign courts had to give advice in similar situations.

### **The actual arrival of Piero Guicciardini as the new ambassador**

What happened when Piero Guicciardini finally arrived in person in Rome? In the Guicciardini archive in Florence letters of Piero Guicciardini to Cosimo II and his secretary Belisario Vinta are preserved, as well as a diary, in which Guicciardini recounts about his arrival, his reception by Niccolini and all the obligatory visits to and from cardinals, ambassadors and other renowned persons.

On Tuesday 10 May 1611 he writes in his diary about his entry in Rome.<sup>239</sup> At a distance of one mile from the city he is received by Giovanni Niccolini, who was sitting in a carriage drawn by six horses. Niccolini stepped out of his carriage and gave Guicciardini his right hand to help him to get in, as he did in all the subsequent cases. Then they were met by twelve carriages, each pulled by six horses and by another forty carriages drawn by two horses, out of which stepped all kinds of gentlemen to greet him, while Guicciardini remained in his

<sup>238</sup> The performance of *Arianna* took place on 28 May 1608.

<sup>239</sup> AG Legazioni e commissarie dei Guicciardini XXVI Letters and other documents concerning Piero Guicciardini: 'Diario complimenti e trattamenti conforme la corte di Roma 1621'.

carriage. With this whole retinue of fifty-two carriages he went to the palace of the Pope to kiss his feet and to Cardinal Scipione Borghese. Then he went home to the Palazzo di Firenze at Campo Marzio, where he was hosted by Niccolini, until the latter's depart from Rome. That night he was visited by twenty-three cardinals who bade him welcome, among them the Cardinals Ginnasio, Borghese, Capponi, Aldobrandini and Sauli.<sup>240</sup>

The next Saturday he was expected to have his first audience with the Pope and until that day he was visited by several ambassadors of foreign states who bid him welcome as well. The French ambassador came, while the Spanish ambassador was absent, because of a trip to Naples. Strangely, the ambassadors of Venice and Savoy did not come, although they should have, according to the regular customs of the previous years. Then the Saturday of the audience had arrived. On 14 May 1611 Guicciardini writes to Vinta that Niccolini accompanied him on that same morning to his first audience with the Pope, during which he handed over several credential letters of the Grand Duke, the regents and the Princes Don Carlo and Don Francesco, thereby using the best words he could think of to honour these persons ("con quelle più efficaci parole ch'io habbia giudicato opportuno").<sup>241</sup> Since this was an audience out of politeness, Guicciardini writes in his diary, Niccolini thought it was not expedient to speak about any serious matter to negotiate yet. After the Pope they visited Cardinal Scipione Borghese, and the Prince of Sulmona, Marc'Antonio Borghese and handed over other credential letters to these relatives of the Pope.

The next four days they visited other ambassadors, and Niccolini advised him to visit all of them (France, Spain, Empire, Savoy) without waiting until he was visited by them. Of all the ambassadors Guicciardini writes in his diary if they accompanied him at his departure from their palaces either until the door of their palaces or down the stairs until his carriage or even halfway down the stairs. Of the ambassador of Venice, for example, he writes that he turned around to go to his palace when they were only halfway the stairs and did not wait until Guicciardini got in the carriage or until he left. He even mentions which ambassadors or cardinals walked with him into the rooms of their palaces (and if so how many steps) and which ambassadors just waited at

240 Apart from the five cardinals given in the text, Guicciardini was visited by Cardinals Deti, Rochefoucauld, Ascoli (Girolamo Bernerio), Nazzaret, Bandini, Zappata, Platta, Del Monte, Tosco, Sannesio, Pallotta, Montelbero, Bellarmi, Delfini, Mellino, S. Cesare, Bevilacqua, and Pinello Decimo.

241 AG Legazioni e commissarie dei Guicciardini XXVIII, Letters from Piero Guicciardini to Belisario Vinta, Cioli, Curzio Picchena and Grand Duke Cosimo II: 14 May 1611, Piero Guicciardini to Belisario Vinta (see appendix).

the thresholds. They also visited Duke Francesco Borghese, a younger brother of Pope Paul V, who showed them his palace, including the rooms of his wife Ortensia Santacroce Publicola.<sup>242</sup>

At the end of May Niccolini departed to Florence and Guicciardini continued the visits. First he is visited by the ambassador of Venice, who brought with him two cardinals. Because of the cardinals, Guicciardini writes he was forced to accompany them down the stairs, but when these cardinals left he immediately went upstairs, without waiting until the Venetian ambassador got in his carriage or until the carriage left. So he tried to treat the Venetian ambassador in the same way he was treated by him. In the beginning of June, with a retinue of twelve carriages, he visits Cardinal Farnese and furthermore he visits the ambassador of Ascoli, the bishop of Padua and other bishops. Then the recount about his arrival stops and is resumed not until three years later.

### 2.2.2 Piero Guicciardini (Tuscan ambassador in Rome from 1611 until 1621)

Piero Guicciardini resided in Rome with his wife Simona di Lorenzo Machiavelli (1584-1658).<sup>243</sup> Once arrived in Rome, Guicciardini functioned not only as political ambassador for the Medici, but also as cultural art broker, a role in which he could help the Medici to enlarge their social prestige in Europe and to enrich their collection of paintings. We will illustrate this by analyzing some of his cultural activities in Rome.

#### Socializing with cardinals and other prominent persons in Rome

During his stay in Rome, Guicciardini associated with important collectors like Cardinal Scipione Borghese, Marquis Vincenzo Giustiniani, Cardinal Montalto, Cardinal Farnese, and Cardinal Del Monte.<sup>244</sup> This was possible, because Grand Duke Cosimo II had given him letters of introduction to all these prominent persons.<sup>245</sup> He saw their galleries and private collections and learned about the networks of agents and art dealers present in Rome, knowledge that made him the ideal person to operate as art broker for the Medici family.

One of the palaces Guicciardini visited was Palazzo Madama (fig. 4), the Medici palace in Rome, which at that time was occupied by Cardinal Francesco Maria Del Monte (1549-1627) (fig. 5). Del Monte had been the personal advi-

242 Francesco Borghese (1556-1620) was Duke of Rignano and *Generale di Santa Romana chiesa* (Captain General of the Church, the commander of the papal armed forces).

243 Guicciardini 1952: 42.

244 Fallani 1996: 178; Fallani 1991-1992: 53-54.

245 Fallani 1991-1992: 44. See ASF Mediceo del Principato 2638 cc 219-220-222.

sor to Cardinal Ferdinand I de' Medici from 1572. When Ferdinand I became Grand Duke in 1587, he had to move to Florence and Del Monte was named a Cardinal the year after. From that moment on, he became Ferdinand's political agent and artistic advisor in Rome. In the autumn of 1589, he moved to the Palazzo Madama.<sup>246</sup> Del Monte was not a very rich Cardinal, but he was very interested in music, theatre, literature, art, archaeology, history, and natural science.<sup>247</sup> His palace was therefore a meeting place for poets, men of letters, musicians, singers, and connoisseurs.<sup>248</sup> Del Monte was in frequent contact with intellectuals from the Accademia degli Insensati in Perugia, who sometimes assembled in the palace of Maffeo Barberini.<sup>249</sup> Paolo Mancini, a member of the Insensati, founded in Rome the Accademia degli Umoreisti (1600), and most of the members of the Insensati joined this new academy, which was protected by Cardinal Francesco Barberini.<sup>250</sup>

Among Del Monte's closest friends were Marquis Vincenzo Giustiniani and the Cardinals Alessandro Montalto, Pietro Aldobrandini, Federico Borromeo, and Benedetto Giustiniani.<sup>251</sup> Borromeo loved Venetian and Flemish art and shared this interest with Del Monte. They both were in contact with the painter Paul Bril. Del Monte possessed two paintings by Paul Bril and ten by Jan Brueghel.<sup>252</sup>

Del Monte was a well-known patron of young artists and began his collection of paintings in the Palazzo Madama. One of the painters who was patronized and discovered by him was Caravaggio, who even lived in Palazzo Madama from 1595 until 1599. Thanks to Del Monte, he got commissions from other high patrons in Rome that enabled him to further his career.<sup>253</sup> Already before

246 Langdon 1998: 80, 82.

247 Ibid.: 78, 83. In 1605 Del Monte had an income of 12,000 scudi.

248 Ibid.: 97.

249 Whitfield 2008: 4.

250 Ibid.: 6. Cardinal Francesco Barberini (1597-1679) was born in Florence and his parents were Carlo Barberini (the elder brother of Pope Urban VIII) and Costanza Magalotti. Francesco studied law, literature and philosophy and graduated in law at the University of Pisa in 1623. In the same year he was named a cardinal by his uncle Maffeo Barberini, who had just become Pope. In 1629 Francesco was named Archbishop of Santa Maria Maggiore in Rome and from 1633 he had the same function in Saint Peter's in the Vatican. As a Cardinal Legate, Francesco travelled to Paris (1625) and Madrid (1626). From 1627 until 1636 he was librarian of the Apostolic Library. He also took care of the personal library of the Barberini in the Palazzo alle Quattro Fontane and ordered the humanist Lucas Holstenius to buy rare manuscripts and books in the whole of Europe. In Rome he hosted many European humanists such as Gerardus Vossius, Nikolaes Heinsius and John Milton. See Merola 1964b: 172-76.

251 Langdon 1998: 98-99, 102. Cardinal Alessandro Montalto lived close by in the Palazzo della Cancellaria.

252 Ibid.: 103.

253 Ibid.: 78, 96.

1600 Del Monte had bought ten of his paintings.<sup>254</sup> In the Palazzo Madama, Del Monte also started his collection of paintings of *uomini illustri* (280 pieces), some of them copied from the collection of Ferdinand I in Villa Medici, but ultimately his collection grew much larger than Ferdinand's.<sup>255</sup> Del Monte was also in frequent contact with the painters Antiveduto Grammatica, Simon Vouet, some Tuscan painters, such as Cigoli and Cristofano Allori, and with many others.<sup>256</sup> At the end of his life he possessed 599 paintings and 56 marble sculptures.<sup>257</sup>

Thanks to his connoisseurship, Del Monte could advise the ambassadors Giovanni Niccolini and Piero Guicciardini during their acquisition of paintings for the Medici, although his specific role in these acquisitions is seldom recorded.<sup>258</sup> His influence can be seen in the choice of painters such as Paul Bril, Antonio Tempesta, Caracciolo, Alessandro Turchi, and Gerard van Honthorst, all of whom he patronized or was in contact with.<sup>259</sup>

In his last years in Rome, Guicciardini visited Del Monte's Palazzetto (Vigna di Ripetta). Situated in the gardens of Villa Ludovisi, this was bought by Del Monte in 1615. It was one of the highest places in Rome and therefore an ideal spot for observing the sky and the stars, one of Del Montes passions. The Cardinal could retreat to this Palazzetto and dedicate his time to his favorite occupations, alchemy and natural philosophy.<sup>260</sup> He had his own distillery and a beautifully decorated *studiolo*, where Caravaggio had painted the ceiling with the Elements.<sup>261</sup>

Guicciardini also admired the art collection in the palace of Marquis Vincenzo Giustiniani (1564-1637) (fig. 6), important art patron and collector. In his palaces in Rome and Bassano di Sutri (currently called Bassano Romano) he had reunions of noblemen, artists, and men of letters with musical and other performances.<sup>262</sup> His father Giuseppe had been one of the three main bankers

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254 Gilbert 1995: 111.

255 Langdon 1998: 97; Ważbiński 1994: 517. Ferdinand I had a collection of 126 paintings of illustrious men in Villa Medici in Rome, copied partly from the Museo Gioviano by Alessandro Allori, Jacopo and Francesco Zucchi and Cristofano dell'Altissimo. See Hochmann 1999: 16.

256 Ważbiński 1994: 103, 315.

257 Langdon 1998: 96.

258 Ważbiński 1994: 517.

259 Ibid.: 538.

260 Whitfield 2008: 3.

261 Ibid.

262 Buccino 2006: 36.

of Pope Sixtus V.<sup>263</sup> Vincenzo hosted in his palaces many artists who could admire and learn from his collection of paintings and antique sculptures.<sup>264</sup> His art collection included thirteen works by Caravaggio.<sup>265</sup> Some famous artists such as François Duquesnoy, Gian Lorenzo Bernini and his father Pietro, and Giuliano Finelli worked for him as art dealers and at the same time restored his antique sculptures.<sup>266</sup> In his gallery he hosted the largest collection of antique sculptures in the whole of Rome. In 1631, a catalogue of this collection in two volumes was published, which spread the fame of the gallery into Rome and other cities even more.<sup>267</sup>

In the loggia of his cortile, where sculptures of antique emperors were placed, he commissioned Antonio Tempesta in 1603-05 to make frescoes with a military theme.<sup>268</sup> In the Sala di Psiche he commissioned the Genoese painter Bernardo Castello in 1605 to make allegorical frescoes with the theme of Amor and Psyche from Apuleius. Bernardo Castello was in frequent contact with the poets Tasso and Marino and often made frescoes based on literary themes drawn from their work.<sup>269</sup> Vincenzo not only admired the arts in his own palace and villa, he also wrote three treatises on the arts, in the form of letters to the Dutch humanist Theodor Ameyden (1586-1656), and in 1628 he wrote his *Discorso sopra la musica*.<sup>270</sup>

In 1606 Giustiniani made a long journey through Europe and saw Germany, Flanders, and England.<sup>271</sup> He complemented his collection of paintings with Flemish ones he bought during this journey. Further, in his palace in Rome lived some painters from northern Europe and Guicciardini could have met some of them here.<sup>272</sup>

Besides Del Monte and Giustiniani, Guicciardini socialized with many other prominent collectors in Rome, such as Cardinal Alessandro Peretti di Montalto (1571-1623) (fig. 7). Montalto had frequented the performance of the earliest

263 Strunck 2003: 148.

264 Buccino 2006: 35-36.

265 Strunck 2003: 149. On the paintings of Caravaggio in the collection of the Giustiniani see Danesi Squarzina 2012; 2001.

266 Buccino 2006: 44-45.

267 Poggi 2007: 21. On the art collection of the Giustiniani (including the antique sculptures) see Danesi Squarzina 2003; Fusconi 2001.

268 Strunck 2003: 152. The theme of the frescoes of Tempesta was probably emperor Justinian.

269 Ibid.: 159, 164.

270 Buccino 2006: 36; Charter 1987: 180.

271 Poggi 2007: 42-52; Strunck 2003: 149.

272 Fallani 1991-1992: 61.

operas in Florence: *La Dafne* (1599), *Il rapimento di Cefalo* (1600), and *Euridice* (1602).<sup>273</sup> In 1614, the first opera-performance in Rome - Giacomo Cicognini's *Amor pudico*<sup>274</sup> - took place in his Palazzo della Cancellaria. In 1613, Agostino Tassi painted the loggia of his villa Lante in Bagnaia. Tassi introduced here a new form of perspective painting; he painted oculi and aviaries and created a sense of continuity between the garden and the building by introducing fictive light that came from above the oculi (fig. 8).<sup>275</sup> Probably he was influenced and inspired by the work of Ludovico Cigoli, when they both worked for Cardinal Scipione Borghese in the garden of the Quirinale.<sup>276</sup>

### The acquisition of paintings for the Medici-court

Guicciardini bought many paintings for Grand Duke Cosimo II and his brother Carlo. In 1616 he bought a painting by Bartolomeo Cavarozzi, *San Gerolamo con due angeli* (*Saint Jerome with two angels*) (fig. 9), which is still in the collection of the Galleria Palatina in the Palazzo Pitti.<sup>277</sup> Around 1617 Guicciardini bought two small landscapes from Paul Bril for Carlo de' Medici and two fruit paintings by Antonio Tanari. Furthermore he bought two large paintings by Antonio Tempesta about the *Story of David and Absalom* and a fruit and a flower painting of Baldassare Baderni.<sup>278</sup> These paintings were meant to decorate the Villa Careggi. None of these can be identified in the actual collections of the Medici, in part because the inventory of the Villa Careggi was very unclear.<sup>279</sup> Antonio Tanari was known as a fruit painter in Rome and in 1609 he had painted two panels for Alessandro Peretti di Montalto, to be placed in the garden of Villa Montalto Termini. In 1614, he worked for Scipione Borghese.<sup>280</sup> Thanks to Guicciardini, the taste of these Cardinals could be followed in Florence by the Medici. Still in 1617 Guicciardini commissioned the painter Giovan Maria Giraldi to copy four paintings with Stories of Noah's Ark by Jacopo and Francesco Bassano which

273 Hill 1997: 46; Charter 1987: 179.

274 Charter 1987: 180.

275 Bonelli 2006: 55.

276 Ibid.: 51. Cigoli painted the loggetta (*Storie di Psiche*) and Tassi the Casino delle Muse.

277 Papi 2010: 142; Papi 1991: 209. Galleria Palatina Inv. Palatina 1912 n. 417, 116 x 173 cm. Papi suggests in his publication of 1991 that Bartolomeo Cavarozzi must be the Bartolomeo Pacarozzi mentioned in Guicciardini's payment of 16 April 1617. In 2010 Papi wrote that other art historians had accepted his suggestion.

278 For the acquisition of the paintings of Tanari, Bril, Baderni and Tempesta, see Corti 1989: 112.

279 Fumagalli 1997: 45.

280 Ibid.



were situated in the garden of Villa Medici in Rome (fig. 10).<sup>281</sup> Like the other paintings, these were meant to decorate the Villa Careggi of Carlo de' Medici.

Sometimes Guicciardini executed cultural brokerage activities that directly influenced the development of the art market in Florence. In 1617 Carlo and Cosimo II sent a letter to Guicciardini in which they asked him to persuade the painter Il Napoletano, who resided in the palace of Cardinal Francesco Maria del Monte, into coming to Florence.<sup>282</sup> Il Napoletano agreed, left for Florence a few months later and stayed there for four years, until the death of Cosimo II.<sup>283</sup> In September 1618 Grand Duchess Maria Maddalena of Austria wrote Guicciardini to say that the painter Antonio Pomarancio (Antonio Circignani 1560-1620) made such beautiful frescoes in the Loggia of the hospital of Santa Maria Nuova in Florence that she thought he should go to Rome to paint in the Loggia of Saint Peter's. In her letter she asks Guicciardini to recommend Il Pomarancio to the Cardinals Borghese, Del Monte and Giustiniani, who were organising the decoration of the Loggia.<sup>284</sup> It seems that the Cardinals had enough other painters for the work, because Il Pomarancio does not appear as a painter in Saint Peter's. But the letter proves that it was not unusual to ask a political ambassador for such recommendations, especially when he was, like Guicciardini, a patron of the arts himself. Probably in other cases the ambassadors succeeded in recommending painters in Rome or at other courts, in order to promote geographic mobility of painters.<sup>285</sup>

Like his brother Carlo de' Medici, Grand Duke Cosimo II wanted two paintings by Paul Bril, and in 1617 he wrote Guicciardini, via the architect Giulio Parigi, to request for one landscape and one seascape. For the seascape it does not matter if there are ships on it or a storm, Guicciardini is to decide, because the Grand Duke relies totally on his judgment ("di questo Sua Altezza Serenissima se ne rimette a Vostra Eccellenza").<sup>286</sup> These two paintings can be identified with the *Paesaggio con caccia al cinghiale* (Inv. 1890 n. 1076, *Landscape*

281 Fumagalli 1997: 45; Corti 1989: 112.

282 Fumagalli 1997: 45; Ważbiński 1994: 537. ASF Mediceo del Principato 3511 cc non numerati: the letter of Carlo to Guicciardini on 9 June 1617.

283 Fumagalli 2007b: 138.

284 ASF Mediceo del Principato 3512, Maria Maddalena to Piero Guicciardini, 27 September 1618, cited in: Barocchi/Bertelà 2005: vol. II appendice 10 (see appendix).

285 The topic of geographic mobility of painters will be treated elaborately in chapter 5.

286 ASF Mediceo del Principato 3511, Giulio Parigi to Piero Guicciardini, 4 October 1617, cited in: Barocchi/Bertelà 2005: vol. II appendice 3 (see appendix).

with boar hunt) in the Palazzo Pitti and with the *Porto con vascelli* (Inv. 1890, n. 1052, *Harbour with ships*, fig. 11) in the Galleria degli Uffizi.<sup>287</sup>

Quantitative information about Guicciardini's art brokerage activities for the Medici has been published by Gino Corti, who studied the account books and by Valentina Fallani, who studied his life and art collection.<sup>288</sup> If we concentrate more on the qualitative aspect and read the letters (published by Barocchi and Bertelà<sup>289</sup>) dealing with Guicciardini's various negotiations for the acquisition of paintings for the Medici, we learn some things about the cultural influence patrician ambassadors could have.

The orders to buy or commission paintings for the Medici were very flexible. The Medici put a lot of trust in the decisions and knowledge of Guicciardini. This is evident from the letter of Giulio Parigi cited above and from the letters of Cardinal Carlo de' Medici to Guicciardini the year after, when Guicciardini bought six more Paul Bril landscapes for Carlo de' Medici.<sup>290</sup> The first two of these six paintings, for which he paid 80 scudi, can be identified with the *Paesaggio con armenti* (Inv. 1912 n. 449, *Landscape with herd*) and the *Paesaggio con ritorno delle greggi* (Inv. 1912 n. 452, *Landscape with return of flock of sheep*) in the Palazzo Pitti in Florence.<sup>291</sup> At the end of October 1618, Carlo wrote that he would like Guicciardini to buy or commission four landscape-paintings by Paul Bril. His letter does not stipulate the price or size of the paintings, because he thinks it better Guicciardini sees them in situ and he is sure that whatever price Guicciardini agrees to with Bril will be an excellent expense ("son certo che quanto sarà pattuito da lei non sarà che bonissima spesa"). If the paintings were not available and had to be commissioned, Carlo writes that he trusts Guicciardini's taste regarding the subjects to represent.<sup>292</sup> One of the four paintings Guicciardini bought for Carlo can be identified as the *Paesaggio*

287 Chiarini/Padovani 2003 (II): 98-99. Here is written that the first one was bought in 1617 and the second one was meant as its pendant.

288 Fallani 1996: 173-191; Fallani 1991-1992; Corti 1989: 108-146. Corti studied the following documents in Archivio Guicciardini Firenze: Libri di amministrazione 154 bis, Registro de' mandati. This is divided into different sections: 1. cc.1-37 mandati emessi per servizio di mia casa, 11 May 1611-27 Nov 1621, 2. cc. 75-98: mandati emessi per servizio del Principe don Carlo de' Medici, 23 Sept 1613-26 Nov 1621, 3. cc. 105/106 mandati emessi per servizio della Ser.ma Arciduchessa en 4. cc. 113-160 mandati emessi per servizio del Ser.mo Granduca, 15 July 1611-25 Nov 1621.

289 Barocchi/Bertelà 2005: vols. 1-2.

290 Corti 1989: 113. Guicciardini paid 80 scudi for the first two landscapes and 140 scudi for the last four.

291 Chiarini/Padovani 2003 (II): 98-99. *Paesaggio con ritorno delle greggi* came in the collection of Leopoldo de' Medici in 1663 when Carlo died. Both paintings can be dated in 1618 or a little earlier.

292 ASF Mediceo del Principato 5269, Cardinal Carlo de' Medici to Guicciardini, 29 October 1618, cited in: Barocchi/Bertelà 2005: 9 (see appendix).

*con caccia all'airone* (Inv. 1890 n. 598, *Landscape with heron hunt*) in the Galleria Palatina.<sup>293</sup> It is dated between 1610 and 1615, so in this case Guicciardini bought an already finished painting. The identity of the other three paintings is not entirely clear.<sup>294</sup>

In the beginning of December 1618 Carlo wrote Guicciardini that he had received two of the four Bril-paintings and that he was satisfied with their quality and price.<sup>295</sup> At the end of December he wrote again to let Guicciardini know that by then he had received all four paintings and that they arrived in a very good condition, thanks to the careful way in which Guicciardini had dispatched them (“Son arrivati benissimo condizionati per la diligenza con la quale da lei sono stati fatti accomodare”). To conclude, he writes, he is entirely satisfied, also with the prices paid, and he adds that this is exactly according to expectations if things are decided and arranged by Guicciardini (“ché tanto si può aspettar sempre di cose che passino per mano di V.S. Illustrissima et approvato dal suo giudizio”). After expressing his satisfaction he concludes by saying that by way of thanks he wants to serve Guicciardini in all possible cases (“A me resta ora di ringraziarne, il che farò col servirla in tutte le occasioni”).<sup>296</sup> This means that Guicciardini can now turn to him should he need a favour for himself, his family, or one of his friends or clients.<sup>297</sup> It is a form of future credit we will speak of in the fifth chapter.

In 1619 Guicciardini bought a painting by Lanfranco for the Medici with the subject *Angelica sull'Ippogrifo* (*Angelica on the Hippogriff*).<sup>298</sup> This seems to be an unknown painting, because only two Lanfranco paintings with other scenes of Ariosto are known. The first is in the Galleria Nazionale delle Marche in Urbino and shows the scene *Ruggiero sull'ippogrifo libera Angelica* (*Ruggiero*

293 Chiarini/Padovani 2003, II: 98-99.

294 Two other paintings by Bril in the Galleria Palatina are *Paesaggio con cacciatori e Fuga in Egitto* (Inv 1890 n. 1126) and *Marina con imbarcazioni alla fonda* (Inv 1890 n.1133). Both these paintings were bought by Carlo de' Medici, but Chiarini and Padovani do not mention the name of Guicciardini, which they do in the other case.

295 ASF Mediceo del Principato 5269A, Cardinal Carlo de' Medici to Guicciardini, 8 December 1618, cited in: Barocchi/Bertelà 2005: 9 (see appendix).

296 ASF Mediceo del Principato 3512, Cardinal Carlo de' Medici to Guicciardini, 31 December 1618, cited in: Barocchi/Bertelà 2005: vol. II appendice 11 (see appendix).

297 One year earlier, in June 1617, Carlo de' Medici had already ordered Guicciardini to buy some objects: four tables made of 'granatiglio' (granadilla wood, dark red hardwood), two landscapes of Paul Bril and eight busts. One month later, in July 1617, he orders landscapes of Tempesta and expresses again he fully trusts Guicciardini regarding the price he can agree. See the cited letter of 31 July 1617 in Barocchi/Bertelà 2005: vol. II appendice 5 (in appendix).

298 Corti 1989: 116.

*frees Angelica on the Hippogriff*, 1616) that happens just before the scene on the painting bought by the Medici.<sup>299</sup> The second by Lanfranco and Agostino Tassi is a *Paesaggio con Angelica e Medoro* (*Landscape with Angelica and Medoro*, 1620) from the private collection of Cardinal Giovan Battista Costaguti.<sup>300</sup>

Still in 1619 Guicciardini bought two Agostino Tassi paintings for the Medici for 130 scudi, one with snakes and one with shells.<sup>301</sup> The two paintings were sent to Cosimo II in Florence together with a painting with fishes by Tanari and three paintings of animals (for 90 scudi) by Gherardo del Bosco, also called Gerrit van den Bosch.<sup>302</sup> The painting of Tanari can be identified as the 'Fish' painting which is still in Poggio a Caiano, just like the three Del Bosco paintings of animals can be identified as the *Conigli, lepre e cavia* (*Rabbits, hare and guinea pigs*), *Animali da cortile* (*Barnyard animals*), and *Istrici, cane, volpe e lepri* (*Hedgehogs, dog, fox and hares*).<sup>303</sup> Instead of *natura morte* these paintings belonged to the genre of *natura viva* which was loved by important collectors in Rome such as Scipione Borghese, who collected *natura viva* paintings in his Villa Tuscolana.<sup>304</sup> The paintings of Tassi, together with those from Tanari and Del Bosco, were located in 1620 in Palazzo Pitti and moved in 1624 to the cortile of the Poggio Imperiale, but after 1627 there is no trace of them. This is a pity, because of Tassi no other *natura morte* or *natura viva*-paintings are known, as he was a specialist of landscapes and decorative paintings.<sup>305</sup> The only Gherardo del Bosco paintings known are the three in the collection of the Medici.

After Cosimo II had seen Gerard van Honthorst's *Supper party with lute player* (1619-20, fig. 12), bought by Guicciardini in February 1620, he became very interested in this painter and that September he ordered Guicciardini to buy other six paintings by Honthorst, who in the meantime had left Rome.<sup>306</sup> Honthorst was much appreciated by various patrons in that period such as

299 Schleier 2001: 140. Although the title suggests otherwise, it is not Ruggiero but Angelica who is sitting on the hippogriff, so maybe the Medici painting and the Urbino painting are identical.

300 Ibid.: 342.

301 Corti 1989: 116.

302 Fumagalli 1997: 48; Corti 1989: 116.

303 Fumagalli 1997: 51.

304 Ibid.: 50.

305 Ibid.: 51.

306 Papi 2010: 176, 179, 182; Chiarini 1989: 190. The first painting was *Supper party with lute player* (*Cena con suonatore di liuto*, 1619-20), Galleria degli Uffizi, Inv. 1890, n. 730, 144 x 212 cm. On 26 October 1620 Guicciardini wrote to Andrea Cioli about the other six paintings (see Hoogewerff 1926, pp. 286-87). Not all the subjects of the six paintings are known, but Papi and Chiarini suggest that the following must have been among the six paintings bought by Guicciardini: *Cena con sposali*, 1613, Galleria degli Uffizi,

Vincenzo Giustiniani and Scipione Borghese. He was especially famous for his nocturnal scenes with artificial light.<sup>307</sup>

Apart from the named paintings, Guicciardini bought other Flemish and Flemish-inspired landscapes, still lifes, and paintings of the Caravaggisti for the Medici, for example by the Caravaggisti Filippo Napoletano, Giovanni Antonio Galli (lo Spadarino), Cecco del Caravaggio, Antonio Tempesta, Guido Reni, Carlo Saraceni, Bartolomeo Manfredi, Giovanni Battista Caracciolo, and the earliest paintings of Guercino (Giovanni Francesco Barbieri) and Cornelis van Poelenburgh.<sup>308</sup> The preference for paintings of the *caravaggisti* was much in vogue with the Cardinals Borghese and Del Monte and Marquis Giustiniani.<sup>309</sup> Thanks to Guicciardini, the Medici could share this taste.

Guicciardini also bought jewels and paintings from the Quattrocento and Cinquecento for the Medici, like paintings of the well-known masters Perugino, Pollaiuolo, Del Sarto, and Pontormo.<sup>310</sup> For these acquisitions he needed the permission of Cardinal Del Monte and art collector Giulio Mancini (1558-1630), so it was very useful that he had associated with these people in the previous years.

The Medici asked Guicciardini's mediation not only for paintings but also when they wanted to buy antique statues. Using local art dealers and sculptors as intermediaries, Guicciardini bought a *Jupiter* and a personification of *Abundance* from the art dealer Alessandro Rondoni and a *Diana* from the sculptor Pompeo Ferrucci.<sup>311</sup> In 1616, he sent twenty-nine boxes with statues to Livorno in one month.<sup>312</sup> Of course he did not forget to decorate his own palace and he sent many chests full of paintings and antique sculptures from Rome to his palace in Florence.<sup>313</sup> As with paintings, when Guicciardini had to buy sculptures

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Inv. 1890, n. 735, 138 x 203 cm; *Ventura*, 1617-19, Galleria degli Uffizi, Inv 1890 n 734, 137 x 204 cm and probably *Natività (Adorazione del bambino)*, 1619-20 Galleria degli Uffizi, Inv 1890 n. 739.

307 Chiarini 1989: 189.

308 Barocchi/Bertelà 2002: 171. Papi 2010 (Caravaggio e Caravaggeschi a Firenze): 214 writes that today there are no traces of the Manfredi paintings Guicciardini purchased for the Medici. The official catalogues of the Palazzo Pitti (2003) and the Galleria degli Uffizi (1979) describe several paintings of Tassi (1 in Pitti), Lanfranco (2 in Pitti), Reni (6 in Pitti), Caracciolo (1 in Pitti), Manfredi (5 in Uffizi), Guercino and workshop (10 in Pitti, 7 in Uffizi) and Poelenburgh (28 in Pitti and 19 in Uffizi), often from the collections of Carlo and Leopoldo de' Medici, but they do not mention whether they were bought by Guicciardini, though they do in cases where this is certain.

309 Fallani 1991-1992: 48.

310 Barocchi/Bertelà 2002: 156.

311 Corti 1989: 114-115.

312 Fallani 1991-1992: 48.

313 Section 3.1.2 deals with Guicciardini's own art patronage.

the Grand Duke trusted his ability to make the right choices. Guicciardini was ordered to select these sculptures in two different workshops, and to choose the six largest, because they were destined for an outdoor garden. Regarding the price, the Grand Duke trusted him to make the most favourable deal possible.<sup>314</sup>

### The Elsheimer-tabernacle

Sometimes Guicciardini's acquisitions were of great diplomatic importance. A case in point is the Elsheimer tabernacle, which he bought for Cosimo II from the Spanish dealer Juan Pérez in Rome for 800 scudi in 1619, and about which he wrote to the Medici that it was the most beautiful work the painter Adam Elsheimer had ever made ("la più bell'opera che detto Adamo abbia fatto").<sup>315</sup> This was not only his personal opinion, he writes, but also that of the famous architect Giulio Parigi who considered this work one of the most beautiful works present in the city ("una delle più insigni di questa città").<sup>316</sup> Apart from Giulio Parigi, Guicciardini also consulted Cardinal Francesco Maria Del Monte whose opinion was decisive in the final purchase.<sup>317</sup> The tabernacle consisted of seven oil on copper paintings – the central representing a *Paradise* (fig. 13) – that form together the *Legend of the True Cross* (fig. 14), and was made in 1603 to 1605.<sup>318</sup>

In 1620, Cosimo II decided to send the Elsheimer-tabernacle as a diplomatic gift to Thomas Howard (1585-1646), the 2nd Earl of Arundel (fig. 15), in exchange for a painting by Hans Holbein the Younger. Thomas Howard was one of greatest English art collectors of his time, apart from Charles I. He was especially famous for his collection of marbles (now in Oxford's Ashmolean Museum), manuscripts (now in the British Museum) and his Flemish, Dutch, German and Italian paintings from the sixteenth century. In 1613-14 he travelled to Italy together with his wife and the collector and architect Inigo Jones.<sup>319</sup> Cosimo II asked for the Holbein-painting in a letter of 12 September 1620 that is preserved in the Florentine State Archive. First, Cosimo II praises Arundel for his great art collection and then he says he would really like to have

314 ASF Mediceo del Principato 3510, Andrea Cioli to Piero Guicciardini, 4 July 1616, cited in: Barocchi/Bertelà 2005: vol. II appendice 4 (see appendix).

315 Corti 1989: 117. ASF Mediceo del Principato 3334, Piero Guicciardini to Cosimo II, 4 December 1619, cited in: Barocchi/Bertelà 2002: vol. I, appendice 179 (see appendix).

316 See the letter in the previous note.

317 Ważbiński 1994: 532-533. ASF Mediceo del Principato 3334, Letter from Piero Guicciardini to Curzio Picchena, 28 December 1619. See appendix.

318 The tabernacle is now in possession of the Städelches Kunstinstitut at Frankfurt.

319 Sutton 1947: 4; 'Arundel, Thomas Howard, earl of', in *The Columbia Encyclopedia*, 6<sup>th</sup> ed., 2014. Retrieved February 2, 2015, from Encyclopedia.com: <http://www.encyclopedia.com/doc/1E1-ArundelTH.html>.

a Holbein-painting (“sono entrata in grandissimo desiderio di havere un’opera di detto Hans Holbein”) in exchange for which he proposes to give Arundel one of his paintings by some famous Italian master (“con offerle il cambio d’una di queste dei miei più celebri pittori italiani da non doverle dispiacere”).<sup>320</sup>

In 1614 the Arundels had passed Florence on their way back to England and were regaled in a grand way by Cosimo II, despite the fact that one year earlier on their way to Rome and Naples they had refused to see him, because they had wished to travel incognito.<sup>321</sup> This time however, they accepted the hospitality and slept in the Palazzo Vecchio. After the grand ceremony and hospitality they had received in Florence, when Cosimo II asked him for one of his Holbeins in 1620, Arundel could not refuse. He decided to make a copy of a portrait of Richard Southwell (painted by Holbein in 1536) for his own gallery and send the original to Florence (fig. 16).<sup>322</sup>

Before it was sent to Florence, the Holbein painting was placed by Thomas Howard in a worked frame with four silver escutcheons at the sides containing the coats of arms of the Medici and of Howard.<sup>323</sup> It got a special place in the Tribuna degli Uffizi (fig. 17). Cosimo II, in his turn, had placed the seven Elsheimer paintings in an aedicula (small shrine) with Medici balls on top of it (fig. 18), so that his fame would reach the court of England.<sup>324</sup>

### Cardinal Carlo de’ Medici travels to Rome (1616)

After he was received so kindly by Giovanni Niccolini in Rome, Guicciardini in his turn, had to make sure all protocols were followed during the visit of the young Cardinal Carlo to Rome. Guicciardini did not always unquestioningly obey all the orders of the Medici, as is apparent from this visit. Cardinal Carlo de’ Medici, nominated in 1615, visited Rome in 1616 to receive his cardinal’s hat.<sup>325</sup> Carlo was only twenty years old by the time of his arrival in Rome

320 The letter (draft) in which Cosimo II asks for the Holbein-painting is preserved in: ASF Mediceo del Principato Ms. 178 fol. 163 Cosimo II to Arundel, 12 September 1620.

321 Howarth 1985: 42, 50. They passed Florence on 19 July 1614.

322 Ibid.: 69. In 1627, the German painter Joachim von Sandrart described the gallery of Arundel. (Sutton 1947: 4), but did not name the Elsheimer-painting. The 1655 Arundel inventory does not list it either, according to M. F. S. Hervey. See Hervey 1921: 479.

323 Howarth 1985: 71.

324 Brown/Eliott 2002: 76.

325 Cardinal Carlo de’ Medici arrived in Rome on 13 April 1616. In his *Diario romano* (1608-1670), Giacinto Gigli (1594-1671) recounts the entry of Carlo de’ Medici and pays particular attention to the beautiful clothes of the Florentine gentlemen who accompanied the prince: Gigli 1958: 37: *A di 16 arrivò a Roma, et alli 19 fece l’entrata il Card. de Medici fratello del Gran Duca di Toscana, creato nell’ultima promozione, et andò a pigliare il Cappello. La cavalcata oltre alle cose solite alli altri Cardinali vi hebbe di più 12 Paggi a*

and therefore the Medici instructed Piero Guicciardini to accompany him, as they trusted Guicciardini to teach him how to behave correctly (“essendo egli giovane sarà necessario che oltre all’istruzione che noi gli abbiamo data, voi ancora l’istruiate e l’avvertiate di tutto quello ch’egli debba fare e del modo del governarsi”).<sup>326</sup> The ‘istruzione’ referred to is a treaty written by Girolamo Lunadori with the title *Relazione della corte di Roma*, which Christine of Lorraine had ordered Lunadori to write for Cardinal Carlo.<sup>327</sup>

From the *Avvisi* in the Vatican Archive, it turns out that on a Monday at the beginning of April 1616 the Roman authorities were warned that Cardinal Carlo had left Florence for Rome the Saturday before and planned to sleep at Caprarola.<sup>328</sup> Upon hearing this, Cardinal Farnese left Rome immediately with a retinue of gentlemen and clericals to meet Cardinal de’ Medici at Caprarola, which belonged to the Farnese. Other Cardinals left Rome as well to meet Cardinal de’ Medici at Bagnaia, like Cardinal Del Monte and Cardinal Montalto with other Montalto-princes. They were all received in Bassano by courtiers of Cardinal Giustiniani, and in the following days they visited Bagnaia (which belonged to the Montalto), Caprarola (which belonged to the Farnese) and Bracciano (which belonged to the Orsini), before arriving in Rome.<sup>329</sup> Already there Carlo could see some famous art collections and frescoes.<sup>330</sup> In the *Avvisi* we can read that when Carlo arrived in Rome he was awaited by the Cardinals Zapata, Bellarmino, Muti, Savello and Orsini and by the prince of Sulmona and later in his palace, after he visited the Pope with Cardinal Borghese, by the Cardinals Sauli, Giustiniani, Tosco, Ginnasio, Delfino, Soana and Di Borgia. A few days later he made his official entry with a cavalcade, consisting of twenty-six Cardinals, forty-seven other clerics and a large number of Roman and Florentine courtiers, nobles and gentlemen, and a total of six hundred horses.

From Florence, Cardinal Carlo de’ Medici had brought with him the Archbishop of Florence; the bishops of Colle Val d’Elsa, Borgo San Sepolcro, Volterra and Cortona; the Marquises Vitelli, Della Cogna, Carlo de’ Rossi, Del Monte, Malaspina and Del Bufalo; Count Bentivoglio; the patricians Alessandro del

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*cavallo, et poi grandissima nobiltà di gentilhomini fiorentini con molto belli vestimenti, et leggiadre livree. Dopo i quali seguivano li tamburi, et 25 Cardinali, nell’ultima fila de’ quali era esso Card. de Medici.*

326 ASF Mediceo del Principato 3509, 16 December 1615, cited in: Barocchi/Bertelà 2005: 4 (see appendix).

327 Barocchi/Bertelà 2005: 4.

328 BAV, Urb. Lat 1084, *Avvisi* di Roma (see appendix).

329 Ibid.

330 Barocchi/Bertelà 2005: 6.



Nero, Vincenzo Salviati, Galimberto del Monte and Pier Antonio Guadagni.<sup>331</sup> They all wore coloured liveries and his carriage was richly decorated with embroidery. The (suit-)cases and the ceremonial mace were the richest ever seen in Rome until then. After lunch they made another cavalcade through the city and the people of Rome admired the richly decorated liveries of the Florentine courtiers. In the end, the Roman people were full of admiration for the Grand Duke of Florence (“un concorso infinito di questo popolo, che resta tutta affettionatissimo alla gloria memoria del Gran Duca di Fiorenza”).

On 15 May 1616, Carlo held a dinner in the garden of Trinità dei Monti, for which were invited the Cardinals Del Monte, Borghese, Muti, Savello and Alessandro Orsini. Most probably Guicciardini accompanied him. The table was decorated with all kinds of sculptures made from butter and sugar, including an equestrian statue of Henry IV of France. After dinner they listened to music and singing.<sup>332</sup>

During his stay in Rome, Carlo became enthusiastic about paintings and statues and he told Guicciardini of his desire to dispatch all kinds of beautiful sculptures from the gardens and the halls of Villa Medici to Florence. Guicciardini looked upon this with concern, because the sculptures, which derived partly from the Della Valle-collection, were the essence of the fame of the Villa Medici (figs. 19 and 20).<sup>333</sup> So he decided to write a letter to the Grand Duke's

331 The Archbishop of Florence in 1616 was Alessandro Marzi Medici (1557-1630). The other nominated bishops Carlo brought with him were Cosimo della Gherardesca (Colle Val d'Elsa), Giovanni dei Gualtieri (Borgo San Sepolcro), Luca Alamanni (Volterra), and Filippo Bardi (Cortona). Pier Antonio Guadagni (1579-1632), the older brother of Tommaso Guadagni (whose art patronage is dealt with in section 3.2.2), was the founder of the reknown Guadagni Art Gallery which existed in Florence until the end of the nineteenth century. He was an important collector of paintings, statues, books and medals. See 'Pierantonio' on the website of the Guadagni family [http://www.guadagnifamily.com/family\\_tree/plate\\_three.html#11](http://www.guadagnifamily.com/family_tree/plate_three.html#11). Retrieved October 7, 2014. Alessandro del Nero (1586-1649) was a Florentine senator and maestro di camera of Don Lorenzo de' Medici. His diplomatic missions included Lucca, Genova and Savoia in 1621, to communicate the death of Grand Duke Cosimo II, Parma and Venice in 1628, to prepare the visit of Grand Duke Ferdinand II, and France in 1639. He was a collector of art and literature and was involved with theater activities in Florence. In his palace theatre performances were regularly held. In 1618, for example, a ballet called *Mascherata dei Covielli* was performed. See Benassai 2002: 34; Weaver/Weaver 1978: 87-143; Del Piazzo 1952.

332 Barocchi/Bertelà 2005: 6.

333 On Villa Medici see André Chastel (ed.), *La Villa Médicis*, 5 volumes, Rome 1989-2010, in particular volume 4: Alessandro Cecchi & Carlo Gasparri (ed.), *Le collezioni del Cardinale Ferdinando*, Rome 2009. Ferdinand I bought the Villa Medici in 1576 from Cardinal Ricci. Following the fashion of the Della Valle garden, he placed the sculptures in his garden in such a way that their importance was subordinate to the importance of the whole design of the garden. The antique statues did not dominate the garden design as in the Belvedere garden, but just decorated the garden, as did the trees and vines. In 1577 Ferdinand I even decided to purchase the whole Della Valle-collection and in 1584 the sculptures were

secretary, Cioli, in which he said that in his opinion it was disgraceful and indecent to empty the garden and villa of their nicely and harmoniously placed sculptures (“Il cominciare a spogliare quella Galleria a me pare una indecenza et una vergogna . . .”).<sup>334</sup> The Grand Dukes answered via Cioli that they agreed completely with Guicciardini and that not one statue was to be removed that would thereby diminish the splendour of the Villa and the garden, because these statues made Villa Medici one of the most prominent places of Rome.<sup>335</sup>

By saving the statues for the garden of Villa Medici, Piero Guicciardini played an important role in guarding the image of the Medici in Rome.

### **2.2.3 Other patrician ambassadors and their direct influence on the course of events at the court of Madrid and Rome**

To conclude this section on the mediation of the Florentine patrician ambassadors, we will focus on the brother of Piero Guicciardini and the son of Giovanni Niccolini, both of whom had functions as ambassadors as well, and both of whom were named Francesco.

#### **Francesco Guicciardini and his advice for cultural gifts at the court of Madrid**

Francesco Guicciardini (1552-1603) was ambassador in Madrid from 1593 until 1602.<sup>336</sup> In 1597, Grand Duke Ferdinand I had ordered him to become friends with some important gentlemen and with the future Crown Prince Philip III. Guicciardini did as instructed and could therefore give Grand Duke Ferdinand I advice which gifts were appropriate to send to the Spanish court. These included gunpowder, jewels, relics, musical instruments, textiles, and even an entire hunting-package consisting of hunting instruments, birds, dogs of different breed, two leopards and fifteen hunters. Especially this hunting-gift was received with great enthusiasm. King Philip II went leopard-hunting with the prince and princess and afterwards he wanted leopards in his own rooms as

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ready to be installed in the Medici garden and on the façade of the Medici villa. On the south side of the villa, Ferdinand I commissioned a statue gallery and the rest of the sculptures were placed in niches and pavilions around the garden. Among the statues were busts of emperors, philosophers and antique gods. See Hochmann 1999: 16, Coffin 1991: 21,22,44,253.

334 ASF Mediceo del Principato 6028, Piero Guicciardini to Andrea Cioli, 16 September 1616, cited in: Barocchi/Bertelà 2005: 7 (see appendix).

335 ASF Mediceo del Principato 3510, Andrea Cioli to Piero Guicciardini, 19 September 1616, cited in: Barocchi/Bertelà 2005: 7 (see appendix).

336 Insabato/Romanelli 2007: 5. Before starting his function as ambassador in Madrid, Francesco Guicciardini was ambassador in Ferrara (1590-93) and executed several diplomatic missions in 1592 to the Holy Roman Empire, to the County Palatine of the Rhine, to Saxony, and to Poland.

well. Guicciardini writes that thanks to this gift Ferdinand I very quickly rose in prestige (“Vostra Altezza può vantarsi d’esser in pochi giorni arrivato a quel segno che io ho visto in questa corte non poter arrivare in molti mesi Signori principalissimi”).<sup>337</sup>

The Medici, even more than other European rulers, often used culture as an instrument to define their political prestige and to create political alliances.<sup>338</sup> From the correspondence with Francesco Guicciardini it appears that, after the hunting package, in 1598 he advised the Medici to send a whole theatre scenery as a gift. The scenery was accompanied by some verses written by the famous poet and dramatist Gabriello Chiabrera.<sup>339</sup> In that period the quality of the Florentine stage-designs went beyond the qualities of other courts, so it was a very precious gift. Already in October 1597 the Medici had sent musical instruments and drawings by Bernardo Buontalenti with stage designs to Madrid via Guicciardini.<sup>340</sup> The gift of the theatre sceneries was made to the Spanish King by the buffone Don Antonio. But just in the same period Philip II and the future wife of Philip III died, so it is not clear if they ever used the models for theatre plays.<sup>341</sup>

#### **Francesco Niccolini (Tuscan ambassador in Rome from 1621 until 1643) and the Palazzo Madama on the Campo Marzio in Rome**

Cardinal Carlo de’ Medici’s efforts to obtain a new palace in Rome in December 1635 offer a clear example of how versatile political ambassadors of the Medici court had to be. Carlo asks Francesco Niccolini (1584-1650), the son of Giovanni Niccolini and successor of Piero Guicciardini in Rome, for advice.<sup>342</sup> Carlo wanted to buy the Palazzo di Monte Giordano, because he thought the Palazzo Madama on Campo Marzio (figs. 4 and 22) was uncomfortable and expensive

337 ASF Mediceo del Principato, 4926, c.11r, cited in: Menicucci 1999: 42.

338 Haskell 2001: 233-35.

339 Castelli 1997: 232. Gabriello Chiabrera (1552-1638) was born in Savona (near Genoa) and panegyrist of the Savoy-family in Turin, the Gonzaga in Mantua and of Pope Urban VIII (from 1628). He was one of the gentiluomini di camera of Grand Duke Ferdinand I and remained in service of the Medici until the reign of Grand Duke Ferdinand II, but without the obligation of staying in Florence. He could work for other patrons as well. In his epic poem *Firenze* (1615) he glorified the Medici Grand Duke Cosimo II together with the city of Florence. In Florence he regularly frequented the palaces of the Corsi, Strozzi, Salviati, Dati and Medici. See Van Veen 2004; Merola 1984.

340 For the letters about the musical instruments and the stage designs, see ASF Mediceo del Principato, 4925, cc. 290r-295v, cited in Castelli 1997: 233.

341 Castelli 1997: 234-36.

342 Francesco Niccolini was ambassador in Rome from 1621-43.

to rent.<sup>343</sup> He wanted Francesco Niccolini to look at some possible palaces to buy, like the Palazzo di Monte Giordano and the Palazzo di Sant'Apollino. He wanted to know if they were comfortable enough and he wanted Niccolini to see if he could sell the Palazzo Madama and the vineyard outside the Porta del Popolo.<sup>344</sup> Five days later Niccolini answered that he could sell the palace for 20.000 scudi and the vineyard for 2.000 or 3.000 scudi. But he did not blindly follow the orders of Carlo de' Medici, he also thought for himself. Niccolini added in his answer that a new palace would cost at least 12.000 to 15.000 scudi and he suggested it would be better to invest this money in building a beautiful 'piano nobile' inside the Palazzo Madama ("crederei che fusse più a proposito l'impiegar la medesima somma in fabbricar a piazza Madama, dove, senza toccar il di fuori si può far al primo piano un'abitazione nobilissima"). He proposed some other possible palaces to buy, like an old Borgia-palace or a palace of Francesco Peretti (di Montalto).<sup>345</sup>

In the end Palazzo Madama was not sold and Francesco Niccolini wrote to the Medici secretary Andrea Cioli which things in his opinion should be renovated. He wrote Cardinal Francesco Maria Del Monte (1549-1627) lived in the palace on his own, without women. To make the palace suitable for an ambassadors' couple, apartments for women had to be created. He thought it would in any case be necessary to demolish the partitioning walls between the small rooms where the Cardinal had slept. Then the palace would be more suitable for women and for the visits of other Cardinals at Christmas and Easter. He explained that in the past it happened that in those periods they were forced to send away Cardinals to make place for other Cardinals, because of the lack of room. ("...per potervi rigirare la molteplicità delle visite del Natale, e delle Pasque, ne quali tempi ci siamo trovati in questa Casa qualche volta, ché convenuto a un numero di Cardinali d'andarsene, per dar luogo a gl'altri, che sopravvenivano").<sup>346</sup>

343 Fumagalli 1999: 95-99. The Medici had built Palazzo Madama in 1503 and it had a late fourteenth century structure, which was not suitable for the ceremonial needs of the seventeenth century. Until 1626 Cardinal Francesco Maria Del Monte lived in the palace. After his death it became available for the Medici Cardinals and other guests.

344 ASF Mediceo del Principato 5269, Cardinal Carlo de' Medici to Francesco Niccolini, 3 December 1635, cited in: Barocchi/Bertelà 2005: vol. II appendice, 49 (see appendix).

345 ASF Mediceo del Principato 5211 cc. 345-47, Francesco Niccolini to Cardinal Carlo de' Medici, 8 December 1635, cited in: Barocchi/Bertelà 2005: vol. II appendice 50 (see appendix).

346 ASF Mediceo del Principato 3358, c.67or. e v., Letter from Francesco Niccolini to Andrea Cioli, 29 December 1635, cited in Wązbiński 1994: 385, see appendix.

Thanks to the advice of Francesco Niccolini the Medici decided to keep the Palazzo Madama and renovate it when there would be enough money. Palazzo Madama was bought by the Medici family in 1505, renovated by Giuliano da Sangallo and inhabited by the two Medici popes Leo X and Clement VII, so it had an important history and this could be an extra reason why Niccolini convinced Cardinal Carlo de' Medici to keep it.<sup>347</sup> From 1642 the architect Paolo Marucelli built a new facade, most probably based on a design by Ludovico Cigoli.<sup>348</sup> But in the following years the money question remained a problem. In 1647 the Medici asked ambassador Gabriello Riccardi to restore the palace.<sup>349</sup> Because there was a continuing lack of money, he was asked to sell a diamond, but Riccardi responded that in this century it was no longer the custom to pay things in diamonds instead of money.<sup>350</sup> Again we notice that the patricians followed the latest customs and etiquettes in Rome, which in Florence were not always clear.

### **2.3 A Florentine patrician as chamberlain of a Medici-prince and his influence on the social representation of the Medici in Rome: Filippo Niccolini and his decisions regarding the entry of Cardinal Giovan Carlo de' Medici into Rome (1645)**

In the years 1644 and 1645 the other son of Giovanni Niccolini, Filippo Niccolini (the younger brother of Francesco), was involved in the preparations of the entry of Cardinal Giovan Carlo de' Medici (fig. 23), the nephew of Cardinal Carlo de' Medici. From 1622 on Filippo Niccolini was tutor and later chamberlain of Prince Giovan Carlo de' Medici. As Giovan Carlo was the second born prince after his brother Ferdinand II, his education and supervision were extremely important, in case something should happen with the Grand Duke.<sup>351</sup> Giovan Carlo was made a cardinal by Pope Innocent X in November 1644 and in his role as chamberlain, Niccolini had to co-organize Giovan Carlo's entry into Rome when he travelled there to receive his cardinal's hat. One week after Giovan Carlo was made a cardinal, Niccolini began to prepare his trip, which

347 See 'History of Palazzo Madama – The Medici Palace', on the website of the Senato della Repubblica, [http://www.senato.it/3812?testo\\_generico=916](http://www.senato.it/3812?testo_generico=916). Retrieved February 3, 2015.

348 Servolini 1934.

349 Gabriello Riccardi was ambassador in Rome for the Medici from 1645-1658. See Martelli & Galazzo 2007: 455.

350 ASF Mediceo del Principato 5346 c 311, 12 October 1647, cited in Barocchi/Bertela 2007: 54-55.

351 Spinelli 2010: 264.

had to take place at the beginning of 1645. In the Niccolini archive in Florence the whole correspondence about this trip has been preserved in a volume with letters from different people to Filippo Niccolini. This case study is based completely on the research conducted in this archive. From Florence, Niccolini gave orders to the *guardarobiere* of the Medici in Rome, Monanno Monanni, a painter and pupil of Cristofano Allori, many times instructing him to discuss things with important nobles in Rome. Above all, their most important concern was that Giovan Carlo's appearance should be in accordance with the usual customs in Rome. But even more important was the fact that they wanted to emulate other cardinals. At the same time, everything had to be arranged as cheaply as possible, without losing status. It was Niccolini's task to take the final decisions and steer everything in the right direction.

### **The decoration of the carriage: polished or gilded ironwork?**

At the beginning of the correspondence to organize the trip to Rome, Monanni received the order to arrange a carriage and a ceremonial mace, to buy uniforms for the pages and to arrange the decoration of the palace Giovan Carlo was to live in and where he had to receive the whole College of Cardinals in the month after his procession. On 25 November 1644, Monanni replied that he had a long discussion with the gentleman Orazio Magalotti to decide which kind of carriage to buy and how it was to be decorated ("havamo fatto una gran sessione di ragionamento insieme per ordinare il modo come si deva fabricare la carrozza").<sup>352</sup> From a letter of Niccolini they understood that Giovan Carlo wanted the interior and exterior of the carriage all black, but they did not think this appropriate for the procession. Magalotti himself had written to Niccolini on 24 November that no other cardinal had a black carriage and he went on to describe the carriages of Cardinals like Ludovisi, Este and Camillo Pamphili.<sup>353</sup> Monanni stressed the fact that the carriage in any case had to be superior to the one of Cardinal Rinaldo d'Este (1618-1672).<sup>354</sup> Therefore they decided to make the interior and exterior of colored velvet and to gild the ironwork. They ask Niccolini if he thought this was too expensive and, if so, whether they should simply polish the ironwork instead of gilding ("Non si metterà mano però a tale impresa prima che VS Illustrissima non accenni liberamente come intende che

352 ANCFi fondo antico 245, inserto 5, 25 November 1644, Monanni to Niccolini, see appendix.

353 ANCFi fondo antico 246, inserto 3, 24 November 1644, Magalotti to Niccolini. The Cardinals were Camillo Francesco Maria Pamphili (1622-1666), created cardinal at the same time as Giovan Carlo, and probably Niccolò Albergati-Ludovisi, although he was created cardinal only in March 1645.

354 ANCFi fondo antico 245, inserto 5, 25 November 1644, Monanni to Niccolini, see appendix.

si faccia qualche troppo importa più la spesa da guarnire di chioderia dorata, a quella di quella di ferro brunita con altre sue appartenenze”).<sup>355</sup>

In his next letter Monanni, who in the meantime had visited Florence and spoken to Giovan Carlo de’ Medici, said he had returned to Rome and discussed the topic of the carriage with more people, including Cardinal Montalto, Marquis Del Bufalo and Magalotti again, and that they all thought it better to gild the ironwork and to embroider the coats of arms of Giovan Carlo on the side of the carriage with goldwork:

Son stati vari i pareri e [...] fra tutti si è concluso con il parere di più, approvato poi da tutti questi di Roma. [...] La Carrozza si deva fare senza sedie, ricca di ricamo andante *per* tutto di Vergola dentro, e fuori con chioderia dorata con suo cavo nobile dorato et nero ancora, con sue frangie nere.<sup>356</sup>

Surprisingly, after this second discussion they decided to make the exterior of black velvet, just like Giovan Carlo had wanted it himself, although this was not very common. The explanation could be that the alternative was much too expensive. The end of Monanni’s letter suggests this. He writes that he has had a second, written discussion with many people about the carriage. He is seriously in despair (“io son molto dubbio, et quasi confuso”), because if the outside part of the carriage were to be fully embroidered, it would cost far too much. He recommended decorating it with lace because this is a new custom and should impress because of its novelty. He wants to know the opinion of Niccolini.<sup>357</sup> Later on, Monanni writes several times that a whole team was working day and night to finish the carriage in time (“per non perder momento di tempo, né di dì, né di notte”).<sup>358</sup>

#### **The uniforms and the ceremonial mace: recycling, but not too obvious**

Regarding the uniforms for the pages, Monanni writes about the plan to recycle the uniforms that were used in 1615 during the procession of Carlo de’ Medici, the uncle of Giovan Carlo. He writes that these uniforms are now old-fashioned and that Marquis Del Bufalo advises adding more colors to them, because they were otherwise too dark and people might laugh at that (“Et il Signor Marchese dal Bufalo imparticolare consiglia a rallegrarla un poco con le maniche di co-

355 Ibid.

356 Ibid., 9 December 1644, see appendix.

357 Ibid.

358 Ibid.

lore, et le calze simili, perche sente ridere di queste tutto nero").<sup>359</sup> And they were even more afraid that people would see the uniforms were the same as thirty years before and that they had wanted to save money in this way.

In another letter Monanni writes about the ceremonial mace saying that there is neither money nor time to make a new one; making Cardinal Montalto's ceremonial mace had taken five months time and was very expensive.<sup>360</sup> So he bought one that had belonged to the deceased Cardinal Cosimo de Torres il Vecchio. He says it is a good mace, but they have to remove many things and add new decorative elements and the coats of arms of Giovan Carlo, so that nobody would recognize the mace of Torres il Vecchio ("et ci si puole levar cert'arme, et accomodarsi altri membri da darli maggior ricchezza, et da mutarla che non sia riconosciuta").<sup>361</sup> They showed the mace to the sculptor Alessandro Algardi who said it was a very good purchase.<sup>362</sup> It was a usual custom to recycle ceremonial maces and replace the coats of arms.<sup>363</sup>

### The decoration of Palazzo Madama

While supervising the work on the carriage and the ceremonial mace, Monanni also took care of the preparations for the decoration of the palace, Palazzo Madama (figs. 4 and 22) in what is now called the Corso Rinascimento. He writes that the walls in the palace are very high and that it would be better to attach tapestries instead of paintings.<sup>364</sup> He says Niccolini has to decide which chambers should be decorated with tapestries and which not.<sup>365</sup> One week later he reports they have found tapestries in Rome at a certain dealer or person who is called il Leoncino, possibly the painter Francesco Leoncini (1613-1666) from Pistoia.<sup>366</sup> The designs of the tapestries were made by Rubens ("Habbiamo noi tanti Arazzi bellissimi che furno comprati dal Lioncino. Disegno del Rubens").<sup>367</sup> To supplement the tapestries of Leoncino, Monanni asks for a couple of tapestries from the *Guardaroba medicea* in Florence, in particular one with the story

359 Ibid.

360 ANCFi fondo antico 245, inserto 5, without date, see appendix.

361 Ibid., 16 December 1644, see appendix.

362 ANCFi fondo antico 245, inserto 5, without date, must be dated about 22 December 1644: see appendix.

363 Compare for example the ceremonial mace of Giovanni Giardini of 1691-96 in the Victoria and Albert Museum in London. This is known to have been used by several cardinals who replaced the coats of arms and changed the decoration, as was done for Giovan Carlo.

364 ANCFi fondo antico 245 inserto 5, 16 December 1644.

365 Ibid., 17 December 1644.

366 If il Leoncino is not the painter from Pistoia he could be a person from Lyons.

367 ANCFi fondo antico 245, inserto 5, without date, must be about 22 December 1644.



of the Greek goddess Circe who makes a liquor of flowers that Ulysses' men must drink, after which they transform into swine. And he asks for another with the story of Alexander the Great, who has to drink a medicine that would either cure him or kill him. Fortunately, he survives.<sup>368</sup> The two tapestries Monanni asked from Florence belonged to a series of four tapestries, woven by Pietro Fèvre between 1640 and 1642 for Cardinal Carlo de' Medici.<sup>369</sup> The other two depicted stories about Alexander. All four tapestries have been lost, but a tapestry with the same theme was woven in 1650-51 by Bernardino van Asselt based on a design by Agostino Melissi.<sup>370</sup> Why they chose to decorate the palace with tapestries showing the protagonists drinking strange liquors is not known.

The last problem to be solved was that there were only two baldachins in the palace of Giovan Carlo, in the audience room and in the large Hall, while the deceased Savoy-Cardinal had had another two in the antechamber. Monanni writes that all the other cardinals have at least one baldachin in the antechamber ("perche non sta bene haver solo dua baldacchini una nella sala, l'altra nella stanza dell'audienza. Il Cardinale di Savoia ne haveva due nelle Anticamere, et molti Cardinali ne hanno almeno uno..."). He asks thus if he has to add more baldachins, to be more in line with the usual customs in Rome.<sup>371</sup> Finally Monanni asks Niccolini's advice regarding the decoration of the façade of Palazzo Madama ("Et in tanto sentiro un poco il suo senso quanto all'adornare la facciata di questo palazzo, circa gl'ornamenti di festoni orpelli et simili").<sup>372</sup>

368 Ibid., 6 January 1645, see appendix.

369 This was communicated to me by Lucia Meoni and the information will be published in the third volume of her books about the tapestries in the Medici collections: *Gli arazzi nei musei fiorentini. La collezione medicea. Catalogo completo. III. La manifattura all'epoca di Ferdinando II (1629-1670)* (forthcoming). In the inventory she consulted, the tapestry with the story of Ulysses is described as: 'con tre donne che una tiene in mano le bilance con dua vasi grandi'. This is possibly the tapestry with Circe, also because it is part of the same series as the one with Alexander, who drinks a medicine.

370 Meoni 2002: 174, note 52; Meoni 2001: 111. Depositi Arazzi di Palazzo Pitti (Inv. A. 337) 'The Sick Alexander the Great drinking Philip's medicine' belonged to a series of tapestries with the Stories of Alexander which consisted of three *soprapporte* and two columns.

371 In a letter from the Tuscan ambassador in Rome, Gabriele Riccardi, cited by Barocchi/Bertela 2007: 33 (ASF Mediceo del Principato 5301 c 535), from 22 January 1645 we read that the carriage was not yet finished. Monanni had promised that it would be finished on 15 January. On that same date Monanni writes about the canopies ANCFi fondo antico 245, inserto 5, 15 January 1645, see appendix.

372 ANCFi fondo antico 245, inserto 5, 18 January 1645.

### The public entry of Cardinal Giovan Carlo de' Medici into Rome (1645)

Giovan Carlo arrived in Rome in February 1645. On the day of his arrival the Tuscan ambassador Marquis Riccardi went to meet him en route, at Viterbo, together with Roman gentlemen and clericals. Giovan Carlo came with a large retinue, eighty carriages with Florentine gentlemen, like the marquises Bentivoglio, Corsini and Corsi, the dukes Salviati, Strozzi, and Sforza, the archbishops of Siena and Pisa and the bishops of Colle Val d'Elsa and Arezzo.<sup>373</sup> After kissing the feet of the Pope, Giovan Carlo went to his palace in Rome and was awaited there by an impressive number of important men, including the Roman Cardinals Capponi, Cornaro, Sacchetti, Spinola, and Carpegna, and the Roman gentlemen Montalto, Mattei, Lugo, Colonna, and Trivulzio.<sup>374</sup> His official entry took place a few days later, on 21 February. He made his cavalcade through the city, in the presence of 23 cardinals on donkeys and 300 noblemen on horses of which 128 belonged to the retinue of Giovan Carlo (courtiers, clerics and gentlemen).<sup>375</sup> According to a description in the Venetian *Avvisi*, everyone wore beautiful liveries, especially Marquis Niccolini, the chamberlain of Giovan Carlo ("una ricca, e vaga livrea con riccami et in particolare il marchese Nicolini suo maestro di Camera andando anco in cavalcata"). Also Roman nobles like the princes Carbo gnano and Gallicano, the Colonna, Orsini, Altemps, Mattei, and the marquises Frangipani, Cesis, Santacroce, Torres, and Spada joined the cavalcade.<sup>376</sup> After receiving the cardinal's hat, there was a banquet at the Pamphili. In the days after, Giovan Carlo visited the important Roman Cardinals together with his retinue. He wore a beautiful velvet livery, with yellow embroidery and a cape of red satin. The carriage was richly decorated with the same materials and totally embroidered and gilded.

Giovan Carlo's jester il Todeschino (Bernardino Ricci, fig. 24) accompanied him on his trip to Rome together with several artists, including Salvator Rosa,

373 In 1645, Asciano Piccolomini and Scipione Pannocchieschi were the archbishops of Siena and Pisa, respectively. Roberto Strozzi was bishop of Colle Val d'Elsa and Tommaso Salviati of Arezzo.

374 Among these cardinals and Roman gentlemen were: Luigi Capponi (1593-1659), Giulio Cesare Sacchetti (1587-1663), Federico Baldissera Bartolomeo Cornaro (1579-1653), Giulio Spinola (1612-1691), Ulderico Carpegna (1595-1679), Francesco Peretti Montalto (1600-1655), Girolamo Colonna (1603-1666) and Teodoro Trivulzio (1597-1657).

375 Barocchi/Bertela 2007: 34: ASF Mediceo del Principato 5178, cc 354-96. cc 356 = Relazione e nota de' modi tenuti di quanto è occorso nell'ingresso che fece in Roma il Signor Principe Cardinale Giovan Carlo nel venire a ricevere il cappello e nel tempo che Sua Eminenza si è trattenuta in questa corte, written by Giovan Francesco Tolomei.

376 Among these Roman noblemen were Pier Donato Cesis (1595-1656), Bernardino Spada (1593-1661), and Pietro Altemps.

Justus Sustermans, and Antonio Novelli. They stayed in Rome from 9 February until 2 June 1645.<sup>377</sup> For Sustermans this trip was very important for his career. In Rome he saw the works of Cortona and Bernini and afterwards he incorporated many new baroque influences in his own style.<sup>378</sup> The trip with Giovan Carlo even provided him some new important commissions, notably from the Pamphili family for portraits of Innocent X, Olimpia Aldobrandini-Pamphili, and other members of the family.<sup>379</sup> The sculptor Antonio Novelli learned a lot by viewing the antique sculptures in Rome and like in the case of Sustermans this influenced his future work.<sup>380</sup> According to Filippo Baldinucci, after his trip to Rome, Novelli sighed to his pupil Giovan Maria Foggini: 'O Foggini, o Foggini, bisognava per me esserci venuto prima'.<sup>381</sup> The erudite il Todeschino had lived in Rome for many years and had good relationships with the aristocratic families there.<sup>382</sup> Supposedly he accompanied Giovan Carlo just for this reason.

We can conclude that Giovan Carlo de' Medici's maestro di camera, Filippo Niccolini, was involved in important decisions having to do with the social and cultural representation of the Medici in Rome and with the impression they made on other nobles and diplomats. Other things that turn out from the letters between Monanni and Niccolini are the great concern the Medici had about emulating other cardinals, while at the same time they wanted to save money without letting this be noticed. It is also worth mentioning that all the important decisions were discussed with a team of nobles in Rome. It seems that Niccolini, as chamberlain, gave the final orders, though in line with Giovan Carlo's intentions.

377 ASF Mediceo del Principato 5178, cc 354-96. cc 356, cited in: Barocchi/Bertela 2007: 34: Relazione e nota de' modi tenuti di quanto è occorso nell'ingresso che fece in Roma il Signor Principe Cardinale Giovan Carlo nel venire a ricevere il cappello e nel tempo che Sua Eminenza si è trattenuta in questa corte, written by Giovan Francesco Tolomei.

378 Chiarini 1983: 13-14.

379 Goldenberg Stoppato 1983: 17.

380 Caneva 1993: 98. Novelli's presence during this trip is recorded in: ASF Mediceo del Principato f. 5279B, ins 7, c. 73. Ruolo del Ser.mo Principe card.le Gio. Carlo Medici.

381 Zikos 2013.

382 On the *buffone* il Todeschino, see Ricci: 1995. Ricci (1588-1653) was an erudite person who had relations with many aristocratic families in Rome like the Della Rovere, Orsini, Montalto, Ludovisi, Borgia, Aldobrandini and Barberini. To defend 'the art of joking' he wrote the above-mentioned treatise in 1633-35. With Giovan Carlo de' Medici he had a good relationship and in his letters to Giovan Carlo he was also often joking. On 24 February 1629, for example, he wrote 'Giovan Carlo ricordati che io son il Todeschino, e tu chi sei.' (ASF Mediceo del Principato 5378, cc.80-81)

## Conclusion

In this chapter we have seen how important patrician ambassadors and chamberlains could be for the successful social and cultural representation of the Medici, not only in Florence and Rome, but even in Spain and England. The patricians were able to give appropriate advice thanks to their considerable insight into local customs.

Giovanni Niccolini advised the Medici about the way the new ambassador Piero Guicciardini should enter the city in 1610. Moreover, the Medici trusted him in making the right decisions regarding the issue of precedence, especially with the Savoy-Dukes. Niccolini had to instruct the new ambassador about which representatives of foreign states he had to visit and which representatives had to visit him. The role of Giovanni Niccolini was extremely important in this, because he knew all the ceremonial customs in Rome and if mistakes were made, the social prestige of the Medici was at stake. Niccolini assisted the Medici also in other ways to help them find favour with cardinals in Rome, for example by presenting suitable food gifts to the most appropriate recipients.

Niccolini's successor, the new ambassador Piero Guicciardini, accompanied the young Cardinal Carlo de' Medici during his stay in Rome in 1616 and helped him to behave correctly according to the prevailing etiquettes. Apart from solving diplomatic questions, the patricians contributed also largely to the cultural prestige of the Medici court in Florence and abroad. We have seen how Piero Guicciardini acted as art broker for the Medici and was important in this way in defining their taste. He bought many paintings and antique statues for them and the Medici put a lot of trust in his judgments, which was shown by the fact that he could freely decide about prices and subjects. Thanks to him, the Medici were able to collect the latest art genres and did not lag behind other courts in terms of current tastes. Sometimes his acquisitions were of significant diplomatic importance, as in the Elsheimer-case, when the Medici's fame reached England. As we read, the patricians did not blindly follow the orders of the Medici, but also offered important advice such as the recommendation to protect the art works in the Medici Villa.

The chamberlain of Giovan Carlo de' Medici, Filippo Niccolini, helped coordinate the entry of the new Cardinal into Rome in 1645 and the Medici trusted him to take the final decisions about the best ways to decorate the carriage, palace, and uniforms. The most important concern was to emulate other cardinals and to impress clerics, diplomats and nobles of high rank in Rome.

## Figures – Chapter Two



**Figure 1:** Daniel Dumonstier, *portrait of Charles de Neufville, marquis de Villeroy et d'Alincourt*, 1610.



**Figure 2:** Palazzo Firenze, Campo Marzio, Rome.



**Figure 3:** Don Antonio de' Medici (1576-1621), by an unknown Florentine painter, 17th century. Reproduced in: C. Caneva and F. Solinas (ed.), *Maria de' Medici - una principessa fiorentina sul trono di Francia*, Livorno 2005, p. 173.

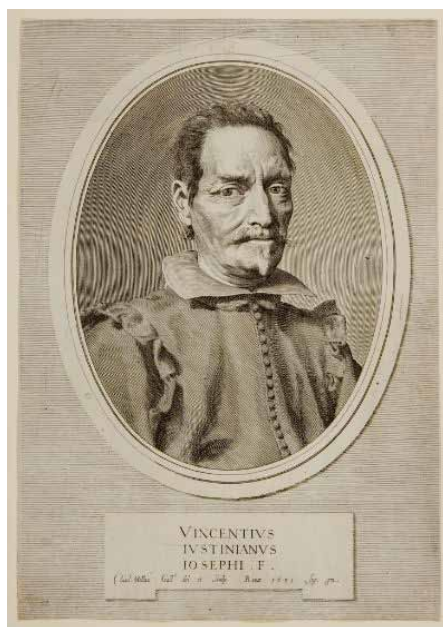


**Figure 4:** Palazzo Madama, in an engraving by Giuseppe Vasi (1710-1782).





**Figure 5:** Ottavio Leoni, *portrait of Cardinal Francesco Maria del Monte (1549-1627)*, 1616.



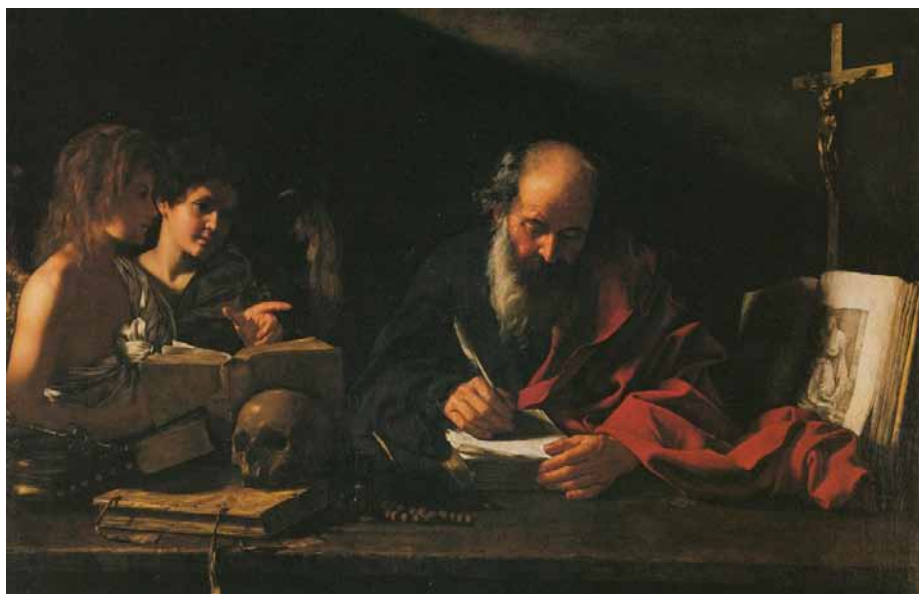
**Figure 6:** Claude Mellan, *portrait of Vincenzo Giustiniani (1564-1637)*, 1634.



**Figure 7:** Cardinal Alessandro Peretti di Montalto (1571-1623) in a portrait by an anonymous painter from Lombardy (1615).



**Figure 8:** One of the painted oculi by Agostino Tassi (1613), Villa Lante, Bagnaia, in a photograph by the author (June 2009).



**Figure 9:** Bartolomeo Cavarozzi, *Saint Jerome with two angels*, 1617, Galleria Palatina, Palazzo Pitti, Florence. Reproduced in: Gianni Papi (ed.), *Caravaggio e Caravaggeschi a Firenze*, Livorno 2010, p. 143.





**Figure 10:** Jacopo Bassano, *Construction of the Ark*, 1570-80, Galleria degli Uffizi (deposit), Florence.



**Figure 11:** Paul Bril, *Harbour with ships*, Galleria degli Uffizi, Florence, inv. 1890, no. 1052.



**Figure 12:** Gerard van Honthorst, *Supper party with lute player*, 1619-20, Galleria degli Uffizi, Florence, inv. 1890, no. 730. Reproduced in: Gianni Papi (ed.), *Caravaggio e Caravaggeschi a Firenze*, Livorno 2010, p. 183.



**Figure 13:** Adam Elsheimer, *Paradise*, central scene of the tabernacle *Legend of the True Cross*, 1603-05, Städelches Kunstinstitut Frankfurt.



**Figure 14:** Adam Elsheimer, tabernacle *Legend of the True Cross*, 1603-05, Städelsches Kunstinstitut Frankfurt.

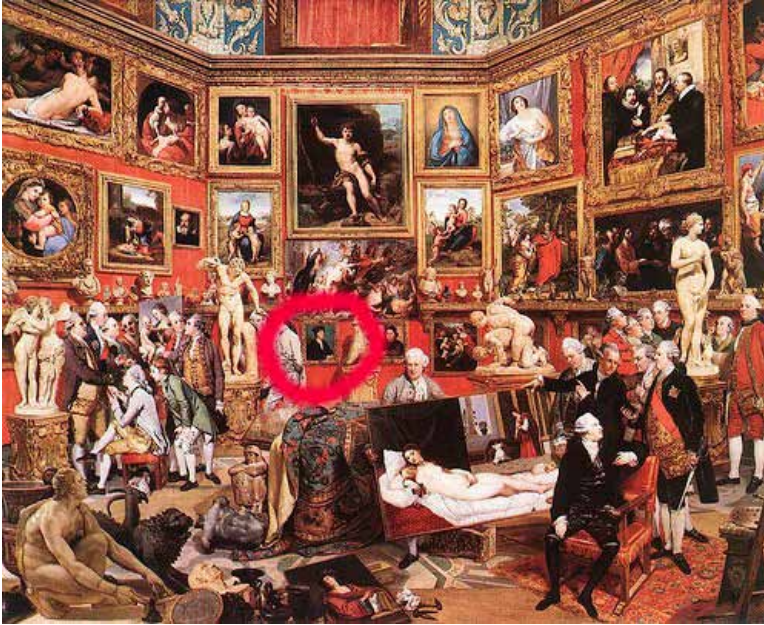


**Figure 15:** Daniel Mytens, *Thomas Howard, 2<sup>nd</sup> earl of Arundel*, circa 1618, National Portrait Gallery, London.



**Figure 16:** Hans Holbein the Younger, *portrait of Sir Richard Southwell*, 1536, Galleria degli Uffizi, Florence.





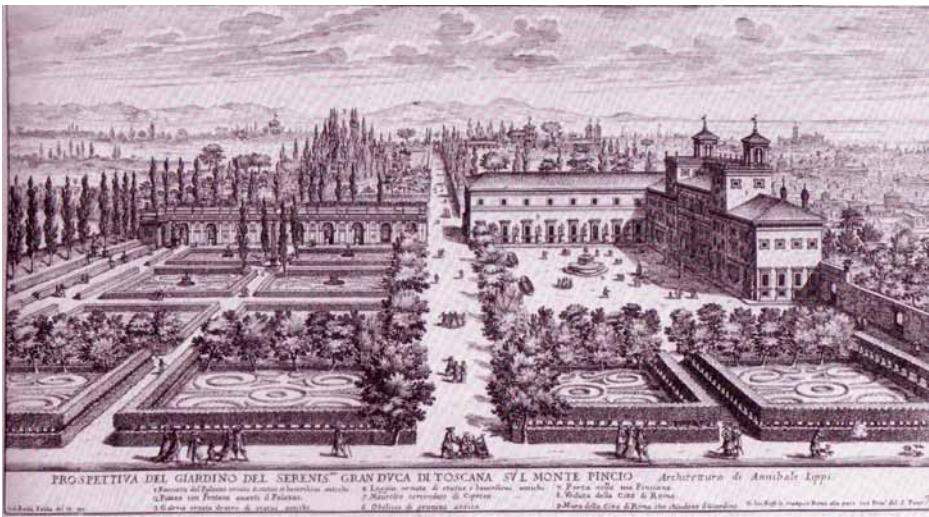
**Figure 17:** The location of the painting of Sir Richard Southwell by Hans Holbein the Younger in the Tribuna degli Uffizi, painted in 1772-78 by Johann Zoffany (Royal Collection, Windsor).



**Figure 19:** Jacopo Zucchi, *Veduta della Villa Medici e dei suoi giardini* (View on Villa Medici and its gardens), 1576-80, Villa Medici, Rome.  
Reproduced in: Michel Hochmann (ed.), *Villa Medici. Il sogno di un cardinale. Collezioni e artisti di Ferdinando de' Medici*, Rome 1999, p. 70.



**Figure 18:** Adam Elsheimer, tabernacle *Legend of the True Cross*, 1603-05, Städtisches Kunstinstitut Frankfurt. Detail of the aedicula with Medici balls placed above the frame by Cosimo II de' Medici around 1620.



**Figure 20:** Villa Medici in an engraving by Giovanni Battista Falda (1643-1678) in 'Li giardini di Roma'. Right of the centre path, indicated by Falda with number 3, is the 'Galleria ornata dentro di statue antiche'. Left of the centre path, indicated by Falda with number 4, is the 'Loggia ornata di statue e bassirilievi antichi'. Reproduced in: Coffin, *Gardens and Gardening in Rome*, 1991, p. 225.



**Figure 21:** Garden Façade Villa Medici (photo Alinari 6818).  
Reproduced in: Coffin, *Gardens and Gardening in Rome*, 1991, p. 225.



**Figure 22:** Palazzo Madama, Rome, now home of the Senate of the Italian Republic.





**Figure 23:** Baldassare Franceschini (Il Volterrano), *portrait of Giovan Carlo the Medici*, 1653, Galleria Palatina, Palazzo Pitti, Florence.



**Figure 24:** Giovan Carlo's jester 'Il Todeschino' (Bernardino Ricci) in an etching by Stefano della Bella (1637), The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York.

