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Representation of the First Grand Dukes

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EUROPEAN UNIVERSITY INSTITUTE
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Abstract

Over 420 works on the Grand Dukes of the Medici family were written in the two centuries during which they ruled Florence and later all of Tuscany (1532-1737). Funeral orations and biographies can be considered the main instruments in the process of constructing the image of princehood. This article focuses on the texts used most frequently, i.e. funeral orations. From the death of Cosimo I, in fact, the funeral oration became a fundamental instrument for the legitimation of the dynasty and for the diffusion of the themes that were considered important in order to reinforce monarchical government in a city such as Florence that had been a republic for a long time. The presentation of the figure of the ruler in these texts, which are full of rhetoric, changes from the the founder of the dynasty, Cosimo I, to his first successors. This article aims at highlighting these changes both in the formal structure and in the contents of these texts in the period between Cosimo I (1574) and Cosimo II (1621). It points out that the stress on specific themes varies due to the exigences of the dynasty in the different historical moments and demonstrates the way the image of princehood mirrored the political and cultural climate of the Medici court.

Keywords

Funeral oratory, Medici, court, rhetoric, Cosimo I, Francesco I, Ferdinando I, Cosimo II, representation, oration, Tuscany, propaganda.

Funeral Oratory at the Medici Court: the Representation of the First Grand Dukes

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This paper aims to offer a general survey of the forms and occasions related to the celebrations of a dynasty that ruled between the sixteenth and the eighteenth century, using the Medici family (which reigned over the principedom of Tuscany in the two middle centuries of the Modern Age) as a case study.

My paper will focus on a particular encomiastic typology, funeral rhetoric, that constituted a fundamental medium for dynastic legitimation. I will try to define to what extent funeral rhetoric was used intentionally for this purpose, the authors' and their clients' aims and the themes that were and that became important due to the cultural and political shifts of the times. This analysis focuses on Francesco I, Ferdinando I and Cosimo II, and it adds to that on Cosimo I, whose representation through funeral rhetoric has already been investigated.¹

A few preliminary remarks on the encomiastic production concerning the Medici family are necessary; my observations derive from an analysis of the works edited by Domenico Moreni.² All 1088 texts he catalogued concern members of the family, from its origin to its end,. 910 of them were written during the regency of the family; 63% of them can be considered occasional eulogies.

Which, then, were the most prominent events used to praise Medici princes? If we group the texts according to the recurrent types of functions, only 5% concern performances at the Court (that is, dances, interludes, comedies, carnivals, games, carousels, feasts, masquerades, shows, tournaments, etc). Compositions dedicated to travel, sojourns or entries into cities are slightly more numerous; then there are compositions celebrating awards or ecclesiastical offices, or military campaigns (embarcation, wars, victories, enterprises), acknowledgments, construction of monuments or buildings, etc. Even though the range of events is wide, celebratory

¹ Menchini, C. (2005). I panegirici di Cosimo I de' Medici: tra retorica e storia. In Firpo, M. Ed. "Nunc alia tempora, alii mores". *Storici e Storia in età posttridentina*. Firenze. Olschki:pp. 337-371.

² Moreni, D. (1826), Serie di opere riguardanti la celebre famiglia Medici. Firenze. Margheri..

compositions can be grouped into three main occasions: births (6%), marriages (23%), and deaths (26%), that is, the three moments that define man's life. The particular attention devoted to death is the reason why funeral rhetoric has been chosen as a means in the examination of the production of eulogies. As far as funeral rhetoric is concerned, most of the compositions written over these two centuries focus on Cosimo I, the subject of a hundred works.³ The dynasty founder is by far the most celebrated member of the family, while the least celebrated are his predecessor Alessandro I and the last Grand Duke, Gian Gastone.⁴

Whether death is the crucial moment for the prince's celebration,⁵ the right time to examine his life from the beginning to the end and to reaffirm dynastic rights, it is also a moment obviously characterized by the protagonist's absence: his successors follow up the initiative. This is the reason why few compositions are dedicated to the last member of the Medici family, which was followed by the Habsburgs.⁶

Dynastic celebration involves a wide range of people: wives and prematurely dead sons, or those who were not destined to the succession to the throne. The most celebrated subjects are Francesco I's wife, Giovanna d'Austria, the addressee of nearly twenty works; Ferdinando I's wife, Cristina di Lorena (14), and Violante di Baviera (13).⁷

Later, the tendency was to combine the sovereign's and other relatives' celebrations, creating compositions that had multiple addressees. There was also an increasing number of events and genres suited to dedications. As far as Cosimo I is concerned, most of the compositions were written during the year of his death in 1574. Cosimo II's most celebrated event was his marriage, in 1608. The most common genre is oration (56%), but poetical works (18%) are also very interesting. As far as the authors are concerned, there are only four women among them: Laura Pieri, who celebrated the war of Siena; Isabella Cervoni da Colle, who wrote compositions dedicated to Maria de' Medici and Enrico IV; Margherita Costa from Rome, who celebrated Ferdinando II's journey to Alemagna; and Maria Selvaggia Borghini, a member of the Pisan Extravagants' Academy, who wrote for the Grand Duchess Vittoria della Rovere.⁸

³ More than 80 works are addressed to Cosimo I, celebrating him specifically (84), while other rulers are celebrated on particular occasions and not as isolated figures but often in connection with other members of the family.

⁴ Among the works addressed to the princes of the Medici family 81 are dedicated to Cosimo II, 75 to Cosimo III, 63 to Ferdinando I, 61 to Ferdinando II, 41 to Francesco I, 14 to Giovan Gastone, 12 to Alessandro I.

⁵ On the funeral ceremonies in the period of Medici rule see Matteo, C. (2003). *La corte, i cerimoniali, le feste. Storia della civiltà toscana, III, Il principato mediceo*. E. F. Guarini. Firenze, Le Monnier. **3**: 461-484.

⁶ See Diaz, F. (1987), *Il Granducato di Toscana. I Medici*, Torino, UTET.

⁷ Another important figure whose celebration continues during the whole early modern period is that of Pope Leo X with 56 compositions aimed to recall his deeds.

⁸ Pieri, L. (1553). Il felicissimo accordo (in ottava rima) della magnifica città di Siena con l'III. et excell. S. Duca di Fiorenza con la causa et origine di tutta la guerra et con molte scaramucie et imboscate et in ultimo la conclusione della pace et dell'accordo fatto et capitolato nella città di Fiorenza nell'anno 1553. Firenze; Borghini, M.S. (1640 ca.). Lodi della ser. Vittoria granduchessa di Toscana; Cervoni da Colle, I. (1600). Tre canzoni in laude de cristianissimi Re e Regina di Francia e Navarra Enrico IV e Madama Maria de' Medici; Costa, M. (1628). Istoria del viaggio d'Alemagna del ser. Granduca di Toscana Ferdinando II dai 23 febb sino ai 14 luglio 1628.

The percentage concerning the total amount of encomiastic production is confirmed by the works dedicated to each ruler, whose number of biographies diminished drastically from Cosimo I onwards. There are twelve biographies dedicated to Cosimo I, but none to Francesco I, five to Ferdinando I and one to Cosimo II. It must be pointed out that the great interest in the use of the vernacular tongue during Cosimo I's reign was revived only during Cosimo II's.⁹

The funeral addresses dedicated to Francesco I, who died in 1587, were recited in Florence, Pisa, Rome and Lyon. As Giovanbattista Strozzi relates,¹⁰ official addresses were recited in the king's palace by Pietro Angeli on the day of the funeral, and by Lorenzo Giacomini six days after it in the Church of San Lorenzo (since the celebration took place at two different times). The likeness to the model used in Cosimo I's *laudationes funebres* is unquestionable. The pattern included the orator's declaration of inadequacy, a digression on Francesco I's ancestors, among whom his father Cosimo plays a significant role. The address dwells on the prince's youth and on two significant events: his journey to Rome to Pio IV and his sojourn in Spain at Filippo II's Catholic court. The bride's (Giovanna d'Austria) qualities and the marriage (1565) are underlined. The chronological sequence of events is here replaced with a general survey of the sovereign's virtues, the most prominent of which are the observance of God (i.e., obedience to the pope) and of justice. His efforts against barbarians and infidels, in order to sustain the Catholic faith and peace in his kingdom, are underlined, and the sovereign is compared to the Roman Emperor Augustus. Several buildings the ruler ordered or completed are then listed. From here onwards, the chronicle is resumed, and Francesco's constancy at the death of his son is praised. The final consolation is introduced by the appearance of his successor (Manuzio).

This is exactly the structure of Cosimo's addresses; and for this reason, the differences are particularly significant. During Francesco I's reign there were no significant wars, which had been an important element in the classic address (and in Cosimo's addresses in particular). Francesco I did not lead military campaigns comparable to the war with Siena. The orator's task is then to overturn the narrative into an exaltation of peace that ceases to be conceived, as it was in Cosimo's times, as an act of peacemaking (as the resolution of exiles' problem was presented), but is now conceived as the preservation of the lack of conflict within the boundaries of the state. In Giacomini's words, Francesco is praised for «haver conservato i suoi popoli in pace, non haver cercato occasioni di guerre».¹¹

Even in the rhetorical transfiguration of his deeds, Cosimo's addresses revealed a strong link between the eulogy and the chronicle of the events that took place during his reign. In the addresses dedicated to Francesco this link disappears.

⁹ About the use of the vernacular in the period of Medici rule see Nencioni, G. (1983), Il volgare nell'avvio del principato mediceo in Firenze e la Toscana dei Medici nell' Europa del Cinquecento, III. Firenze. Olschki: pp. 683-705; Bertelli, S. (1976). Egemonia linguistica come egemonia culturale e politica nella Firenze cosimiana «Bibliothèque d'Humanisme et Renaissance. Travaux et documents», XXXVIII: pp. 249-281.

¹⁰ Strozzi, G.B. (1587), Esequie del serenissimo don Francesco Medici granduca di Toscana II, Firenze. Sermartelli: p. 51.

¹¹ Giacomini, L. (1587), Orazione delle lodi di Francesco Medici granduca di Toscana fatta per ordine dell'Academia fiorentina nel tempio di san Lorenzo il dì 21 di dicembre 1587 nel consolato di mess. Baccio Valori, Firenze. Sermartelli: p. 17.

The comparison between Cosimo and Francesco recurs in all addresses.¹² What is celebrated is Cosimo's magnitude and Francesco's ability to surpass him. Cosimo I's image therefore had to be at least partially diminished; and this was done by contesting some of his decisions during the war with Siena. Francesco's disadvantage is turned into an advantage. This same attitude, which can be found in Manunzio and Compagni's addresses, is made explicit in Scipione Ammirato's address¹³ that exalts peace as the basis for the preservation of the state and the increase of its wealth, while he condemns the war with Siena, which was very expensive for the state:

Hora conobbe tutto ciò il granduca Francesco esser vero e forse come è da credere da quel prudentissimo e savissimo principe del granduca Cosimo di felice memoria suo padre gli poté esser ricordato, il quale come per la guerra di Siena si credesser esser molto acconcio e provveduto, conobbe nondimeno a lagna andare che le ordinarie rendite a regger quella guerra non bastavano onde fu costretto gravar i suoi popoli di nuove imposizioni e di nove gabelle perché come avvenne, la cominciata guerra a lodevol fine conduder si potesse. E perciò veggendo il figliuolo l'Italia in calma et in tranquillità si servi dell'occasione e dell'opportunità che il tempo gli porgeva et con sommo avvedimento risparmiando il suo e non togliendo quel d'altri, mise insieme quel gran tesoro che hormai a ciascuno di voi deve esser manifesto et il quel indubitata cosa è, esser la rocca inepugnabile di Firenze, la vera et certa arra del riposo e quiete di tutta la Toscana et in gran parte gagliardissimo et sicuro baluardo della s. Apostolica e di Roma. (Ammirato)

The relationship between the preservation of peace (that is, abstention from war, and the increase of wealth), explicit in Ammirato's oration, can also be found in the works of other orators. The importance of preserving funds and of reducing expenses become key elements in Francesco I's representation, mainly as a way to distinguish him from Cosimo I. Francesco is depicted as the "principe parsimonioso". Since one of the virtues exalted in the sixteenth century was magnificence, Francesco's repeatedly underlined ability to save money is anomalous,¹⁴ especially if we consider that many of these authors also lived during Cosimo I's times, and wrote addresses for him on several occasions (Ammirato and Bargeus, for example). The orator who insists more on this element is Bargeus himself, who defines Francesco as «parcissimus ac frugalissimus, ut suo contentus ab alieno manus abstineret».¹⁵

The only address that attempts to celebrate Francesco by adopting the pattern of the *laudationes funebres* (that is, through the emphasis on the Grand Duke's deeds) is the one written by Cosimo Concini, Bartolomeo's nephew, which remained in the form of a manuscript. This address aims at reinforcing the political bonds with Austria and Spain, through the listing and the emphasis on the help given by the Grand Duke to the Emperor and the king of Spain in difficult moments. Concini is the only one to mention

¹² A good example can be found in the oration by Giovanni Compagni (1587), *Laudatio in obitum ser. Francisci Medice M. Ducis Etruriae II habita Pisis in publico gymnasio (prid. Kal. Dec 1587)*. Firenze. Sermartelli.

¹³ Ammirato, S. (1587). *Orazione del sig. Scipione Ammirato fatta nella morte di don Francesco de Medici granduca di Toscana suo signore*. Firenze. Giunti. Ammirato also wrote a biography of Cosimo I.

¹⁴ Several examples of the exaltation of Francesco's ability to save money can be found in Ammirato, cit., p. 24. He wrote «senza lasciar noi poveri, lasci il publico ricco», «tu mi hai insegnato a viver del mio», «da te ho imparato a ristignere i miei desideri secondo la misura del mio potere», «viva io povero e bea l'acque del fonte e mangi le radici dell'erbe pria che violar le tue reverende leggi o santa giustizia, cuoprami manto grave o liggiero rozzo e ignoble pur che io serbi le mani pure e monde di quel d'altri».

¹⁵ Angeli Bargeus P. (1587), *Oratio habita Florentiae in funere Francisci Medicis Magni Ducis Etruriae VIII Kal. Ian.* Firenze. Giunti: p. 22.

the involvement of the Tuscan troops in the invasion of Portugal by Filippo II in 1580. Concini wonders rhetorically:

Quod Philippo hispaniarum regi potentissimo gravissimis temporibus tota flagrante bello Lusitania adiumento fuisse? Cum Petro Med. fratre, altero se fortissimo duce ad eum misto milite pecunia annonae adiuvit?¹⁶

Funeral addresses dedicated to Francesco I are very similar to those recited during Cosimo I's funeral observances, in which praise for the sovereign is not as closely related to the celebration of his deeds as those recited in 1574. Formal innovations have been introduced. There is an abundant use of vocatives, while references to the contingency are diluted.

Thirty-five years after Cosimo I's and twenty-two years after Francesco's celebrations, on the death of his successor Ferdinando I in 1609, the third Grand Duke of Tuscany, the political and cultural scenario had radically changed. The main problem orators had to cope with was the reconciliation of two different celebrative models – one suitable for a cardinal and one for a prince. Ferdinando was appointed cardinal when he was only thirteen, and he left the appointment no sooner than 1589, two years after he became Grand Duke, in order to marry Cristina di Lorena. Orators have then to develop a eulogy that starts with the exaltation of the ruler first as a child, then as a cardinal (with the virtues related to this role), and in the end with the fulfillment of all his virtues during his reign over the principedom. The orator's attempt is very similar to the one Paolo Cortese attempted in *De Cardinalatu*.¹⁷

Cosimo I's model is then sublimated in two different ways: on the one hand, Ferdinando is able to reconcile the perfection of a true Christian life and the exertion of his ecclesiastic appointment with his role as a prince; on the other hand, as a prince, he is depicted as a hero, and he embodies heroic virtues.

In his role as a cardinal,¹⁸ his charity is unanimously underlined, and Ferdinando is even depicted in the act of begging.

Tralascio la solitudine e la pietà nel sovvenire i poveri amalati di Roma ne calamitosi tempi quando o per l'intemperie dell'aere o per la gran fame i poveri sono soliti da ogni parte di concorrere nella città (Giulio Strozzi)

¹⁶ Concini, C. (1587). *Oratio Cosmi Concini ex comitibus Pennae habita in funere Franc. Med. Mag. Haetr. Ducis Romae in aede d. Ioannis Florentinorum*: 91r.

¹⁷ Cortese, P. (1510), *De Cardinalatu*. Carlo Dionisotti (in *Chierici e Laici*, in *Geografia e storia della Letteratura italiana*, Torino, Einaudi, 1967, pp. 80-82) examined the work by Cortese which is divided in three sections: the first entitled *ethicus et contemplativus*, deals with the moral virtues; the second one *oeconomicus*, focuses on the private life, on the ruling of the family, patrimony, passions and the language to be used in public audiences; the third one *politicus* concerns the manners suitable for a cardinal in the occasions related to his role, such as the conclave. Dionisotti considers the work by Cortese, which he dated in 1504, as the moment in which Italian men of letters realized that they cannot survive with the simple help of a prince, they also need some kind of ecclesiastical support, including economic privileges, to be able to guarantee their life-style. Most of the Italian intellectual class became members of the clergy.

¹⁸ Fasano Guarini E., entry *Ferdinando I* in *Dizionario Biografico degli Italiani*, 46, Roma, 1997: pp. 258-279; Calonaci, S. (1996). *Ferdinando dei Medici: la formazione di un cardinale principe (1563-72)*, «Archivio Storico Italiano», (1996), pp. 635-690.

His ability support his vassals (through the purchasing of food and wheat) and the reception of the pilgrims during the Jubilee are underlined. Different orators mention the fact that Ferdinando himself begged for the poor in the streets of Rome (this is the episode in which he encounters Cardinal Farnese, as told by Giulio Strozzi),¹⁹ but what is underlined are the virtues that foretold the nobleman's ability to rule. It is related that he was able to influence the conclaves²⁰ and that Filippo II chose him as patron of Spain in the cardinals' council. The pattern described by Cortese in his manual is then reproduced: examining the period of the cardinalate the author exalts first the virtues relating to self-control, then to control of the family and finally to control of the state.²¹ Ferdinando's powers are so much exalted that they are compared to those of the Pope himself; moreover, in an interesting act of retrospection, the attribution of the title of Grand Duke to Cosimo I is ascribed to Ferdinando himself. As we can read in Giulio Giraldi's address:

tanta fu la destrezza, la vigilanza, l'assiduità, la prudenza, la dolcezza, il fervore col quale agitò il cardinal de' Medici quella causa senza verun altro mai con la persona o con l'opera e col consiglio punto v'intervenisse, che vedemmo in breve esser posta in capo al duca Cosimo la corona reale e investito del titolo di granduca della Toscana.²²

These virtues emerge even more when Ferdinando relinquished the cardinalate and became Grand Duke. In fact, there are two «maniere di principato, ecclesiastico e temporale, a quello per elezione, a questo venne per eredità, modi di tutti gli altri più gloriosi e più santi».²³ And it is quite striking that Ferdinando is the only one whose portrait is reproduced on the title page of the description of the funeral ceremony: he is portrayed as a king. His political role allows him to practise prudence that (together with faith) renders him the heroic prince. He is compared explicitly to Tuscany itself through allegorical representation.²⁴ In this same representation the symbols of Ferdinando's principality are depicted: the maintenance of peace (the spears and the altar), and the abundance symbolized by the river Arno.

¹⁹ Buonmattei, B. (1609). Orazione di Benedetto Buonmattei fatta in morte del ser. D. Ferdinando Medici granduca terzo di Toscana. Firenze. Caneo: p. 3. «Quante volte lo vedeste levarsi le purpurate vestimenti, e di rozi lini cintosi, ginocchersi avanti a poveri et umilmente lavargli, lavati asciugargli e asciutti bacciargli que piedi [...] quante volte furon da lui calpestate mentre di sacco vestito andava con pesante sporta in collo chiedendo limosina non pure a cardinali suoi pari».

²⁰ «In questi tanta fu l'autorità del cardinal de' Medici che o quello che egli da prima s'era proposto o quello a chi egli si volgeva col suo favore su sempre eletto a pontefice». Girali, G. (1609), Delle lodi di Ferdinando I Medici granduca di Toscana orazione recitata pubblicamente nell'Academia della Crusca. Firenze. Giunti: p. 8.

²¹ On the concept of the government of the family see Foucault, M. (2004), Sécurité, territoire, population. Cours au Collège de France (1977-1978), Paris Gallimard: pp. 91-118.

²² Giraldi, cit. p. 7.

²³ Giraldi, cit. pp. 4-5.

²⁴ See Ripa, C. (1603), Iconologia, Roma: p. 209-211; see also Testaverde Mattini, A.M. (1988-1990), La decorazione festiva e l'itinerario di rifondazione della città negli ingressi trionfali a Firenze tra XV e XVI secolo (I-II). «Mitteilungen des Kunsthistorischen Institutes in Florenz»: 32, p. 323, 34 p.165.

Ferdinando is a prince who embodies all the virtues. *Heroica virtus* is the definition used by Curzio Cintoletta,²⁵ who compares the prince to the Sun and wonders whether Ferdinand should be referred to with the appellative of Virtue:

Ferdinandi nihilominus heroica virtus, veluti quidam Sol, ita sua luce complevit omnia, ut nihil sibi adimens, omnibus semper et clarior fulserit et illustrior (Cintoletta)

Cur non virtutem appellabimus? O non hominem, o non principem, sed virtutem (Cintoletta)!²⁶

The heroic virtues are also mentioned by Agostino Masi – who wrote both the funeral address and the description of the funeral.

Prudentia cum religione, iustitia cum clementia, temperantia cum liberalitate, chi più prudente di lui (Masi).²⁷

While in the addresses dedicated to Francesco I the reproaches to the founder of the dynasty were used in order to undermine him in favor of the son, the process is reversed with Ferdinando. Cosimo I is exalted - «ille Cosmus huius imperii fundator (Minerbetti)» - in order to prove that Ferdinando has exceeded even his father's outstanding virtues.²⁸ Ferdinando is described as «l' Idea dell' ottimo Principe».²⁹

The accession to the throne allows Ferdinando's virtues to be fully revealed,³⁰ thanks also to his ability to meet the needs of his vassals – a characteristic that has been unanimously praised by orators. ³¹ Soldani compares him to a «nuovo Pompeo» that «non solo il mare liberò dai corsali, ma anco lei di viveri tenne abbondante».³²

Again, the involvement in military expeditions and wars plays a key role because of their function against the enemies of the Christian faith; this same fact does not prevent praise for Ferdinando as a peacekeeper. Great importance in the address is given to Ferdinando's assistance in blocking the advance of the Ottoman Empire in Hungary (Pannonia)

Gran cosa o Ferdinando è l'essere stato della pace e della libertà d'Italia autore, aver la guerra e per conseguenza il furore, la violenza e la rapacità del mondo scacciata, il mare da ladroni fatto sicuro, haver il proprio stato con tanta sapienza governato, e per mezzo delle nozze, prima della principessa Maria pregio e bellezza del mondo e poi per mezzo di quelle del presente nostri signore con l'arciduchessa Maria Maddalena d'Austria che già come nobile e pellegrina pianta in questo terreno traslata tuta divina stirpe fruttifica con l'amicizia de re di Francia e di Spagna

²⁵ Cintoletta, C. (1609). Oratio Curtii Cintolettae canonici pisani et in patrio gymnasio moralem philosophiam profitentis Pisis habita in funere Ferdinandi Medicis magni ducis Etruria III Id. aprilis MDCIX. Ad serenissimum Cosmum Medicem Magnum Etruria Ducem. Pisa. Fontana: pp. 6-7.

²⁶ Cintoletta, cit, pp. 6-7, 18.

²⁷ Masi, A. (1609), Oratio Augustini Masii in funere serenissimi Ferdinandi Med. M.A.E.D. Venezia, p. 3.

²⁸ Bocchineri, C. (1609). Orazione funerale di Carlo Bocchineri da lui recitata a dì 9 di aprile nel duomo di Prato nell'essequie di Ferdinando Medici granduca Terzo di Toscana celebrate per ordine di mons. Proposto Filippo Salviati. Siena. Bonetti: p. 13-16 «Nacque finalmente non dirò più di quel Cosimo, ma di quel gran Cosimo, anzi di quello Augusto a cui nell'ascendente nelle elicei calde d'agosto, per le loro vittorie memorabili e nelle eroiche azioni fu per comune giudizio somigliantissimo».

²⁹ Bocchineri, cit, p.6.

³⁰ Giraldi, cit, p. 17

³¹ Giraldi, cit, p.19.

³² Soldani, I. (1609). Delle lodi di Ferdinando Medici granduca di Toscana orazione di Iacopo Soldani recitata da lui nell'Accademia degli Alterati il dì 25 di giugno MDCIX. Firenze. Marescotti: p. 17.

alla tua casa di sì stretti nodi di parentela congiunti, quasi con due ancora haverlo nel porto d'un eterna tranquillità stabilito (Soldani).³³

There is also the exaltation of Ferdinando I's private enterprises, like the start of maritime routes and exchange,³⁴ and the strategic marriages that culminated with those between Maria and the king of France Enrico IV, and between his son Cosimo and Maria Maddalena d'Austria.

The addresses begin to differ in their forms. While some of them follow the model of the *laudatio funebris*, others pursue the confirmation of assumptions stated at the beginning, even though they too include the alternation of the topics as was seen in the classic model. Here for example is Giraldi's:

mio intendimento sarà dimostrare che Ferdinando Medici con la benigna grazia del cielo che gli diede bellissime occasioni, concorse con tal magnanimità e prudenza in servirsene ottimamente, che egli potette a quella perfezion di virtù a quella gloria e felicità pervenire a cui l'aveva l'eterno bene per felicità e gloria di questo secolo destinato.

The exercise in rhetoric remains nevertheless unfulfilled, since the orator ends up retelling the sovereign's life following the model of the *laudatio funebris*.

Differing from this, Benedetto Buonmattei shows how the addresses dedicated to Ferdinando, even though they are influenced by the classical model and maintain the praises bestowed on the first Medici Grand Duke, follow a pattern that differs from the celebration of the sovereign. Buonmattei, at the beginning of his address, explicitly aims at demonstrating only some of Ferdinando's virtues (his wise government), and he constructs the address following an argumentative model that belongs more to the demonstrative genre than to the epideictic one. He argues that prudence and wisdom can be applied in three forms of government, concerning the self, the family and the republic. The interesting contamination of the genres lies here in the approach to the different topics following the model of the *laudatio funebris*, through the examination of Ferdinando's virtues from his birth to his youth, then during the cardinalate and then during his principedom. This division is useful for a triple exaltation, that reaches its highest peaks in the three forms of government mentioned at the beginning. The themes are the same ones we can find in the previous addresses, but they are structured in a different way. The celebration of his control over the family allows for the successor's praise as well (this is generally placed at the end), since he receives his education from the father; strategic marriages are also celebrated. As far as the government of the state goes, the most important elements of this address (and of others as well) are: peacekeeping within the country, prevention of wars and preservation of safety within its borders; engagement against barbarians in order to preserve the Catholic faith;³⁵ the abundance of food, thanks to an intelligent management of imports in a period characterized by famine; the fortification of Livorno and the modernisation of Pisa.³⁶

In the end, these are the elements of his reign that everybody remembers and are the most remarked upon. The end of Buonmattei's address is significant, since he recalls

³³ Soldani, cit, pp. 20-21.

³⁴ Giraldi, cit, pp. 20-21

³⁵ Minerbetti, C. (1609). *Oratio de laudibus serenissimi Ferdinandi Medicis Magni Ducis Etruriae III. Cosmo Minervetto* autore: pp. 21-28.

³⁶ Curzio Cintoletta gave a detailed description of the works accomplished in the city of Pisa. His oration was in fact read in the Gymnasium of Pisa.

the predecessors' virtues that are sublimated into Ferdinando I. What his brother Francesco lacks,

in lui potrà facilmente scorgersi la liberalità del Leone [papa Leone X], la magnificenza di Cosimo [Cosimo il Vecchio], il giudizio di Lorenzo [Lorenzo il Magnifico], il valor di Giovanni[Giovanni dalle Bande Nere], e la prudenza del Gran Cosimo suo genitore [Cosimo I granduca].³⁷

Ferdinando's main characteristic is his ability to combine two perfections – that of true Christian life practised during the cardinalate and that of a prince with *heroicae virtutes*.

Only the formal characteristics of the ideal model Cosimo represented remain in the addresses dedicated to his first successor Francesco. In the addresses dedicated to Ferdinando I many subjects are recovered and sublimated through the enumeration of the virtues that shift from the superlative degree used for Cosimo to the heroic one used for Ferdinando, to end with the conjunction of Christian perfection with the perfect government of the state, and the possession of the three forms of prudence that merge into the ruler's prudence. Formally, there is an increased variety of addresses, contaminated as they are by other genres (demonstrative), but they are still related to the structure of the classic model of funeral address. This difference is nevertheless the sign of the consolidation of praise that uses a wider spectrum of formal alternatives in order to differentiate the celebrative patterns.

As will be shown, the effect created by a wider formal diversity will be different in Cosimo II's case. Nineteen funeral addresses were dedicated to the successor Ferdinando I, who ruled from 1609 to 1621. In these addresses, the structure of the *laudatio funebris* is dissolved, and it remains only as a frame: only the mourning at the beginning and the consolation for the successor remain. Each orator seems to interpret the funeral address in his own way. A wider variety of patterns is then added to the increasing number of texts.

As far as the virtues are concerned, the praise of the ruler's liberality and generosity turns into blame for thrift, creating a contrast with the addresses dedicated to Francesco I. Cosimo II is the evangelical prince

Ciro, formato dalle penna di Xenofonte per idea d'un ottimo re, mostrò a Crespo quanto fusse miglior conservatrice de tesori la beneficenza che la parsimonia [...] Inutili stimò sempre gl'ori e gl'argenti se non divengon materia della liberalità (Bamberini)³⁸

O te felicissimo granduca Cosimo, a te solo tra i principi accade esimamente che tu sia la regola di te stesso. (Bombini)³⁹

O principe nato per esser il vero ritratto d'un cristiano re. (Bamberini)

³⁷ Buonmattei, cit, p.10.

³⁸ Bamberini, D. (1621), *Delle lodi del sereniss. Cosimo Secondo G.Duca di Toscana oratione di Domenico Bamberini recitata da lui pubblicamente*. Firenze. Zanobi Pignoni: p. 13.

³⁹ Bombini, P. (1621). *Pauli Bombini e societate Iesu oratio in funere Cosmi II, Magni Etruria Ducis IV habita Mantuae in aede s. Barbarae serenissimo Ferdinando Mantuae, ac Monferrati duce funus magnificentissimym celebrante*. Mantova: p. 6.

È morto l'esemplare della giustizia, l'idea della temperanza, lo splendore della pudicizia, la vita dell'onestà, la gloria della religione, l'ornamento della pietà, lo splendore della magnificenza e l'esempio della forza. È morta l'istessa virtù. (Gualterotti)⁴⁰

se per l'eminenza di qualche virtù altri fu chiamato Giusto et altri Pio, il granduca nostro convenevolmente il Benigno dire si potea. (Gualterotti)⁴¹

che vedendo noi questi esempi di vita del nostro principe tanto aggiustati con gli insegnamenti del principe supremo, non dubitiamo di chiamare Cosimo il principe Evangelico e tale denominazione vien presa dalla dignità d'una perfettissima virtù, cio è dagli atti e documenti di christo di cui non è dubbio che essendo figliuolo di eguale all'eterno suo Padre per la connatural sostanza e d'infinita virtù re per l'innato imperio, non regga ancora e difenda la grandezza di questo Universo, così come egli è oltra a ciò re e principe supremo per ragione della presa nostra humanità a cui il signore dio consegnò il trono di David padre suo, acciò che regnasse nella casa di Iacon in eterno... (Ricasoli Pandolfi)⁴²

la quale per ispargere sopra questa nostra città per lunghi secoli afflitta da guerre esterne e civili, fu eletta certamente dalla divina sapienza e potenza la presente nobilissima famiglia de' Medici dal cui principato di libertà temperato e non da straniera potestà fosse ella retta e corretta, poscia che altramente reggersi non havea potuto (Ricasoli Pandolfi).⁴³

Here the praises for the king are not related to specific events, as in Ferdinando I's and Cosimo I's examples. The listing of events remains often an end in itself. The endless catalogues do not contribute to the definition of a distinct image of the duke, but they dismantle it in the many details that all retain the same importance, neither one prevailing. Nevertheless, there is a simile used more often than others by the authors that is worth considering: the comparison with the sun.

The comparison between the sovereign and the sun is a recurrent element in the sixteenth century use of emblems, well known by these authors. The peculiarity lies in the frequency of this parallel rather than on the choice of a particular metaphor. While among the numerous comparisons with ancient figures the parallel with Augustus was the most used in the addresses dedicated to Cosimo I, the comparison with the sun prevails with Cosimo II. The increased use of this simile could already be seen in the funeral addresses for Ferdinando I,⁴⁴ but the parallel is unfolded in all its forms in funeral addresses for Cosimo II. The rising of the sun and the sunset mark the prince's birth and his death.

⁴⁰ Gualterotti, F. M. (1622), Orazione in morte del ser. Granduca di Toscana Cosimo II: p. 51.

⁴¹ Gualterotti, cit., p. 23.

⁴² Ricasoli Baroni, P. (1622). Orazione dell'offizio del Principe fatta nell'occasione dell'esequie del serenissimo Granduca di Toscana Cosimo secondo da Pandolfo Ricasoli Baroni patritio e canonico fiorentino, e protonotario apostolico. Alla serenissima Arciduchessa Maria Maddalena d'Austria granduchessa di Toscana. Venezia. Guerigli: pp. 38-39

⁴³ Ricasoli Baroni, cit, p. 28.

⁴⁴ Here are some examples of the use of this simile in the orations composed for Ferdinando I: «Come non ci si può dolere del tramonto del sole che segue suo corso all'altro emisferio di sé fa pare a lumi del cielo gran Parte comunica di splendore e ratto ritorno a raggiare nell'oriente, tale appunto è stato il morire di Ferdinando». Giraldi, cit, p. 35; «Quasi in novello Sole, per la purità e finezza del suo divino intelletto e per la capacissima ampiezza del suo grand'animo ha potuto in questa sua prima età quasi nel primo oriente trasfondersi tutta quella limpidezza di senna, ha potuto capire tutto quel gran cumulo di chiarezza di virtù, di potenza e di gloria acquistate dal suo gran padre, nel lungo e perfetto corso della sua vita...». Giraldi, cit, p. 36; «Et demum Iustitiam virtutum quasi solem», Cintoletta, cit, p. 15; «Solis hanc defectionem oculis intuiti sumus, non quod ipse defecerit, qui radians illud, et fulgentissimum lumen neque omisit, neque omittit unquam, sed quod nobis clarissima illa lux erepta sit.» Cintoletta, cit, p. 20.

Rays and heat radiation symbolize the sovereign's goodness and generosity, his ability to make his land fruitful

Esce 'l Sole dall'alba e s'apparecchia, riscaldando ed influendo per giovar dall'Indo al Mauro: esce a pena Cosimo dalla Cuna e si rivolge col moto alle scienze ed arti liberali, per influire ogni atto di prudente giusto forte e temperato (Bandinelli)⁴⁵

Non lascia perciò il Sole [che di conformarsi per quanto può ama (amor?) al divino esempio], di seminar con un perpetuo tenore della sua luce i celesti in un tempo medesimo e i terreni campi (Vincenzo Gramigna)⁴⁶

non alcuni prati ma tutta la Toscana l'Anno passato, anno di penuria [1620] apparì mensa del Sole, perché Principe non velatamente ma alla scoperta fece distribuire mesi e mesi il cibo (e massime nella città nostra e luoghi circonvicini) a quanti dal bisogno e dalla fame erano astretti (Bandinelli)⁴⁷

The comparison between a single virtue and the sun is repeated several times – as in Cosimo Miberbetti's example:

Ma la principale virtù che nell'eroico suo animo a guisa di Sole risplende fu la fortezza in sostenere i travagli di così lunga infirmità e di così immatura morte (Minerbetti Cosimo).⁴⁸

Another common and recurrent theme is the uniqueness of the sun and the ruler that corresponded to the definition *Unicus*. It is quite unnecessary to dwell on the importance of this simile, an example of which can be found in the address written by Pandolfo Ricasoli Baroni

E perché egli solo riguarda minutamente il tutto, chiamare però si puote unico e vero Sole⁴⁹

The prince's palace is even compared to the sun, where the court takes part in the radiation of its splendour. Something very similar can be found in the famous section of Louis XIV's memoirs, where the Sun King is surrounded by the court of a planet.

Sembrava veramente la regia del gran Cosimo il Sole, il quale se coperto da importuna nube o per dar luogo pure alla notte, alcuna fiata, si nasconde, non perciò lascia voto il cielo, testimonianza ne rendano le stelle, del suo splendore (Vincenzo Gramigna)⁵⁰

The prince's palace is compared to the Sun King, and the fact that there is always somebody who interprets and mediates his splendor even when the sovereign is not there suggests an active involvement of the court in political activities. Spaces of mediation seem to surface here.

⁴⁵ Bandinelli, B. (1621). Orazione o vero il principe esemplare sopra la vita e morte del ser. Cosimo II granduca di Toscana di Baccio Bandinelli. Firenze. Zanobi Pignoni: pp. 7-8.

⁴⁶ Gramigna, V. (1625). Orazione nella morte del gran Cosimo de' Medici granduca IV di Toscana. Trento. Gio. Alberti: p. 332.

⁴⁷ Bandinelli, cit., p. 24.

⁴⁸ Minerbetti, cit., p. 25.

⁴⁹ Ricasoli Baroni, cit., p. 42.

⁵⁰ Gramigna, cit., p. 341.

The highest expression in this use of metaphors can be found in Baccio Bandinelli's work, entirely devoted to the development of the analogies between Cosimo II and the sun.

Nella vita faremo col Sole un parallelo: il tempo ci offerisce vari principi e re de quali egli si gloria, per compararli al nostro la disparità non lo permette. La disparità s'intenda non per l'eccellenza e superiorità d'un solo in qualsivoglia spezie di virtù, ma per un concorso e rarità in un solo di tutte le sue spezie, la virtù assoluta si conosce da contrari, vera questa massima, chi nel tutto eccitò la meraviglia non ammette paragone (Bandinelli)⁵¹

Fu Sole dunque il nostro serenissimo ne occorre dirvi di che formato (Bandinelli)⁵²

Ecco il sole trionfante con i suoi cavalli Eoo, Piroo, Eton e Flegon: sopra 'l carro d'oro con le due ruote d'argento. Se Cosimo adunque con i cavalli delle quattro virtù, guida della vita umana, camminò per la retta via del cielo... (Bandinelli)⁵³

Dio[...]dette alla bella anima del granduca un corpo nella grazia, nella statura e nel colore di quella specie attribuita al Sole, inclinata propria e facile alla virtù.⁵⁴

Maggiore è 'l Sole di quello che appare e per la distanza dell'oggetto di che si giudica, non potea il nostro nell'altezza della propria sfera dimostrarsi così grande che non restassimo ingannati.⁵⁵

Bandinelli ends his address hoping that a «sepolcro d'Elitropia, col Sole d'Oro purissimo animato» will be built.⁵⁶

The sun has long been an emblem and analogies between the sun and the sovereign have been in use since ancient times. Its extraordinary presence within these addresses leads to some further meditations. Questioning whether the recurrent use of this simile for Cosimo II could be influenced in some way by Galileo Galilei's presence at the Medici court at the beginning of the seventeenth century, during Cosimo II's youth, is unavoidable. Galileo dedicated to the Medici his discovery of the planets (called Medici stars) that surrounded Jupiter (a discovery he announced in the *Sidereus Nuncius* in 1610),⁵⁷ as some addresses clearly reveal:

A proposito della diletta prole: «il dire a te Firenze, che queste vere Stelle Medicee, sono così bene instrutte nella religione ortodossa base del principato» (Bandinelli).⁵⁸

This evident reference to Galileo's discoveries is even more explicit in Giulio Strozzi's work:

⁵¹ Bandinelli, cit, p. 5.

⁵² Ivi, p. 6.

⁵³ Ivi, pp. 55-56.

⁵⁴ Ivi, p. 9.

⁵⁵ Ivi, p. 9.

⁵⁶ Ivi, p. 9

⁵⁷ Galileo (1564-1642) named the four satellites orbiting Jupiter that he had discovered *Medicea Sidera* (*Medici stars*), in honour of his patron, Cosimo II de' Medici, Grand Duke of Tuscany, and Cosimo's three brothers. The discovery was announced in *Sidereus Nuncius* (*Starry Messenger*) published in Venice in 1610. The discovery was problematic for the orderly, comprehensive picture of the geocentric model of the universe, in which everything was supposed to circle around the Earth.

⁵⁸ Bandinelli, cit, p. 20.

Né picciola parte della gloria di Cosimo sarà quello che habbia Dio benedetto riserbato insino alla nostra età il scoprirci i quattro pianeti assidui cortigiani di Giove, acciocché l'industrioso inventore [Galileo] dovesse alla grandezza di Cosimo non senza frutto il suo ritrovamento consacrare, onde si possa col serenissimo nome di Stelle Medicee eternamente in Cielo riconoscerli e nelle nostre Effemeridi annoverarli (Giulio Strozzi).⁵⁹

Funeral addresses are the most successful genre in Medici eulogy. Plenty of orators, scholars, intellectuals (sometimes of dubious talent) engaged in the composition of addresses that celebrated the dead sovereign, praised the ruling family and gained the favours of successors (or important members of the family). These addresses, read in academies, during public ceremonies, within churches or palaces of government, remain the precious evidence of the themes that could be perceived as functional to the dynastic legacy and to the family's inner dynamics.

Cosimo I represents the starting point and the unavoidable point of reference. Based on the classic *laudatio funebris*, the funeral address revolves around the character's life, and it narrates the most significant events of his reign that may legitimate the internal and international role of the family.

The result is the image of a prince who embodies all the virtues, and in particular the prudence that suits a ruler, justice (that makes every revolt meaningless and sinful), *pietas* and the ability to maintain or obtain peace. All this is possible thanks to an abundant use of classical examples. Once this model for Cosimo I's funeral is fixed, it can be adopted for his son Francesco. Apart from the formal structure, the addresses dedicated to Francesco are less powerful and they seem to be an echo of those for Cosimo, with particular elements like thrift (uncommon in princes' portraits) added on. The successor's limited engagement in the celebration of the sovereign and Francesco's scarce awareness of the importance of its own legitimation can be inferred.

With the third successor, Ferdinando, also Cosimo's son, the Cosimian model is not only recovered, but is also sublimated in a double way: Ferdinando is the one who reunites two perfections (that of a Christian and that of a prince); Cosimo's superlative virtues turn into Ferdinando's explicitly heroic ones. Some of the ruler's deeds are again stressed: the wars in Pannonia, the beginning of new exchanges and new sea routes, the deeds accomplished in Tuscany. Above all, the abundance of food is underlined and related to the shrewd import policy. As far as the formal aspect is concerned, the beginning of a differentiation of celebrative models is functional to the exaltation of the many roles of the sovereign, and of his government in particular.

The formal differentiation increases in Cosimo II's funeral addresses. Despite this, the effect is not an enlargement of the sovereign's glory, but it rebounds on him. Compared to the heroic prince Ferdinando embodied, Cosimo II is a much less defined character in the addresses. His main virtue is goodness. Cosimo's appellatives are "Meek" (Mansueto) and "Evangelic" (Evangelico). This dilution of contents corresponds to a formal dissolution of the *laudatio funebris*; only the skeletal traits remain. The ruler's portrait is too vague, dissolved into the catalogue of many virtues, and none of them is argued with emphasis – the sign that the government was shared with other members of the court. Statistics on the encomiastic works confirm an increasing interest in the various members of the court rather than just in the sovereign. The new emphasis on performances is significant, since they are now necessary in order to attribute to the Medici court the same status maintained by other courts in Italy and

⁵⁹ Strozzi, cit., c.23v.

Europe. The unsystematic praises for the ruler are the sign of his limited powers; although the number of addresses increases, there is only one biography (which remains in the form of a manuscript). All this reveals a different perception of the prince and of his principality, much more related to other aspects of life at court. There is a renewed emphasis on Christian virtues, and the recurrent parallel with the sun emerges in this increasingly fragmented and differentiated universe. The comparison to the sun, well known and used since ancient times and whose meaning increases thanks to the study and use of emblems, is now used with a frequency unknown to the first three Grand Dukes. Instead of producing a stronger characterization of the duke, it ends up reducing it. All aspects of the sovereign's life can be compared to the sun, whose recurrent symbolic use can be related to Galileo Galilei's cultural influence during his sojourn at the Medici court.