The Identities of Catherine de' Medici

By

Susan Broomhall



Contents

ts VII
111

Introduction

- 1 Scholarly Contexts 2
- 2 Sources 7
- 3 Book Structure 16

1 Heir: The Medici Legacy 23

- 1 Caterina Maria, Child Bride of the Medici 24
- 2 Feelings for the Medici 31
- 3 Liberality and Dissimulation: Catherine's 'Medici' Emotions 49
- 4 Asserting Rights to Medici Financial Inheritance 55
- 5 Conclusions 72

2 Partner: The King's Representative 73

- 1 Intimacy with the King 74
- 2 Representing a King 91
- 3 Henri's Everlasting Partner 108
- 4 Conclusions 125

3 Mother: Raising Son-Kings 127

- 1 Ventriloquising the Father 129
- 2 Bonds of Devotion 136
- 3 A Life of Sacrifice 163
- 4 Conclusions 167

4 Friend and Ally: Nurturing Daughter-Queens 169

- 1 Intimacy and the Confessions of a Mother 171
- 2 Consorts as Daughters of France 177
- 3 Allies of the Family 187
- 4 A Daughter's Hopes of a Mother 193
- 5 Conclusions 204

5 Chief Mourner of the Valois: The Exclusivity of Intimacy 206

- 1 Mourning as a Solitary Affliction 1: The Widowed Partner of Henri 207
- 2 Mourning as a Solitary Affliction II: The Mother of Deceased Children 235

VI CONTENTS

Mourning as Motivating Action 244	
Keeper of Memory 248	
Conclusions 260	
rer: Production and Investment as Protection	
France 263	
Countess of Clermont 267	
A Demonstrable Practice of Care 273	
The Pride of France 279	
A Charitable Labour of Love 286	
Protection, Investment, and Development of France	291
Conclusions: Who Cares? 297	
urderer: Histories of Violent Emotions 299	
The Violence of Emotions 300	
Narrating Catherine's Emotions 325	
Conclusions: Speaking for the Queen 333	
ritual Sister: The Community of Le Murate 334	
Enclosure: A Hostage of the Florentine Government	335
Providers of Reciprocal Assistance 342	000
Community and Memory 347	
Conclusions 353	
nclusions 354	
liography 359	
Primary Sources 359 Secondary Sources 367	
ex 388	
300	

Figures

- Giorgio Vasari, Pope Clement VII marrying Catherine de' Medici and Henri II of France, 28th October 1533, 1555–1562; fresco, Sala di Clemente VII, Palazzo Vecchio, Florence. © Raffaello Bencini/Bridgeman Images 28
- View of the Sala di Leone x, Palazzo Vecchio, Florence. Flickr, CC by 2.0 / Francesco Gasparetti, 2006 29
- 3 Giorgio Vasari, Portrait of Catherine de' Medici, 1555–1562; fresco, Sala di Leone x, Palazzo Vecchio, Florence. © Raffaello Bencini/Bridgeman Images 29
- 4 Corneille de Lyon, Catherine de' Medici, c. 1536; oil painting on panel. Polesden Lacey, Great Bookham. National Trust Collections (NT1246458). © The McEwan Collection/National Trust Photographic Library/Derrick E. Witty/Bridgeman Images 31
- 5 and 6 (detail). Unknown artist, Ball given on September 24, 1581 at the court of Henri III, for the marriage of Anne, Duke of Joyeuse, with Marguerite de Lorraine 1581–1582; oil and copper. Musée du Louvre, Paris (INV8731). © RMN-Grand Palais (Musée du Louvre) / Stéphane Maréchalle 64
- 7 and 8 (detail). Unknown artist, Ball at the court of Henri III, formerly known as the Duke of Alençon's Ball, second half of 16th century; Musée du Louvre, Paris (INV8730). © RMN-Grand Palais (Musée du Louvre) / Thierry Le Mage 65
- Giovanni Cosci, Christine taking leave of her family, including Catherine, depicted in Raffaello Gualterotti, Descrizione del regale apparato per le nozze della serenissima madama Cristina di Loreno, moglie del serenissimo don Ferdinando Medici III granduca di Toscana (Florence, 1589), Page 66. Engraved plate 20. Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library, Yale University 68
- Cosimo Gamberucci, Catherine surrounded by her family, depicted in Gualterotti, *Descrizione*, Page 58. Engraved plate 16. Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library, Yale University 69
- 11 Cosimo Dati, The marriage of Catherine de' Medici and Henri II, depicted in Gualterotti, *Descrizione*, Page 60. Engraved plate 17. Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library, Yale University 70
- French workshop, Cameo bust of Catherine de' Medici as a young girl, c. 1540; carved onyx, mounted in gold, with enamel and rubies. Tesoro dei Granduchi (già Museo degli Argenti), Gallerie degli Uffizi, Florence (opera 116/ Gemme).

 © Gabinetto Fotografico delle Gallerie degli Uffizi 71
- 13 and 14 (detail: Diane and Henri at left) and 15 (detail: Catherine at right) Robert Mestays, *Le Combat de l'ours*, 1553; embroidery, silk, precious metal, and paint, 82.1 × 104.2 cm. Musée des Tissus, Lyon (inv. MT 25495). © Lyon, Musée des Tissus / Pierre Verrier 80

FIGURES

16 Autograph letter from Henri II and Diane de Poitiers to Anne de Montmorency, [1559]; Bibliothèque nationale de France, Département des Manuscrits, Français 3139, fol. 26^r 81

- 17 After François Clouet, Catherine de' Medici, queen of France (1519–1589), c. 1556; oil on wood, 31 × 22 cm. Châteaux de Versailles et de Trianon Versailles (MV3179). © RMN-Grand Palais (Château de Versailles) / Gérard Blot 85
- Sixteenth-century portrait of Catherine de' Medici in contemporary frame with eight enamel panels. 2ft 5in (whole work). Photograph, Charles Thurston Thompson Victoria and Albert Museum, London (MN. 40263). © Victoria and Albert Museum, London 87
- 19 Léonard Limosin, Retable from the Sainte-Chapelle: The Resurrection, 1552–1553; enamel painted on leather, Musée du Louvre, Paris (MRXIIIsuppl2o8b; N1244). © RMN-Grand Palais (Musée du Louvre) / Stéphane Maréchalle 88
- François Clouet, Portrait miniature of Catherine de' Medici as queen consort, c. 1555; watercolour on vellum. Victoria and Albert Museum, London (MN. P.26-1954). © Victoria and Albert Museum, London 89
- Lock plate from Château d'Anet. Engraving from Emile Reiber, L'Art pour tous, Encyclopédie de l'art industriel et décoratif 2, no. 41 (1862). Museo Nazionale della Scienza e della Tecnologia 'Leonardo Da Vinci,' Milan. © Icas94 / De Agostini/Bridgeman Images 91
- Enamel paving at the Château d'Anet. From Rodolphe Pfnor, Monographie du Château d'Anet, construit par Philibert de l'Orme. Paris: Chez l'Auteur, 1866.
 Plate X. NUM FOL C. 172. Bibliothèque de l'Institut National d'Histoire de l'Art, Paris 92
- Beam from the great room of Catherine de' Medici. Musée national de la Renaissance, Ecouen. © RMN-Grand Palais (Musée de la Renaissance, Château d'Ecouen)/ Gérard Blot 93
- Spun iron door bolts mid 16th century; Musée national de la Renaissance, Ecouen (ECL22124). © RMN-Grand Palais (Musée national de la Renaissance, Château d'Ecouen) / Tony Querrec 93
- Masséot Abaquesne, Tiling made for the royal apartments, 1549–1551. Musée national de la Renaissance, Ecouen. © RMN-Grand Palais (Musée national de la Renaissance, Château d'Ecouen) / Mathieu Rabeau / René-Gabriel Ojéda 94
- 26 Catherine's personal emblems, north wing facade. Musée national de la Renaissance, Ecouen. Photograph, author, 2019 94
- 27 Attributed to Etienne Delaune, Portrait of Catherine de' Medici and Henri II, [n.d.]; print. Bibliothèque nationale de France, Département des Estampes et de la photographie RES FOL-QB-201 (3) 106
- Attributed to Etienne Delaune, Medal displaying a portrait bust of Henri II and Catherine de' Medici, 1555; Musée des Beaux-Arts de Lyon (Inc. MedFr29 Avers and Revers). © MBA Lyon / Photo Paul Veysseyre 106

- 29 Germain Pilon and Domenico del Barbiere [Dominique Ricoveri], Funeral monument for the heart of Henri II, King of France, 1561–1566; marble, 150 × 75 cm. Musée du Louvre, Paris (MR1591A; MR1591B). © RMN-Grand Palais (Musée du Louvre) / Daniel Arnaudet / Jean Schormans 110
- 30 Antoine Caron, Portrait of Henri II and Catherine de' Medici (1560–1574).

 Musée du Louvre, Département d'arts graphiques, Paris. (RF29713-recto).

 © RMN-Grand Palais (Musée du Louvre) / Christian Jean 112
- Germain Pilon, *Gisant* figures of the royal couple from the tomb of Henri II; marble. Basilique de Saint-Denis. © Basilique de Saint-Denis, France/Bridgeman Images 113
- Germain Pilon, Effigy figures of Henri II and Catherine de' Medici, after 1567; marble, Basilique de Saint-Denis. Public domain, via Wikimedia Commons 114
- Germain Pilon, Effigy figure of Catherine de' Medici, after 1567; marble, Basilique de Saint-Denis. © Godong / Alamy Stock Photo 114
- 34 Germain Pilon, Effigy figures of Henri II and Catherine de' Medici, after 1567; marble, Basilique de Saint-Denis. Photograph © Svetlana Belokon, 2016 115
- Germain Pilon, Bust of Catherine de' Medici c. 1583; bronze, $87.0 \times 58.5 \times 30.5$ cm. Palace of Holyroodhouse, Edinburgh. Royal Collection Trust © Her Majesty Queen Elizabeth II 2020 116
- 36 Germain Pilon, Praying figures of Henri II and Catherine de' Medici on top of the tomb of Henri II, after 1567; bronze, Basilique de Saint-Denis. Photograph © Svetlana Belokon, 2016 117
- Germain Pilon, Praying figures of Henri II and Catherine de' Medici, after 1567; bronze, Basilique de Saint-Denis. © RMN-Grand Palais / Agence Bulloz 118
- 38 Antoine Caron, Le château d'Anet (1565–1574). Musée du Louvre, Département d'arts graphiques, Paris. (RF30624-recto). © RMN-Grand Palais (Musée du Louvre) / Jean-Gilles Berizzi 119
- Lucas de la Heere (design), Festivities of Catherine de' Medici Brussels; silk, silver, and gold, 390×534 cm. Palazzo Pitti, deposito Le Cacce Gallerie deglie Uffizi, Florence (opera 3 / Arazzi). © Gabinetto Fotografico delle Gallerie degli Uffizi 120
- 40 Cave sculptures of Denézé-sous-Doué; Main-et-Loire. © Hemis / Alamy Stock Photo 124
- Unknown artist, Plaque depicting Catherine de' Medici and two unidentified men, Limoges, 1576–1582; painted enamel on copper, 30.20 × 37.50 cm. Musée du Louvre, Paris (MR 2549). © RMN-Grand Palais / Image RMN-GP 127
- 42 From the studio of François Clouet, Catherine de' Medici and her younger children; 1561; oil on canvas, 198.1 × 137.2 cm, Private Collection. Photograph, Herbert Norris, 1938. © Lebrecht History/Bridgeman Images 139

FIGURES XI

43, 44, 45, and 46 François Clouet and François Dujardin, Pendant with the Portraits of Charles IX & of Catherine de' Medici, 1571–1572; watercolour on vellum on card, gold and enamel, 6.1 × 4.7 cm. Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna (κκ 1601). © κημ-Museumsverband 140

- 47 and 48 Léonard Limosin, Allegory of Charles IX as Mars and Allegory of Catherine de' Medici as Juno, 1573; polychrome enamels with painted gold on copper and silver, 16.8 × 22.9 cm. J. Paul Getty Museum, Los Angeles. Courtesy of the Getty's Open Content Program 151
- Jacques du Puy, Title-page to the Bible, Paris, 1587; engraving. British Museum, London (00491135001). © The Trustees of the British Museum. All rights reserved 153
- Nicolas Houel, *Traité de la Charité chrestienne*, Paris, c. 1580. Page 37. Biblioteka Książąt Czartoryskich, Krakow (MNK 17-rkps-3092-III). In the collections of Muzeum Narodowego w Krakowie / Muzeum Książąt Czartoryskich.

 Photographic Archive of Muzeum Narodowego w Krakowie 155
- Nicolas Houel, *Traité de la Charité chrestienne*, Paris, c. 1580. Page 81. Biblioteka Książąt Czartoryskich, Krakow (MNK 17-rkps-3092-111). In the collections of Muzeum Narodowego w Krakowie / Muzeum Książąt Czartoryskich.

 Photographic Archive of Muzeum Narodowego w Krakowie 156
- (detail). Unknown artist, Ball given on September 24, 1581 at the court of Henri III, for the marriage of Anne, Duke of Joyeuse, with Marguerite de Lorraine, 1581–1582; oil and copper. Musée du Louvre, Paris (INV8731). © RMN-Grand Palais (Musée du Louvre) / Stéphane Maréchalle 158
- Catherine dressed in the habit of the Poor Clares Horae ad usum Romanum, dites Heures de Catherine de Médicis. c. 1530–1531; additions around 1572.
 Bibliothèque nationale de France, Département des Manuscrits, NAL 82, fol. 20^r 159
- 54 and 55 (detail). The Death of Henri at the Tournelles in Paris, July 1559; print.

 Jean Perrissin and Jacques Tortorel, Premier volume contenant quarante tableaux ou histoires diverses qui sont mémorables touchant les guerres, massacres & troubles advenus en France en ces dernières années. Le tout recueilli selon le tesmoignage de ceux qui y ont esté en personne, & qui les on veus, lesquels son pourtrais à la verité 1569–1570. Bibliothèque nationale de France, Département Estampes et photographie RES FOL-QB-201 (4) 210
- Workshop of François Clouet, Catherine de' Medici, c. 1565; oil on wood, 23.9×19.1 cm. Musée Carnavalet, Paris (P2127) CCo 1.0, Paris Musées 213
- François Clouet, Mary, Queen of Scots (1542–87), c. 1560–61; oil on panel, 30.3 × 23.2. Photograph, Mike Davidson. Palace of Holyroodhouse, Edinburgh. Royal Collection Trust (RCIN 403429). © Her Majesty Queen Elizabeth II 2020 215

XII FIGURES

58 and 59 (detail). The assembly of the three estates held at Orléans, January 1561; print. Perrissin and Tortorel, *Premier volume*, 1569–1570. Bibliothèque nationale de France, Département des Estampes et de la photographie RES FOL-QB-201 (5) 217

- 60 and 61 (detail). The colloquium held at Poissy, 9 September 1561; print. Perrissin and Tortorel, *Premier volume*, 1569–1570. Bibliothèque nationale de France,
 Département des Estampes et de la photographie RES FOL-QB-201 (5) 218
- 62 and 63 (detail of Catherine), The Peace made at the Ile-aux-Bœufs, near Orléans, 13 March 1563; print. Perrissin and Tortorel, *Premier volume*, 1569–1570. Bibliothèque nationale de France, Département des Estampes et de la photographie RES FOL-QB-201 (6) 219
- 64 Frans Hogenberg, Perrissin, and Tortorel, The Peace at the Ile-aux-Bœufs, March 1563; Musée national du château de Pau (P64-25-11). © RMN-Grand Palais (Château de Pau) / René-Gabriel Ojéda 220
- 'A Tournament,' Brussels; wool, silk, gold, silver, 391 × 611 cm. Palazzo Pitti, deposito Le Cacce, Gallerie degli Uffizi, Florence (opera 495 / Arazzi).
 © Gabinetto Fotografico delle Gallerie degli Uffizi 220
- 'Festivities for the Polish ambassadors,' Brussels; wool, silk, gold, silver, 388 x 480 cm. Palazzo Pitti, deposito Le Cacce, Gallerie deglie Uffizi, Florence (opera 472 / Arazzi). © Gabinetto Fotografico delle Gallerie degli Uffizi 221
- 67 Unknown artist, Portrait of Catherine de' Medici, 1547–1559; oil on canvas. Galleria Palatina ed Appartamenti Reali, Gallerie degli Uffizi, Florence (opera 2448 / 1890). © Gabinetto Fotografico delle Gallerie degli Uffizi 222
- 68 François Clouet, Widowed Catherine de' Medici, c. 1560; drawing, 33.1 × 22 cm. Bibliothèque nationale de France, Département des Estampes et de la photographie RES NA 22 (4)-BOITE 224
- Marc Duval, engraver, Catherine de' Medici, 1579; engraving on ivory laid paper, 14.5 × 12 cm. The Art Institute of Chicago (No. 1920.1913). CCo 1.0, The Art Institute of Chicago 225
- Copy made after François Clouet, Catherine de' Medici, c. 1580; oil on panel,
 33.7 × 25.4 cm. The Walters Art Museum, Baltimore
 (No. 37.415). CCo 1.0, The Walters Art Museum 226
- 71 François Clouet, Catherine de' Medici at age sixty, c. 1580; drawing.
 Bibliothèque nationale de France, Département des Estampes et de la photographie RES NA 22 (4)-BOITE 227
- Detail from 'Festivities on the water (Assault on the island of the Infidels),' Brussels; wool, silk, gold, silver. Palazzo Pitti, deposito Le Cacce, Gallerie degli Uffizi, Florence (473 / Arazzi). © Gabinetto Fotografico delle Gallerie degli Uffizi 228

FIGURES XIII

73 Triptych of grief of Catherine de' Medici, Musée national de la Renaissance, Ecouen (E.Cl.1566). © RMN-Grand Palais (Musée national de la Renaissance, Château d'Ecouen) / Gérard Blot 229

- 74 Silver token of Catherine de' Medici, 1559; obverse inscription: CATHARINA. D. G. FRANCOR. REGIN., with arms of France and Medici. Reverse: ARDOREM. EXTINCTA. TESTANTVR. VIVERE. FLAMMA. © www.cgb.fr / CGB Numismatique Paris 229
- 75 Silver token of Henri II, Catherine de' Medici, and a broken lance, 1559; obverse inscription: VXOR HENRICVS II GALLOR REX INVICTIS ET CATHARINA EIUS. Reverse: HINC DOLOR HINC LACRYMAE. © Numiscorner 230
- Scythe, shattered mirror, broken feathers, white marble encrusted in a base of red marble, c. 1565; Palais des Tuileries. Paris, Musée du Louvre (ENT2000-30).
 © RMN-Grand Palais (Musée du Louvre) / Michel Urtado 231
- Fragment of a column from the portico of the central pavilion in the gardens, c. 1566–1567; Palais des Tuileries. Musée du Louvre, Paris (ENT2001-153).
 © RMN-Grand Palais (Musée du Louvre) / Michel Urtado 231
- 78 Detail of the Column of Catherine de' Medici, Paris. Photograph, Tangopaso, Public domain, via Wikimedia Commons 232
- Primaticcio, Ponce Jacquio, Jean Picard, and Frémyn Roussel, The Heart Monument of François II; drawing. Bibliothèque nationale de France, Département des Estampes et de la photographie RES Pe-11a-Pet. fol. 223 237
- 80 Germain Pilon, The Virgin of Sorrows, c. 1580s; Church of Saint-Paul-Saint-Louis, Paris. Photograph, Sailko, CC BY 3.0 https://creativecommons.org/licenses/by/3.0, via Wikimedia Commons 242
- 81 Germain Pilon, Model for the Virgin of Sorrows, c. 1586; stucco, terracotta, 177 × 119.5 cm, Musée du Louvre, Paris (RF3147). © RMN-Grand Palais (Musée du Louvre) / René-Gabriel Ojéda 243
- 82 Artist active in France, 'The Reign of Jupiter,' c. 1575; marble, 38.1 × 48.3 cm. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York (1997.23). CCo 1.0, The Metropolitan Museum of Art 244
- 63 Girolamo della Robbia, Roughed-out model for the funerary statue of Catherine de' Medici; marble, 0.29 × 1.94 × 0.66 m. Musée du Louvre, Paris (RF1515).
 © RMN-Grand Palais (Musée du Louvre) / Stéphane Maréchalle 249
- Germain Pilon, Tomb of Catherine de' Medici, Basilique de Saint-Denis.

 Photograph, René-Jacques (René Giton), c. 1951. Médiathèque de l'Architecture et du Patrimoine, Charenton-le-Pont. (RNJ3418PNRo). © RMN—Gestion droit d'auteur René-Jacques © Ministère de la Culture—Médiathèque de l'architecture et du patrimoine, Dist. RMN-Grand Palais / René-Jacques 250

XIV FIGURES

85 Antonio Tempesta, after Daniele da Volterra, Equestrian Statue of Henri II, King of France, in the Palazzo Rucellai, early 17th century; print published by Nicolaus van Aelst, 40 × 52 cm. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York (AN. 51.639.22) CCo 1.0, The Metropolitan Museum of Art 252

- 86 François Clouet and studio, Henri II and Catherine de' Medici surrounded by members of the royal family, 1570s; watercolour on parchment. Galleria degli Uffizi, Florence (opera 815/1890) © 2020. Photo Scala, Florence—courtesy of the Ministero Beni e Att. Culturali e del Turismo 256
- 87 Israël Silvestre, View of the Sepulchre of the Valois at Saint Denis, 1652; print, Musée Carnavalet, Paris (G.438). CCo 1.0, Paris Musées 262
- 88 Léonard Sarson, Pallas Athéna, c. 1581; volvic stone. Musée d'Art Roger-Quilliot, Clermont-Ferrand (inv. 861.791.1) © Clermont-Ferrand, Musée d'Art Roger-Quilliot [MARQ]. Photograph, Thibaut Mazen 270
- 89 Unknown artist, Portrait of Catherine de' Medici, 1559–1600; German; 140 × 114 mm, British Museum, London (01388427001). © The Trustees of the British Museum. All rights reserved 303
- 90 François Dubois, The Massacre of Saint Bartholomew, 1572–1584; oil on panel, 94 × 154 cm; Musée cantonal des Beaux-Arts de Lausanne (inv. 729). © Musée cantonal des Beaux-Arts de Lausanne / Nora Rupp 312
- 91 Giorgio Vasari, 'G. Coligny, the Admiral, having received a wound, is carried off to his home'; fresco, Sala Regia, Vatican. © 2020. Photo Scala, Florence 314
- 92 Giorgio Vasari, 'The slaughter of Coligny and his men'; fresco, Sala Regia, Vatican. © 2020. Photo Scala, Florence 315
- 93 Giorgio Vasari, 'The King approves the murder of Coligny'; fresco, Sala Regia, Vatican. © 2020. Photo Scala, Florence 316
- 94 Sala Regia, Vatican. Photograph, Sailko, CC BY 3.0 https://creativecommons.org/licenses/by/3.0, via Wikimedia Commons 317
- 95 Thomas de Leu, Portrait of Catherine de' Medici, print. Bibliothèque nationale de France, Département des Estampes et de la photographie RES QB-201 (9)-FOL 319
- Edouard Debat-Ponsan, 'Une porte du Louvre, le matin de la Saint-Barthélemy,' 1880; oil on canvas. Musée d'Art Roger-Quilliot Clermont-Ferrand (inv. 2526).
 © Clermont-Ferrand, Musée d'Art Roger-Quilliot [MARQ]. Photograph, Jacques-Henri Bayle 332