

# CONTENTS

Preface	ix
<b>PART I THE PATRON'S OEUVRE</b>	<b>I</b>
Introduction: The Terms of Renaissance Patronage	3
<i>Defining an oeuvre</i>	3
<i>Generating a work of art</i>	5
<i>Articulating identity in images</i>	6
<i>Artists, patronage networks, and personal letters</i>	7
<i>Clientelismo and mecenatismo: two sides of the same coin of patronage</i>	8
<i>Taste and choice</i>	8
I Cosimo's Oeuvre	9
II Cosimo's Letters	15
III Learning the Lessons of Florentine Culture: Who Cosimo Knew	21
<i>Cosimo and the humanists</i>	23
<i>Artists on the Florentine public scene</i>	27
IV Educating the Patron: What Cosimo Read	33
<b>PART II THE COMMON CULTURE OF THE FLORENTINE AUDIENCE: THE MEDICI SHARE IN THIS</b>	<b>39</b>
V Venues and Performances	41
<i>Art and society: political propaganda or a common culture?</i>	41
<i>Popular poetry and song: performances in the piazza of San Martino</i>	43
<i>Cosimo at San Martino: patron of charity and popular culture</i>	46
<i>Civic culture as popular entertainment</i>	50
<i>Lay confraternities: an education in religious texts and symbols</i>	54
<i>Sacred plays and civic ceremonies: translating texts into images</i>	59
VI Compilations and the Corpus of Texts	69
<i>Vernacular scrapbooks</i>	69
<i>Populist illustrations for popular texts</i>	75
<i>Anthologists: patricians, plebeians, and the "middling sort"; vernacular     miscellanies in Cosimo's library and Piero de' Medici's libricciuolo</i>	77

	<i>Combining pleasure with profit: the Three Crowns, Dante, Boccaccio, and Petrarch; Brunelleschi's "Fat Carpenter"; Geta and Birria; Lo Za and Burchiello</i>	81
	<i>Moral exempla: Aesop's Fables and the classics</i>	82
	<i>Devotion: Scripture and quotidian counsel; meditations, confession, penitence, and prayers; the memento mori and the exemplary images of the saints</i>	83
	<i>Civic traditions and celebrations: from Brunetto Latini and Villani to the letters of Bruni and Francesco Sforza</i>	88
	<i>The fascination of the unknown and the thrill of the exotic: Dati's Globe and the Ethiopian Prester John</i>	90
	<i>Storing wisdom in the house of memory</i>	91
VII	<b>Popular Devotion and the Perception of Images</b>	95
	<i>Memory and meditation: "with the eyes of the mind more than those of the body"; image and narrative</i>	95
	<i>Vision: the power of the image</i>	98
	<i>Levels of perception: "The eye is called the first of all the gates/through which the intellect may learn and taste"</i>	101
	<i>Poetry, theology, doctrine, and edifying exchange: a scissor-maker's query concerning the Trinity; a goldsmith enquires about the Immaculate Conception</i>	102
	<i>Ut pictura poesis (Pictures are like poetry)</i>	104
VIII	<b>Images of Florentine Patronage Refracted through Popular Culture</b>	107
	<i>Participants in popular culture as patrons of art</i>	107
	<i>Marco Parenti's belt-buckle: a blueprint for a patron's personalized commission</i>	108
	<i>The popular appreciation of images expressed in Everyman's commissions</i>	110
	<i>Artists sharing and shaping the idiom of popular culture</i>	115
	<i>Popular images of Cosimo and his patronage</i>	117
	<i>The Florentine popolo as patron of Brunelleschi's cupola: an exemplum for private citizens of patronage in a republic</i>	122
	<b>PART III COSIMO'S RELIGIOUS COMMISSIONS</b>	129
IX	<b>Expiation, Charity, Intercession</b>	131
	<i>"The liberal rich man": charity and the patron</i>	131
	<i>Images of intercession</i>	136
	<i>Death and the patron</i>	138
	<i>The Medici patron saints</i>	141
	<i>San Marco: the frescoes</i>	149
	<i>The San Marco altarpiece: salvation, patronage, and power</i>	155
X	<b>Building "for the Honor of God, and the Honor of the City, and the Memory of Me"</b>	161
	<i>Cosimo, "preserver of churches and holy places"</i>	161
	<i>Inherited commitments, paternal and papal</i>	162
	<i>Ius patronatus and Bosco ai Frati</i>	167
	<i>San Marco</i>	171
	<i>San Lorenzo, parish church of the Medici neighborhood</i>	179
	<i>The old sacristy</i>	186
	<i>Cooperating to honor the city, and the orders and cults of the Church</i>	197
	<i>The Badia</i>	212

	PART IV THE HOUSE OF THE MEDICI	215
XI	The Palace: Measuring Self on the Urban Map	217
	<i>The palatial debate</i>	217
	<i>Placing the palace and its patron in history: the architectural fusion of</i> <i>Florence and Rome</i>	225
	<i>Situating the family in the city</i>	228
	<i>Building for paterfamilias, padrino, and pater patriae</i>	230
XII	Accommodating the Patron	239
	<i>"The comfort of his accommodations"</i>	239
	<i>"Per non diviso": family values and the use and decoration of domestic space</i>	241
	<i>Filial piety: the mainly devotional works of art in Cosimo's house</i>	244
	<i>Uccello's Battle of San Romano: Cosimo, the commune, and warfare: images</i> <i>of fame and defamation, public and private</i>	264
	<i>Heroes classical, Christian, and civic: Donatello's David and Judith and</i> <i>Holofernes; The Labors of Hercules</i>	281
	<i>Decorating and collecting: continuity and change</i>	287
	<i>A cultivated life: gardens and villas</i>	299
XIII	The Chapel in the Heart of the Palace: A Microcosm of Medici Patronage	305
	PART V THE PATRON AS "AUCTOR"	329
XIV	Patrons and their Artists: "The Variety of Genius"	331
	<i>The patron's role in the production of art</i>	331
	<i>Artists in the Medici patronage network: the letters</i>	332
	<i>The artist's expertise and the patron's choice</i>	342
	<i>The major partnerships: Donatello and Michelozzo</i>	343
XV	The Patron's Choice: Princes, Patricians, Partisans	347
	<i>Choice and intention</i>	347
	<i>The extent and limitations of Cosimo's political power in Florence:</i> <i>was it in fact "princely?"</i>	348
	<i>Cosimo's commissions and those of his princely friends: comparisons, contrasts,</i> <i>connections</i>	351
	<i>Florentine precedents for Cosimo's patronage</i>	354
	<i>Emulation, competition, and exchange in the patronage of Cosimo's</i> <i>fellow-citizens</i>	356
	<i>A comparable Florentine oeuvre: the patronage of Giovanni Rucellai</i>	357
	Conclusion: An Oeuvre Defines Its Patron: Cosimo's Visible Image	367
	<i>The patron defines himself in relation to his world</i>	367
	<i>The Medici and Florence: continuity and change</i>	370
	<i>Cosimo's visible image</i>	372
	<i>Epilogue: "Returning it all to the Lord": Cosimo's tomb in San Lorenzo</i>	377
	Appendix: A List of What Appear to be Popular Miscellanies Compiled from the Pupilli Records	385

Abbreviations	387
Notes	388
List of Works Cited	494
Index	523
Photograph Credits	538