At the courts of sixteenth-century Europe styles of clothing were often worn to declare the wearer's political allegiance, and the issue of foreign styles assumed a high profile on the broader political stage of Europe. A conspicuous example was the foreign consort who continued to wear the attire of her native country after her marriage, such as Mary of France (Tudor), wife of Louis XII, and Maria de’ Medici, consort of Henry IV, who retained the dress of England and Florence after they became French queens. The royal husbands sometimes objected: Henry VIII, for example, was outspoken in 1539 about the Germanic dress of Anne of Cleves, who reportedly covered her face with “a monstrous habit and apparel”. Occasionally the matter was even the subject of discussion before the marriage. When Christine de Lorraine came from France to Florence as the bride of Grand Duke Ferdinando de’ Medici in 1589, her French dress was conspicuous at a court which generally followed the Hispanic style of the other imperial dominions, and Ferdinando declared that she should begin to dress immediately in the Tuscan style.

The political and military dominance of Emperor Charles V after 1520 led to a widespread adaptation of Hispanic court attire in Europe, often — and quite rightly — read as a political statement of allegiance to the empire. While some of the sartorial borrowings were ephemeral — tied to a current political alliance or event others were deep-seated and long-lasting. Two cases in point are the Spanish consorts, Eléonore d’Autriche, Queen of France, and Eleonora di Toledo, Duchess of Florence, both of whom gave clear messages of imperial allegiance by wearing Spanish attire in their adopted countries long after their marriages, respectively in 1530 and 1539.

In this essay it will be shown that the French queen and the Italian duchess fashioned their public images through Spanish-inflected dress that is documented by a variety of visual and literary evidence. How they actually looked in their court attire is amply shown in the painted and drawn portraits of Eléonore d’Autriche by Jean Clouet and Joos van Cleve and those of Eleonora di Toledo by ducal court portraitist, Agnolo Bronzino. Literary evidence about their dress includes letters and archival documents dedicated exclusively to costume, such as the Guardaroba Medicea (Florence State Archives), with its detailed records of Eleonora’s clothing. Chroniclers who recorded the subjects’ entrées and other public appearances also provide documentation for the dress of the two consorts, as do comments in conduct literature, which are important for the cultural context of court attire. Modern studies of Renaissance court costume and art-historical studies of the portraits will also be extensively cited, bringing together analysis and opinion on the subject.
Eléonore d'Autriche

Born in Flanders in 1498, Eléonore was the elder sister of the future Emperor Charles V. She was married to Manuel I of Portugal in 1518, widowed in 1521, and betrothed to King François I in 1526. The political context of this union was the French king's ongoing war with the emperor, who had defeated the French forces and held François, and later his sons, captive in Spain. After the Peace of Cambrai in 1529 and the payment to Spain of ransom for the king's sons, the marriage took place in July 1530. As a result of his union with a Spanish noblewoman, François became the brother-in-law of his archrival and enemy.

A popular woodcut of circa 1527, François I offering his heart to Eléonore d'Autriche, announced the king's forthcoming marriage [Fig. 1]. The joining of the two royal houses is signaled by heraldic devices supporting half-length portraits of the couple, who are blessed by the Virgin and Child as they plight their troth with hearts and flowers in the visual language of courtly love. Eléonore is wearing typical Spanish attire, although summarily indicated – a dress with slashed sleeves and a black bonnet with a flaring brim. The coiffe (Sp. cofia or cresquina) in which her hair is gathered up had been worn by noble Spanish ladies of fashion since the days of Queen Isabella. Its design, an open netting of gold cord decorated with pearls and pendant jewels, is shown in a drawing of 1543–1544 by Antoine Trouvillon depicting Eléonore's daughter, Marie of Portugal [Fig. 2]. Marie wears the characteristic Portuguese hairstyle with crimped puffs of hair over the ears (Sp. papos) that was also worn by Eléonore [Fig. 4–7] and her ladies-in-waiting [Fig. 3].

On July 1, 1530 Eléonore set off for France with a grand retinue, making ceremonial entrées en route to Paris. Already known for her luxurious attire, Eléonore was experienced in using dress as a political tool, as she had continued to wear her native Flemish attire in Portugal after her marriage to King Manuel in 1518. Crucially important for her public presentation as a foreign consort, her Spanish ceremonial costumes carried a political message, signaling her identity as a Habsburg princess – she was the grand-daughter of Emperor Maximilian I – and her allegiance to her brother, who had been crowned Holy Roman Emperor at Bologna in February 1530. Her dress for these events also indicated the way she would fashion her public persona as a French queen.

The queen's entrées and attire were meticulously recorded by chroniclers. Her Spanish dress had already been noted on her arrival in France on July 1st by a chronicler who described her as "the most beautiful woman ever seen [...] who wore a dress in the Spanish style". Sébastien Moreau characterizes Eléonore entering Bayonne on the Franco-Spanish border as "a princess conscious of her lineage, source of all virtue and of imperial luster, she was very beautiful to behold". All the main elements of her Spanish court dress as French queen were present in her attire at that entrée. Her black velvet dress was in perfect accord with the etiquette of the Imperial court, where black was the understood, if not official, color for state ceremonies. The dress was lined in crimson satin and had crimson slashed sleeves, the wide panes (vertical sections) of which were banded with cloth of gold, and secured by points of silk ribbon decorated with gold, enamel, and pearl aglets. Her hair was arranged à la portugaloise (presumably with the papos, as worn by her daughter), over which she wore a very elaborate, jeweled gold and pearl coiffe. The chronicler closes his account with praise of Eléonore's décolletage, which was "completely uncovered and white as alabaster".

The king and queen entered Bordeaux on July 11th, as recorded by an anonymous chronicler who describes the dress of Eléonore and her ladies as à la mode espaignolle. Her attire was far more elaborate than that of the Bayonne entrée, featuring a crimson velvet dress lined with white taffeta, which was pulled out in puffs through the panes of the slashed sleeves. The sleeves, as well as the white satin underskirt, were bordered with jewels and decorated with bands embroidered with beaten gold and silver motifs, a trimming characteristic of Spanish court dress. Over all of this Eléonore wore a zimarra, or ropa – a full-length overdress, open at the front, which had been inspired by the Turkish caftan and worn by royal ladies of Spain since Queen Isabella. This was made of white satin embroidered all over with silver (argent battu) and edged with jewels. The upper part of a zimarra can be seen in Trouvillon's drawing of Marie of Portugal, which shows a much simpler version of the garment with puffed, slashed sleeves tied with ribbons.

As described by the chronicler, Eléonore's coiffé was frizé – decorated in gold. Over this she wore a crimson velvet bonnet with a white plume, clipped in the same way as the plume worn on that day by the king. Her hair was one of the most blatantly Spanish elements of her appearance: it hung down to her heels – not, the chronicler writes, in the mode of French women. He refers to the long plait which was held in a casing often bound with ribbons, known as a tranzado.
2) Antoine Trouvéon, «Marie of Portugal», drawing, 1543–1544; Chantilly, Musée Condé.
Eléonore’s jewelry consisted of the king’s lavish gifts from the royal collection of jewels. Earrings “as big as walnuts” are mentioned by the anonymous chronicler and by Theodore Godefroy, whose account of the entrée also mentions a large ruby (the “côte de Bretagne”) which Louis XII had left to Queen Anne of Brittany; it passed to her daughter Claude and hence to François I, who gave it to Eléonore, along with a necklace of diamonds and rubies, which had an enormous central ruby.25

The next entrée on the route to Paris was at Angoulême on July 24th, when Eléonore made a gesture to her new homeland by dressing à la mode française in white satin and cloth of gold. Her headdress, however, remained à la mode d’Espagne.26

There is no visual evidence for Eléonore’s Spanish attire in the entrées of July 1530 into Bayonne, Bordeaux, and Angoulême, but a cartoon for a tapestry of that year by Bernard van Orley depicts Mencia de Mendoza, Marchioness of El Cenete, one of the more prominent of the ladies-in-waiting who accompanied her to France; she is shown in the foreground with her husband’s earlier wives behind her [Fig. 3].27 Although less elaborate and bejeweled, her costume evokes the queen’s attire in the entrées. She wears a rich brocade dress, a chemise with a bateau neckline, slashed sleeves with pull-outs of the chemise, and hanging over-sleeves, as well as the usual Spanish coiffe and bonnet with an up-flaring brim bordered with feathers.

After an entrée into Blois and her arrival in Paris, Eléonore was crowned at St Denis on March 5, 1531 and then made her entrée into the city on the 16th of March.28 The chroniclers made no mention of Spanish dress, as she was evidently obliged to wear official (and identical) French ceremonial robes for the sacre and entrée. According to Guillaume Bochetel’s booklet on these events, she wore the purple Royal Mantle decorated with bands of gold, a pearl-embroidered bodice, an overdress (surcoat) trimmed with ermine, and a crown of jewels and pearls.29 He also observed that the twelve ladies she had brought from Castille were dressed in crimson satin “à la mode de leur pays”, while the French attendants were dressed in satin or velvet, “à la mode de France”. The attire of Eléonore’s entourage at these ceremonies thus confirms the programmed presentation in Spanish dress at all her entrées.

In about 1530–1531 Jean Clouet portrayed Eléonore wearing Spanish dress in a black and red chalk drawing inscribed “La Royne Leonor” [Fig. 4].30 Details of her attire are similar to those of the dress worn by Mencia de Mendoza [Fig. 3], with its slashed sleeves and a chemise with a high bateau neckline edged with a frill. Eléonore’s hair is parted in the center with the Spanish papos over her ears. She wears a coiffe with a jeweled border from which a pendant with a set jewel and a pearl drop dangle, and over this a Spanish-styled bonnet. Other jewels include a pearl necklace looped and fastened with a large jeweled brooch at the center of her bosom, a style which was also worn by Empress Isabella of Spain during these same years [Fig. 15]. Clouet also portrayed Eléonore’s Spanish ladies-in-waiting – Beatrix Pacheco, Leonora di Sapata, and Anna Manriquez, who is the most elaborately attired – almost identically to her mistress.31

Two other portraits from 1530–1531 also show Queen Eléonore in Spanish attire. In the portrait by Joos van Cleve, who had recently entered the service of the French king, the likeness and the pose of her head and shoulders apparently depend on Clouet’s drawing; the sketch from life, however, is transformed into a true state portrait, similar in function to the artist’s contemporaneous portrait of François I (Philadelphia Museum of Art). Of the numerous versions of the Van Cleve’s state portrait, many from his workshop, the largest is at Hampton Court32 and there is an almost identical, half-size autograph version in Vienna [Fig. 5].33

The letter Eléonore holds in the foreground, which is addressed in Spanish to “the Very Christian and most powerful Queen”34, conveys the intrinsic meaning of the portrait. “Very Christian” was the usual appellation for French queens, but the letter’s Spanish language strongly asserts her Imperial identity – as does her Spanish court attire.35 Features of Eléonore’s dress in the entrées of 1530 are recognizable in this portrait, but there was a crucial difference between the theatrical costumes of velvet covered with a plethora of jeweled and argent battu decoration worn for those ceremonial events and the more sober, less decorated – although still luxurious – dress depicted in her state portrait.

In Van Cleve’s state portrait Eléonore is depicted wearing a dress with slashed sleeves and a jeweled neckline, as in Clouet’s drawing, and (in some versions of this work) a plumed bonnet. The bodice is made of brown fabric brocaded in gold with a pattern often seen in sixteenth-century luxury fabrics – a central pomegranate surrounded by stylized branches and leaves. The upward curving edge of the bodice is bordered with a band of alternating sapphires and pearls, with small enameled trefoils above. The elaborate pair of detachable sleeves is the most identifiable Spanish element of the dress, and must be the same type as the “sleeves with large bands of cloth-of-gold held in place with jeweled points” that Eléonore wore for her Bayonne entrée.36 The panes of the sleeves, which undulate from the shoulders to the wrists of the sitter’s bent arms, are in dark blue velvet with silver stripes, joined at regular intervals with fasteners and attached at the shoulder with red-jeweled gold brooches. Visible between the panes are
3) Barnard van Orley, «Count Henry III of Nassau and his Three Wives», tapestry cartoon, detail of Mencia de Mendoza with the earlier wives behind her, 1530; Munich, Staatliche Graphische Sammlung.
4) Jean Clouet, «Eléonore d’Autriche», drawing, c. 1530–1531; Chantilly, Musée Condé.
puffs of the white chemise, also seen in the frill extending from the cuff at the wrist. Lynx over-sleeves are attached at the shoulders with the same ruby brooches and are looped over the forearms, adding a strikingly regal feature to the portrait. In these state portraits, variations of the Van Cleve original, Éléonore wears opulent jewelry given to her by Kings Manuel and François. A heavy gold necklace set with sapphires and pearls is accompanied by earrings with a sapphire set in gold with three pearl drops, three rings, and a jeweled belt. The pendant with a jewel set in gold and a large pearl drop, which is attached to the jeweled border of her coiffe, may be identifiable as the “grosse perle en poire” that originally belonged to Anne of Brittany. Her hair is arranged in the same Portuguese style worn by her daughter [Fig. 2]; the crimped puffs at the ears are secured with a jewel with a pendant pearl, and the rest of the hair is gathered in a coiffe, from which her long Spanish braid hangs down her back and is faintly visible against the right side of her neck.

Two of the workshop replicas of this portrait are of interest for variations in details of Éléonore’s costume and jewelry which create a more “Spanish” image than the autograph Hampton Court and Vienna paintings. In the small version at Chantilly [Fig. 6], the design of her dress is simpler, its fabric is not brocaded, and the jeweled belt and fur over-sleeves are not present, but the typically Spanish braid is clearly depicted at the right side of her neck. She also wears a Spanish bonnet.
with an up-flaring brim with a pendant jewel, as well as a looped pearl necklace with a pendant.\(^\text{39}\) In the small version in Lisbon [Fig. 7] Eléonore wears a black dress with red sleeves, but the same hat and jewelry as in the Chantilly portrait.\(^\text{40}\) The iconography of the Lisbon painting differs from all the others: instead of holding the letter declaring her French royal identity, Eléonore gracefully demonstrates the betrothal ring of King François and wears an armillary sphere, the device of King Manuel, on a chain around her neck, thus alluding to both her French and Portuguese marriages.

The variations in Eleonore’s attire in the Chantilly and Lisbon portraits may indicate their purpose and date. The simpler dress, the absence of the lavish fur over-sleeves – and in the Lisbon version, the letter – suggests that they were painted for a private, rather than a public, audience. The Chantilly portrait, with its bonnet and looped necklace, is very close to Clouet’s drawing, indicating that it may have been Van Cleve’s first portrait of the queen, a prototype subsequently transformed into a more luxurious and regal image by the addition of the fur over-sleeves and the omission of the conspicuously Spanish bonnet. As has been suggested in recent studies, the Lisbon painting – with jewelry alluding to both Eléonore’s royal husbands – may have been made as a gift to her daughter, Marie, then still resident in Portugal.\(^\text{41}\)

The second portrait of the early 1530s is François I and Eléonore d’Autriche [Fig. 8], a satirical image painted by an English portraitist at the court of Henry VIII.\(^\text{42}\) The context was the general hostility to a union widely viewed as a travesty in which the king was humiliated by Charles V by his enforced marriage to the emperor’s sister.\(^\text{43}\) A fool points mockingly at the royal couple, who clasp hands and wear badges with each other’s initials on their plumed hats. The king’s sly glance, however, colludes with the spectator and his oblivious bride holds a pseudo-royal orb made up of an open pomegranate, a common symbol of marital union which was also an emblem of Spain and the heraldic device of Granada. The likeness of Eléonore, which is almost caricatured, emphasizes her narrow face and Habsburg chin, contrasting sharply with the idealized beauty of Van Cleve’s queen.

The satirical portrait was probably commissioned by Henry VIII since it is described in an inventory of his collection dating 1542, which states that the French queen is shown “in Spanish array”.\(^\text{44}\) Indeed, Eléonore is dressed in Spanish court attire, wearing the coiffe, the plumed bonnet, and a most unbecoming version of her usual hairstyle. Her gold-embroidered white satin dress has a high-waisted, structured bodice and black velvet sleeves attached high on the shoulder. The puffs of the chemise, embroidered with blue and gold stripes, are pulled out between the velvet panes in an exaggerated way.\(^\text{45}\) The gold cord is tied at the waist with the single looped bow so often seen in Spanish dress.\(^\text{46}\)

This depiction of Eléonore’s attire suggests that the English king’s painter must have known of Henry’s well-documented dislike of Spanish dress. Planning to meet François in 1532, Henry was quoted in a letter as hoping that the king would not bring the queen with him, because “he hates Spanish dress so much that it seems to him that he has seen a devil”.\(^\text{47}\)

An image of Eléonore analogous to this portrait is a game-piece attributed to the German artist, Hans Kels [Fig. 9].\(^\text{48}\) This walnut wood roundel was made about 1535 as part of a set with Habsburg and Valois portraits. Here Eléonore wears her usual attire as we know it from the Van Cleve images, but the size of
her earrings and the plume of her hat are exaggerated. Her tight, low cut bodice and homely face recall the Hampton Court portrait’s unflattering depiction of her royal person, which could, however, also be attributed to the carver’s lack of finesse.

In 1537 François had a change of heart about Eleonore’s Spanish entourage, probably related to her secretive plotting with the imperial side in the cause of peace with Spain.\footnote{In 1537 Frangois had a change of heart about Eleonore’s Spanish entourage, probably related to her secretive plotting with the imperial side in the cause of peace with Spain.} He sent most of her ladies-in-waiting back to Spain, and henceforth she was attended only by French women. Not coincidentally – and surely under pressure from the king – she made an abrupt shift from Spanish to French dress. A new, definitively French Eleonore is depicted in Léonard Limosin’s enamel plaque dated 1536 [Fig. 10].\footnote{Léonard Limosin, «Eléonore d’Autriche», enamel, 1536; Ecouen, Musée de la Renaissance.} Unlike the new bride of Van Cleve’s portrait [Fig. 5], whose dress is embellished with two pairs of sleeves in sumptuous fabrics and fur, the materials of her attire are denatured, reading as an encrustation of decoration as hard and unyielding as the enamel itself. The décolletage that had been admired on Eleonore’s arrival in France at Bayonne is now filled in with a cage-like yoke, pearl chokers, and the newly-fashionable high collar. Her headdress, with a high, round cap and a veil at the back, is in the French style, covering her hair, and the long braid that she had worn earlier as the French king’s youthful Spanish consort is nowhere in evidence.

Eleonore continued to wear French styles in France until the king’s death in 1547. However, exceptionally, she is depicted wearing a more Spanish-inflected outfit in a woodcut (subsequently colored) made by Cornelis Anthonisz at Amsterdam in 1542–1544 [Fig. 11].\footnote{This was an official work produced in 1542–1544, and it was later colored, which suggests its importance.} This was an official work produced in


10) Léonard Limosin, «Eléonore d’Autriche», enamel, 1536; Ecouen, Musée de la Renaissance.
imperial territory, one of a series of portraits of royal figures (including François I). It shows a winsome equestrian Éléonore identified in the inscription not as the French queen but as “Leonora la plus aînée fille de Philippe Roy de Castille”, in an evident attempt to emphasize her Flemish origins. Now she wears a dress with slashed sleeves reminiscent of her Spanish attire in her portraits of 1530–1531 [Figs. 4–7], her pearl necklace is looped as in Clouet’s drawing and in Van Cleve’s Chantilly portrait [Figs. 4 and 6]. There are other Spanish features of her outfit that she probably would not have worn in France after 1536, in particular the plumed bonnet and the jeweled band around her neck, which was also worn by Marie of Portugal in the drawing of exactly the same date as this woodcut [Fig. 2]. This image of the queen may have been more to the liking of her Flemish imperial allies than the French mode of dress that François I had imposed on her a few years earlier.

Éléonore’s Spanish power-dressing, which was such a prominent expression of her imperial allegiance in the 1530s, became obsolete with the death of the king in 1547, after which she mainly wore black mourning dress until her own death in 1558.52

Eleonora di Toledo, Duchess of Florence

Born in Spain in 1522, Eleonora was a daughter of Don Pedro di Alvarez di Toledo, brother of the powerful Duke of Alba, through whom she was related to the great families of Spain and the Royal House.53 She lived in Naples after Don Pedro was appointed Viceroy there by Emperor Charles V in 1533.

In 1539 Cosimo de’ Medici’s political choice of a bride of Spanish lineage was aimed at consolidating his imperial ties and taking an important step in the construction of his princely image and power as Duke of Florence. It placed him as a potential equal of rulers of autonomous parts of the empire of Charles V such as Mary of Hungary in Flanders, the Marchese del Vasto in Milan, and the Duke of Alba in Castile.54 It also ensured that any children born of the union would assume international rank through their Spanish dynastic connections.

Like Queen Éléonore, Eleonora di Toledo was resented as a Spanish consort in her new country. Cosimo’s imposition of an absolutist rule in the former Florentine republic was unpopular, and his Spanish bride was a part of the problem. The duchess was viewed as a symbol of the submersion of the national identity, and even the freedom, of the subjugated state of Florence. One chronicler called her “an arrogant woman, enemy of the Florentines”.55 This attitude persisted even in her last years, when her Jesuit priest, Diego de Guzmán, wrote of her: “She has no liking for anyone of any other nationality, nor does she wish to speak with anyone who is not Spanish”.56 Well aware as early as 1544 of her own situation, Eleonora wrote to her absent husband: “I see myself in danger staying here without you in a hostile city with a Spanish name and under the present government”.57 Eleonora’s foreign attire, often pointedly characterized as alla spagnola, only underscored her identity as a Spanish import, being read by Cosimo’s subjects as an outward expression of the duke’s fealty to the empire.

The subject of foreign influence in Cinquecento Italian court fashion such as Eleonora’s dress is fraught with peril, for references to the dress of other countries in contemporary letters and chronicles can be problematic and misleading. To call a garment alla francese (or alla tedesca, alla spagnola, etc.) apparently did not require explanation, for the expression could refer to a style current in France, for example, or could simply be a label attached permanently to a type of French garment. Furthermore, there was rampant imitation of the styles of many countries – sometimes all at once. As Baldassare Castiglione notes in Il Cortigiano: "For in this [male dress in Italy] we see an infinite variety: some dressing after the French manner, some after the Spanish, some wishing to appear German; nor are those lacking who dress in the style of Turks, some wearing beards, some not. It would therefore be well to know how to choose the best out of this confusion".58

Wearing a specific item of foreign clothing often declared a political alliance, but at different times in different cities. The ambivalent attitude of Italians towards Spanish attire, in particular, is summed up by Castiglione, who deplored the invading foreigners but declared: “I would have the Courtier’s dress show the sobriety which the Spanish nation so much observes, since external things often bear witness to internal things”.59

The adoption of Spanish styles in Italy had been tied to political events since the late Quattrocento, when there was a wave of emulation of Spanish attire at the courts Ferrara and Milan, with their ties to the Aragonese line of the Kingdom of Naples. Following the invasion of Italy by Charles VIII in 1494, however, French fashion became the dominant influence at Northern Italian courts – and in Florence as well, as seen in portraits by Leonardo da Vinci, Raphael, Andrea del Sarto, and Pontormo, where women are dressed in simple, supple clothes with a wide décolletage and slightly raised waistlines. The white camicià, with its soft and voluminous sleeves, was always in evidence, and the body was suggested beneath the clothing.
A subsequent fashion reversal climaxed after 1530 when Charles V was crowned Holy Roman Emperor. Spanish styles began to be widely adapted in Italy, as elsewhere, where they were often read as expressions of loyalty to imperial rule. As will be demonstrated, this sartorial mode was totally unlike the French fashions of the preceding years, and it was Eleonora di Toledo, arriving in Florence in 1539, who was in the vanguard of the change to a Spanish fashion.

Before turning to Eleonora’s Spanish mode of dress, it should be recalled that while she was Spanish by birth, neither she nor Eléonore d’Autriche was reared in Spain but rather in one of the imperial dominions – Eléonore in Flanders and Eleonora in Naples, where court dress was similar to that of Spain itself. Hence, we might refer more accurately to an “imperial” or an “Austro-Hispanic” style of dress; however, for convenience and to reflect contemporary usage (as discussed above) the customary label of “Spanish” will be retained here to Spanish-influenced fashion.

Both Eleonoras wore Spanish attire to assert their imperial loyalty and identity, but politically they represented opposite sides of the coin. Eléonore’s power-dressing alla spagnola was an assertion of her imperial pedigree and political connections as a player in the rivalry between her husband, the French king, and her brother, Charles V, while Eleonora di Toledo’s power-dressing alla spagnola supported the imperial allegiance of Duke Cosimo de’ Medici, an ambitious vassal of the French king, and her brother, Charles V, while Eleonora di Toledo’s power-dressing alla spagnola evoked the dress of two illustrious Iberian contemporaries: Empress Isabella, wife of Charles V, and Eléonore d’Autriche.

When Eleonora arrived in Florence as Cosimo’s bride in June of 1539, she brought Spanish customs and attire to her adopted country. Her taste for ostentatious clothes and jewels was demonstrated in the rich ceremonial dress that she wore for her first public appearances, which a modern costume historian described as “un fasto spagnolesco”. In dressing alla spagnola from the day of her appearance in Tuscany, Eleonora thus associated herself with the imperial court, enhancing Duke Cosimo’s political goals, which had of course dictated his choice of her as a bride.

A letter by the duke’s secretary, Pierfrancesco Riccio, with descriptions of Eleonora’s entrata into Tuscany and triumphal procession to Florence, emphasized the impact of her Spanish ceremonial attire and suggested the way in which her public persona would be fashioned through such dress. Riccio recorded that on arriving in Pisa, accompanied by a large Spanish entourage occupying seven galleys, “the Signora wore a black satin dress completely embroidered in gold, which also decorated her head and her coletto [partlet, or yoke]”. Riccio’s description makes it clear that she was attired in accord with the etiquette of the Spanish court. Her luxurious satin dress embellished with gold must have been like those Eléonore had worn for her entrées into Bayonne and Bordeaux in 1530; however, gold, rather than the silver embroidery of Eléonore’s dresses, reflected a particular Neapolitan taste. Eleonora’s head covering mentioned by Riccio in his letter would have been a gold and pearl netted snood such as the scuffia d’oro that he describes her wearing the following day.

By dressing in black for her Pisa entrata, Eleonora not only demonstrated a Spanish preference for the color, but evoked the dress of two illustrious Iberian contemporaries: Empress Isabella, wife of Charles V, and Eléonore d’Autriche,
Queen of France. The reference to Isabella was twofold: like her husband, Charles V, she favored black, as is seen in copies of Titian’s posthumous state portrait of 1544–1545, where she wears a severe black velvet dress [Fig. 15]. Eleonora’s black attire must also have been worn in mourning for Isabella, who had died only a month earlier (May 1, 1539). It is also likely that in wearing a black, gold-embroidered dress for her entrata as the duke’s bride, Eleonora evoked the model of Éléonore, who, as we have seen, had entered France in 1530 as the bride of the French king in a black, silver-embroidered dress. It was described as alla spagnola, and there is no doubt that Eleonora’s similar dress was also in the Spanish style.

Eleonora is recorded as wearing two more gold-embroidered dresses during the wedding festivities. Riccio thought her black outfit suggested mourning (as indeed it did in its evocation of Isabella) and reported with relief that the next day she “changed into a one of violet (pavonaza) velvet embroidered in gold”. He continues: “On her head she wore a gold hairnet, around her neck, the necklace given to her by the duke, and on her finger, the diamond”. Eleonora’s gold and pearl hairnets, made for her by a Spanish lady-in-waiting, are mentioned in this and other descriptions of her dress and are depicted in all her portraits. They must have been identical to those worn in contemporary Spanish court attire, including that of Éléonore d’Autriche [Figs. 1, 4, 9] and her daughter Marie [Fig. 2]. Like Éléonore, who displayed gifts of jewelry from her husbands, Manuel I and Francis I, with her entrée costumes, Eleonora wore jewelry that Cosimo had given her at the time of the marriage-by-proxy in Naples – a necklace of large pearls and a diamond ring, the latter attesting to the legal validity of the union. Eleonora’s entrata into Florence, her triumphal procession through the city, and the wedding itself were described in a book by Cosimo’s court humanist, Pierfrancesco Giambullari. On this day the duchess wore “a dress of red (chermisi) satin richly decorated with designs of beaten gold”. The first portrait of Eleonora by the newly appointed court painter, Agnolo Bronzino, may depict her in this dress [Fig. 13]. It is marked as a marriage portrait by the sitter’s youthful appearance, her gesture of fidelity, her display of the diamond ring (inevitably associated with the Medici impresa of the diamante), and the antique cameo ring on her little finger, which is decorated with marriage symbols. The gold embroidery on the bodice and sleeves, which would have embellished the center front and hem of the skirt as well, was described as alla spagnola. It must have been similar to the gold and silver embroidery of the dresses worn by Éléonore d’Autriche at her entrées. Eleonora’s partlet is made of netting in blue silk and gold cord accented where it intersects with pearls. It is also alla spagnola, like those worn by earlier royal Spanish brides. Eleonora’s sleeves, through which a blue lining is revealed, are also distinctly Spanish, with the panes tied together with crimson ribbons ending in gold aglets that also tie the sleeves to the bodice. A blue silk ribbon tied in a single vertical loop holds together the little collar of the partlet. This mode of tying a tie, ribbon or sash is seen often in Spanish dresses of the period, including the one worn by Éléonore in her portrait with king François [Fig. 8].

13) Angelo Bronzino, «Eleonora di Toledo as Bride», 1539; Prague, Národní Galerie.
14) Angelo Bronzino, «Eleonora di Toledo and her Son Giovanni», 1545; Florence, Galleria degli Uffizi.
Unlike the usual Spanish mode in which the ears are covered Eleonora’s hair is center-parted and pulled back to reveal her ears [Figs. 2, 4–6]. She wears a gold and pearl hairnet which echoes the design of the partlet and is bordered with a jeweled headband. It must have been similar to the scuffia d’oro which Riccio described her wearing at her entrata into Pisa.

As we shall see, details of fabric and decoration might change, but the basic Spanish style of Eleonora’s wedding dress, with its square neckline, gold and pearl partlet, and matching cuffia, was one from which she would not deviate until the late 1550s.

The 1539 wedding festival, as a whole, was intended to convey an image of Medici power, now enhanced by the luxury and high social level conveyed by Eleonora’s Spanish dress. La moda aulica – the opulent, courtly style worn by the duchess and her large Spanish entourage – was emblematic of the freshly minted, pseudo-royal image of the ducal family, which developed into a leading role in Duke Cosimo’s cultural politics, developing into a semiological system that marked the steps of his ascent to power.

An important juncture for Medicean politics came in 1543, when Cosimo gained autonomy in Florence after the emperor returned to him control of the city’s fortresses. In the same year Eleonora gave birth to their second son, Giovanni, thus doubly securing the continuation of a new Medici dynasty. Bronzino’s most famous state portrait of Duchess Eleonora is the one of 1545 with Giovanni [Fig. 14].83 The expanse of land behind Eleonora alluded to the ducal couple’s Florentine dominion and the fabric of her magnificent dress advertised Cosimo’s revival of the silk industry that had brought prosperity to the city. It has a white satin ground, with large pomegranate motifs in gold-brocaded boucle surrounded by arabesques of black velvet, a pattern that is reminiscent of Moorish/Spanish decorative motifs.84

A pomegranate is emblazoned on Eleonora’s bodice like an impresa. An open pomegranate signified fertility in the frescoes that Bronzino had completed in the early 1540s in the vault of Eleonora’s Chapel in the Palazzo Vecchio. The fruit also had Spanish associations for Eleonora, especially because it was the personal device of the late Empress Isabella.85 Moreover, Eleonora’s pose and court attire evoke Titian’s Isabella in Black [Fig. 15], which Bronzino could have known by way of Pieter de Jode’s engraving of the work; there the composition is reversed, thus providing a plausible model for Bronzino’s pose of Eleonora.86 Indeed, the pose – the lady seated, knee-length, hands separated – assumed first by Isabella and then by Eleonora in their state portraits and also seen in other consort portraits derived from Titian’s prototype – seems to have been a mid-Cinquecento topos of the beautiful, virtuous bride.87

Other Spanish elements of Eleonora’s attire – the square-necked bodice with its pearl and gold partlet, the matching cuffia, the slashed sleeves, and the pearl-drop earrings – repeat features of the bridal portrait dress [Fig. 13]. In this state portrait, however, she wears more elaborate jewelry: two necklaces of large pearls – the longer one probably the wedding gift from the duke mentioned above, the shorter with a table diamond and pearl pendant – and a spectacular gold jeweled girdle with a seed-pearl tassel, which may have been designed by Cellini.88

In her state portrait Eleonora wears a white camicia embroidered in black silk at the neckline and around the ruffle of the
chemise at the wrists. The chemise is also visible where it is pulled out in puffs between the wide panes of the sleeves and where they are joined to the bodice in a manner similar to the way Éléonore d’Autriche had worn her chemise in the early 1530s [Figs. 5–8]. The motifs of this black embroidery, which also decorates the collar and cuffs of Giovanni’s shirt, have been connected with the Lagartera region, an embroidery center northwest of Toledo\(^8\), where it might have been made.

Unlike the private, small-scale bridal portrait, Bronzino’s dynastic state portrait was frequently replicated and became the official image of the duchess – the counterpart of Van Cleve’s portrait of Éléonore d’Autriche [Fig. 5]. About 1549 Bronzino painted a similar portrait, this time with the Medici heir, Francesco, who was eight or nine years old [Fig. 16].\(^9\)

Éléonora is portrayed here in the typical formal attire alla spagnola of her mature years. Her dress and cuffia are in the same Spanish style as those of the two earlier portraits, and her jewelry is similar to that in the portrait with Giovanni. The dress is of a dark violet (pavonazzo) satin, a color she wore often, beginning with the 1539 Pisa entrata, and its bodice has a wide band of gold-worked embroidery. The pearl-studded and gold-netted partlet, lined in white silk, rises at the neck to form a small collar. It is held in place by a gold cord tied in a single looped bow, just like the collar in her bridal portrait.

The most prominent Spanish feature of Éléonora’s attire in this portrait is her matching violet satin zimarra, an item of court dress derived from the Spanish roppa (or rebone).\(^9\) As we have seen, this garment was a major feature of the Spanish court attire of Éléonore d’Autriche, who wore a zimarra at her entry into Bordeaux in 1530 (see p. 00). Éléonora’s zimarra has dropped shoulders and slashed sleeves trimmed with gold embroidery identical to that of the dress.

The duchess frequently wore a zimarra, which had become her preferred garment by the time of this portrait. She must have had zimarre in her trousseau when she came to Florence from Naples in June 1539, but the first mention of the garment is in a letter of November 1542 that records her order for a roppa embellished with silk embroidery.\(^9\) It was to be made by Agostino d’Agobbio, her chief tailor, who is mentioned frequently in the guardaroba inventories and in the correspondence of the ducal secretaries as making garments for the duchess and other female members of the ducal family.\(^9\) Many zimarre such as the one in this portrait are listed in the inventories of Éleonora’s clothes from 1544 onwards.\(^9\) One, in particular, dated September 23, 1549, close to the time this outfit was made, must have been very similar to it. It called for sixteen braccia of red satin for a zimarra to be trimmed with red velvet, fringe of gold and red silk, and buttons all’ungharesca of gold and red silk.\(^9\)

The button and loop fastenings of the zimarra’s opening and sleeve attachments, consist of round silk-worked buttons and a doubled up strip of tablet-woven silk braid on one side and corresponding doubled up strips forming the loops on the other. These “frog” fasteners, which were on all Éleonora’s zimarre, are referred to as all’ungharesca in the inventories, but the style came to Italy via Spain.\(^9\)

The zimarra Éleonora wears here and in other portraits was not only a Spanish feature of her wardrobe but a signifier of her social standing. Silk zimarre were specifically prescribed for married women and girls in the sumptuary laws which Duke Cosimo first promulgated in 1546.\(^9\) These strict regulations on the clothing and accessories that could be
worn controlled every detail of a given garment – not only fabrics but styles and decorations. The proscription of the zimarra may explain its absence in portraits of Florentine women prior to 1562, when Cosimo issued new sumptuary laws that allowed married women of the nobility to wear the garment – but with limits as to the amount of material that could be used to make it.

Eleonora's young son, Francesco, is dressed formally in a crimson satin doublet and matching red paneled trunk-hose. Under the doublet he wears a white camiceia with a collar embroidered in gold, and over it he wears a crimson satin sleeveless cassock (tunic). The doublet and the cassock are decorated with bands of gold applied trim. The style, color and gold braid decoration of these clothes are reminiscent of the attire Francesco had worn on his first official state visit the previous year, when he represented Duke Cosimo at a meeting in Genoa with Prince Philip, future king of Spain, who represented his father, the emperor. The wardrobes of Francesco and his entourage, which were chosen by Eleonora, were modeled on Spanish court dress, especially the saio (tunic), which they wore. Given the date and importance of the dynastic portrait of Francesco with his Spanish mother, it is possible that it records one of the very outfits he had worn for the Genoa audience of 1548, when he first played a public role as the Medici heir.

Bronzino painted another portrait of Eleonora and Francesco (now lost), which was sent in early 1550 as a diplomatic gift to Antoine Granvelle, Minister of State for Charles V. The attire of the sitters is related to their dress in the Pisa portrait. Eleonora wore a red satin dress, while Francesco wore a red velvet saio and a fur-lined cape such as he had worn at Genoa.

In June, 1550, shortly after Bronzino painted her in the Pisa portrait, Eleonora wore ceremonial attire at a Medicean dynastic festival celebrating the baptism of her son Garzia (b. 1547). This public appearance, as well as the clothing worn by Eleonora and her entourage, are described in detail in a letter by Jacopo Cortesi del Prato, who was the Bishop of Vaison and the papal representative at the ceremony. This is the first surviving description of attire worn by Eleonora at a public ceremony since the festivities of her marriage in 1539. Like Riccio and Giambullari, who had characterized Eleonora's mode of dress as alla spagnola in 1539, Cortesi was familiar with the Spanish origin of garments such as the zimarra and the cuffia, which he described accordingly.

Before the procession to the Baptisterio a ball was held in the Sala Grande of the Palazzo Ducale. At the end of the room on the raised platform of the Udienza was a baldachino where the ducal couple received with their eleven-year-old daughter Maria. Their entourage also included the fifteen-year-old Giulia, illegitimate daughter of the murdered Duke Alessandro de' Medici, whom Eleonora had reared.

All the women and girls were dressed in court attire. Maria's dress was of cloth-of-silver, while Giulia wore a white satin dress alla spagnola. Her headdress is also described as “alla spagnola”, which can only refer to a gold and pearl cuffia of the sort Eleonora customarily wore. There are no extant portraits of Giulia but Bronzino painted Eleonora's daughter Maria in 1551 in very elaborate adult-style dress, its partlet tied at the neck in the single-looped bow in...
the Spanish style.\textsuperscript{106} She also wears the \textit{cuffia}, of which only the jeweled headband was visible.\textsuperscript{107}

Eleonora was resplendently attired in a dress of extremely expensive – hence prestigious – white velvet, over which she wore a cloth-of-silver \textit{zimarra}, which Cortesi described as a “\textit{veste alla spagnola}”.\textsuperscript{108} An entry in the 1550 Guardaroba inventories dated May 25\textsuperscript{th}, shortly before the event, records an order for twenty-eight \textit{braccia} of white velvet for this dress and thirty gold buttons \textit{all’ungharesca} for the cloth-of-silver \textit{zimarra}.\textsuperscript{109} Cortesi noted that Eleonora’s lavish display of jewelry as worth the considerable sum of 300,000 \textit{scudi}.\textsuperscript{110}

Eleonora seems to have been similarly attired \textit{alla spagnola} in a white damask dress and white satin \textit{zimarra} for the festivities celebrating the politically important marriage of her daughter Lucrezia (b. 1545) and Duke Alfonso d’Este on July 3, 1558. No descriptions of her attire have survived but there are records in the Guardaroba of some of the expensive dresses made for the occasion. Forty-two \textit{braccia} of a white damask were ordered on June 11, 1558 for a \textit{veste} for Eleonora and a \textit{zimarra} for Lucrezia.\textsuperscript{111}

Bronzino’s last painting of Eleonora was the half-length state portrait of 1556–1557 [Fig. 17].\textsuperscript{112} This portrait and its pendant of Duke Cosimo (Turin, Galleria Sabauda) were executed in anticipation of and in celebration of their new status as Duke and Duchess of Florence and Siena. They became the official – and frequently replicated – images of the mature ducal couple.

Compared to her attire in the earlier portraits, Eleonora’s outfit is more richly ornamented with a variety of different trimmings. The crimson dress is embroidered with large gold geometric designs, of which only those across the top of the bodice are visible, but they would have continued down the center of the bodice and skirt, and around the hem.\textsuperscript{113} The matching \textit{zimarra} and its paned sleeves are embellished with black velvet guards densely embroidered with gold and decorated with large buttons made of black pearls set in gold. The closure of the \textit{zimarra} is \textit{all’ungharesca} and its turned-back collar reveals a white satin lining.

There is a close correlation between Eleonora’s \textit{zimarra} in this portrait and the lavishly decorated dresses worn at the courts of the Empire after about 1550. For example, in Anton Mor’s 1552 portrait of Catharina of Austria, Queen of Portugal [Fig. 18], every part of her black velvet \textit{zimarra} is trimmed with guards heavily embroidered in gold and there is a abundance of gold fasteners \textit{all’ungharesca}.\textsuperscript{114} Also in line with the current imperial style, as seen in a Mor portrait of Maria of Austria of 1551,\textsuperscript{115} Eleonora is more covered than before, her delicate white lace \textit{gorgiera} rising to form a small collar high on her neck, leaving only a sliver of skin. Like Maria, she holds one soft, brown kidskin glove with a tan, slashed cuff, a fashionable Spanish accessory mentioned in her wardrobe in the Guardaroba inventories.\textsuperscript{116}

The only painted depiction of Eleonora post-dating the state portrait is Giovanni Stradano’s oval vignette after Vasari of about 1557–1558, which is one of a series of six depicting events from the life of Cosimo and Eleonora in the Sala di Cosimo I, Palazzo Vecchio [Fig. 19].\textsuperscript{117} The first is \textit{The Proxy Marriage of Cosimo de’ Medici and Eleonora di Toledo in Naples},\textsuperscript{118} the highly significant initial event in her life as Duchess of Florence. The young Eleonora wears a red dress and a shorter, simple, collared white overdress, but her
mother, Maria Orsorio Pimentel, is attired in formal Spanish court fashion, wearing a grey zimarra over a yellow dress. Her black bonnet with an ostrich feather recalls those worn in the 1530s by the Spanish Eleonore d’Autriche and her ladies-in-waiting [Figs. 3-4, 8-9, and 11].

Two state occasions in 1560 provided opportunities for what would be a final display of Eleonora’s ever more opulent ceremonial wardrobe alla spagnola, demonstrating, yet again, the important role her clothing for official events assumed in creating and communicating her public image as a Spanish duchess of Florence. The entry of the Duke of Florence and Siena into the newly annexed city, accompanied by the Duchess and their sons Francesco, Giovanni, and Garzia, together with an entourage of 1600 persons, was reported by contemporary chroniclers. In keeping with Cosimo’s imperial loyalties, the model for this event was the entry style of Charles V, in which the emperor and empress entered a city together, as opposed to the French custom, in which the queen entered the following day.

A painting of the procession, The Solemn Entry of Cosimo I into Siena, shows Cosimo, Eleonora and their entourage approaching Siena from the countryside. Cosimo has already entered the city through a triumphal arch, one of the many ephemeral decorations in the city, where he is met by the archbishop, while Eleonora rides a white horse further back in the procession. She is dressed in white and wears a dark bonnet, and the three attendants riding in front of her are dressed in red with red plumed bonnets. The choice of red for the costumes of the attendants in a grand ceremony such as this may have been a Spanish custom, since the Castillian ladies-in-waiting who accompanied Queen Eleonore at her coronation and Paris entrée in 1530 were attired in “satin cromaisy”.

Contemporary descriptions of Eleonora’s costume in the procession differ in detail, although they all emphasize her


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jewels. After describing Cosimo’s dress, the chronicler Agostino introduces his description of Eleonora’s attire with an encomium suggesting that her lavish clothes bestowed upon the wearer virtue and even divinity: “The other [Eleonora] appeared to be a more than earthly queen of honest beauty and most beautiful honesty, all covered with grace, regality, goodness, and super-human majesty”. He continues, describing her as riding a white horse, wearing a white velvet dress embroidered with gold, diamonds, rubies, and emeralds, with sables around her neck and a black velvet beret. For this occasion Eleonora thus repeated the prestigious white velvet of the veste alla spagnola that she had worn for the festival of Garzia’s baptism ten years earlier. It is reasonable to conclude that the style of the Sienese entrata dress was also in the Spanish mode.

The ducal couple then made separate triumphal entrances into Rome on 6 November, 1560 – the occasion of the Jubilee. A number of chronicles mention Eleonora’s truly sumptuous attire, Cirni describing this outfit: a black velvet dress lined with cloth-of-gold, a little velvet cloak lined with ermine, her usual hairnet and over it a very valuable jeweled black beret.

Black was unusual in Eleonora’s habitual style of dressing, and there is no mention in the Guardaroba inventories of attire in the black and gold so closely associated with imperial court dress. Hence, it is possible that for this prestigious event which took place in the international realm outside of Florence, she dressed as a Spaniard in black and gold clothing similar to that of her aristocratic Austro-Hispanic contemporaries.

In the evening the ducal entourage was received by the newly elevated Pope Pius IV in the Sala di Costantino at the Vatican. The chroniclers Settimani and Cirni describe Eleonora as wearing cloth-of-silver dress embroidered with multicolored velvet leaves embellished with pearls and jewels. This bejeweled outfit, made for the singularly important occasion of her presentation to the pope, may have been the most elaborate of any garment in Eleonora’s entire wardrobe. Like the other attire she wore for the Siena and Roman entrate, however, it was not described by the chroniclers as alla spagnola. It is possible that by 1560 her mode of dress was so taken for granted that it was no longer necessary to characterize it as Spanish, as it had been on the occasion of Garzia’s baptism in 1550.

As in his description of her dress for the Siena entrata, Cirni suggests that both Eleonora’s and Duke Cosimo’s attire for the papal presentation endowed them with the virtue, and even divinity, of “due semi dei”. The diarist Agostino Lapini also notes the impact of Eleonora’s attire at her audience with the pope. Testifying to the success of her two decades of attention to her regal public appearance, he declared that it was at once beautiful and sacred when Eleonora approached to pay reverence to the pope.

Back in Florence in 1561, Eleonora ordered Spanish clothes for herself and her entourage from two new Spanish tailors whom she had brought to Florence to join those already on the court rolls. One of them, Cecero da Francavilla, was responsible for her dresses, and on 20 December he delivered “un saio alla spagnola” of brown sarsenet trimmed with velvet and gold braid and lined with white taffeta with leather lined lapels.

Eleonora di Toledo thus wore Spanish-influenced clothes in Florence for public events, and most likely in private as well, for

21) Giovanni Bizzelli, «Giovanna d’Austria and her Son Filippo», 1586; Florence, Galleria degli Uffizi.
over two decades, and her Spanish wardrobe became a permanent aspect of her public persona. Not only was her dress clearly condoned by the duke (unlike the French king's attitude towards his consort's foreign dress), but the language of the references to her attire *alla spagnola* in the chronicles and inventories was accepting and her style was widely imitated.

The continuity and longevity of Eleonora's Spanish-influenced dress was a product of a deep and long-standing political alliance, and it was hence very different from the short-lived dress *alla spagnola* of her earlier Spanish contemporary, Eleonora d'Autriche, which reflected a temporary Franco-Spanish alliance.

After Eleonora's death the culture of the Florentine court was increasingly dominated by imperial political ties and, in the realm of dress, by Austro-Hispanic sartorial taste. This is demonstrated in the style of the dress the duchess wears in Alessandro Allori's posthumous portrait of her in Francesco de' Medici's Studiolo in the Palazzo Ducale [Fig. 20].131 Painted on slate (as was the pendant portrait of Cosimo) suggesting permanence and immortality, the work evoked Eleonora on the tenth anniversary of her death in 1562. Her attire is appropriately splendid. She wears a crimson damask gown, a jeweled girdle, and her usual double necklace of large pearls, to which is added a shorter necklace with a jeweled pendant. Over this is a zimarra of dark violet of a fabric with a currently fashionable design a nodi (with knots). Other details of her dress such as the high collar and spallini (little shoulder rolls), and her hair drawn straight upward without her earlier center part, have been updated in accord with the fashions of the early 1570s.

In 1565 Francesco had married another Habsburg princess, Giovanna d'Autriche. The new Grand Duchess followed Eleonora's style, especially the richly decorated dress and zimarra combination which Eleonora had favored [Figs. 16-17]; however, her look reflects the current trends in the imperial style. In a distant echo of Bronzino's portrait of Eleonora with her son Giovanni, she was portrayed in 1586 by Giovanni Bizzelli in a dynastic portrait with her own son Filippo [Fig. 21].132 The cycle of Spanish influence on Florentine court dress thus continued beyond Eleonora's lifetime and subsequently into the next century.

Acknowledgments
This article was developed from a paper given in a session “Bridging the Divide: Habsburg Women as Agents in the Entourage of Charles V and Francis I” (organized by Kathleen Wilson-Chevalier) at the annual meeting of the Renaissance Society of America, held in Cambridge, England, in March 2005.

Bringing this interdisciplinary work to completion involved the support of many institutions and individuals in the fields of costume history, history, and art history. Among institutions, I am especially grateful for the hospitality of the directors and staffs of the Biblioteca Berenson, Villa I Tatti, the Kunsthistorisches Institut, and the Archivio di Stato, all in Florence. I am also indebted to numerous colleagues who gave me support, ideas, and references over the years, among whom I particularly mention costume historians Fausto Fornasari, Carole Collier Frick, Roberta Orsi Landini, and Sandra Rosenbaum; historian Michael Rocke; and art historians Lynette Bosch, Philippe Costamagna, Bruce Edelstein, Alexandra Korey, Jonathan Nelson, Laurent Odde, and Robert Simon.

Finally, I extend a very special measure of thanks to three exceptionally generous colleagues who offered encouragement, expertise, and suggestions during the genesis of this work and who read and critiqued a late draft of the manuscript: costume historian Mary Westerman Bulgarella and art historians Louis A. Waldman and Kathleen Wilson-Chevalier.

Abbreviations
ASF – Archivio di Stato, Florence
GM – Guardaroba medicea
MdP – Mediceo del Principato

2 Warnicke 2000, p. 80.
3 See Galluzzi 1820–1821, IV, p. 141: “Il Re et Regina di Francia gli avevano donato ricchissime vesti alla moda Francese affinché ne facesse pompa in occasione dell'ingresso, ma il G. Duca troppo cauto in tutto ciò che potesse far credere al pubblico la sua inclinazione per le cose di Francia volle che Cristina adottasse subito le vesti e la maniere Toscanee”.
4 For the scattered bibliography on this subject, see Butazzi 1995, pp. 80–94.
6 For these events and the marriage of François and Eléonore, see Anderson 1979, pp. 149–59; and Knecht 1994, ch. 12–13.
8 For the “bonnet with a halo brim”, which Eléonore would wear for her entrées and in her portraits, and the slashed sleeves, see Anderson 1979, pp. 175–177.
9 See Anderson 1979, pp. 169–171. Six of these were delivered to Isabella in 1487, Giovanna d’Aragona attended a wedding in 1517 wearing “la cuffietta d’oro”, and in the 1530s Empress Isabella is recorded as owning one of gold cord decorated with 370 pearls.
For this hairstyle, with or without narrow braids wound around the puffs, see Anderson 1979, pp. 167–171.

For sixteenth-century French royal entrées, see Graham 1986; for Éléonore’s entrées, see Cazaux 2002, pp. 188–191.


“La plus joyeuse dame que jamais on vit [...] portait un vête-
ment à la mode d’Espaigne”. The chronicler also notes that Marie, wife
of Louis XII, was dressed “à la mode d’Angleterre”. See Cosandey
2000, p. 172, n. 2, citing: Lentet et reception... (enfants de France et

Moreau 1834–1840, ser. 1, vol. 2, p. 437. His complete descripti-
on is as follows: “Elle avoit une fine robe de velour noir doublé de
satin cramoy, les manches montées de satin cramoy bandées de
grandes bandes de drap d’or séparées qui se ténioient à esquilettes
de rubans de fine soye ferées de fer d’or esmaillée, chargés de perles
fort belles. Sa teste estoit acoustée et habillée à la portuguese. Sur
icelle avoit un pourpris garny de pierres précieuses beau et riche,
l’entour du quel y avoit d’autres grosses perles qui donnanoient fort
beau lustre à la beauté et relyuysance d’icieux. Sur son estomac
avoit un collar graffy trýplement encorees d’autres perles plus grosses
qu’estoient meslée parmy des rubys et dyamans grans, eaux et de
grant valeur qui relyuysanoient fort. Son dit estomac estoit tout découvert
et blanc comme alabastre, et davantage ung tant douly et benyn un
maintien de princesse, sentant sa maison et source de toute vertu et
dont ceioy du milieu estoit gros & plus large que vn escu”. Godefroy
1849, 1, pp. 773–776, cites another description of the same entrée
taken from a manuscript, which adds further details on the slashed
sleeves, the silver and jeweled decoration of the dress, and the cote
completely covered with silver and decorated with gold knots like that of
a sash.

See Bourrily 1910, p. 345: “[...] et y estoit la Royne dedans
une lietiere, vestue à la françoys, de satin blanc, parmi lequel paissoit
le drap d’or bouffant, coiffée à la mode d’Espaigne”.

Count Henry III of Nassau and his Three Wives (Munich,
86–88. For this costume, see Anderson 1979, pp. 177 (hat), 197
(sleeves); and eadem 1981, pp. 216, 218 (chemise).

See Graham 1986, p. 241; and Cazaux 2002, pp. 173–175, for
the traditional crowning of French queens at St Denis and their subse-
quent entry into the city.

Bochetel 1531, n.p.: “La dicte Lietiere estoit destoucerve, de
forte que la dicte Dame povoit estrevue dun chacun. Et estoit icelle
Dame revestue de Manteau Royal, de pourprir diappr d’or, son
Corset tout couvert de perles, & son Surcot fourre dhermynes, enrichy
de perrerie, vne Couronne sur le chef, environnee de gros Dyamans &
Rubiz, le tout de si grande excellence, que le pris & valueur ne sen
peut bonnement estimer. [...] Et apres elles venoient les Filles de
la Royne aussi montees sur Hacquenees avec Housses de drap dor.
Savoir est, les douze quelle a amenes de Castille, vestues de satin
Cramoisy, a la mode de leur pays. Et le reste des Françoises aussi
vestues de satin ou velux Cramoisy, a la mode de France”.

Chantilly, Musée Condé no. 23. See Broglie 1971, no. 267;
Mellen 1971, no. 48; Anderson 1981, p. 216; and Jordan Gschwend

Chantilly, Musée Condé no. 174. See Broglie 1971, no. 272;
Mellen, 1971, no. 51; Anderson 1981, p. 216; and Zvereva 2002, no. 30
(with bibl.). This drawing is of interest for the top of the Spanish tran-
zado seen to the right of the sitter’s neck and the wide-paned sleeves
with stripes, which are similar to the sleeves in Van Cleve’s portrait
of the queen [Fig. 5].

Campbell 1985, pp. 24–25, no. 15; and Hand 2004, p. 102 and
no. 86.

Campbell 1985, under no. 15, p. 25c; Ferino-Pagden 1991, no.
43; Seipel 2000, no. 43; Wilson-Chevalier 2002, pp. 501–504; and
Hand 2004, p. 102, no. 87.

“A la xpanisysma y muy poderosa sinora la Reyna my sinora”.

Anderson 1979, pp. 179 and 197, compares her dress with
those in contemporary Spanish portraits.

See n. 15. Éléonore may have established or encouraged a
fashion for Spanish sleeves at the court. For example, a payment
of 1534 records the delivery to the king of many pairs of sleeves “for
him to dispose of at his pleasure” (presumably as gifts to his many
mistresses), six of which were of green velvet with gold trim, described as

For sleeves as gifts in the Renaissance, see Welch 2000, p. 106.

The long over-sleeves, a feature of Spanish attire, are seen in
a copy of a lost portrait showing the queen wearing this dress, but with
a skirt of a later style (Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale de France).
For the jewels from François I, see Bonaffe 1878, pp. 248–252. Jordan and Wilson-Chevalier 2007, pp. 347–349, suggest that she wears jewels given to her by both kings.

Chantilly, Musée Condé. See Campbell, 1985, under no. 15, p. 25.

Lisbon, Museu Nacional de Arte Antiga. See Hand 2004, no. 86.3 (as a workshop version of the Hampton Court painting).


See Shaw 1937, p. 29.


See Jordan Gschwend 2008, p. 11.


See Wilson-Chevalier 2002, pp. 522–523; and Wilson-Chevalier and Jordan 2007, p. 378, illustrating a drawing by Trouvéon (Chantilly, Musée Conde) and a portrait by Anton Mor (Madrid, Monasterio de Las Descazas Reales). She wears a pearl necklace looped as in Clouté’s drawing and the Chantilly portrait [Figs. 4 and 6], both works made not long after her arrival in France and showing her wearing attire with Spanish elements.

For Eleonora, see Baia 1907; Cox-Rearick 1993; Edelstein 1995; idem 2000; and Eisenbichler 2004.

Noted by Cochrane 1973, p. 38.

“Donna superba et inemica de’ fiorentini affatto”. See San Gallo 2000, p. 65. He also notes (p. 93) that in public she usually traveled in her litter “in guise of a tabernacle of reliquia, [...]” and that (p. 128) “la duchessa [...] era spagnola e havaeva molto in odio la nobilita di Firenze [...]”. See pp. 119, 150, and 166, for other critical comments about the duchess.

“Non ha alcuna affettione a nissuna della altre nazioni, ne vuol parliare con alcuno de’ nostri che non sia spagnuolo” (quoted in Scudato 1964, p. 578).

“My doggo della mia fortuna, poi che mi veggo in pericolo in pericolo di restare senza voli in una citta nemica del nome Spag.lo et e q.to modo di reggimento, e non so in che modo in si strano accidente potro mantenere me, et i fig.lii in stato”. Copy of an undated letter of Eleonora of Toledo; BNF, Ms Magl. VIII.80, I, f. 205 (quoted in Cox-Rearick 1993, p. 35).

See Castiglione, II, 26: “[...] perché in questo veggiamo infinita varietà; a chi si veste alla francese, chi alla spagnola, chi vuol parer tedesco; ne chi mancano ancor di quelli chi si vestano alla foggia de’ Turchi; chi porta la barba, chi no. Saria adunque ben fatto super in questo confusione eleggere il meglio”, trans. Singleton 1959, p. 120. For foreign styles in Italy and their hostile reception, see Currie 2000, pp. 161–167.


See Niccoli in Orsi Landini and Niccoli 2005, p. 58 and n. 80.

There is no general agreement on the Spanishness of Eleonora’s dress. Lazzi 1988, pp. 159–173, takes Spanish influence in Eleonora’s attire for granted, noting (eadem 1993, pp. 27–34) that Eleonora introduced into Florence “un lusso un po’ostentato tipico di quella moda che prediligeva tessuti suotuosi”, seen in Bronzino’s Uffizi portrait [Fig. 14] and public ceremonial occasions. Cox-Rearick and Bulgarella 2004, pp. 132–133, discuss Eleonora’s habitual wearing of the Spanish zimarra. Niccoli in Orsi Landini and Niccoli 2005, pp. 47–67, mentions Spanish influence in Eleonora’s costumes at the public events of 1539 and 1550. On the other hand, Orsi Landini in Orsi Landini and Niccoli 2005, pp. 23–45, characterizes Eleonora’s dress as “internazionale”, rather than “alla spagnola”, and also questions the importance of her role in introducing features of Spanish dress in Florence.


“[…] di una conveniente bellezza, ma richiamate vestite”. See Coniglio 1959, p. 348.


Castiglione, II, 27: “[...] pero parmi che maggior grazie abbia nel vestimenti il color nero, che alcun altro; [...] ma nel resto vorei che mostrassino quel ripo che molto serva la nazon spagnola, perché le cose estrinseche spesso fan testimonio dell’instrinseche”. On black as a Spanish color in Castiglione, see Quondam 2007, pp. 119–137.

See Costamagna 1994, p. 89 and cat. 79 (with bibl.). Opinion on the identification of this portrait is not unanimous. For example, Elizabeth Cropper (in Florence 1996, cat. 142), identifies the sitter as Carlo Neroni.

See Costamagna 1994, cat. 79, for this argument. He also discusses Portrait of a Boy dressed alla spagnola (cat. A134; Washington, National Gallery of Art), which shows the sitter in black with a black plumed hat, as dependent on portraits by Pontormo and Bronzino from about 1540.

Quoted in Cirillo Mastrocinque 1968, p. 216.

See Cirillo Mastrocinque 1968, pp. 216–217. A later occasion on which costume was used to indicate Cosimo’s solidarity with the emperor was in 1548, when Francesco, the seven-year-old Medici heir, wore elegant Spanish-style dress especially ordered by Eleonora on a state visit to Genoa to meet Prince Philip of Spain (see below, p. 58).

Eleonora’s extravagant jewelry is described by chroniclers of her public appearances in at the baptism of Garzia (1550), her entrata into Siena (1560), her entrata and presentation to the pope in Rome (1560), as well as being depicted in her state portraits by Bronzino [Figs. 14 and 16]. See also the extensive reportage of the jewelry that Bernardo Baldini and then (after 1545) her court jeweler, Cellini, made or purchased for her. For Cellini and Eleonora, see Cellini, Vita, in Opere, 1971, II, ch. 52–53, 59, 64, 67, 68, and 83. Among items he made in 1545 alone, there was an elaborately jeweled gold belt (Tassi 1843, III, pp. 14–15; and, Cellini, II, p. 53), a gold pendant with figures and animals in which a thirty-five-carat diamond was mounted (Cellini, II, p. 60); and Cellini also made purchases such as a necklace of large pearls (Cellini, II, p. 168).

Lazzi 1988, p. 165.

Riccio’s letter from Pisa of 23 June to Lorenzo Pagni (ASF, MdP 339, f. 79v): “La S.ra Duchessa entrò in Pisa con una veste di raso
noro tutta piena di gran punte d’oro così in testa et col coletto. Stamattina lassato el bruno, e venuta fora con una veste pavonaza di velutto et ricamata d’oro, in testa una scuffia d’oro, a collo il vezzo gli donò el S.r Duca, in dito el diamante; et così questi S.r spagnoli veduta la mente del S.r Duca senza troppa cerimonie gli hanno in questo satisfatto". I am very grateful to Louis A. Waldman for his kind assistance in the transcription of this document and those cited in notes 92, 94, 95, 103, 109, 111, 115, 119, 120, 127 and 130 (all Florence, Archivio di Stato).

74 See Anderson 1981, p. 221.
75 For other copies of this work, including Pieter de Jode’s engraving, see Wethey 1969–1971, ii, p. 200, no. L-20.
76 Eleonora’s hairnets, which are frequently noted in the Medici Guardaroba inventories, were made by Isabella de Reinoso (or Renosa). See Cox-Rearick and Westerman Bulgarella 2004, p. 133 and n. 124; and Roberta Orsi Landini in Orsi Landini and Niccoli 2005, pp. 135–139. The *cuffia* is barely visible in Bronzino’s portraits of Eleonora, but her profile portraits – Domenico Poggini’s medal and Giovanni Antonio de’ Rossi’s cameo – show that it enclosed all her hair. See Cox-Rearick 1993, figs. 28 and 30; the details of the *cuffia* are particularly clear in the color reproduction of the cameo in Orsi Landini and Niccoli 2005, fig. 66.

77 Eleonora wears the ring in the marriage portrait [Fig. 13] and the pearls in all three of Bronzino’s other portraits of her [Fig. 14, 16 and 17], as well as Allori’s posthumous portrait [Fig. 20].
80 See Langedijk 1981, no. 35,10; and Cox-Rearick in Orsi Landini and Niccoli 2005, pp. 109–114, who notes some ninety such garments. The earliest inventory to mention Eleonora’s *zimarra* is ASF, GM 8 (1544–1546), where several in a variety of fabrics and colors typical of her taste are listed, all to be tailored by Agostino d’Agobbio. These detailed entries are typical of the way Eleonora’s orders for clothing were recorded in the Guardaroba throughout her life as Duchess of Florence.

f. 6v [black taffeta lined with ermine]

22 April 1544

X braccia d’ermesino nuovo levò il Pedone da Piero Arrigucci per far una *zimarra* alla S.ra Duchessa foderata d’ermellini, tagliò maestro Agust.o.
fol. 65r [brown satin, lined in brown taffeta, trimmed in velvet]

29 October 1544

XVIII braccia di raso tanè da Benedetto et Ristoro Machiavelli messo in una *zimarra* per la S.ra Duchessa tagliò maestro Agust.o.
fol. 132v [light blue taffeta, trimmed in blue velvet and blue satin]

25 June 1545

X braccia d’ermesino azzurro da Filippo Salvati messo in una *zimarra* per la S.Duchessa tagliò maestro Agust.o.
fol. 143r [grey satin, lined in grey taffeta, trimmed in grey velvet]

26 July 1545

XVI braccia di raso bigio da Thommaso da Sancta + messo in una *zimarra* da Preti per la S.ra Duchessa tagliò maestro Agust.o.
fol. 53r [black wool with lapels of black taffeta, trimmed with black silk fringe]

18 August 1545

65
VI 2/3 braccia di raso nera messa in una veste [deleted: pe?] cioè zimarra per la S.ra Duchessa.
Il 1/2 braccia di taffetà nero in oncie 4 7/8 da Piero Arrigucci messo in far le mostre a decta zimarra.
XL braccia di frangia di seta nera in oncie [blank] dal Montaguto messa in guarnizione di decta zimarra.
182r [gold thread for trim and fringe for two red wool tunics for Duke Cosimo and three zimarre all'ungharesca of the same fabric for Francesco, Maria, and Giovanni.
26 October 1545
VIII oncie, denari 19 d'oro filato dal decto [Pedone] consegnato al Montaguto per far passamani e frange a uno paio di saia lucchesina di S. Ex.a et tre zimarre all'ungheresca della medesima per el S.or Don Francesco, Donna Maria et Don Giovanni nostri.
182v [gold thread for the fringe of a red satin zimarra for the Duchess]
3 November 1545
VIII oncie, [denari] XX d'oro filato dal decto [Filippo Rucellai] consegnato al Montaguto e messo in frange per una zimarra della Duchessa di raso chemisí.
184r [gold and red silk fringe for the trim of the red satin zimarra]
1 November 1545
LX braccia di frange d'oro e seta chemisí in oncie 8 1/2 tutte consegnate a maestro Agustino per guarnizione della zimarra di raso chemisí dalla Duchessa da foderarsi.
221v [red velvet from Naples for a zimarra for the Duchess and two veste alla francese for Francesco and Giovanni; red satin consigned to Bacchiaca to embroider for a zimarra for the Duchess]
1 March 1546 (modern style)
XXV braccia di velluto chemisí venuti di Napoli messo in una zimarra alla Duchessa et in dua veste alla franzese per el S.or Don Francesco e S.or Don Giovanni nostri, tagliò maestro Agust.o.
Il braccia di raso chemisí da Raffaello Mazzinghi consegnato al Bacchiaca ricamatore per ricamare per la zimarra della Duchessa di velluto come sopra, pesò oncie VI, denari 22.
95 GM 21, f. 64r. 23 September 1549
XVI braccia di raso chemisí rosso da Benedetto et Ristoro Machiavelli messo in una zimarra per foderare alla Sg.ra Duchessa nostra, tagliò maestro Agust.o.
Il 1/3 braccia di velluto chemisí messo in guarnizione di detta zimarra.
V 1/2 oncie di frange et vernice d'oro et seta rossa cavata de' resti di molte veste et lavori fatti et messa in guarnizione di detta zimarra.
XX bottoni di nostro oro et seta chemisí a l'ungheresca dal Montaguto in oncie 2 messi in decta zimarra.
96 See Bernis 1972, p. 706.
97 Legge sopra il ornamenti et habiti degl' homini et delle donne, fatta il di 19 d'ottobre 1546, in Cantini 1800-1808, I, pp. 318-327. For a summary, see Bonito Fanelli 1980, pp. 420-421.
98 See Carnesecchi 1902, especially pp. 40-43.
99 Trunk hose are short breeches gathered in a band above the knee; the panes are like those of sixteenth-century sleeves, separating to show a lining when the wearer moves.
100 On the Spanish style of the attire of Francesco and his Spanish entourage, see Edelstein 1995, II, pp. 338-340 and n. 80; and Niccoli in Orsi Landini 2005, pp. 57-60, who cites entries from ASF, GM 15, on the making of the clothing, noting that its gold and silver embroidery was "la risposta fiorentina al sontuoso gusto per i ricami in oro e argento dell'abbigliamento iberico".
101 Niccoli in Orsi Landini 2005, p. 58.
103 These details are spelled out in a letter from ducal secretary Lorenzo Pagni to Riccio of 20 January 1550 [modern style] [ASF, MdP 1176, II, ins. 13, f. 1]. See Edelstein 1995, II, doc. 38.
105 "La signora donna Maria aveva una veste di tela d'argento; in capelli, a l'usanza delle fanciulle fiorentine, con qualche gioia, e pareva un angelo. La signora donna Julia era vestita con una veste di raso bianco alla spagnola, e il capo acconciò pure alla spagnola, e aveva gioie assai e belle perle al colletto. [...] La moglie del Signor Chiappino [another member of Eleonora's entourage] aveva una veste di drappo d'argento, e sopra un buratto di velo, molto ornato di gioie. L'altre dame di S. E. vestite di vari drappi nuovi, con le sue gioie ornate garbatamente".
106 Florence, Uffizi inv. 1890, 1572. See Bacchini 1973, no. 87; and Langedijk 1981, no. 85,5.
107 Lisa Goldenberg Stoppano and Costanza Conu in Sframeli 2003, no. 13; and Langdon 2005, pp. 109-111, 113-114, discuss Maria's dress, identifying her headdress as a grilla. However, the band could simply be that of a cuffia, which would also have enclosed her hair. See the cuffia with a jeweled band worn in Bronzino's Girl with a Book (Florence, Uffizi) of c. 1545.
108 "La ill.ma signora Duchessa era vestita di velluto bianco, e di sopra una veste alla spagnola, di drappo d'argento, molto bella".
ii braccia di raso bianco da Filippo Salviati messo nella coperta della doppia di detta.
11/2 braccia di tela saldata bianca [and] 11/2 braccia di tela bottana bianca [and] i braccio di feltro bianco da Bastiano di Dino messo nel imbusto e doppia di detta".
[f. 13v] "Ritornò le braccia 4 del raso bianco ricamato di nostro oro dal Montaguto e si messe con 30 bottoni all'ungheresca hauti dal detto in guarnizione d'una zimarra et coprire di buratto d'argento e nella sottana detta di velluto bianco per mano di m.ro Agust.o.
1 1/2 braccio [sic] di taffetà bianco messo in rifodere le maniche di detta zimarra et coprire e cartoni della sottana detta".
110 "[...] et era ornata di tante gioie ch'er un bel spectacolo. Intendo da varie persone che l'aveva adosso gioie per 300 mila scudi".
111 See ASF, GM 34, f. 132r (11 June 1558): "xiii braccia di damasco bianco da Napoleone Cambi consegnato a m.ro Agust.o [Agobbio] e messo in una veste alla Signora Duchessa et una zimorra alla principessa". Among other orders for lavish clothing for Eleonora in June, see f. 143 (26 June): "xiii braccia di raso bianco da Niccolò Pagni [and] iii braccia di taffetà bianco da [sic] Francesco Sam.ti [Sanminiati] messo in una zimarra per la detta [duchessa]. Tagliò m.ro Augusto".
112 Workshop replica, Washington, National Gallery of Art inv. 1961.9.7. See Bacchini, 1973, no. 112a; and Langedijk 1981, no. 35,14. For the commission and dating of these pendant portraits of Cosimo and Eleonora, see Cox-Rearick 1993, p. 367, n. 73-74; Cox-Rearick 2004, p. 106 (the original considered to be the lost prototype for the Washington picture); and Cox-Rearick and Westerman Bulgarella 2004, p. 108 (figs. 9a and 9b show the portraits as pendant). There are numerous replicas of the half-length original in both bust-length and full-length versions. See Bacchini no. 112, b-e; and Langedijk 1981, no. 35, 1, 3, 4, 8 a-h.
The color of the outfit is rendered as dark violet or brown in some versions, while the design of the whole dress is shown only in a full-length copy, in which, however, the painter may simply have repeated the design as shown in the half-length original (Assisi, Private collection; see Orsi Landini and Niccoli 2005, fig. 2).

Madrid, Museo del Prado inv. 2109. See Anderson 1979, fig. 564; and Bernis 1990, fig. 43.

Madrid, Museo del Prado inv. 2110. See Bernis 1990, fig. 47; and Orsi Landini in Orsi Landini and Niccoli 2005, fig. 8.

See Roberta Orsi Landini in Orsi Landini and Niccoli 2005, pp. 166–167. Eleonora is also portrayed wearing a zimarra in sculptured likenesses of the 1550s, Domenico Poggini’s medal of 1551 and Francesco Ferrucci del Tadda’s bust of c. 1560 (both Florence, Museo Nazionale del Bargello); see Cox-Rearick and Bulgarella 2004, 111–112 and figs. 12 and 15b. Another bust is a posthumous image, probably a late sixteenth-century copy after an earlier work (location unknown; see Cox-Rearick and Bulgarella 2004, pp. 112–113, fig. 17).

See Allegri and Cecchi 1980, p. 150, no. 33 (with the obviously incorrect title, The Birth of Francesco, given in Vasari, Ragionamen
ti, p. 196). For other suggested subjects, see Muc
cchi and Cecchi 1991, p. 146 (the engagement of Isabella de’ Medici); Cox-Rearick 1993, pp. 41–42 (Duke Cosimo de’ Medici, Eleonora di Toledo, and one of their daughters receiving in the Palazzo Ducale); and Niccoli in Orsi Landini 2005, fig. 19 (the engagement of one of the daughters of the ducal couple).

See the persuasive argument by Edelstein 2003, pp. 71–72, 80–84, and pl. IV and Orsi Landini.

See Settimani, Memorie fiorentini, III (1555–1574), ASF Manoscritti 128r–128v and 181r–181v (1560); Cirni, 1560, 3r–4r; and an anonymous chro
nicler quoted in Grotannelli 1886, pp. 83–89.


See Niccoli in Orsi Landini and Niccoli 2005, figs. 15 and 25, and pp. 60–61.

See Cirni 1560, 3r–4r; and an anonymous chronicler quoted in Grotannelli 1886, pp. 80–89.

Cirni 1560, 4r: “[Eleonora] era vestito di velluto bertino ricamato d’oro […] appareva più che terrena regina d’honestissima beltà, e di bellissima honestà, tutta sparsa di gratia, realtà, bontà, e maestà sopra humana vestita di velluto bianco ricamato d’oro intagliato, con la testa di gemme pretiose, come diamanti, rubini, smiraldi con vezzi di perle, e cinta piena di gioie, con un zibellino al collo, di moda, che valevano da trecento mille scudi”. Cirni 1560, p. 5. “S. Ecc. haveva una veste di velluto nero foderata di tela d’oro, & sopra haveva un tabaretto di velluto, foderato di pelle d’ermellini, & in capo haveva una schiiffa [cuffia], & sopra una beretta pretiosissima, & era sopra un caval Turco, addobbato di veluto nero, riccamento d’oro”.

See Orsi Landini in Orsi Landini and Niccoli 2005, p. 28, on the rarity of black in Eleonora’s wardrobe. Orsi Landini, p. 44, n. 18, speculates that this dress might be one mentioned in a Guardaroba entry of 4 September 1559, or perhaps one mentioned in GM 55, f. 9, which was originally made for the funeral of her daughter Lucrezia in 1557, but neither sounds like the one described by the sources as worn for the papal visit. For a summary of Eleonora’s attire in the Guardaroba inventories of 1544–1562, see Orsi Landini, in Orsi Landini and Niccoli 2005, pp. 200–235.

See, for example, Mor’s portrait of Maria of Austria of 1550 (Madrid, Prado; Orsi Landini and Niccoli 2005, fig. 8); or Francesco Terzio’s portrait of Giovanna d’Austria of 1564 (Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum; Orsi Landini and Niccoli 2005, fig. 12).

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Cirni 1560, 4r: “[Eleonora] era vestito di velluto bertino ricamato
do’oro […] appariva più che terrena regina d’honestissima beltà, e di bellissima honestà, tutta sparsa di gratia, realtà, bontà, e maestà sopra humana vestita di velluto bianco ricamato d’oro intagliato, con la testa di gemme pretiose, come diamanti, rubini, smiraldi con vezzi di perle, e cinta piena di gioie, con un zibellino al collo, di moda, che valevano da trecento milla scudi”.

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Cirni 1560, p. 5. “S. Ecc. haveva una veste di velluto nero foderata di tela d’oro, & sopra haveva un tabaretto di velluto, foderato
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