



Discuss Catherine de' Medici's influence on the French court
through her cultural patronage and Italian connections.

Rebecca JS Nice-Italian Wars HS3376



Discuss Catherine de' Medici's influence on the French Court through her cultural patronage and Italian connections.

Introduction

Catherine de' Medici (1519-1589), was married to the second son of the French King in 1533 and existed at the French court as a princess, queen consort and queen mother. As she became more influential at court, her role as a cultural catalyst of Italian Renaissance ideals flourished.¹ Her Italian childhood and marriage negotiated during the Italian Wars resulted in a much longer lasting effect, beyond the period of 1494-1559, where examples will be drawn as a result. Italian influence was not unusual at the French court, Francis I (1515-47), exposed to Italian art and culture during his visits for the Italian Wars was already aware of its blossoming Renaissance culture.² Robert Knecht acknowledges that the communication and visits during the Italian Wars served to strengthen political and cultural contacts existing since the middle ages.³ Francis already employed Italian artists at the *Fontainebleau School*⁴ and had ballrooms built as part of his prolific patronage.⁵ Catherine, could be seen as an embodiment of the Italian ideals that Francis' French court aspired to, an artistic "ornament" from Italy.⁶ An existing culture of artistic patronage influenced by the Italian Renaissance provides a backdrop from which Catherine de' Medici developed her own identity as a patron of the arts. It is harder to make tangible what aspects of French court culture were a direct result of Catherine's Italian influence or part of a European wide movement that embraced the Italian Renaissance. Catherine's art, architecture and in particular her dance spectacles will be explored with reference to her Italian childhood in order to uncover what implications they might have had on French culture. Throughout her life, Catherine kept the lines of correspondence open with Italy. She also used her influence to promote her family in marriage for example the French/Italian marriage of her son and Eleanor de' Medici was considered.⁷ Catherine also maintained a relationship with the *fuorusciti*, the Italian exiles involved in the turbulence of Cosimo de' Medici's rule.⁸ If Italian exiles were grouping in France then their cultural habits and education would circulate with more momentum.

¹ Catherine's reputation as a cultural patron has been considered by historians to have been overshadowed by the St. Bartholomew's Day massacre, (1572) for which Catherine was made responsible, emphasising that this role is worthy of more consideration. R.J. Knecht, *The French Renaissance Court* (Filey, 2008).

² A. Blunt, & E. Lockspeiser, *French Art and Music since 1500*, (Suffolk, 1974).

³ R.J. Knecht, 'The French Renaissance Court', *History Today*, 7 (2007) 45-46.

⁴ S. Ffolliott, 'The Italian 'Training' of Catherine de Medici: Portraits as Dynastic Narrative', *The Court Historian*, 10:1 (2005), 13.

⁵ J. Neville, (ed.), *Dance, Spectacle, and the Body Politick, 1250-1750* (Indiana, 2008).

⁶ L. L. Chang, & K. Kong, *Portraits of the Queen Mother: Polemics, Panegyrics, Letters*, (Canada, 2014), 47.

⁷ L. Jensen, 'Catherine de Medici and her Florentine Friends', *The Sixteenth Century Journal*, 9:2 (1978), 63.

⁸ L. Jensen, 'Catherine', 63.

Italian Routes



Figure 1 *Journey of the Magi*, (1459-63)
Benozzo Gozzoli.

Catherine de' Medici's childhood in Italy would have provided grounding in Italian and in particular Medici artistic practices. Sheila Ffolliott discusses various events and artistic commissions that she would have been exposed to and looks at them as a form of "training"⁹. When looked at in this way, links can be drawn between her practices in France and Italian patronage that she was exposed to in her early years.¹⁰ Ffolliott acknowledges that Catherine's childhood coincided with a time when the Medici family were climbing towards papal and noble

status. A continual use of artistic patronage to bolster the Medici status in terms of power, wealth, education, dynasty and legacy taught Catherine about her identity through cultural "mythmaking".¹¹ If this is how she learnt about her own identity, as acknowledged by Ffolliott¹² than perhaps these same tools were used to create a new identity as a French queen and queen mother. Catherine would have seen *Journey of the Magi* (1459-63), in the Medici palace chapel (1459), and the "votive cloister of *Santissima Annunziata*" in Florence, where many portraits were included of family



Cosimo the Elder,
detail from figure 1.

members.¹³ (See figure 1) The *Villa di Poggio a Caiano* (1485), was also visited by Catherine, where the "eternal return" and the "inevitability" of Medici rule was depicted in the portico freeze through the use of metaphor.¹⁴ Comparisons can be drawn between family status, portraits and emblems with Catherine's own use of art to create identity. Philip de l'Orme's *Tuileries* palace (1564), contained mottos on a façade specifically designed to personalise her own space. This practice was popular during the Renaissance and her husband also used mottos and emblems, however her personal sense of identity and self-promotion draw heavily on this Italian, Medici

background.¹⁵

⁹ S. Ffolliott, 'The Italian 'Training' of Catherine de Medici: Portraits as Dynastic Narrative', *The Court Historian*, 10:1 (2005).

¹⁰ S. Ffolliott, 'The Italian 'Training''.

¹¹ S. Ffolliott, 'The Italian 'Training'', 2.

¹² S. Ffolliott, 'The Italian 'Training'', 3.

¹³ The church dates from 13th C extending the notion of lineage and dynasty.

S. Ffolliott, 'The Italian 'Training'', 3.

¹⁴ S. Ffolliott, 'The Italian 'Training'', 11.

¹⁵ C. Lawrence, *Women and Art in Early Modern Europe: Patrons, Collectors and Connoisseurs* (Pennsylvania, 1997), 108.

Portraiture

The “Renaissance ideology of portraiture”, may have influenced Catherine’s use of portraiture at the French court.¹⁶ The notion that the image could simultaneously embody status and character whilst creating an idealised subject is drawn from Joanna Woodall in Ffolliott’s article, whose description of “theorized likeness” was used as a substitute for the real presence of the sitters.¹⁷ Substituting painting for the real person was standard practice, blurring the lines between reality and idealisation.¹⁸ Catherine collected French portraiture and drawings of members of the court and prominent families.¹⁹ Her own house, the *Hotel de la Reine*, was furnished with portraits both in painting and sculpture, genealogies and alliances between the subjects of the works and herself exemplify the Medici method of identity making through cultural patronage that Catherine continued in her own practice.²⁰ Although it can be argued that this has become standard practice at the time, as Ffolliott links Margaret of Austria to similar practice, Catherine’s own identity and education would have played a prominent part in providing her with these tools.²¹ Another example of the use of portraiture providing an alternative existence for its subject can be seen in the *Valois Tapestries*, (c.1580). The series of tapestries contain large figures in the foreground, their size creating a disconnect in space and time with the scenes in the background. This draws attention to the portraits in the foreground who may not have actually been present at the depicted events but whose portrait embodies their identity and presence at the scene.²²

Architecture

Catherine made several architectural commissions in France. French architect, Philip de l’Orme, (1510-1570), designed the enlargement of the *Château de Saint-Maur* (1596), which influenced Parisian architecture, namely Marie de Medici’s (1575-1642), Parisian residence in terms of layout, according to Anthony Blunt.²³ L’Orme’s *Tuileries* Palace and Gardens, and Jean Bullant’s (1515-1578), *Hôtel de la Reine* (1572), add to Catherine’s architectural scheme, influenced by Italian models such as the *Uffizi* (1560), and *Pitti* palaces.²⁴ The 16th C. *New Sacristy* of *San Lorenzo* in Florence was being

¹⁶ S. Ffolliott, ‘The Italian ‘Training’ of Catherine de Medici: Portraits as Dynastic Narrative’, *The Court Historian*, 10:1 (2005), 12.

¹⁷ J. Woodhall in Ffolliott. S., ‘The Italian ‘Training’’, 12.

¹⁸ S. Ffolliott, ‘The Italian ‘Training’’, 12.

¹⁹ R.J. Knecht, *The French Renaissance Court* (Folger, 2008), 277.

²⁰ S. Ffolliott, ‘The Italian ‘Training’’, 13.

²¹ S. Ffolliott, ‘The Italian ‘Training’’, 13.

²² F. Yates, *The Valois Tapestries Vol 1* (Oxford, 1999).

²³ A. Blunt in Lawrence, C., *Women and Art in Early Modern Europe: Patrons, Collectors and Connoisseurs* (Pennsylvania, 1997), 108.

²⁴ The *Palazzo Pitti* was bought by the Medici in 1549.

built throughout Catherine's childhood.²⁵ This design of patronage creating a legacy through dynastic chapels was followed through by Catherine later on in her life. Catherine commissioned the *Valois Chapel* (1563), appended to *Saint Denis*, the traditional royal French mausoleum originating back to the fifth century, which was new in its independence as a dynastic chapel.²⁶ Built as a memorial to her husband, its influence has "advanced the state of French architecture".²⁷ It was never finished however, the design related to Italian examples by Bramante (1444-1514) and Michelangelo (1475-1564). The number of the chapels were changed to relate to Henri II's sons with an additional two for the altar and entrance. The six chapels can be seen in Figure 3.²⁸ An example of Italian architecture adapted to suit a French agenda.

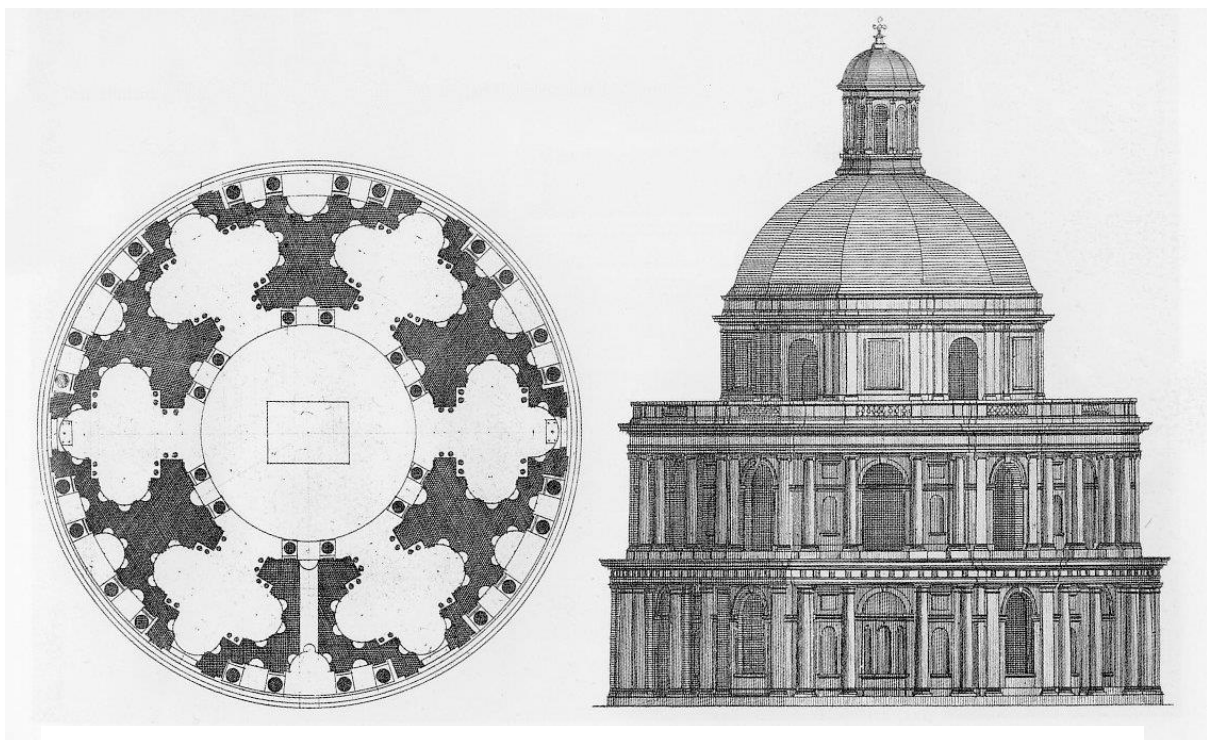


Figure 3. Engraving of plan and elevation of the Valois Chapel at St Denis, Paris
 Francesco Primaticcio designed the building by 1563.

K. Jackson, 'Art and War: Catherine de Medici's Contributions to History', *examiner.com*, accessed 19/01/2015, www.examiner.com/article/art-and-war. P2.

²⁵ R.J. Knecht, *The French Renaissance Court* (Filey, 2008), 268.

²⁶ S. Ffolliott, 'The Italian 'Training' of Catherine de Medici: Portraits as Dynastic Narrative', *The Court Historian*, 10:1 (2005), 9.

²⁷ I. Wardropper, 'The Flowering of the French Renaissance', *The Metropolitan Museum of Art Bulletin, New Series*, 62:1 (2004), 42.

²⁸ A. Blunt, *Art and Architecture in France 1500-1700*, (Hong Kong, 1999).

Artistic Patronage

Catherine had an interest in jewellery, textiles and painting and her artistic commissions varied



Figure 4. Francois Clouet, *Catherine de' Medici*, 1560. Painted miniature.

between religious and secular contexts. Catherine's dowry included jewellery which she bought with her from Italy.²⁹ An Italian influence on French jewellery made fashionable by Catherine de Medici was the "comesso". The design combined hardstone and enamelled gold together, a classical influence from the "restoration of ancient cameos" during the Renaissance.³⁰ Catherine used her knowledge of the properties of stones and their symbolic importance to specify the details of her designs.³¹ Figure 4 shows Catherine painted wearing these fashionable jewels that she patronized.³² The use of patronage for secular functions took her beyond the expectations set for females at the time as Cynthia Lawrence argues.³³

Lawrence concludes that the combination of religious and secular patronage bring her closer to a "kingly patronage tradition", but with the addition of her courtly rituals and festivities creating her own idealised courtly life.³⁴ Her influence as a patron of the arts encouraged the ladies of her court as patrons, some of whom hosted their own salons.³⁵ Her granddaughter, Isabella Clara Eugenia of Spain (1566-1633), also continued this style of patronage with Peter Paul Rubens (1577-1640).³⁶ The *Hôtel de la Reine*, housed many objects such as maps, books, statues, tapestries and curiosities, (even stuffed crocodiles), in addition it housed work by French artists such as Antoine Caron (1521-1599).³⁷ This demonstrates Catherine as an art collector as well as an active patron in terms of designing work for her own purpose.

²⁹ I. Wardropper, 'The Flowering of the French Renaissance', *The Metropolitan Museum of Art Bulletin, New Series*, 62:1 (2004), 43.

³⁰ I. Wardropper, 'The Flowering', 43.

³¹ Wardropper, I., 'Between Art and Nature: Jewelry in the Renaissance', *Art Institute of Chicago Museum Studies*, 25:2 (2000), 9.

³² Wardropper, I., 'Between Art and Nature', 8.

³³ C. Lawrence, *Women and Art in Early Modern Europe: Patrons, Collectors and Connoisseurs* (Pennsylvania, 1997), 110.

³⁴ C. Lawrence, *Women and Art*, 110.

³⁵ U. McIlvanna, "A Stable of whores"? The 'Flying Squadron' of Catherine de Medici', in N. Akkerman & B. Houben, *The Politics of Female Households: Ladies-in-Waiting Across Early Modern Europe* (Boston, 2014), 201.

³⁶ C. Lawrence, *Women and Art*, 110.

³⁷ R.J. Knecht, *The French Renaissance Court* (Filey, 2008), 276.

The *Valois Tapestries* (c.1580), are a series of twelve hangings, depicting historiated festival scenes and events with portraits of the royal family and nobles. There is some debate over the date, subject matter and patron of the tapestries however Pascal-François Bertrand argues strongly for Catherine de' Medici as subject matter and patron.³⁸ He identifies that Roy Strong and De Goer used identifiable portraits to place the tapestries earlier, Frances Yates discussed William of Orange as the patron as a celebration of the arrival of d'Alencon-d'Anjou in Holland. However the dislocation of time, space and event over the series as a whole calls instead for "a variable *Historie de Catherine de Medicis* or a *Historie des derniers Valois*".³⁹ Catherine de' Medici is depicted with a "dignified image of the royal family", placing her against "festivals of the previous reign".⁴⁰ Bertrand also links the foreground figures to princely portraits, emphasizing the use of "dynastic praise" to legitimize the reigning family, linking to the Renaissance ideology of portraiture discussed above.⁴¹ The political functions and subject matter of the tapestries are discussed at length by Bertrand⁴² and Yates⁴³ in particular, linking Catherine to specific events such as the "national reconciliation and unity that drove the peace edict of 1576".⁴⁴ Looking at the series of tapestries as a whole, the multifunction of "the supernatural and temporal nature of the Valois dynasty", and "the harmony, concord and peace that the queen mother sought her entire life",⁴⁵ is in line with her Italian training. The Medici patronage taught her to project family lineage of past and future to legitimize dynasties and formed her identity which she developed as a French queen consort and queen mother. Whilst forming a French identity for Catherine, the tapestries also represent a return or homage to Italy. They were bequeathed to her granddaughter "Christine de Lorraine, bride of the Medici Grand-duke Ferdinand".⁴⁶ Bertrand goes further to state that, "In offering a tapestry series telling her own story to her granddaughter, Catherine de Medicis therefore inscribed herself in the woven pantheon of Tuscany, the grand duchy that she had vainly coveted her entire life."⁴⁷ A combination of French events, political agendas and identities with Italian artistic influences and routes in the Valois tapestries both highlight and muddy the area of Italian influence that is to be defined.

³⁸ P-F. Bertrand, 'A New Method of Interpreting the Valois Tapestries, through a History of Catherine de Médicis', *Studies in the Decorative Arts*, 14:1 (2006-7), 27-52.

³⁹ P-F. Bertrand, 'A New Method', 40.

⁴⁰ P-F. Bertrand, 'A New Method', 37.

⁴¹ P-F. Bertrand, 'A New Method', 36.

⁴² P-F. Bertrand, 'A New Method', 27-52.

⁴³ F. Yates, *The Valois Tapestries Vol 1* (Oxford, 1999).

⁴⁴ P-F. Bertrand, 'A New Method', 37.

⁴⁵ P-F. Bertrand, 'A New Method', 42-43.

⁴⁶ C. Lawrence, *Women and Art in Early Modern Europe: Patrons, Collectors and Connoisseurs* (Pennsylvania, 1997), 109.

⁴⁷ P-F. Bertrand, 'A New Method', 47.

Spectacle and Dance

Catherine de' Medici's reputation for devising and developing courtly dancing in France is documented throughout the *Valois Tapestries* and discussed by Jennifer Neville in terms of the culmination of cultural influences at the court and the political functions of the performances choreographed for specific events.⁴⁸ It is key to note that her patronage was active in the design and content of the intended messages of the scenes, and therefore her role as an inventor⁴⁹ influenced the French courts and its rising status in the world of dance.⁵⁰ Catherine "supported the Renaissance conviction that dance, reflecting the heavenly harmony of the skies, could bring peace to earth. France's *ballet de cour*, a form separate to social dance, resulted".⁵¹ Italian musicians, actors⁵² and the dancing master Balthasar Beaujoyeux (d.1587), were employed at court by Catherine and Italian standards specified by published treatises and Castiglione's recommendations raised the status of dance across Europe.⁵³ Catherine was known to love "all seemly exercises, like dancing, at which she had very beautiful grace and majesty".⁵⁴ The "pavane, galliard, canary, basse dance, courante, branle variation" are all Italian dances performed at the French court.⁵⁵ Neville notes the Milanese composer that bought *La Volta* to the France c.1530s.⁵⁶ It was the work of Catherine and Beaujoyeux to adapt the Italian vocabulary into new and complex patterns that developed the French courtly dancing into something new. The *Queen's Day Spectacles* (1564),⁵⁷ celebrations in honour of weddings for example Marguerite de Valois's wedding to Henri de Navarre (1572)",⁵⁸ the *Ballet Polonais* (1573), and the *Ballet Comique de la Reyne* (1581), are specific events where dance formed a large part of the festivals. The metaphorical nature of the scenes created were used to glorify the dynasty in celebrating marriages or marriage negotiations and to make wider political commentary on the state of France at the time.

⁴⁸ J. Neville, (ed.), *Dance, Spectacle, and the Body Politick, 1250-1750* (Indiana, 2008), chpt 4.

⁴⁹ "She was always inventing new dances or pretty ballets." Pierre de Bourdeille, Seigneur de Brantôme, "*Second Discourse on the Queen, Mother of our Last Kings, Catherine de Médicis*", Selections from *Book of Ladies, Poetry and Funerary Writings* in Chang, L.L., & K. Kong, *Portraits of the Queen Mother: Polemics, Panegyrics, Letters*, (Canada, 2014), 190. And F. Yates, *The Valois Tapestries Vol 1* (Oxford, 1999), 68.

⁵⁰ J. Neville, (ed.), *Dance, Spectacle*, chpt 4.

⁵¹ L. Joel, 'Discovering Catherine de Medici, Part III: The Renaissance, An Explosion of Creativity', *Dance Magazine*, 64:6 (1990), 48.

⁵² R.J. Knecht, *The French Renaissance Court* (Filey, 2008), 314-5.

⁵³ J. Neville, (ed.), *Dance, Spectacle*, chpt 4.

⁵⁴ Pierre de Bourdeille, Seigneur de Brantôme, "*Second Discourse*", 189.

⁵⁵ L. Joel, 'Discovering Catherine', 50.

⁵⁶ J. Neville, (ed.), *Dance, Spectacle*, 98.

⁵⁷ E.M. Duval, 'Review: Performance, Poetry and Politics on the Queen's Day: Catherine de Médicis and Pierre de Ronsard at Fontainebleau. V. Scott & S. Sturm-Maddox', *Renaissance Quarterly* (2007), 1272.

⁵⁸ P-F. Bertrand, 'A New Method of Interpreting the Valois Tapestries, through a History of Catherine de Médicis', *Studies in the Decorative Arts*, 14:1 (2006-7), 39.

The *Ballet de Polonais* (1573), was held in honour of the arrival of the Polish Ambassadors at the *Tuileries*, and the negotiations to put Catherine's son on the throne of Poland. (Fig 5)⁵⁹ The event included "festivals, jousts, foot and horse combats", and "the most beautiful ballet that was ever produced in the world" according to Brantôme, where one could see Apollo on a rock, an allusion to Henri, and sixteen nymphs symbolising the French provinces".⁶⁰ Its performance content relates to the poem *Dance of the Nymphs* by Jean Dorat (1508-1588)⁶¹, and it is currently debated as to which came first, the dance or the literature.⁶² The poem creates a positive image of the Duke, his mother Catherine, and their dynasty, celebrating the election.⁶³ The performers invited the audience to join in with them, enacting a "union of politics".⁶⁴ There was an hour long horizontal dance at the end. The political messages are unpicked in great detail by Ewa Kociszewska, who argues for the emphasis of contemporary political themes over religious functions.⁶⁵ Kociszewska notes from contemporary accounts that the compositions and form of the performance had never been seen before. Brantôme (1540-1614), describes the complexities of the choreography including "turns, swurves and sinuosities, interlacings and mingling's, confrontations and withdrawals" as forming order out of chaos, an Italian feature of dance but in new and peculiar ways.⁶⁶ Catherine employed the musician and dancing master Beaujoyeux to construct her inventions. The use of Italian dancing, and Italian dancing masters to create an event that was new in terms of choreography and personal in terms of French political messages and identity exemplifies the culmination of Italian influence and French agendas to create something greater than the sum of its parts. The Italian Beaujoyeux also worked with Catherine on the *Ballet Comique de la Reyne*, (1581) in celebration of the Duke de Joyeuse (1560-1587). The use of mythology, metaphor and harmony and reason juxtaposed with "the passions" using cosmic patterns is a common form in Italian dancing.⁶⁷ The King was placed at the centre of the action, and his role in establishing order and overcoming evil is emphasized through the patterns that form and dissolve in the choreography.⁶⁸ Here those Renaissance ideals are used to make political messages in the French court with a French agenda.

⁵⁹ P-F. Bertrand, 'A New Method of Interpreting the Valois Tapestries, through a History of Catherine de Médicis', *Studies in the Decorative Arts*, 14:1 (2006-7), 42.

⁶⁰ P-F. Bertrand, 'A New Method', 33.

⁶¹ L. Joel, 'Discovering Catherine de Medici, Part III: The Renaissance, An Explosion of Creativity', *Dance Magazine*, 64:6 (1990), 51.

⁶² E. Kociszewska, 'War and Seduction in Cybele's Garden: Contextualising the *Ballet Polonais*', *Renaissance Quarterly*, 65 (2012), 809-63.

⁶³ E. Kociszewska, 'War and Seduction', 812.

⁶⁴ L. Joel, 'Discovering Catherine', 51.

⁶⁵ E. Kociszewska, 'War and Seduction', 809-63.

⁶⁶ E. Kociszewska, 'War and Seduction', 818.

⁶⁷ R.J. Knecht, *The French Renaissance Court* (Filey, 2008), 326-7.

⁶⁸ J. Neville, (ed.), *Dance, Spectacle, and the Body Politick, 1250-1750* (Indiana, 2008), 110.



Figure 5. *Fête aux Tuileries en l'honneur des ambassadeurs polonaise* (Polish Ambassadors) (c.1575), Valois Tapestries.

Conclusion

The French *Ballet de Cour*, began to emerge through the *Ballet Polonais* and Yates claims that the Italian influence on the *Ballet de Cour* is evident because Catherine de' Medici was an Italian, and the inventor/producer of the dancing which was then embodied by her ladies in waiting.⁶⁹ These pageants however were viewed as part of a tradition after Louis XII (1498-1515), and Francis I.⁷⁰ The Italian influence merely embellished and informed an already existing tradition of spectacle and patronage. McGowan argues that "Dancing was an 'obsession' to the Valois", which pushed France to the forefront of dance within Europe.⁷¹ Neville emphasized that the French style became influential throughout Europe, in demand by Philip II of Spain and the English courts.⁷² The cultural exchange goes full circle as Neville describes the Duke of Ferrara sending for French dancing masters to teach the "French modes of dancing" to his courtiers.⁷³ McGinnis argues however that the French courtly dancing was not wholly and distinctly French as Henry III (1574-1589), was also trained by

⁶⁹ F. Yates, *The Valois Tapestries Vol 1* (Oxford, 1999), 68.

⁷⁰ U. McIlvenna, "A Stable of whores'? The 'Flying Squadron' of Catherine de Medici", in N. Akkerman & B. Houben, *The Politics of Female Households: Ladies-in-Waiting Across Early Modern Europe* (Boston, 2014), 181-204.

⁷¹ T.M. McGinnis, 'Review: Dance in the Renaissance: European fashion, French Obsession. Margaret McGowan', *Renaissance Quarterly*, 62:3 (2009), 947-49.

⁷² J. Neville, (ed.), *Dance, Spectacle, and the Body Politick, 1250-1750* (Indiana, 2008), 110.

⁷³ J. Neville, (ed.), *Dance*, 107.

Italian dancing masters.⁷⁴ The reciprocal relationship between French and Italian patronage exemplified here throughout the development of dance represents that of culture as a whole at this time. Although Italian influence was standard practice, Catherine adapted and designed her own commissions to suit her own personal and political agendas with France at the forefront. Therefore the flourishing artistic culture in France of which Catherine formed a part, developed and altered from the Italian sources that it grew from. This dissemination of Italian culture makes Catherine's influence both successful in developing French culture whilst harder to define by its very nature of being so well integrated and adapted to serve new purposes.

Word count: 2696 (excluding headings)

⁷⁴ T.M. McGinnis, 'Review: Dance in the Renaissance: European fashion, French Obsession. Margaret McGowan', *Renaissance Quarterly*, 62:3 (2009), 948.

Bibliography

Primary Sources:

Figure 1. *Journey of the Magi*, (1459-63) Benozzo Gozzoli. 'Chapel of the Magi', *Museums in Florence online*, accessed 24/03/2015, www.museumsinflorence.com.

Figure 2. Portrait of *Cosimo the Elder*, Detail of above.

Figure 3. *Engraving of plan and elevation of the Valois Chapel at St Denis, Paris (1563)* in Blunt, A., *Art and Architecture in France 1500-1700*, (Hong Kong, 1999).

Figure 4. *Catherine de' Medici*, (1560). *Painted miniature*. François Clouet London, Victoria and Albert Picture Library, in Wardropper, I., 'Between Art and Nature: Jewelry in the Renaissance', *Art Institute of Chicago Museum Studies*, 25:2 (2000), 6-15+104.

Figure 5. *Fête aux Tuileries en l'honneur des ambassadeurs polonaise*, (Polish Ambassadors), in Bertrand, P-F., 'A New Method of Interpreting the Valois Tapestries, through a History of Catherine de Médicis', *Studies in the Decorative Arts*, 14:1 (2006-7), 27-52.

Brantôme, Seigneur de, Pierre de Bourdeille, , "*Second Discourse on the Queen, Mother of our Last Kings, Catherine de Médicis*", Selections from *Book of Ladies, Poetry and Funerary Writings* in Chang, L.L., & K. Kong, *Portraits of the Queen Mother: Polemics, Panegyrics, Letters*, (Canada, 2014).

Secondary Sources:

Author Unknown, 'Art in Dress', *The Art Amateur*, 7:3 (1882), 58-59.

Bertrand, P-F., 'A New Method of Interpreting the Valois Tapestries, through a History of Catherine de Médicis', *Studies in the Decorative Arts*, 14:1 (2006-7), 27-52.

Blunt, A., & E. Lockspeiser, *French Art and Music since 1500*, (Suffolk, 1974).

Blunt, A., *Art and Architecture in France 1500-1700*, (Hong Kong, 1999).

Cargill, M., 'Dance Costumes in the Western Performance Tradition', *Performing Arts Resources*, 27 (2010), 3-8.

Chang, L.L., & K. Kong, *Portraits of the Queen Mother: Polemics, Panegyrics, Letters*, (Canada, 2014).

Clarke, M., & C. Crisp, *The History of Dance* (London, 1981).

Duval, E.M., 'Review: Performance, Poetry and Politics on the Queen's Day: Catherine de Médicis and Pierre de Ronsard at Fontainebleau. V. Scott & S. Sturm-Maddox', *Renaissance Quarterly* (2007), 1272-3.

Ffolliott, S., 'The Italian 'Training' of Catherine de Medici: Portraits as Dynastic Narrative', *The Court Historian*, 10:1 (2005).

Heller, H., *Anti-Italianism in Sixteenth-Century France* (London, 2003).

Holt, M.P., *Renaissance and Reformation France* (Oxford, 2002).

Jackson, K., 'Art and War: Catherine de Medici's Contributions to History', *examiner.com*, accessed 19/01/2015, www.examiner.com/article/art-and-war.

Jensen, L., 'Catherine de Medici and her Florentine Friends', *The Sixteenth Century Journal*, 9:2 (1978), 57-74.

Joel, L., 'Discovering Catherine de Medici, Part III: The Renaissance, An Explosion of Creativity', *Dance Magazine*, 64:6 (1990), 48-51.

Kociszewska, E., 'War and Seduction in Cybele's Garden: Contextualising the *Ballet Pollonais*', *Renaissance Quarterly*, 65 (2012), 809-63.

Knecht, R.J., 'The French Renaissance Court', *History Today*, 7 (2007) 40-47.

Knecht, R.J., *The French Renaissance Court* (Filey, 2008).

Lawrence, C., *Women and Art in Early Modern Europe: Patrons, Collectors and Connoisseurs* (Pennsylvania, 1997).

Marsdon, J., 'A Newly Discovered Bust of Catherine de Medici by Gernain Pilon', *The Burlington Magazine*, 148:1245 (2006), 833-836.

McGinnis, T.M., 'Review: Dance in the Renaissance: European fashion, French Obsession. Margaret McGowan', *Renaissance Quarterly*, 62:3 (2009), 947-49.

McIlvenna, U., 'A Stable of whores'? The 'Flying Squadron' of Catherine de Medici', in N. Akkerman & B. Houben, *The Politics of Female Households: Ladies-in-Waiting Across Early Modern Europe* (Boston, 2014), 181-208.

Neville, J., (ed.), *Dance, Spectacle, and the Body Politick, 1250-1750* (Indiana, 2008).

Reaves, G., & M.K. Reaves, 'Antoine Caron's Painting "Astronomers Studying an Eclipse"', *Publications of the Astronomical Society of the Pacific*, 77:456 (1965), 153-57.

Russell, N., & H. Visentin (eds.), *French Ceremonial Entries in the Sixteenth Century: Event, Image, Text* (Toronto, 2007).

Scott, V., & S. Sturm-Maddox, *Performance, Poetry and Politics on the Queen's Day: Catherine de Medici and Pierre de Ronsard at Fontainebleau* (Hampshire, 2007).

Wardropper, I., 'Between Art and Nature: Jewelry in the Renaissance', *Art Institute of Chicago Museum Studies*, 25:2 (2000), 6-15+104.

Wardropper, I., 'The Flowering of the French Renaissance', *The Metropolitan Museum of Art Bulletin, New Series*, 62:1 (2004), 3-48.

Yates, F., *The Valois Tapestries Vol 1* (Oxford, 1999).

Zirpolo, L.H., 'Review: Renaissance Women Patrons: Wives and Widows in Italy c. 1300-1550 by Catherine King; Women and Art in Early modern Europe: Patrons, Collectors, and Connoisseurs by Cynthia Lawrence', *Women's Art Journal*, 21:1 (2000), 40-42.