

# MEXICO AND THE MEDICI

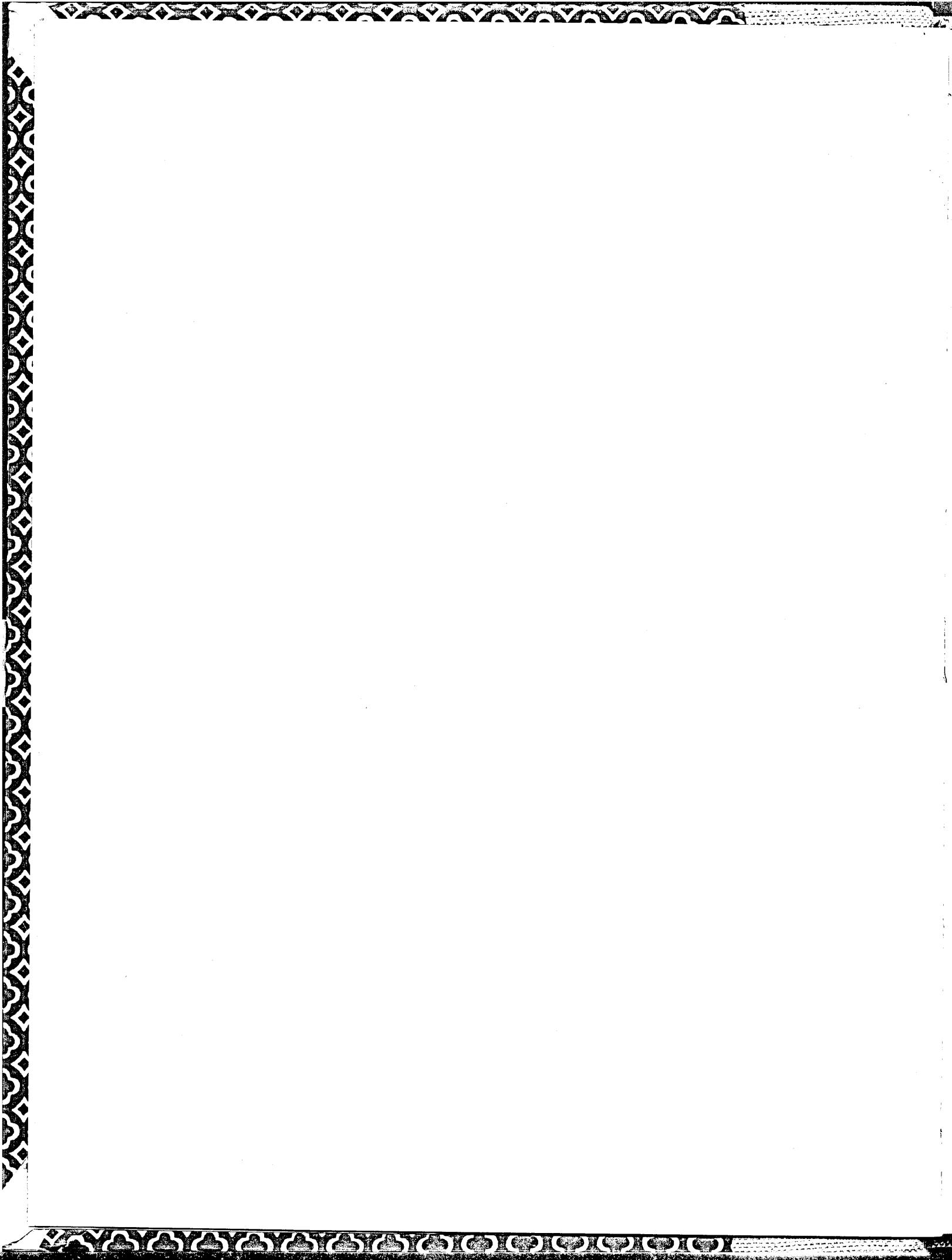
Detlef Heikamp

*with contributions by*

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FERDINAND ANDERS

## MEXICO AND THE MEDICI

QUADERNI D'ARTE - *Studies in Art History.*  
*Lesser known or unpublished works.*

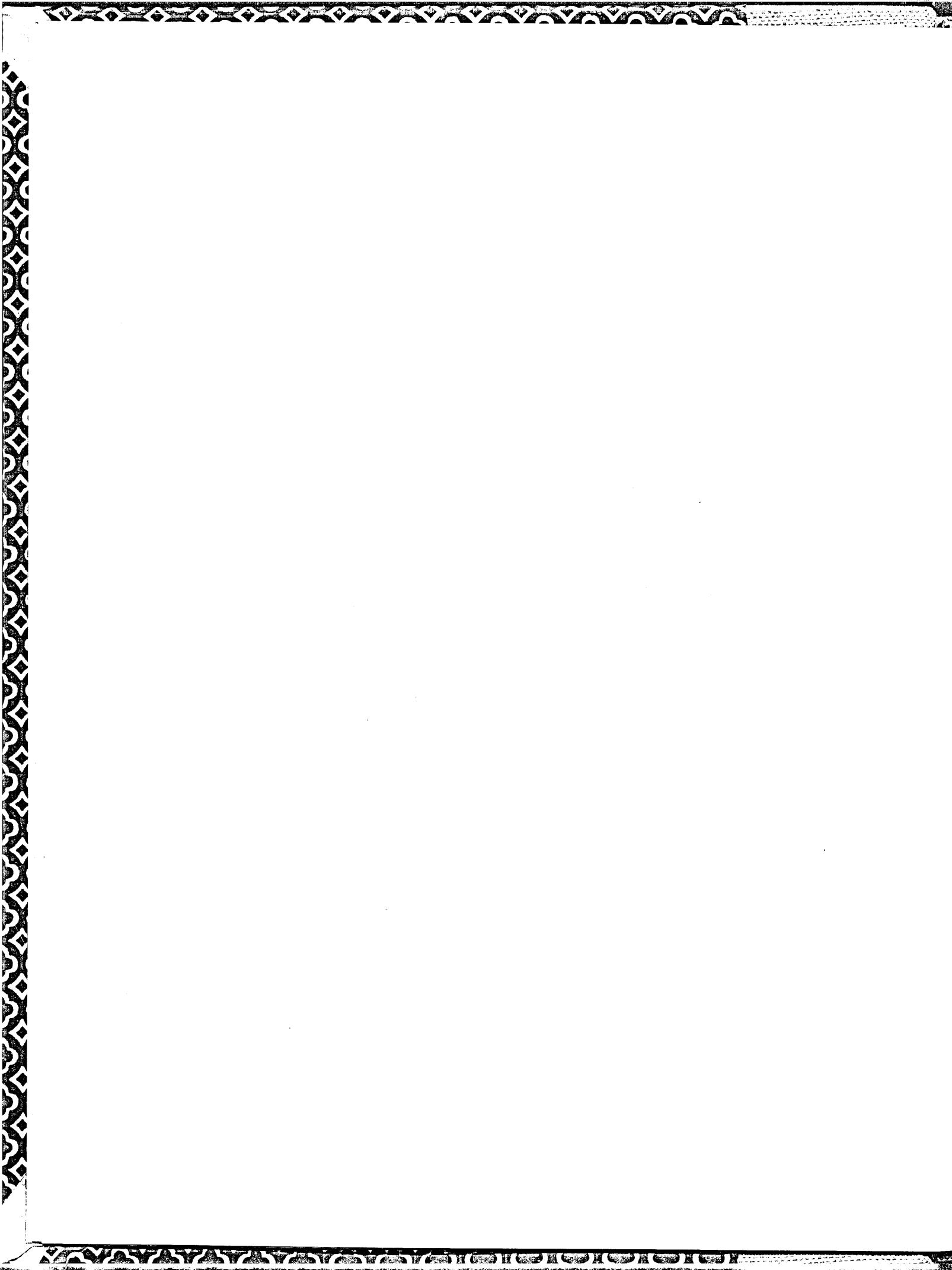
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## ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

*Connections between the Medici family and Mexico have not been investigated in detail until now. The only exception is the thorough study, dating from the last century, of a single object, namely the mosaic mask owned by Cosimo I.<sup>1)</sup> The aim of the present study is to examine the Mexican antiquities in the Medici collections and to touch, even if somewhat superficially, on problems of cartography, botany and zoology, in order to give an impression of the encyclopaedic nature of the Medici family's efforts to capture the essence of the New World.*

*The introductory passage on collections of Mexican objects formerly belonging to members of the Habsburg family is based on research done by Dr. Ferdinand Anders (Vienna). The author is also indebted to him for some information on the manuscripts in the Austrian Nationalbibliothek, the British Museum and in the Biblioteca Nazionale in Florence, on the feather objects in Austria, Germany and Spain and their iconography, on the Mexican pottery, some details concerning the frescoes in the Uffizi, the portrait of Moctezuma and parts of the final conclusions. The Ibero-American Institute in Berlin was invaluable for obtaining further facts and biographical material and made the completion of this study feasible.*

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D. H.

## MEXICO AND THE MEDICI

The conception of the 'Kunstkammer' underwent a marked change at the beginning of the Renaissance. In addition to the traditional accumulation of valuable objects, it became fashionable to collect works of art and interesting curios, often irrespective of their material worth. The princely collections became microcosms of the universe. Consequently, works of art became assembled alongside natural specimens such as shells, minerals and fruit. But, in addition, the 'Kunstkammer' had to contain artefacts attesting to all present and past cultures<sup>2</sup>).

The German word 'Kunstkammer' defines a special type of Renaissance collection; it became famous as a result of Julius von Schlosser's book 'Kunst- und Wunderkammern der Spätrenaissance'. There is no satisfactory English equivalent for 'Kunstkammer', and it has therefore been decided to use the German word throughout this text, as many other authors have done in the past.

The purpose of this study is to examine the Mexican objects in the Florentine collections in the light of their interest as documents of exotic art. But one could equally have chosen as one's subject the African, Persian, Indian, Japanese or Chinese objects in the Medici collections<sup>3</sup>). In the dedication of his 'Historia de las Indias' to Charles V, published in 1552, López de Gomára wrote that « La mayor cosa después de la creación del mundo, sacando la encarnación y muerte del que lo crió, es el descubrimiento de Indias; y así las llaman Mundo Nuevo ». This gives a vivid idea of the impression made by the discovery of the New World on people during the Cinquento. It was a breath-taking miracle. Thus no collection could fail to include<sup>4</sup> « pellegrini artifatti delle remotissime contrade e sconosciuti regni delle Indie »<sup>4</sup>).

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After Hernán Cortés had left the services of the viceroy of Cuba and was preparing to conquer Mexico, he cleverly ensured for himself the favour of the Spanish court by sending a present of Mexican objects to his sovereign. We know that these treasures made a great impression in Spain and later in Brussels when they were exhibited there. Two inventory lists are preserved at Seville and Vienna, and there are also a number of detailed eye-witness accounts. The brief but admiring comments made by Dürer in his diary are of historical importance to us,

because they indicate the value attributed to exotic works of art by a contemporary artist<sup>5</sup>). Repeated attempts have been made to prove that the few surviving Mexican artefacts from princely collections belonged to this first dispatch of presents. The majority of these assertions, however, are unfounded. During the years immediately following the conquest of Mexico, numerous shiploads of treasures reached Europe and among them examples of Mexican craftsmanship. Most pre-Columbian gold objects and artefacts of perishable material originated from temple treasuries or formed part of palace decorations. The houses of the simple people contained only the barest essentials, which hardly differed from the household objects found there today. The supply of works of art must have quickly come to an end. The ware-houses were emptied and native craftsmanship largely died out, except where its survival was encouraged thanks to the interest of a few personalities who put it at the disposal of the church and new rulers. Some inventories still exist for shipments of Mexican artefacts. In many cases the destination of these shipments was settled before they were sent from Mexico. It appears that most of these exotic objects were used by the purchasers to decorate their palaces and were therefore destined to perish with time. Only a few were preserved as objects of interest or value and these eventually found their way into the 'Kunstkammers'. Practically nothing escaped destruction in Spain. Most of the objects that survive belonged to the Habsburgs or were once in Italian collections, principally those of the Medici family.

Emperor Ferdinand I was the first to collect these works of art and his enthusiasm was inherited by his sons, Archduke Karl of Steiermark and Archduke Ferdinand II of Austrian Tyrol. Their collections all included Mexican objects similar to those in the 'Kunstkammer' of Emperor Rudolf II in Prague and in that of Duke Albrecht V of Bavaria, who were related to each other by marriage. From the writings of contemporary scholars on the 'Kunstkammers' it is clear that Mexican objects were considered an indispensable component even of the more modest collections. Several pieces from the collections of princes and private citizens have been recorded in book illustrations<sup>6</sup>). The history and assessment of Mexican objects in European art collections is a neglected field of research in the study of Americana. The number of artefacts listed in the inventories of old princely collections is surprisingly large. Some of the objects that have survived are unique of their kind, since they are composed of perishable material. In fact, most of our knowledge of wooden objects, feather ornaments and old Mexican manuscripts is derived from the old European 'Kunstkammers'. Only a few fortunate discoveries dating from the past decades have enriched the existing inventory: they consist of cult objects which the Mexicans hid in dry caves from the clutches of the Spaniards. No samples of woven fabrics from pre-Columbian times have survived to this day. The majority of the existing objects are mosaics of semi-precious stones, such as jade and turquoise, or shells mounted on wood carvings and fixed with a resinous medium. Only 23 of the mosaics from the various 'Kunstkammers' have been preserved and there are no more than seven feather objects of pre-Columbian date in existence; none of which, however, is of the particularly fine workmanship documented by the sources<sup>7</sup>).

The earliest Medici to have his name associated with Mexican objects was Clement VII. Gonzalo de Illescas refers to this Pope in his 'Historia Pontifical'

of 1578: « Porqué a fin de noser enguañado, abía tenido curiosidad en escudriñas los secretos de todos las artes Mexicanas. Tanto que se le pudo imputo a bareza ».

In 1519, Cortés sent his famous present of Mexican treasures to Queen Johanna and King Charles, who later became Emperor Charles V. The inventory included two books: « dos libros de los que acá tienen los yndios » <sup>8</sup>). One of these books is probably to be identified with the Codex Vindobonensis Mexicanus I in the National Library in Vienna (plate 1). There is evidence that the manuscript was already in Europe as early as 1521. The next shipments from Mexico did not arrive until 1522 and 1524. The early history of the Codex is recorded in a handwritten note in Latin, dating from the 16th century, attached to the inside of the cover of the manuscript <sup>9</sup>). The translation runs as follows: « This hieroglyphic manuscript from the South Indies was sent by Emanuel, King of Portugal, to Clement VII together with further presents of a few small bells from the Indies and a blanket of parrot feathers. After Clement's death the Codex passed to Ippolito de' Medici and, when he died, it came into the possession of Cardinal Capuanus. Clement had been ill for several years and was anxious that Ippolito should not become destitute after his death. Thus the said Capuanus took 2000 gold pieces from his own income, which he drew from various ecclesiastical benefices, and placed them at the disposal of Ippolito. Capuanus asked the executor of the will, Cardinal Salviati, if he could have the Codex from Ippolito's estate ».

The King of Portugal married the sister of Charles V, Eleonora, and must have received the Codex as a gift from the Emperor. On the death of Emanuel in 1521, Clement VII was still known under his name of birth, Giulio de' Medici. When the note was written his papal name would have been more familiar, so there is no contradiction here. After the death of Clement VII (1534), the Codex passed to Ippolito, who died in 1535, and then from Ippolito's estate to the German cardinal Nicolaus Capuanus (Nicolaus of Schomberg who was appointed cardinal in 1535). Schomberg had been one of Clement VII's advisors. After his death, in 1537, the manuscript and his other possessions went to Germany. Its whereabouts are first traceable to Weimar in 1650. Johann Georg of Saxe-Eisenach later presented it to Emperor Leopold I in 1677 or 1678. From then onwards, the Codex has been in the National Library in Vienna.

It is certain that the manuscript was not included in one of Moctezuma's gifts, because it is of Mixtec origin. It may have formed part of the spoils of a Spanish raid on a temple along the Gulf coast, where there were small settlements of Mixtecs around 1500.

The second book mentioned in Cortés's list of presents is perhaps the Codex Zouche-Nuttall which is also of Mixtec origin <sup>10</sup>) (plates 2-3). The manuscript was formerly in the library of St. Mark's monastery in Florence. Pasquale Villari saw it there before the library passed to the State <sup>11</sup>). After this transaction, he discovered that the Codex was missing. On investigating the matter, he found out that, prior to the removal of the library, the monks had sold the manuscript to a rich Englishman resident in Florence. The latter gave the Codex to Robert Curzon, 14th Baron Zouche, whose family presented it to the British Museum.

The collections of the Medici dukes in Florence were rich in Mexican objects. One can have some idea of their quantity by examining the old inventories; but

only a small fraction of these collectio has been preserved. The close and cordial relations with the Habsburgs must have fostered the acquisition of Mexican artefacts. In 1532, Charles V conferred on Alessandro de' Medici (1510-37) the hereditary title of Duke of Florence and, in 1536, he gave him his natural daughter, Margarita, in marriage. Cosimo I de' Medici was also a faithful vassal of the Emperor. In 1539, he married Eleonora of Toledo, daughter of the Spanish viceroy of Naples<sup>11a</sup>). The first wife of his son, Francesco I, was Johanna, a sister of Emperor Maximilian II. Cosimo II de' Medici married Maria Madgalena of Austria.

The inventories are often problematic on account of the shortness of many of the descriptions, and in many cases it is impossible to ascertain whether objects that are now lost were of Mexican origin. In the 16th century, the American Continent was known as the 'West Indies', since Columbus thought he had discovered a new sea route to India. What are today known as the 'Indies' were then called the 'East Indies' by way of distinction. In the inventories, the provenance for both American and oriental objects is usually vaguely given as 'delle Indie'. Even the compiler did not always know the origin of the objects and therefore we sometimes come across the adjective 'moresco' which, like 'indiano', became a general term for anything exotic. The same definitions occur in German inventories<sup>12</sup>).

Apart from an idol originating from the Highlands of Guatemala (plates 56-57), all the American artefacts preserved in the Florentine collections come from Mexico, which in the 16th century was known as 'New Spain'. The incredible riches brought home to Seville by the Spanish fleets seem to have stimulated Cosimo I to turn his thoughts towards the sea, in keeping with the Medici tradition of bankers and merchants. He founded the marine order of the 'Cavalieri di Santo Stefano' in order to protect the Tuscan ships from attacks by Islamic pirates and planned overseas trade expeditions from which he hoped to obtain minerals and other riches. These expeditions had to be prepared in great detail and, to start with, it was necessary to obtain information on the sea routes and the topography of the distant lands. An experienced sailor, Bernardo Baroncelli, compiled a portolano for Cosimo « per andare alla Nuova Spagna, et al Perù et alla gran fiumara di Origliano et al famoso Rio della Plata »<sup>13</sup>). It is not surprising, therefore, that the Duke should have added objects from these remote, newly discovered regions to his collections.

In 1562-63, Cosimo engaged the famous cosmographer Egnazio Danti, an Olivetan monk, to paint maps on the cupboard doors of the new Guardaroba in Palazzo Vecchio representing the entire known world of the time<sup>14</sup>). Danti and Stefano Buonsignori, his successor, worked at the completion of this project, which included over fifty maps, for more than ten years. As a result of this vast undertaking, Florence became a centre for cartographical studies. Danti probably executed 'La Nuova Spagna' (plate 4) in 1564<sup>15</sup>). Fifteen years later, in 1579, the zenith of 16th century cartographical representation was reached with Ortelius' map of Mexico. However inaccurate in the configuration of the country and in the placing and naming of towns, Danti's map contains almost one hundred place names. A full appreciation of this map, and of those forming its continuation to north and south also by Danti, would require a more detailed study<sup>16</sup>).

An explanatory cartouche on Danti's map<sup>17</sup>) states that the coast lines were derived from Spanish navigation charts. The drawing of the inland section was based on further maps and on the reports brought back by Cortés and others. He briefly describes the town of Mexico, which he compares to Venice on account of its situation on a lake; this comparison was often made before the site of the city was drained. Some of his information, however, came from an unreliable source, a Mexican-born Dominican friar who visited Spain and Italy. This Black Friar told him that Venice was two-thirds smaller than Mexico, a statement that is easily refuted by a comparison of the topographical representations of both towns in the 16th century. According to the Mexican friar, the town had 100,025 houses; whereas the chroniclers report that the town contained 12,000 houses at the time of its conquest. Estimates of the population fluctuate between 60,000 and 300,000. According to Danti, Cortés mentions 70,000 inhabitants in his letters and that this was undoubtedly a printing error and should have read 700,000. But, in actual fact, Cortés compares the size of the town to Córdoba and Seville without giving any figures. After the conquest the number of inhabitants dropped considerably and only exceeded the 100,000 mark again towards the end of the 18th century. Danti states that there were 4,000 students at the university which was founded in 1551.

The Aztecs were particularly knowledgeable about herbs and their properties; they had developed a science out of medicinal botany. Cosimo turned this knowledge to good account by importing Mexican medicinal herbs and plants and attempting to cultivate them on Tuscan soil<sup>18</sup>). He also imported rare animals from Africa and America for his menageries. In the tapestry of the 'Primavera' (plate 10) of 1549<sup>19</sup>), the cartoon for which was designed by Agnolo Bronzino, the native American turkey in the foreground is rendered so realistically that it can only have been drawn from life.

Cosimo obtained Mexican curios not only through his connections with Spain, but also by means of more direct routes. An important reference to his imports from America is contained in a letter from the correspondence of Albrecht V, Duke of Bavaria. There was lively contact between the courts of Florence and Munich, particularly in the exchange of works of art between the dukes.

On May 23rd, 1572, a ship arrived at Livorno. The Duke of Bavaria received a generous portion of the cargo, namely « a portrait of Our Lady made of all kinds of feathers from Mexico » and « a Mexican graven image ». In addition, Cosimo also sent exotic animals, parrots, long-tailed monkeys, small birds and a llama<sup>20</sup>). We find the latter referred to in the language of the time as an 'Indian sheep'.

This is not the only instance in which Mexican objects for North European art collections were obtained from Italy rather than from Spain. It shows that there was particular interest in Italy also for these artefacts, which became much sought-after during the course of the 16th century.

Already in 1539, two years after his accession to the throne, Cosimo owned a rich collection of feather garments and other feather artefacts, which he kept in his Guardaroba (documents 1-10). That these were Mexican objects is obvious from the descriptions. Among them, for example, were « dieci rotelle picole di

piume d'India », which were probably similar to the shield reproduced in plate 39<sup>21</sup>).

The inventory of 1533 of Cosimo's Guardaroba lists « una maschera venuta dell'India composta di turchine sopra il legno » (document 11) as well as small bronze figurines, marble statuettes and other treasures. A second mask, also composed of turquoise mosaic mounted on wood was added in 1556 (document 13). In 1564, the masks were classified with the feather garments as « abiti et altre cose da mascherate » (document 15). The latter included, for instance, « un abito di teletto d'oro et seta chermisi con opera chi è in forma d'una vesta lunga con le maniche ». Also listed were « un santicbarco di striscie di raso a gelosia, fodera di tocca d'oro » and a further « dieci maschere », which are not described in detail. After 1640, both masks were included among the « gioie e gioielli » (documents 19 & 20). In 1656, one of the masks was transferred to the Armoury (document 21), whereas the other remained with the jewels in the Guardaroba and still exists (document 22; plates 5-6). Its history up to the present-day is fully recorded in later inventories. In 1770, it was moved from the Guardaroba Generale to the Treasury (document 25). During the last days of the year 1783, it was transferred with other objects to the newly-founded Museo di Fisica e Storia Naturale. On October 3rd 1823, it was taken to the Opificio delle Pietre Dure, where it fell into oblivion. The mask was placed in a chest, locked up and put in the loft. Finally, in 1850, it was rediscovered by Luigi Pigorini and transferred to the museum he had founded in Rome, the Museo Preistorico<sup>22</sup>).

The mask belongs to the Mixtec-Puebla Culture. It is carved out of wood and represents a human face peering out of the throat of a snake, a motif frequently found in Mexican art. The upper and lower jaws of the reptile, which are seen from the inside, are represented as triangles above and below the face, and the gums are indicated by a narrow red line of shell fragments. The step-like nose ornament is an attribute of the fire-god Xiuhtecutli (Aztec for 'Lord of the Turquoise'). Across the forehead of the mask are the entwined bodies of two fire-snakes. The tail end of one snake is visible under the outward-facing head of the other; their heads are decorated with the characteristic tuning-fork motif. For the Aztecs, the fire-snake (Aztec Xiucoatl: 'Turquoise Snake') not only symbolized fire, but also the heavens and lightning. The left side of the mask is damaged; it has also lost the large stones on either side of the nose ornament. The flat surface of this beautiful mosaic is given relief by cabochon-like elements.

According to an entry in the inventory of 1640, the mouth of the mask held a gold ring (document 17), which is now lost. The back of the mask is composed of rough wood; it is not hollowed out and therefore could not easily have been used as a mask over the face. Nevertheless, there are holes for its attachment at the back.

In addition to larger objects, there were also countless examples of Mexican minor arts in princely collections, which were often described in some detail. The famous 'Kunstkammer' of Ferdinand II of Austrian Tyrol in Ambras Castle near Innsbruck contained a number of carvings made from semi-precious stones, which probably formed part of large necklaces. Besides hatchet-shaped, pierced pendants of jade and amethyst, there were two small heads of birds, a miniature parrot's head of moss agate and a small duck's head of amethyst<sup>23</sup>).

Cosimo I also owned miniature animal heads of semi-precious stones (documents 26-30), which he kept with a 'granchietto' (a small crab) made of carneol in a cupboard of his 'Guardaroba segreta', together with the mosaic mask. Three of the animal heads are specifically described as being of 'Indian' origin. There is record of their having been given to Benvenuto Cellini, probably with the intention of having them mounted in gold. Several examples of pre-Columbian objects carved in semi-precious stones and mounted in metals are to be found both in Florentine and in other old European collections. On September 8th, 1553, Cellini returned the heads to the Guardaroba (document 27).

In 1559, Cosimo engaged Vasari to furnish his new 'scrittoio' in Palazzo Vecchio. It was here that he kept his jewels, bronze statuettes and other precious objects. Among them are recorded « otto teste di varii animali grandi come nocciole di varie pietre et gioie di mano di Benvenuto Cellini » (document 30). They are rather improbably described as « di mano di Benvenuto Cellini ». There is no mention either in Cellini's autobiography or in his treatises on goldsmith's work of his having been also a gem cutter. His thirst for fame would certainly not have allowed him to remain silent about this fact. The entry in the inventory of 1559 most probably refers to the objects recorded six years earlier. It is likely that the 'granchietto' was included with the animal heads as the eighth one. The compiler of the inventory may well have remembered that the heads had something to do with Cellini and assumed that they had been made by him.

Three of these small « teste di varii animali » from Cosimo's collection still exist in Florentine museums. Like the small bird heads from Ambras Castle, they are all pierced so that they could be strung on a necklace.

In 1927, one miniature bird's head (plate 8) was lent to the Ethnological Museum by the Florentine Galleries<sup>24</sup>). It is carved in a dark green stone and could be identical with the animal head of 'prasma' which is recorded in Cosimo's inventory. During the 16th century, 'prasma' or, more commonly, 'plasma' was the name given to a type of dark green agate. The description of its size as « grande come nocciole » would also correspond.

Two other heads of this group are preserved in a most unexpected place. Towards the end of the 18th century, they were removed from the Florentine Galleries as objects of little artistic value. They were placed at the disposal of the Museo di Fisica e Storia Naturale, where they were displayed with other minerals as examples of carved semi precious stones. Later they passed to the Museo di Mineralogia of Florence University<sup>25</sup>). It is here that I found them recently, without any record of their Mexican origin.

Among the 'teste indiane' in Cosimo's Guardaroba there is a specific reference to one carved in amethyst, which is certainly identifiable with the beautifully shaped, miniature dog's head in the Mineralogical Museum<sup>26</sup>) (plate 9). The right inlaid eye is still preserved; the pupil is composed of a yellow metal disk, possibly of gold, set in a ring of grey horn.

There is a second dog's head<sup>27</sup>) (plate 7) of brown and pink onyx. The vertical red, brown and white veins of the stone have been skilfully used to suggest the colouring of the animal's coat. The uniformly-coloured front half of the head contrasts with the striped part, which comprises the forehead, ears and back of the head. The right eye is intact; the pupil consists of a circular piece of polished

obsidian set into a mother-of-pearl ring. The same combination is also found in the small Mexican parrot's head of moss agate from Archduke Ferdinand's collection in Ambras Castle. The Florentine miniature onyx head could be identical with one of those described as of carneol or agate in Cosimo's inventory.

Cosimo's son and heir, Francesco (1541-87), married Johanna of Austria, sister of Maximilian II, in 1565. At the celebrations held in their honour, allusions were made to the Habsburg conquests in the New World. A triumphal arch was erected outside Palazzo degli Spini, the decoration of which included the following allegorical scene: « Si vedeva di chiaroscuro dipinta in esso una ninfa tutta inculata e poco meno che ignuda, in mezzo a molti nuovi animali; ed era questa presa per la nuova terra del Perù, con le altre nuove Indie occidentali, sotto gli auspici della fortunatissima casa d'Austria in buona parte ritrovate e rette »<sup>28</sup>).

In 1578, the christening of the hereditary prince Filippo, son of Francesco and Johanna, was celebrated with great pomp. The prince, who was destined to live only a few years, had Philip II of Spain as his godfather. Among the festive decorations adorning the interior of the Baptistry was a large canvas, which may have been painted by Alessandro Allori. It represented the conversion of New Spain to Christianity with a portrait of Philip II set against the countries he ruled, symbolized by the Tagus and Rio della Plata rivers<sup>29</sup>). Allegorical representations of the continents often featured in festive decorations of the Florentine court<sup>30</sup>).

Francesco was even more interested than his father in America and the Far East. During his reign, overseas trade relations were greatly developed. His brother Ferdinand, who as a cardinal was resident in Rome, took a keen interest in these efforts, almost as though he knew that he was shortly to succeed Francesco.

Both brothers had inherited from their father an interest in zoology and botany. Rare animals and plants were brought to Florence from all corners of the world. In order to procure them, it was necessary to establish world-wide connections. Plants and animals from the subtropical zone of Mexico were particularly easy to cultivate and breed, owing to the similar climatic conditions of the Mediterranean area. Francesco devoted special attention to the botanical garden in Florence<sup>31</sup>). He patronized the work of Ulisse Aldovrandi the Bolognese naturalist, as did his successor, Ferdinand. A letter of November 27th, 1591, from Aldovrandi to Ferdinand is not lacking in courtly flattery: « Io ricorro a S.A. Ser.ma siccome fece Aristotile ad Alessandro Magno quando compose l'istoria d'animali, perché queste piante et animali peregrini non si possono conseguire se non per mezzo di grandissimi principi, siccome è S.A. Ser.ma la quale si vede ch'imitando quei Re magnanimi, manda con grandissime spese in lontanissimi paesi per arricchire et illustrare questa cognitione naturale... »<sup>32</sup>).

Jacopo Ligozzi, the Veronese painter who had settled in Florence in 1577, was chosen by the dukes to record their rare plants and animals in extremely finished drawings of the finest quality, which were later bound in folio volumes<sup>33</sup>).

The same year, Aldovrandi made a journey to Rome, stopping at Florence on his way. On this occasion, Francesco proudly showed Aldovrandi Ligozzi's scientific drawings and presented him with some replicas for his own collection<sup>34</sup>).

On his return to Florence in 1586, Aldovrandi made notes on the plants and animals copied by Ligozzi in his drawings. He mentions, for example, the 'Ame-

rican aloe' which is known today as the agave, according to Linnaeus' nomenclature, and describes one of Ligozzi's studies which showed the plant in bloom<sup>35</sup>): « Aloe americana quae caudiceum produxit 12 ulnarum crassitudine seu circumferentia trium dodrantum. Flores quasi umbelliferos producit, forma pyramidalis, singuli fructus longitudine erant trium ditorum, crassitie unius digiti, in quibus collecta fuit aqua valde odorifera, cum flores sint olidi; folium eodem tempore, quo floret. Videtur ferrugineum dilutum, quod circa caudiceus repit sed parvum ». Ligozzi's unfinished drawing of the agave in bloom is now in the Gabinetto dei Disegni in the Uffizi (plate 13). The leaves of the plant are only lightly drawn in pencil and are not visible in our plate. Another of Ligozzi's drawings shows an agave when not in flower<sup>36</sup>) (plate 12).

In those days, the agave was still a rarity. It was not until the 18th century that it became a typical plant of the Mediterranean coasts, as a result of its proliferation. Camerarius also reported on the flowering agave in Florence in 1586. A few years earlier, Cesalpino had seen an agave in bloom in the garden of Bishop Tornabuoni's villa not far from Pisa. The plant became known in Rome and Avignon towards the end of the century and in Germany during the following decades<sup>37</sup>).

Also among Ligozzi's drawings in the Uffizi are the false jalap (*Mirabilis jalapa*; plate 15) and a species of morning glory (*Ipomea quamoclit*; plate 11)<sup>38</sup>).

In addition, Aldovrandi made notes on two Ligozzi drawings of Mexican gallinaceous birds: the crested curassow (*Pauxi pauxi* L.) and the galeated curassow (*Crax rubra* L.), which are described as a Mexican or Japanese cock and hen<sup>39</sup>). These alternatives may have been a consequence of the tendency of live-stock dealers to conceal the origin of their valuable wares. Ligozzi's drawings of both birds are preserved in the Uffizi (plates 16-17) and there are replicas in Aldovrandi's collection. Aldovrandi used the drawings as models for the woodcut illustrations in his 'Ornithologia'<sup>40</sup>). Drawings of a species of agouti, a genus of rodents, are also preserved in the Uffizi (plate 14) and in Aldovrandi's estate. Aldovrandi describes this Mexican rodent as the 'Coniglio delle Indie', Ligozzi's drawing of which he saw in Florence in 1586<sup>41</sup>). Further research on Ligozzi's sketches in the Uffizi would probably result in a number of additions to this list of Mexican plant and animal studies.

Time and again in the inventories of old European collections one comes across Mexican feather objects, which were the most admired and sought-after artefacts of the New World. Orazio della Rena reports and comments on this in his 'Descrizione della America', which he dedicated to Ferdinand de' Medici. He vividly describes the quality of these works in feathers: « America... ha grande abbondanza d'uccelli vaghi et pellegrini, et di diversi color di penne, d'esse fanno in Nuova Spagna l'immagini con tale artifitio che paiono miniate col penello, et lumeggiate d'oro sopra il velluto »<sup>42</sup>).

The great fragility of feather artefacts has made them particularly rare and the few examples that survive are now extremely valuable to us. There were two techniques adopted in feather work. Feather cloaks were made by overlapping the feathers in the same way as roof tiling, and inserting them in the meshes of a net. For feather mosaics, Mexican craftsmen first prepared patterns out of fig bast paper, then they glued the feathers to the paper and cut them out into the required shapes. Very fine lines were obtained by overlapping the layers, so that some almost

disappeared. The contrast between iridescent humming-bird feathers and dull-coloured feathers must have produced striking chromatic combinations and effects that far surpassed the painted model<sup>43</sup>). Bernardino de Sahagún illustrates and describes this technique at length in his 'Historia de las cosas de Nueva España' (plates 35-36, 42). This richly illustrated, comprehensive work is a compendium of our knowledge on ancient Mexico. The manuscript is preserved in the Biblioteca Laurenziana in Florence<sup>44</sup>). The conjecture that it was purchased by Ferdinand de' Medici is frequently put forward in the literature on this subject, but no reliable evidence has hitherto been discovered in support of this view.

Various references to feather artefacts in Ferdinand's collection have been handed down to us, above all from the time when he was still cardinal and resident in Rome (documents 31-37). Ferdinand sent two feather pictures « provenienti dalle Indie » to Bianca Capello, the second wife of his brother Francesco, from Rome. In his accompanying letter to Bianca, Ferdinand remarked that should she find the pictures unworthy of adorning her 'camerini' in Palazzo Pitti, she could present them to Lena, her favourite lady-in-waiting, to hang at the head of her bed<sup>45</sup>). One can assume that these pictures were similar to those preserved in the 'Geistliche Schatzkammer' in Vienna (plates 26-27), which can be traced back to Rudolf II's 'Kunstkammer' in Prague around 1600<sup>46</sup>).

We learn from a letter, written by a nobleman of Ferdinand's entourage in Rome, that Bianca was interested in learning more about sea routes to the two Indies and that she wished to purchase curios from overseas countries for her collections<sup>47</sup>).

In 1571, fans of parrot feathers (documents 31-35) and two bishop's mitres of feather mosaic (documents 36-44) were in the possession of Cardinal Ferdinand. When he became Grand Duke in 1587, he had the mitres sent to Florence. Ten years later, only one of the mitres was in existence and had meanwhile been provided with a case covered in red velvet. This mitre is still preserved<sup>48</sup>) (plates 18, 20) and its history can be traced down to the present-day.

The lost mitre represented the Trinity and St. Peter on the front with the Last Supper in the lower border; the Virgin's Assumption on the back; and on the gold embroidered infulae were figures of St. Peter and St. Paul.

The surviving Florentine mitre corresponds exactly in its iconography to two other mitres, one of which is preserved in the Musée Historique des Tissus<sup>49</sup>) at Lyons and the other in the Escorial<sup>50</sup>). It is known that Philip II had the latter mitre transferred to the monastery in 1576. On each side are the monograms of Christ and the Virgin Mary, IHS and MA, composed of a network of twisted tree trunks surmounted by leafy crowns<sup>51</sup>). On the back side, the 'A' of Mary's monogram is formed by the ladders for the Descent from the Cross. There are small explanatory legends at intervals. Scenes from Christ's Passion and some of his healing miracles are represented on both sides<sup>52</sup>). The scenes on the front include, among others, God the Father enthroned, Mary as Queen of Heaven, Christ, John the Baptist and the Apostles, the four Evangelists with their symbols, the two Maries at the foot of the Cross, the scourging of Christ, Christ carrying the Cross, Ecce Homo, the mass of St. Gregory and the symbols of the Passion. The borders contain figures of the Apostles and Fathers of the Church, Christ washing the feet of his disciples, the Last Supper and the Crucifixion. In the centre of the back

of the mitre is the Descent from the Cross, surmounted by the Mercy Seat, Mary, John the Baptist, the Resurrection and 'Noli me tangere'; the remaining imagery includes the Baptism in the River Jordan, the two Maries and John at the foot of the Cross, the beheading of the Baptist, the Transfiguration on Mount Tabor, the Supper at Emmaus and the incredulity of St. Thomas. The borders are decorated with the tree of Jesse, the Entombment, the Lamentation and Christ in Limbo.

Stylistically the scenes decorating the mitre are rather archaic for the second half of the 16th century. The same is true of the two feather pictures in Vienna<sup>53</sup>) (plates 26-27). Most unusual is the iconography of the stem of the Cross partially composed of the intertwined monograms of Christ and Mary. A French miniature in the Louvre<sup>54</sup>) (plate 19), dating from about 1500, corresponds in a number of details to the front of the mitres. The coat-of-arms in the miniature has not yet been identified.

The left and right infulae of all the mitres represent respectively Mary's Assumption and Christ's Ascent into heaven (plate 20). At the lower ends of the infulae in the Escorial and Lyons are the monograms MA and IHS with legends. In the case of the mitre in Palazzo Pitti, Christ's monogram and the relative inscription appear anachronistically on the infula representing the Assumption of the Virgin. This confusion on the part of the Mexican craftsmen, who were probably illiterate, can be taken as evidence that these infulae were mass produced.

Another mitre in the treasury of the Cathedral in Milan is almost identical in iconography, but differs in the individual images<sup>55</sup>). The Crucifixion is represented on both sides. The border strips have been eliminated to leave room for a larger central picture. The infulae are decorated with cornucopias and birds and two coats-of-arms with crossed keys surmounted by a tiara. The arms, which have the emblems of a 'navicella' and a fisherman's net, cannot be attributed to any particular pope. The mitre is traditionally held to have been a present from Catholic Mexican Indians to Pius IV, the Milanese Pope, who was crowned pontiff on December 25th, 1559.

An exact replica of the Milanese mitre appeared on the art market some years ago and is now in a private collection in Germany (plate 23). The workmanship is inferior in quality to those mentioned so far. An accompanying note in Italian can perhaps be taken as evidence that the mitre was formerly for sale on the Italian art market. In the 19th century, Monsignor Barbier de Montault saw a mitre made of feather mosaic in the Spithover Collection in Rome<sup>57</sup>); this may have been the one now in Germany.

Apart from a few details, the decoration on the infulae of the German mitre (plate 22) corresponds to that on those of the mitre in Milan and of another in the Cathedral treasury of Toledo<sup>58</sup>). The mitre in Toledo, in turn, is identical with a mitre in the Ethnological Museum in Vienna<sup>59</sup>) (plate 25), which comes from the 'Kunstkammer' of Ferdinand of Austrian Tyrol in Ambras Castle. Both mitres represent the Tree of Affliction issuing from Adam's grave in the form of a grape vine with tendrils and blossoms, and the apostles and evangelists with their attributes interspersed among the foliage. On the other side is a similar scene representing the Tree of Jesse with the Kings of Israel, and birds and butterflies among the branches.

The infulae of the Viennese mitre (plate 24) are decorated quite differently from the other infulae discussed here, with feather mosaics of garlands and cornucopias. The silk coat-of-arms of Pedro de la Gasca of Toledo was probably embroidered on the mitre after it had reached Europe. The cardinal's hat with the emblem of the sun and the motto *BUENA GIA* must refer to a coat-of-arms of feathers covered by the silk embroidery. Pedro de la Gasca liberated Peru after the Pizzarro rebellions. He was Bishop of Palencia from 1551 to 1561, but he spent more time in Valladolid than in his diocese. At court he was a close friend of Vasco de Quiroga, Bishop of Michoacán, who was in Europe from 1547 to 1554, when he conducted negotiations in Rome and at the Spanish court for his bishopric in Mexico. This bishop was considered the protector of the Mexicans and it was thanks to him that a number of indigenous crafts continued to be practiced. He sponsored the art of feather-work and is held responsible for its revival. He was accompanied on his journey through Europe by a group of Tarascan Indians and certainly brought works of Indian craftsmanship from his diocese with him. Although there is no written evidence, it is likely that the series of feather mitres were presents from Vasco de Quiroga and the Mexicans of his entourage<sup>60</sup>); the Milanese mitre may well have been a gift from the Mexicans, and this would also explain why the coat-of-arms of Quiroga's friend, Pedro de la Gasca, appears on the infulae of the Viennese mitre.

After Francesco's sudden death, Ferdinand resigned his office as cardinal and took over the government. Under his rule, Livorno developed into an efficient seaport, which was to become one of the most important harbours of the Tyrrhenian Sea during the 17th century. Despite the jealous vigilance of the Spaniards, he, too, tried to profit from trade with the 'West Indies'. He equipped ships for trade expeditions and dreamed of colonial riches. His ambassador at the Spanish court was given the following instructions: « Essendo noi curiosissimi d'ogni cosa, ma particolarmente delle Indie... cerchiate di sapere a minuto le cose della Nuova Spagna e del Perù »<sup>61</sup>). His death in 1608 brought an abrupt end to Ferdinand's ambitious plans.

A prerequisite for Ferdinand's expeditions was good sea charting. From the end of the 16th century onwards, Livorno developed into a centre for nautical cartography which could compete with Venice, Genoa, Ancona and Messina.

An anonymous atlas in the Museo della Storia della Scienza dates from Ferdinand's reign<sup>62</sup>). The parchment frontispiece is decorated with a miniature heightened with gold. It represents the united arms of Ferdinand and his wife, Christina of Lorraine, nautical instruments and a galleon flanked by two sea monsters. The atlas includes maps of New Spain, Guinea and Brazil.

In this context, one should also mention the adventurous journey round the world of the Florentine Francesco Carletti, who left Florence at the age of 18, in 1594, and did not return home from his arduous wanderings until 1606. By this time he was a poor man, as he had lost all his trading goods. But then Ferdinand called him back to Florence and later appointed him major-domo. On his arrival, Carletti gave an account of his adventures before Ferdinand and the assembled court. His written report, which was to become a classic work of travel literature<sup>63</sup>), was also dedicated to the Duke. The fifth chapter deals with his stay in Mexico. After leaving Lima, he landed at Acapulco in June 1595 and made his way to

the capital; he set sail again in March 1596. He describes life in Acapulco and Mexico in the lively and vivid language of a professional merchant and man of the world.

Many of the projects initiated by Francesco de' Medici were loyally continued and carried out by Ferdinand. One of these was the arrangement of the Medici art collections in the Galleria degli Uffizi. The most precious objects belonging to the Medici family were exhibited in the octagonal, cupola-roofed Tribuna. Besides paintings and sculptures, there were numerous works of art including objects from the two Indies (documents 45-50). The weapons were displayed in the Armoury, which had been housed in the rooms adjoining the Tribuna since 1588<sup>64</sup>). The earliest inventory of the Armoury dates from 1631, but we can assume that the arrangement of the objects had not changed appreciably since its formation forty years earlier. Mixed with the finest European arms were weapons from all parts of the world as well as exotic costumes and curiosities of natural history. The result was a fantastic miscellany. Thus, the nucleus of the Medici ethnological collections and American artefacts were exhibited in the Armoury (documents 51-61). The inventory includes, for example, three « zimarre di penne » (document 55), which may have been the same three « vesticuole di penne » (document 4) owned by Cosimo I.

During the 1770's the collection came to a rather ignominious end. The majority of the weapons were auctioned as scrap-iron and a selection of the ethnological objects, including « corni di dente d'elefante, delle canne d'India, varie vesti ed armi indiane », were transferred to the newly-founded Museo di Fisica e Storia Naturale. No references to the Mexican objects from the Armoury appear in the inventories of « utensili di nazioni barbare » dating from the years 1792 and 1820. The « vesti indiane » must have been thrown away as insignificant trumpery and the elephant tusks distributed among other departments of the highly ramified Florentine collections<sup>65</sup>).

The frescoed ceilings of the former Armoury are still preserved today (plates 28-34). The second room is decorated with battle scenes between Christians and heathens. Thus we can still find in the room that now contains paintings by Bellini, Dürer and Giorgione a reminder of its original use as an exhibition room for exotica; although, admittedly, these frescoes are overshadowed by the famous paintings exhibited there. The frescoes were painted in 1588 by Lodovico Buti, who was an assistant of Alessandro Allori<sup>66</sup>). One of the scenes represents the slaying of Mexicans by the 'conquistadores' (plates 30-31). Armed with guns and mounted on horseback they confront the Mexicans, whose only defense are spears and shields. Their fate was sealed from the very start against an enemy with such sophisticated weapons. Mexican Indians also appear in the grotesque decoration of foliage, garlands and birds framing the main scenes.

Pictorial representations of Mexico and its inhabitants during the period of conquest were chiefly based on written sources, even in 16th-century Europe. The most important exception to this rule is the 'Historia' of Bernardino de Sahagún, who anticipated modern methods of ethnological research in his text and illustrations. Characteristic of the 16th-century attitude towards Mexican culture is the fact that most of Sahagún's notes were preserved in Spain, from 1577 onwards, under lock and key, in accordance with a writ issued by the king. This was to

ensure that no one should have access to them and be able to give an accurate account of events connected with the old Mexican way of life and what were considered superstitious practices<sup>67</sup>). In Europe people were generally content with fanciful ideas about far-distant countries, which bore no relation to direct experience. This situation remained unchanged during the two following centuries. Until Mexico became the object of scientific study — virtually until the present day — the description of the events connected with the discovery of America had been of an apocryphal nature. The horror of Mexican deities, human sacrifice and cannibalism no doubt played a part in this. Accounts were based on hearsay alone. High Mexican culture was destroyed within a few years and this meant that Europe received no continual flow of new ideas and visual impressions from Mexico as she did from the Far East.

Lodovico Buti was an artist of moderate skill. The historical importance of his frescoes lies in the fact that they do not belong to the usual type of fictitious imagery. They were inspired by authentic Mexican prototypes. The costumes and accessories, however, were seen through European eyes and have consequently been misinterpreted in many cases. He was especially unreliable in his choice of colours on clothing, a detail which had particular importance for Mexicans.

The representations correspond to those frequently found in Mexican illustrated manuscripts<sup>68</sup>). All the items of apparel depicted by Buti are illustrated in the 'Historia' of Bernardino de Sahagún (plates 37-38, 40-42). This manuscript may well have been Buti's model; and this supposition could be taken as further proof that the Florentine version of the 'Historia' was purchased by Ferdinand.

Similar battle scenes between Spaniards and Mexicans to those depicted in the frescoes (plates 30-31) illustrate the account of the conquest of Mexico in the 'Historia'. The Mexican warriors arrayed themselves in sumptuous and extravagant attire for battle. They faced their enemies as frightening evil spirits. The shapes and meanings of their costumes and banners were infinite. In the right foreground of Buti's battle scene is a Mexican in the white feather costume of the Huastecs<sup>69</sup>). The Florentine painter, however, has interpreted this warrior as a character from the Italian 'Commedia dell'Arte'.

The Mexicans had adopted the Huastec costume as a memento of their victorious incursions into the Huastec-inhabited territory of Tuxpam<sup>70</sup>). The variety of detail characterizing the Huastec dress was not rendered by Buti; but this also applies to the illustrations in the Sahagún codex. The sash and feather collar worn by the above-mentioned warrior are free inventions on the part of the artist. The Mexican is wearing the conical-shaped hat of fig bast paper<sup>71</sup>), and projecting from a holder on his back is a war flag. Several flags of this shape existed but of different colours. In this case, it is perhaps the Xipe flag, which was decorated with red spoonbill feathers<sup>72</sup>). Buti, on the other hand, has given it blue and red feathers. Like several other Mexicans in the fresco this figure is holding an obsidian sword, which is shaped like a wooden club with grooves on either side containing sharp blades of obsidian<sup>73</sup>). With his left hand, he holds the striped Huastec shield<sup>74</sup>), which appears in all Lodovico Buti's representations of Mexicans. However, the shields lack the four ornamental crescents; a motif which reappears in the nose-rods worn by the Huastecs. The painter has also simplified their rich range of colours. All the shields are of the same electric blue with the characteristic yel-

low stripes, as found in Sahagún's illustrations. One shield of this type has been preserved, although its feather ornamentation is badly damaged, and is now in the Chapultepec National Museum in Mexico City<sup>75</sup>) (plate 39).

The way in which the shields in the Armoury fresco have been misinterpreted shows that Buti must have based himself on some illustration. He was probably unaware of the existence of original Mexican shields in the Medici collection. The feather fringes of the shields in the fresco seem to be composed of long individual feathers; even the quills are indicated in some cases. To European eyes, the stylized feather fringes in Mexican illustrated manuscripts give the same impression. But we know from the example that survives that they were made from ribbons covered with fine coloured down.

The head-dress worn by the other Mexicans, however, cannot be checked against existing sources. Similar feather diadems are known, but they were generally made of the green tail feathers of the quetzal, as in the famous head-dress in Vienna. These extremely precious green feathers were frequently used, but they are completely absent from Buti's frescoes.

One of the Mexicans in the grotesque decoration (plate 33) has a greenish-grey animal head over his own head. Buti's figure is reminiscent of the familiar European iconography of Hercules with the lion's skin. But it is based, in fact, on the costume of the jaguar or coyote warrior, who is shown peering out of the animal's jaws. It could also be the dress of the eagle warrior<sup>76</sup>). These battle costumes were coated with feathers, but differing in colour from those painted by Buti; they also appear in many illustrations of the 'Historia' (plates 37-38, 40). The lance-shaped weapon in the warrior's right hand has not reached us in this form. The object on the Mexican's back is a field banner. The artist was at a loss to know what to do with the knob in which the fronds of blue and red feathers are inserted, so he shaped it into an animal's head. The staff of the Xipe standard is without its flag (plate 38). Here, too, there should be only red spoonbill feathers instead of red and blue feathers. An object once preserved in the Armoury may perhaps have been a Mexican field banner of this kind; it is described in the inventory of 1631 as « un legnio con un pennachio a foggia di frange ». The feather fringe on the Huastec shield is incorrectly painted red.

Another half-naked Mexican (plate 32) is shown wearing a loin cloth, a detail which is confirmed by reliable sources<sup>77</sup>). Also the knotted hair with red feather ornaments is described and illustrated in Mexican manuscripts, although there should be two feather tassels instead of one<sup>78</sup>). This princely attribute would, however, have been inappropriate for such a scantily-dressed figure. The spear and bell-trimmed boots are inventions of the painter; but bell-trimmed ankle bands did exist<sup>79</sup>).

In an oval frame a Mexican is represented resting beneath a tree (plate 28). It is difficult to identify with certainty the object in his hand, but the band he is wearing on his left arm is confirmed by various sources<sup>80</sup>).

The central tondo of the ceiling (plate 34) represents a chieftain with his retinue. The chieftain's headband is accurately portrayed, as are also the upper-arm bracelets worn by himself and his followers. Feather shades and sceptres are known to have been used by dignitaries in Mexico, but their appearance, like

that of the chieftain's dress, are free interpretations on the part of the European painter. The scene is more reminiscent of an East Indian procession of princes.

The search for knowledge during the Renaissance and Baroque periods did not exclude a delight in ornamentation. This is also evident in Buti's frescoes in the Armoury which combine grotesques and fantastic figures with scenes of natives and exotic birds (plate 29). A closer study reveals that the artist depicted real birds, which he may have seen in the Medici aviaries. The green parrot belongs to the Ara genus of macaws, which is confined to Mexico and South America, and the bird with the chestnut cap is one of several species of motmot indigenous to the same regions<sup>82</sup>).

After the death of Ferdinand, the Florentine dukes' political interest in Mexico began to wane. They were aware that the ambitious plans of their 16th-century ancestors to make Tuscany into a great power with colonial possessions could never be realized. Although still very rich, Tuscany sank back into the role of a provincial state with no real influence in European politics .

Even though political interest in America declined, the beginning of the 17th century was marked by an evident and growing interest in everything of an exotic nature. Evidence of this can be found in the reports on Jesuit missions and in the flood of learned and fictitious writings about remote peoples. There are no known connections with Mexico dating from the reign of Cosimo II (1590-1620). During the rule of his son, Ferdinand II (1620-1670), a greenstone mask appears to have been added to the Florentine collections<sup>83</sup>) (plate 43). The smiling mask is mounted in partly gilded and partly enamelled silver. The frame is shaped like a small oak tree with two crossed branches encircling the mask, standing on a greenstone base. The oak tree may have been intended as an allusion to the Della Rovere family. Ferdinand II married Vittoria della Rovere in 1634, who, as the last surviving member of her family, brought the rich Urbino legacy to Florence as her dowry. The mask was transferred from the ducal Guardaroba to the Uffizi in 1781 (documents 65 & 66).

Judging from its style, the European frame containing the mask can be dated to the first half of the 17th century. Obviously, the intention was to imitate an exotic idol, since the latter had in the meantime become much sought after by collectors. A number of fake 'heathen idols' also found their way into some of the earlier 'Kunstkammers'<sup>84</sup>). The modelling of this mask is very unpronounced and bears little resemblance to ancient Mexican images of deities. The stone is certainly of Mexican origin, but this does not exclude the possibility of its having been carved in Europe to satisfy the prevailing taste for the so-called 'stile rustique'<sup>85</sup>).

An inventory of the Villa di Poggio Imperiale, compiled in 1654, lists five religious images of feather mosaic (documents 62-64). They represented the Pietà, St. Mary Magdalen, the Madonna, St. Aloysius Gonzaga and the Madonna of Loreto. It is interesting that these pictures were framed very preciously in black or red ebony with silver appliques and covered with glass. A 'terminus post quem' for dating these images is given by the mention of Aloysius Gonzaga, who was canonized in 1621. The pictures may have reached Florence as a result of the Grand Duke's contacts with missionary bodies. The patronage of missionary socie-

ties also appears to have played a part in Cosimo III's contacts with Mexico (1642-1723).

At the beginning of this century, Zelia Nutall, the North American scholar, wrote: <sup>86</sup>) « In an old half-ruined Franciscan monastery in the Valley of Mexico, I recently came across a large oil-painting in an extremely dilapidated condition, but inscribed with the Grand Duke Cosimo III's name. It represents scenes in the lives of members of the Franciscan order, beneath which is a lengthy, partly obliterated Latin inscription. The large half of this is unfortunately missing, the canvas having evidently been torn away when the picture was despoiled of its frame. The first line of the inscription is, however, perfectly legible, and reads as follows: SERENISSIMO COSIMO III... MAGNO DUCI ETRURIAE... »

The 'Istoria della Conquista del Messico' by Antonio de Solis y Ribadeleyra was published in Florence in 1699. The work was translated by Filippo Corsini, a member of the Accademia della Crusca. Corsini had an engraving printed in the book entitled: « Ritratto di Motezuma cavato dall'originale venuto dal Messico al Ser.mo Gran Duca di Toscana » <sup>87</sup>) (plate 46).

The painting from which the engraving was derived represents a full length, life-size figure of the king; it is now preserved in the Museo Etnologico, on loan from the Florentine galleries <sup>88</sup>) (plates 44-45). The painting has been relined and the restorer has copied only part of the Spanish inscription from the back of the old canvas, probably on account of its illegibility: « Hernando ...[sc. Cortés]... rey de México Montezuma ». Judging from its style, the picture was painted during the second half of the 16th century by a European artist resident in Mexico. It is an important and hitherto completely unknown example of Mexican colonial art. The painting was certainly inspired by prototypes in Mexican manuscripts of the period. It may originally have belonged to a series of full-length portraits of Mexican princes. There are similar portraits in the so-called Codex Ixtlilxochitl in Paris <sup>89</sup>) (plate 47) and also in the 'Genealogia de la Familia Mendoza Moctezuma' in Mexico City <sup>90</sup>). The Florentine painting shows Moctezuma in his state robes. From 16th-century sources, and from Bernardino de Sahagún in particular, it may be gathered that these formed part of the dance and festive costumes of the Aztec rulers <sup>91</sup>). The European artist, however, has modified some of the details. Hanging from Moctezuma's left shoulder is a splendid feather cloak, the Aztec tilmatli or cape; it is knotted and has a striped pattern that is unconfirmed by any known source <sup>92</sup>). The ornamental motif bordering the cloak and the loin cloth (maxtlatl) are also Europeanized. Attached to one side of the royal headband are ribbons of large quetzal feathers with tasselled ends <sup>94</sup>). The prince is wearing a broad band of gilded leather round his upper arm and a wrist bracelet inset with turquoise and greenstone beads. His left earlobe is pierced by a gold rod. All three ornaments were no longer in use at the time the picture was painted. Labrets were commonly worn and varied considerably; but the one in the picture was probably wrongly interpreted and should have been a circular one of turquoise set in a gold mount. The design on the surface does, in fact, suggest a turquoise mosaic. Contrary to Sahagún's description of this ruler's costume, nose-rods are missing from this portrait. Strangely enough, this characteristic attribute is also missing in the portraits of princes in the Codex Ixtlilxochitl. The list of regal ornaments also included gold ankle bands and sandals with heel caps of ja-

Warrior represented in the  
'Lienzo de Tlaxcala'.



guar skin, similar to those in our picture. The royal headband (*iuhuitzolli*)<sup>93</sup>) is curiously not included in the list; it had a triangular appendage at the front and was faced with fine mosaic. The plumes crowning the head-dress are authentic. They consist of quetzal feathers emerging from gold-plated sheaths and may be found in various portraits of rulers; they probably correspond to the *quetzalquauitl*, the horn-like plume of quetzal feathers worn on the crown of the head. There are innumerable pictorial representations of feather shields similar to the one in this portrait, but no single example of its kind has been preserved. The painter has succeeded most convincingly in evoking the fluffy texture of the feather shield and one has the impression that he painted it from life. The feather cloak and ornamentation, on the other hand, appear much more stylized.

The colouring of the feathers does not correspond with the evidence provided by reliable sources. Like Lodovico Buti, the artist was content to restrict his range to blue, red, white and black. There is no trace whatsoever of the green quetzal feathers. It is surprising that such a splendidly dressed ruler should be holding a simple spear. A similar weapon is held by one of the warriors in the 'Lienzo de Tlaxcala' (see illustration in the text). Four of the natives reproduced in the 'Genealogia' hold an analogous spear in their right hand and, instead of a shield, a bow and arrow in their left; their bearing and items of apparel are identical in every respect. Moctezuma's necklace (*cozocatl*) and its pendant are somewhat indefinable; the chain seems to be composed of greenstone beads and the pendant of a piece of polished greenstone mounted in gold — a customary chest decoration of Mexican potentates. An ankle-band corresponding to the wrist strap is not represented<sup>96</sup>).

The scene in the left background of the picture has similarities with the *tondo* in the Armoury. Both representations recall East Indian processions of princes. This is yet another indication of the confusion existing between 'West Indies' and 'East Indies'.<sup>97</sup>)

A post-Columbian Mexican codex turned up in Florence during the reign of Cosimo III. It is a copy of a calendar and religious manuscript entitled 'Vida de los Yndios' (plates 48-49). The manuscript belonged to Cosimo's librarian, Antonio Magliabechi (died 1716), the famous scholar and bibliophile, who bequeathed the codex together with his entire library to his native town; it is now in the Biblioteca Nazionale<sup>98</sup>). It is not known how this manuscript came into the hands of Magliabechi and the conjectures put forward in the recent literature do not stand up to a closer scrutiny.

Among the arts fostered by Vasco de Quiroga in the 16th century was the production of artistic ceramics in Michoacán and Guadalajara; another famous centre for pottery existed in Puebla de los Angeles. It is certainly to Quiroga's credit that these regions have remained famous for their artistic pottery right down to the present day.

In Palazzo Pitti are four large glazed earthenware jars decorated with effigies of the double-headed Habsburg eagle (plates 50-53). According to a letter from Count Lorenzo Magalotti, two of these jars entered the Medici collections in 1693 and were installed in the Uffizi in the so-called 'Stanza delle Porcellane'<sup>99</sup>).

The nearest parallels to this kind of pottery from the colonial period are to be found in the Oñate Collection in the Museo de America in Madrid. The double-headed Habsburg eagle became a favourite motif in folk art in the colonies of the New World<sup>100</sup>). Moreover, the two-headed eagle was associated with the ancient symbolism of the 'powerful bird of the mountains'. In this case, the indigenous tradition of myth and fantasy had merged with a heraldic symbol introduced from Spain to form an almost inseparable unit. While the nobility, for whom most of these objects were made, interpreted the eagle as the Habsburg emblem, the Mexicans explained this and other motifs according to their own mythological tradition and still do to this day.

In some cases, it is not known which duke purchased the Mexican idols in the Florentine collections. Several of them had ornaments added at a later date such as frames, pedestals, ear-rings and inset eyes of precious stones. It is difficult to determine whether most of these roughly-carved additions were made in Europe or by colonial craftsmen in Mexico. Their dating is also problematic, but one can reasonably assume that they were produced during the late 16th or early 17th century. The fact that these idols were embellished for display in the 'Kunstkammers' is further evidence of the popularity of Mexican objects.

A greenstone mask<sup>101</sup>) (plates 54-55) can be dated to the golden age of the Teotihuacán period (5th-6th century A.D.); that is, to a cultural period dating from long before the conquest of Mexico by the Spaniards. It is hardly plausible to assume that the mask was an archaeological discovery that had been recovered for cult rites. Such an object probably formed part of the spoils of treasure-seekers in old ceremonial centres and was taken from a tomb for its curiosity value. As one can see from an old photograph (plate 54), the whites of the eyes were formed of pieces of shell and the sparkling pupils of polished disks of obsidian, which are now lost.

Also belonging to the Florentine collections is a figurine<sup>102</sup>) which was embellished in post-Columbian times (plates 56-57). The small chain of base metal around the neck is attached to the pierced ears. As an old photograph shows,



Figurines of Mixtec-Puebla Culture Museum für Völkerkunde Berlin.

there was a ruby suspended from this chain that has since disappeared. Another crescent-shaped ruby had been added as a head ornament. The figurine was probably provided with the circular agate pedestal in the Florentine court workshops. Stylistically, this small figure can be attributed to the Late Classic period of Maya Culture (700-800 A.D.) from the highlands of Guatemala. The chest decoration is engraved with the T-shaped sign IK, the symbol of life. Judging from its corpulent proportions, the figure most likely represented a fertility god.

Another small greenstone figure<sup>103)</sup> (plates 58-59) is an example of Mixtec-Puebla Culture of the last century before the 'conquista'. It is the effigy of a deceased Indian, seated with his limbs bound close to his body, as was the custom among the Mixtecs. A small stone head<sup>104)</sup> (plate 60) may represent the god of rain and lightning, Dzahui. Simple or finely worked figurines and small heads of this kind served as burial offerings. They are particularly common and may be found in every specialized collection.

By way of comparison, a number of examples in the Museum für Völkerkunde in Berlin are reproduced here (see illustration in the text). The Florentine idol is especially interesting on account of its provenance from the Medici possessions.

A small Aztec mask was later mounted in a gilded copper frame and the eyes enhanced with inset rubies<sup>106)</sup> (plate 61).

If one excepts the acquisitions made by Cosimo III and his librarian, Magliabechi, the majority of the Mexican objects in the Florentine collections were purchased during the century in which the discovery of America was still an exciting event of topical interest. Scientific interest mingled with fantastic flights of imagination. This interest in Mexicana, as reflected in the Florentine collections, is a characteristic aspect of the late Renaissance.

We have already seen that Cosimo I initially classified his Mexican objects among the 'abiti da maschere'. This is particularly illuminating as regards the original evaluation of Mexican objects. They were the products of a far-distant, almost unreal world, which could only be reached after great adventures. This gave the objects that touch of magic which is reflected in mediaeval adventure stories. Pictorial representations of American natives as 'good primitive people' was largely due to Vespucci's accounts and in particular to his letter about the 'Mundus Novus', which was translated into many languages and was therefore

widely known in the early 16th century. The American Indian became a well-known figure as a result of the close trade relations between France and the Brazilian coastal regions. These contacts found abundant echo in French travel literature. They influenced Rousseau's conception of 'le bon Indien' in the 18th century and were also important for 19th-century romantic literature<sup>197</sup>).

Thus it is not surprising that the Mexican, as a figure from an exotic land, should have come to be associated with the theatre and masquerades. Lodovico Buti's interpretation of the Mexican in his frescoes is sometimes that of an awkward and amusing figure of comedy. In the 17th century, both Mexicans and Moors were typical characters of Italian ballet. This exotic fashion corresponded to the vogue for Chinoiserie in the 18th century.

The transfer of Mexican objects from the collection of 'abiti da maschere' to the Armoury was an important step towards a more scientific evaluation of exotic works. The feather garments were displayed in the second room of the Armoury according to almost modern museum principles. They were assembled with other objects of non-European cultures and constituted an early attempt at an ethnological arrangement as understood today.

The idea of America as a costumed paradise<sup>198</sup>) is present in the frescoes of the Armoury; but here there is also the contrasting theme of the conflict between Christians and heathens, which played an important role in 16th-century thought. From this point of view, the exotic was placed on a par with everything non-Christian: a world of demons and hell-fire come to life, represented by masks and idols and substantiated by horrifying stories of cannibalism and human sacrifice<sup>199</sup>). One can well imagine that a personality like Bernardo Buontalenti, who excelled in creating visions of hell and paradise in the Teatro Mediceo, should have been fascinated by these relics of distant cultures.

## NOTES

<sup>1)</sup> Cf. L. PIGORINI, *Gli antichi oggetti messicani incrostati di mosaici esistenti nel Museo Preistorico et Etnografico di Roma*, in: *R. Accademia dei Lincei, serie 3a, Memorie della classe di scienze morali, storiche e filologiche*, vol. 12, seduta del 17 maggio 1885, p. 5 f.

I have already published some of the Mexican objects formerly in the possession of the Medici in *L'Oeil* 144 (1966), pp. 16 ff. The present study now completes the publication of all Mexican material known to me from the former Medici collections.

G. V. GALLEGARI compiled a brief survey of pre-Columbian objects in the Museo Etnologico, but omitted to point out the provenance of individual objects from the Medici collections: *Suppellettile precolumbiana del Museo Nazionale d'Antropologia ed Etnologia di Firenze*, in: *Le vie d'Italia e dell'America Latina, Rivista mensile del T.C.I.*, fasc. 6, giugno 1932.

<sup>2)</sup> Cf. J. VON SCHLOSSER, *Die Kunst- und Wunderkammern der Spätrenaissance*, Leipzig 1908; L. SALERNO, *Arte, scienza e collezioni nel manierismo*, in: *Scritti di storia dell'arte in onore di Mario Salmi*, vol. 3, Rome 1963, pp. 193 ff.

<sup>3)</sup> While this study was in the press, R. W. LIGHTBOWN's article *Oriental Art and the Orient in Late Renaissance and Baroque Italy* appeared in the *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes*, 32 (1969), pp. 228 ff.

<sup>4)</sup> Cf. M. SETTALA, *Museo o galeria adunata dal sapere, e dallo studio*, Tortona n.d., p. 221.

<sup>5)</sup> Cf. DÜRER, *Schriflicher Nachlass*, edited by H. RUPPRICH, vol. 1, Berlin 1956, p. 155.

<sup>6)</sup> Mosaics in FORTUNIUS LICETUS, *Pyronarchia sive de fulminum natura deque febrium origine libri duo*. Padua 1634, pp. 123 ff. U. ALDROVANDI, *Musaeum metallicum*. Bologna, 1647, pp. 156, 157, 550 & 551. L. LEGATI, *Museo Cospiano annesso a quello del famoso Ulisse Aldrovandi*, Bologna 1677, p. 10 f. Illustrated manuscripts reproduced in A. HERRERA'S *Historia general de las Indias*, Madrid 1601-15; V. CARTARI, *Le imagini degli Dei*, Venice 1647, pp. 361 ff.; O. WORM, *Museum Wormiano*, Leiden 1655, p. 383; P. LAMBECK, *Commentarium de Augustissima Bibliotheca Caesarea Vindobonensis*, Vienna 1679; D. NESSEL, *Breviarium et supplementum commentariorum Lambecianorum*, Vienna 1690.

<sup>7)</sup> Cf. K. A. NOWOTNY, *Mexikanische Kostbarkeiten aus Kunstkammern der Renaissance*, Vienna 1960, pp. 5 ff.

<sup>8)</sup> Cf. NOWOTNY, op. cit., p. 24, no. 96 & 97.

<sup>9)</sup> «*Codex iste Hieroglyphicum Indiae meridionalis dono missus fuit Clementi VII Pontifici ad Emanuele Lusitaniae Rege, cum tintinabulis aliquot Indicis et stragula ex plumis psitacorum contexta. Codicem mortuo Clemente accepit Hippolytus Cardinalis Medicus, et hoc vita defuncto Cardinalis Capuanus, (qui ante annos aliquot, aegrotante Clemente, ei di Hippolyto sollicito, ne post suum obitum egere cogatur, sponte ex suis redditibus aureorum duo milia detraxit et Hippolyto fruenda, ex nonnullis ecclesiasticis beneficiis tradidit) petuit hunc codicem sibi pro beneficio, ex hereditate cardinalis Hippolyti a Cardinale Salvato testamenti ipsius executore, dari*». There were three further lines, but these were already erased as early as 1677/78. Photographs using ultra-violet light have revealed only a few isolated words, from which no plausible text can be deduced with certainty.

For the history of the Codex, cf. NOWOTNY, op. cit., pp. 70 ff and O. ADELHOFER, *Codex Vindobonensis Mexicanus I, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Vienna. History and Description of the Manuscript*, Graz 1963, with a bibliography.

<sup>10)</sup> Codex Zouche-Nutall, British Museum, Zouche 39671. Published by Z. NUTALL, *Codex Nutall, facsimile of an ancient Mexican codex belonging to Lord Zouche of Harynworth*, Cambridge, Mass., 1902, pp. 1 ff.

<sup>11)</sup> This acquisition by the State was the result of a decree issued in 1867, which was the «terza soppressione delle congregazioni religiose». It took sixteen years for the edict to be enforced. Books formerly in the possession of ecclesiastical bodies were transferred to the Biblioteca Nazionale. Cf. D. FAVA, *La Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale di Firenze*, Milan 1939, p. 143.

<sup>11a)</sup> Concerning Eleonora of Toledo cf. the most interesting article by G. C. SPEZIALE, *Navi Medicee*, in: *Dedalo* 12 (1932), pp. 854 ff.

<sup>12)</sup> Cf. F. ANDERS, *Der Federkasten der Ambrascher Kunstkammer*, in: *Jahrbuch der Kunsthistorischen Sammlungen in Wien*, 61 (1965) pp. 120 & 123 ff. and R. W. LIGHTBOWN, *Oriental Art and the Orient in Late Renaissance and Baroque Italy* in: *The Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes*, 32 (1969), p. 243.

<sup>13)</sup> Cf. G. GUARNIERI, *Il principato mediceo nella scienza del mare*, Pisa 1963, p. 48, with a bibliography on the subject.

<sup>14)</sup> Cf. I. DEL BADIA, *Egnazio Danti cosmografo e matematico*, Florence 1882, pp. 28 ff. D. HEIKAMP, *L'antica sistemazione degli strumenti scientifici nelle collezioni fiorentine*, in: *Antichità Viva*, n. 6, novembre-dicembre 1970, p. 3 ff.

<sup>15)</sup> To the left of this map is one of New Mexico. In the ornamental scroll-work of the cartouche, describing it is the following inscription: *M. D. LXIII M.A.G.*

<sup>16)</sup> For cartographical representations of Mexico, cf. M. OROZCO Y BERRA, *Materiales para una cartografía mexicana*, Mexico 1871. A. E. NORDENSKIÖLD, *Periplus: an Essay on the Early History of Charts and Sailing Directions*. Stockholm 1897. F. VINDEL, *Mapas de América*, Madrid 1955. *Servicios geográfico e histórico del Ejército, Estado Mayor Central. Cartografía de ultramar, carpeta 3, Méjico*, Madrid 1955.

<sup>17)</sup> Il paese della Nuova Spagna è simile a quello della vecchia, eccetto che ha le montagne più aspre dove non si può montare così facilmente, et ve ne à alcune che dicano meglio di 500 miglia. Sono in questa provincia gran fiumi et fonti di aqua dolce bellissimi, et gran boschi nei monti et nei piani di altissimi pini, cipressi, cedri, quercie, et altre sorti di arbori. Sonovi inoltre in detta provintia minerali, oro, argento, stagna, rame et ferro. Vi sono colli et campagne bellissime et son sempre coperte di erba verde in tutti i tempi dell'anno et in molti luochi racolgano doi stati l'anno per esser vicini allo equinoctiale.

Fra le più grandi et principali città di detta provincia tiene il principato la gran città del Mexico, quale è situata in aqua come Venetia, ma in un lago quale dalla banda di ostro dove entrano grossi fiumi è dolce, et dala banda di tramontana, dal mezo in sù dov'è la città, è salso. Il detto laco è da ogni intorno circundato dai monti eccetto fra greco e tramontana et è di circuitto il detto laco un 120 miglia incirca.

Li habitatori di detta città sono hogi tutti Christiani, homini di poca inventione, ma docili aprendon' con gran facilità tutto quello che è loro insegnato il che ho visto per l'experiencia. Fr. Alfonso frate di S. Domenico, nato in detta città di padre mexicano qual venuto in Spagna et Italia in breve tempo fece grandissimo profitto, non solo nelle lingue ma etiam nella filosofia et theologia. Et come il sopradetto mi ha referito, son già più anni che il Re di Spagna vi ordinò una università dove son meglio di 4000 studenti. Sono in detta città 100.025 case, come alcuni scrivano, et come più volte il sopradetto fra Alfonso mi affermò, il quale havendo visto Venetia diceva esser doi terzi minore del Mexico, benché il Cortese dichi esservi solo 70.000 anime, se già la stampa non è scorretta et vogli dire 700.000.

La presente tavola si è cavata, quanto al conto dalle carte marine fatte dai Castigliani. Et il resto pietra, terra si è tratto dalle relationi del Cortese et altri che vi sono stati, et da alcune carte di tal provincia.

<sup>18)</sup> Cf. R. GALLUZZI, *Istoria del Granducato di Toscana*, vol. 3, Florence 1822, pp. 251 ff.

<sup>19)</sup> Cf. D. HEIKAMP, *Die Arazzeria Medicea*, in: *Münchner Jahrbuch* 20 (1969) p. 35 f.

<sup>20)</sup> Cf. J. STOCKBAUER, *Die Kunstdbestrebungen am Bayerischen Hofe unter den Herzogen Albert V. und Wilhelm V.*, Vienna 1874, p. 76. Cf. HEIKAMP & ANDERS, *Mexikanische Altertümer aus süddeutschen Kunstkammern*, in: *Pantheon* 28 (July 1970) pp. 205 ff.

<sup>21)</sup> Descriptions of featherwork artefacts are also to be found in the inventory lists of Cortés first shipment. Cf. L. TORRES DE MENDOZA, *Colección de documentos inéditos relativos al descubrimiento, conquista y organización de las antiguas posesiones Españolas sacadas de los archivos del Reino y muy especialmente del de Indias*, vol. 12, Madrid 1869, pp. 318 ff. An English translation may be found in M. H. SAVILLE, *Goldsmith's Art in Ancient Mexico*, New York 1920, pp. 56 ff. Feather shields are also mentioned in the inventory of Charles V's estate; cf. R. BEER, *Acten, Regesten und Inventare aus dem Archivio General zu Simancas*, in: *Jahrbuch der kunsthistorischen Sammlungen des Allerhöchsten Kaiserhauses* 12 (1891), pp. CLXX ff., no. 104-195, in the Rationar of Archduke Ferdinand's major-domo of 1524; cf. K. A. NOWOTNY, *Mexikanische Kostbarkeiten aus Kunstkammern der Renaissance*, Vienna 1960, p. 26 f.

<sup>22)</sup> H. 236 mm. First published by L. PIGORINI, *Gli antichi oggetti messicani incrostati di Mosaici esistenti nel Museo Preistorico et Etnografico di Roma*, in: *R. Accademia dei Lincei, serie 3a, Memorie della Classe di scienze morali, storiche e filologiche*, vol. 12, seduta del 17 maggio 1885, p. 5 f. M. H. SAVILLE, *Turquoise Mosaic Art in Ancient Mexico*, New York 1922, p. 61 f. Prähispanische Kunst, Ausstellung im Haus der Kunst, Munich 1958. The Medici mask is reproduced on p. 31, no. 235. Our description is based on the entry in this catalogue. Cf. also catalogue of the exhibition *Before Cortés. Sculpture of Middle America*, The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York 1970-71, p. 296. Cf. also the two coloured illustrations in the latter.

<sup>23)</sup> Cf. NOWOTNY, op. cit., p. 57, plate 15. The objects are today in the Museum für Völkerkunde in Vienna.

<sup>24)</sup> H. 25 mm. W. 40 mm. Soprintendenza alle Gallerie, *Inventario delle gemme*, no. 846. Transferred to the Museo Etnologico in 1927 (verbale di deposito 8 maggio 1927).

<sup>25)</sup> For the history of the artefacts of semi-precious stones in the Museo di Mineralogia, cf. HEIKAMP, *Unbekannte Halbedelstein-Gefäße aus dem Medici-Schatz*, in: *Pantheon* 29 (1971), p. 188 ff.

<sup>26)</sup> L. 3 cm. Inv. no. 13 221/206. On an old catalogue label, probably dating from the late 18th century, is the no. 984 and what is probably an even older inventory number, 37/1. The material is defined here as 'Ametisto di Spagna'; perhaps a reference to its real provenance of 'La Nuova Spagna'.

<sup>27)</sup> L. 2.5 cm. Inv. no. 13 364/209. The numbers 1297 and 44/34 appear on the old catalogue labels.

<sup>28)</sup> See (G. B. CINI), *Descrizione dell'apparato fatto dell'Ill.mo Don Francesco de' Medici*, Florence 1565, re-published in VASARI-MILANESI, vol. 8, p. 537.

<sup>29)</sup> *La descrizione della pompa*, Florence 1577, p. 16. Cf. also E. BORSOOK in: *Mitteilungen des Kunsthistorischen Institutes Florenz*, 13 (1967), p. 108.

<sup>30)</sup> Mention should be made of the picture by Jacopo Ligozzi, 'Boniface VIII receiving the Florentine Ambassadors', Florence, Palazzo Vecchio. Painted in 1590/91; cf. A. LENSI, *Palazzo Vecchio*, Milan 1929, p. 224. The preparatory drawing in the Uffizi, 1370 F. (826 E), is reproduced in H. VOSS, *Die Malerei der Spätrenaissance*, vol. 2, Berlin 1920, p. 415. In the background are allegorical figures of the four continents including 'America'.

<sup>31)</sup> For the botanical garden in Pisa, cf. G. MARTINOLI, *L'Orto Botanico di Pisa*, in: *Agricoltura* 7 (1963). For the Florentine botanical garden, the 'Giardino dei Semplici', cf. P. A. MICHELI and G. TARGIONI TOZZETTI, *Catalogus Plantarum Horti Caesarei Florentini*, Florence 1748. For the botanical garden and the neighbouring menagerie, cf. also F. L. MIGLIORE, *Firenze illustrata*, Florence 1684, pp. 288 ff. A plan of the whole complex may be found in G. RUGGIERI, *Piante de' palazzi et altre fabbriche dell'A.R. Granduca di Toscana*, 1742, plate 14 (Florence, Biblioteca Nazionale, Cod. 3 B. 1.5.C.8, grandi formati 181).

<sup>32)</sup> Cf. O. MATTIROLO, *Le lettere di Ulisse Aldovrandi a Francesco I e Ferdinando I Granduchi di Toscana*, in: *Memorie della R. Accademia delle Scienze di Torino*, serie 2, tomo 54 (1904), pp. 355 ff.

<sup>33)</sup> *Gabinetto Disegni e Stampe degli Uffizi. Mostra di disegni di Jacopo Ligozzi. Catalogo a cura di M. BACCI e A. FORLANI*, Florence 1961, p. 7.

<sup>34)</sup> Cf. ALDOVRANDI, *Vita* (autobiography). It was published by A. BALDACCI, E. DE TONI and others, *Intorno alla vita e alle opere di Ulisse Aldovrandi*, Bologna 1970, p. 25 f.

<sup>35)</sup> Cf. Bologna, Biblioteca Universitaria, MSS. Aldovrandi 136, *Observationes variae*, tomo XI. This volume contains the *Itinerarium Florentiae factum anno 1586 a die 13 usque ad diem 22 junii*. The description quoted here may be found in the rubric *Catalogus plantarum, quas nunc Magnus Dux habet depictas*, c. 50 v.

- 36) The agave in bloom 1880 Orn., in the Uffizi bears a rather faded contemporary inscription: *Aloe americana*. The same plant without flowers, 1928 Orn., in the Uffizi. Cf. the *Mostra di disegni*, op. cit., p. 32, no. 24.
- 37) Cf. A. BERGER, *Die Agaven, Beiträge zu einer Monographie*, Jena 1915, p. 10 ff.
- 38) Uffizi 1914 Orn. and 1899 Orn. *Mostra di disegni*, op. cit., p. 30, no 16 and p. 44, no. 67. Cf. F. AGOSTINO DEL RICCIO, *Trattato d'agricoltura*, tomo III, p. 40; «Gelsomini pellegrini (*Jalapa*) che vennorno in Firenze al tempo che era vivo il Granduca Francesco pochiache ognun faceva a gara a portarli piante rare di fiori e frutti, sapendo che gli facevano cosa grata». The treatise, which was completed around 1600, is quoted according to MICHELI, and TARGIONI TOZZETTI, op. cit., p. XX, note 26. Cf. also A. TARGIONI TOZZETTI, *Cenni storici sulla introduzione di varie piante nell'agricoltura e orticoltura toscana*, Florence 1869.
- 39) Both birds are described in ALDROVANDI, *Observationes variae*, c. 37 r. under the heading *In studio excellentis pictoris Magni Duci D. Jacobi Ligozzi*. The drawings in the Uffizi of the crested curassow, 1990 Orn., the galeated curassow, 1988 Orn., and in the Bologna Aldovrandi Ms., *Tavole di animali*, tomus I, c. 154 and c. 155.
- 40) Cf. *Ornithologiae tomus alter*, Bologna 1637, pp. 332 & 334. Here the galazted curassow is referred to as «eum Magno Etruriae Ducis Ferdinandus acceptum refero».
- 41) *Tavole di animali*, tomus I, c. 157, and the drawing in the Uffizi, 1957 Orn. Cf. *Mostra di disegni*, op. cit., p. 28, no. 11. Described in *Observationes variae*, op. cit., c. 47 r. et. v. «In studio... D. Jacobi Ligozzi».
- 42) Cf. G. GUARNIERI, *Il principato mediceo nella scienza del mare*, Pisa 1963, p. 364.
- 43) For information on the techniques and types of feathers used in colonial feather mosaics, cf. ANDERS, *Mexikanische Federarbeiten der Kolonialzeit*, in: *Anzeiger der phil.-hist. Klasse der Oesterreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften*, Jahrgang 1965, So. 3, p. 43 f.
- 44) Cf. *General History of the Things of New Spain*, Florentine Codex, edited by C. E. DIBBLE, A. J. O. ANDERSON, Santa Fé, New Mexico 1950 ff.
- 45) This information is obtained from LOREDANA, *Bianca Capello*, Rome 1936, p. 232. There is no indication of the date or source. The letter is no longer traceable in the *Carteggio* of BIANCA CAPELLO in the ASF. It was probably first published in one of the innumerable works on Bianca written during the 19th century.
- 46) The feather pictures are signed by two Mexicans from Michuacán in West Mexico. The technique employed is similar to that of the feather mitres which have still to be discussed. All these colonial artefacts probably originated from the same workshops. Bibliography: F. von HOCHSTETTER, *Ueber mexikanische Reliquien aus der Zeit Montezumas*, Vienna 1884; Z. NUTALL, *Ancient Mexican Featherwork at the Columbian Historical Exhibition at Madrid*, Washington 1895, p. 336 f.; F. HEGER, *Festschrift anlässlich der Tagung des XVI. Intern. Amerikanistenkongresses in Wien*, Vienna, 1908, p. 36.; ANDERS, *Der Federkasten der Ambras Kunkammer*, in: *Jahrbuch der Kunsthistorischen Sammlungen in Wien* 61 (1965), pp. 120 ff. 130 ff.; ANDERS, *Mexikanische Federarbeiten der Kolonialzeit*, in: *Anzeiger der phil.-hist. Klasse der Oesterreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften*, Jahrgang 1965, So. 3, p. 39, note 8.; ANDERS, *Arte Plumario*, unpublished Habilitationsschrift, Vienna 1967.
- 47) Cf. ASF. *Carteggio Mediceo*, Filza 5930, document 447, 1582, June 19th. Don FERDINANDO DE TORRES in Rome to BIANCA CAPELLO in Florence: «...il portator di questa è il padre fra Michel di Carmona diffinitor dell'Indie amato dal Re, carissimo gentilissimo et niente frate, amato dal Cardinale (Ferdinand de' Medici) più di quello che posso dire, non vol passar in Spagna senza baciar a V. A. Ser.ma le mani, così consigliato da chi la vole bene. Hora potrà V. A. da lui sapere ciò che vorrà intendere dele navigatione dell'Indie.... Li prometterà portarli del Indie a suo diletto alcune cose rare di quei paesi.....».
- 48) Cf. *Argenti senza estimo, inventario del 1912*, no. 185. The Florentine mitre has the following measurements: height 40,5 cm., lower width 29 cm.; infulae length 42 cm., upper width 5,7 cm., lower width 10,5 cm. Bibliography: Z. NUTALL, *Ouvrages en plumes du Mexique*, in: *Rapport du Congrès des Américanistes*, Paris 1890, p. 460. Z. NUTALL, *Ancient Mexican Featherwork at the Columbian Historical Exposition at Madrid*, Washington 1895, p. 330. C. V. CALLEGARI, *Mitria e manipolo a mosaico di penne nel Museo degli Argenti*, in: *Dedalo* 5 (1924/25), pp. 500 ff. A. MORASSI, *Il tesoro dei Medici*, Milan 1963, tav. 44 (text and coloured illustration of the mitre and infulae). ANDERS, *Mexikanische Federarbeiten der Kolonialzeit*, in: *Anzeiger der phil.-hist. Klasse der Osterr. Akademie der Wissenschaften*, Jahrgang 1965, So. 3, pp. 39 ff. C. PIACENTI-ASCHENGREEN, *Il Museo degli Argenti a Firenze*, Florence 1967, p. 175, n. 831. F. ANDERS, *Arte Plumario*, *Mexikanische Federnmosaikarbeiten in europäischen Sammlungen*. Unpublished Habilitationsschrift, Vienna 1967.
- 49) Cf. L. DE FARCY, *La Broderie du XIe siècle jusqu'à nos jours*, Angers 1919, second supplement, p. 156, plate 208.
- 50) Cf. P. JUNQUERA, *Ornamentos sagrados y relicarios del Real Monasterio de San Lorenzo*, in: *Goya* 56/57 (1963), p. 185 f. with illustrations; M. TOUSSAINT, *Pintura Colonial en México*, Mexico 1965, p. 20, plates 19 & 20; ANDERS, *Mexikanische Federarbeiten*, op. cit.; ANDERS, *Arte Plumario*, op. cit.
- 51) An allusion to the liturgy of Holy Week: «O crux, o arbor una nobilis...».
- 52) The iconography of the mitre is dealt with at length in ANDERS' *Arte Plumario*, op. cit.
- 53) Dutch prototypes could also have been used for the feather pictures. Cf. M. TOUSSAINT, *El arte Flamenco en Nueva España*, in: *Memorias de la Academia Mexicana de la Historia* 8 (1949), pp. 5 ff.
- 54) Louvre, Cabinet des Dessins, Collection Sauvageot, no. M. J. 1087. H. 28,1 cm.; W. 19,2 cm. Miniature on parchment around 1500, inscribed «O. Bone Jhesu. Esto. Michi. Ihs.» and «O Domine Jhesu, Chiste. Fili. Dei. Vivi. Qui. Pro. Me. Passus. Es. Amoris. Ardore. Sis. Mihi. Solatium. In. Mortis. Agone». Formerly in the N. X. Willemin Collection. The scene is set against a blue background; there is an abundant use of gold.
- 55) Published by M. SALMI (with one plate) in: *Dedalo* 5 (1924/25), pp. 370 ff.
- 56) Formerly in the Bernheimer Collection, Munich (sold by auction in Munich on 9th October 1960). Now in a private Collection in Hohentwiel. *Katalog der 6. Deutschen Kunst- und Antiquitätenmesse*, München 1961, p. 106.
- 57) Cf. DE FARCY, *La Broderie*, op. cit., p. 156.
- 58) Cf. ANDERS, *Mexikanische Federarbeiten*, op. cit. ANDERS, *Arte Plumario*, op. cit.
- 59) Cf. F. von HOCHSTETTER, *Ueber mexikanische Reliquien aus der Zeit Montezumas*, Vienna 1884, p. 8 f. ANDERS, *Mexikanische Federarbeiten* 1965, op. cit.; ANDERS, *Der Federkasten der Ambras Kunkammer*, in: *Jahrbuch der Kunsthistor. Sammlungen in Wien* 61 (1965), p. 121 f. ANDERS, *Arte Plumario*, op. cit. HEIKAMP/ANDERS, *Mexikanische Altertümer aus süddeutschen Kunstkammern*, Pantheon 28 (1970), pp. 205 ff.
- 60) Cf. FRANCESCO ESTEVE BARBA, *Cultura virreinal*, Barcelona 1965, p. 262: *La Enseñanza*; Don Vasco de Quiroga y sus escuelas; J. ALEGRE, *Las Memorias para la historia de la provincia que tuvo la Compañía de Jesús en la Nueva España*, Mexico 1941; R. LANDA, *Vasco de Quiroga*, Mexico-Barcelona 1965, p. 287.
- 61) FERDINAND I DE' MEDICI to his ambassador DOMIZIO PERONI on 19th July 1604. G. UZZIELLI, *Cenni storici sulle imprese scientifiche marittime e coloniali di Ferdinando I Granduca di Toscana*, Florence 1901 (Nozze degli Uberti-Uzzelli), p. 73.
- Since Ferdinand was eager to acquire precious stones he tried to procure them from America. Just as this study was going to press. Miss Claudia Schaeuer was good enough to bring my attention to the following relevant documents.

1597, May 24. Ferdinand de' Medici to Rodrigo de Castro, Cardinal of Sevilla (1583-1600). ASF., filza 70, c. 23, Lettere minute.

« Facendo io fare una cappella in honor di Dio, et desiderando di ornarla di varie sorte di pietre delle più pretiose, et rare, che io possa havere prego V. S. Ill.ma con quella confidenza che ho in lei, et che deve haver ella in me, et comandarmi sempre con ogni autorità, che venendone dell'Indie, ella mi favorisse di farmene haver in particolare alcuni pezzi, et più grandi che sia possibile, conforme alla piccola pietrina che io mando nell'incluso foglio per mostra, et se io potessi anco havere qualche pezzo d'alabastro trasparente della natura dell'alligato pezzetto che viene anco egli nel foglio inclusu, mi si raddoppierebbe il favore, et la sodisfazione... ».

1601, June 1. A granducal secretary on behalf of Ferdinand I de' Medici to Messer Cesare Baroncini. ASF., loc. cit., c. 433.

« Le mandi fino a una dozzina di pezzi di amatista martellati de' più grandi, che si trovino da poterli segare, che ciascuno pezzo potrebbe pesare 40 fino in 50 libbre a 12 oncie per libra. Che in Messico sta un Pisano, a cui si potrebbe scrivere perché comprasse detti pezzi, ma di ciò scrivane il suddetto Baroncini a chi egli voglia, perché S. A. sene rimette a lui, nascendo detti amatisti nella provincia del Messico. Et se in Siviglia o Calis vi fusse da comprare due dei detti 12 pezzi dei più maggiori, che vi si trovino, comprinsino, et si avvisi il prezzo, et peso di essi. Et che anco avvisi che quantità ve ne sia chi ne volesse comprare da vantaggio. Et della spesa la traggia a Vincenzo de' Medici Depositore Generale advertendo di spender manco che si può, perché detti pezzi di pietra non son buoni se non a segare et li provisti si mandino con la prima nave a Genova o a Livorno. Et avvisi, se altre pietre dure ci fossero cioè diaspri et simili che venissero dell'Indie o d'altronde et mandisene un po di mostra con i prezzi loro ».

<sup>62)</sup> Cf. G. GUARNIERI, *Il principato mediceo nella scienza del mare*, Pisa 1963, pp. 220 ff. This author has incorrectly interpreted the coat-of-arms on the frontispiece and dated the atlas to the reign of Cosimo III and his wife, Marguerite Louise of Orleans. In reality, it presents the united arms of Ferdinand I and Christina of Lorraine. Cf. GUARNIERI, op. cit., plate 41. In this context see also the atlas in the Biblioteca Riccardiana, cod. 3615, with cardinal Ferdinand's coat-of-arms. The fourth map includes Africa, North and South America with the east coast of Mexico.

<sup>63)</sup> The best edition of F. CARLETTI, *Ragionamenti del mio viaggio intorno al mondo* is the one edited by G. SILVESTRO, Turin 1958. Cf. also GUARNIERI, op. cit., pp. 68 ff.

<sup>64)</sup> For the history of the Armoury, cf. HEIKAMP in: *Paragone* 99 (1966), pp. 66 ff., 71 f. and the comprehensive study of L. G. BOCCIA in the introduction to *Oesterreichische Florenzbilfe. Historische Prunkwaffen*. Katalog von B. THOMAS und L. G. BOCCIA, Vienna 1970, p. 11 ff.

<sup>65)</sup> It should be pointed out that the Mexican costumes were already missing from the Armoury's latest inventory of 1747 (ASF. Guard. Med. 60 app.). Of the objects described in documents listed in the present study only the « remi alla indiana » and the « armadura di legno » are traceable in the inventory. As regards the transfer of the objects to the Museo di Fisica e Storia Naturale, see A. CAMPANI, *Guida del R. Museo Nazionale*, Florence 1884, p. 31. For more details concerning the early inventories of ethnological objects in this museum, cf. E. H. GIGLIOLI in: *Archivio per l'antropologia e la etnologia* 23 (1893) pp. 173 ff.

<sup>66)</sup> Cf. ASF. *Guardaroba Medicea*, vol. 124, c. 104 sinistra. 1588, September 12. « E addi 12. detto (Settembre 1588) L. quattro mila ottocento sessantadue s. 2 d. 6 piccioli si fanno buoni a Lodovico di Tommaso pittore per manifattura dellli infrascritti lavori, tutto d'accordo a tutte suo spese come appresso, cioè L. 2217.16 per br. 682 2/5 quadre di groteschi dipinte sulle stuoie nelle 4 stanze di detta armeria, toche d'oro a tutte sue spese, a L. 3.5. braccio quadro misurato per maestro Raffaele Pagni e maestro Anfoso (sic) Parigi capomaestro ».

<sup>67)</sup> The writ of 22nd April 1577 was published by J. GARCÍA ICABALCETA in: *Nueva Colección de Documentos para la Historia de México*, vol. 2, p. 267. Cf. E. SELER, *Ein Kapitel aus dem Geschichtswerke des P. Sabagún*, in: *Gesammelte Abhandlungen*, vol. 2, Berlin 1904, p. 421.

<sup>68)</sup> The following investigation is based on E. SELER, *Altmexikanischer Schmuck und soziale und militärische Rangabzeichen*, in: *Gesammelte Abhandlungen*, vol. 2, Berlin 1904, pp. 545 ff.

<sup>69)</sup> Cf. SELER, op. cit., p. 604.

<sup>70)</sup> Cf. SELER, op. cit., p. 606.

<sup>71)</sup> Cf. SELER, op. cit., p. 604.

<sup>72)</sup> Cf. SELER, op. cit. p. 571.

<sup>73)</sup> Cf. SELER, op. cit., p. 577.

<sup>74)</sup> Cf. SELER, op. cit., p. 552 f.

<sup>75)</sup> The shield reached Europe in the 16th century. It was preserved in Brussels until 1794. It was then taken to Vienna by the Austrians in order to protect it from the French troops. Later it was transferred to Laxenburg Castle. In 1865, Emperor Maximilian took it to Mexico. Cf. A. NUÑEZ DE ORTEGA, *Apuntes históricos sobre la rodela azteca*, in: *Anales del Museo Nacional de Arqueología, Historia y Etnología*, tomo 3, primera época, Mexico 1886, p. 281. Z. NUTALL, *On Ancient Mexican Shields*, in: *Internat. Archiv für Ethnographie* 5 (1892), pp. 47 f. E. SELER, op. cit., pp. 552 f.

<sup>76)</sup> Cf. SELER, op. cit., pp. 557 ff., 580 f., plate 141, p. 587.

<sup>77)</sup> Cf. SELER, op. cit., p. 519 & 534.

<sup>78)</sup> Cf. SELER, op. cit., p. 536 f.

<sup>79)</sup> Cf. SELER, op. cit., p. 535.

<sup>80)</sup> Cf. SELER, op. cit., p. 538.

<sup>81)</sup> Cf. SELER, op. cit., pp. 544 f.

<sup>82)</sup> For reproductions of American birds in Italian grotesque decorations, cf. N. DACOS, *Présents américains à la Renaissance. L'assimilation de l'exotisme*, in: *Gazette des Beaux Arts*, 73 (1969), pp. 57 ff. The bird in the upper left corner of the Uffizi fresco is the Persian nightingale or bulbul which is indigenous to Africa and southern Asia; the bird on its right with a rust-brown chest is an African honey-bird. In the bottom left is an ibis which is common to tropical and subtropical regions of the Old and New World.

<sup>83)</sup> The overall height is 8,2 cm.; that of the mask, 4,1 cm. Soprintendenza alle Gallerie, *Inventario delle gemme*, no. 707. Museo degli Argenti. The mask was previously exhibited in the Museo Etnologico and was first published by G. V. GALLEGARI, *Suppelette precolumbiana del Museo Nazionale d'Antropologia ed Etnologia di Firenze*, in: *Le vie d'Italia e dell'America Latina. Rivista mensile del T.C.I.*, fasc. 6, giugno 1932. HEIKAMP, *Les Médicis et le Nouveau Monde*, in: *L'Oeil* 144 (1966) p. 19 & 22. C. PIACENTI-ASCHENGREEN, *Il Museo degli Argenti*, Milan 1967, p. 192, no. 1298 (with incorrect measurements).

<sup>84)</sup> Cf. SCHLOSSER, *Kunst- und Wunderkammern*, Leipzig 1908. Cf. also HEIKAMP/ANDERS on this problem in: *Mexikanische Altertümer aus süddeutschen Kunstkammern*, in: *Pantheon*, 28 (July 1970), pp. 205 ff.

<sup>85)</sup> As regards this style, cf. E. KRIS, *Der Stil 'Rustique'*, in: *Jahrbuch der Wiener Kunsthistor. Sammlungen*, NF. 1 (1926), p. 137 ff.

<sup>86)</sup> Cf. Z. NUTALL in the introduction to *The Book of the Life of the Ancient Mexicans*, Berkeley 1903, pp. XIII f. note.

<sup>87)</sup> The engraving is signed 'Suor Isabella f (ecit)'. It is reproduced in R. CRONAU'S *Amerika, die Geschichte seiner Entdeckung*, vol. 1, Leipzig 1892, opposite p. 416; also in *Historia de América*, vol. 7, A. DE ALTOLAGUIRRE Y DUVALE, *Descubrimiento de México*, Barcelona 1954, p. 178; and in W. H. PRESCOTT'S *Die Eroberung von Mexiko*, edited by G. KUTSCHER, Berlin 1956, illustration on p. 203, commentary on p. 668.

<sup>88)</sup> 182 x 106.5 cm. Soprintendenza alle Gallerie, *Inventario del 1890*, no. 5158. It was transferred to the Museo Etnologico in 1924 (verbale di deposito 7 agosto 1924). Also copied onto the new canvas are five old inventory numbers, but they do not correspond to any of the numbers in the gallery's existing inventories. It is impossible to trace the picture in the gallery's inventories prior to the year 1881.

<sup>89)</sup> Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, Fonds Mexicains, no. 69; cf. E. BOBAN, *Documents pour servir à l'histoire du Mexique*, Paris 1891, pp. 131 ff. The manuscript owes its title to a false attribution. It was believed to have been compiled by the native historian, Fernando de Alva Ixtlilxochitl. In actual fact, the codex is probably a copy of the *Relación de Texcoco* by JUAN BAUTISTA POMÁR, the original of which is lost. Cf. on this point E. SELER, *Gesammelte Abhandlungen*, vol. 2, Berlin 1904, pp. 404 f.

<sup>90)</sup> Museo Nacional de Antropología, Mexico City, Signature 35 - 11: *Genealogía de la Familia Mendoza Moctezuma*, probably a copy made in the 17th century. Cf. B. GLASS, *Catálogo de la Colección de Códices*, Mexico 1964, pp. 49 f. The six portraits of rulers in this codex, those in the *Codex Ixtlilxochitl* and the Moctezuma portrait in the Museo Etnologico may have been inspired by the same source. Comparative material is supposed to exist in Mexico City. A comprehensive study has still to be made.

<sup>91)</sup> BERNARDINO DE SAHAGÚN, *Historia general de las cosas de Nueva España*, MS in the Real Academia de la Historia, Madrid.

<sup>92)</sup> Cf. E. SELER, *Altmexikanischer Schmuck und soziale und militärische Rangabzeichen*, in: *Gesammelte Abhandlungen*, vol. 2, Berlin 1904, pp. 515 ff.

<sup>93)</sup> Cf. SELER, op. cit., p. 519 & 534.

<sup>94)</sup> The relevant sections of Sahagún's lists (published by SELER, op. cit.) indicate the following items of apparel:

1. *quetzaltilapiloni*, hair ribbons with tassels of quetzal feathers (SELER, pp. 536 ff.);

4. *matemacatl*, upper-arm bracelet (SELER, p. 538);

5. *teucuitlanacohtli*, ear-rod (SELER, p. 539);

6. *matzopetztl*, bracelets with inset turquoise or green-stone beads (SELER, p. 539);

16. *temalacatentel*, disc or spindle-shaped labret (SELER, p. 541);

27. *cotzeuati*, calf-band (SELER, p. 542);

30. *quetzalquauitl*, horns of quetzal feathers (SELER, p. 543);

37. *oceloeuacactli*, sandals with heel-caps of jaguar skin (SELER, p. 544).

Number 25 could perhaps refer to the necklace: *coztic teucuitla chayavac cozcatl, chalchiuh tlacanaualli yytic mani*, the jewel with pendants, which had a polished slab of greenstone in the centre (SELER, p. 542). It could also be the gem mentioned under number 24: *chalchiuhcozcatl ololiuhqui*, round greenstone beads (SELER, p. 541).

<sup>95)</sup> Cf. SELER, op. cit., pp. 544 f.

<sup>96)</sup> In another passage of the Sahagún manuscript in Madrid (c. 56), the *zopepelactli*, ankle-band with bells (SELER, p. 535), is given tenth place in the prince's regalia. Also compare the representations of Moctezuma and other Aztec princes in SAHAGÚN, *Historia* and in FRAY DIEGO DURÁN, *Historia de las Indias de Nueva España*, edited by A. M. GARIBOY K., 2 vols., Mexico 1967.

<sup>97)</sup> Cf. the similar representation of 'Moctezuma leaves with his entourage to greet Cortés'. Shell mosaic of the 18th century. Reproduced in ALTOLAGUIRRE, op. cit. (cf. note 87). Also see M. TOUSSAINT, *La pintura con incrustaciones de concha nácar en Nueva España*, in *Anales del Instituto de Investigaciones Estéticas*, vol. 5, no. 20, Mexico 1952, pp. 5 ff.

<sup>98)</sup> Cf. the facsimile edition with an introduction by F. ANDERS (in the press). This contains a bibliography and examination of the problems associated with related manuscripts.

<sup>99)</sup> Plate 50 & 51; H. 83 cm.

Plate 52; H. 84.5 cm.

Plate 53; H. 102 cm.

The fourth jar which is not reproduced, is 104 cm. high.

The letter referred to in the text is given in LORENZO MAGALOTTI, *Lettere famigliari*, vol. 2, Florence 1769, p. 123. Magalotti to Leone Strozzi, 1693 (st. f.), february, 16th. «Mi fo ben forte d'avere a poter servire V.S. Illustrissima d'una notizia assolutamente non indegna di lei; e ciò dependentemente da un acquisto fatto la settimana addietro dal Gran Duca mio Sig. di due vasi di terra di Guadalaxara de Indias d'una vastità a mio credere inaudita, e poco credibile in sì fatti generi, trattandosi (ancora non si sono misurati, ma lo credo assolutamente) di almeno 6 barili l'uno, e perfettissimamente compagni. Secondo che arrivarono pochi giorni prima che S.A. partisse a questa volta, non sono ancora collocati nella loro residenza, che credo sarà in Galleria nella stanza delle Porcellane».

Cf. also A. CAMPANI, *Guida del R. Museo Nazionale*, Florence 1884, p. 83. One of the jars is mentioned here. Campani reports that until 1769 it remained in the Uffizi. Then it was moved to the Guardaroba of the Palazzo Vecchio. In 1771 it was returned to the Uffizi but in 1796 it was again removed to the Guardaroba. From there it eventually passed to the Museo di Fisica e Storia Naturale and finally in 1866 to the Museo Nazionale.

<sup>100)</sup> Cf. M. GUSINDE, *Die peruanischen Keros*, in *Mitteilungen der Anthropologischen Gesellschaft in Wien*, 1967, pp. 115 ff. By the same author: *Das Habsburger Wappen auf einem peruanischen Kero* in *Anthropos* 61 (1966), pp. 304 ff.

<sup>101)</sup> H. 17.5 cm. Greenstone, Soprintendenza alle Gallerie, *Inventario delle gemme*, no. 824. Transferred to the Museo Etnologico in 1927 (verbale di deposito 8 maggio 1927).

<sup>102)</sup> H. 82 mm. (without base). Medium-coloured greenstone, Soprintendenza alle Gallerie, *Inventario delle gemme*, no. 693. Transferred to the Museo Etnologico in 1927 (verbale di deposito 8 maggio 1927).

<sup>103)</sup> H. 71 mm. Pale-coloured greenstone, Soprintendenza alle Gallerie, *Inventario delle gemme*, no. 868. Transferred to the Museo Etnologico in 1927 (verbale di deposito 8 maggio 1927).

<sup>104)</sup> H. 3.8 cm. Dark-green to black stone, Soprintendenza alle Gallerie, *Inventario delle gemme*, n. 866. Transferred to the Museo Etnologico in 1927 (verbale di deposito 8 maggio 1927).

<sup>105)</sup> Cf. SELER, *Gesammelte Abhandlungen*, vol. 4, Berlin 1923, p. 370.

<sup>106)</sup> Diameter 4 cm. with metal frame. Museo Archeologico, *Inventario della collezione gliptica*, no. 15892. Transferred to the Museo Etnologico in 1929 (a letter from ANTONIO MINTO, Soprintendente per le Antichità dell'Etruria, to the Museo Etnologico dated 14th March 1929). Cf. L'Oeil, 84 (1966), pp. 18 & 23. Mrs. ELIZABETH EASBY wrote about this object in a letter of 27th September 1968: «An Aztec mask, which is certainly an unusual piece in size as well as carving. Among the Aztec jades that I know, the two that seem the most closely related to it are the seated figure of Tezcatlipoca in the Musée de l'Homme (30.100.63), and a kneeling figurine of a woman at the American Museum of Natural History (T 152/1). The latter has a similar treatment of the mouth, with tubular

drilling at the ends. Neither piece, unfortunately, is of known provenance, but both are typically Aztec. The medici mask, with its beard, has a somewhat European look ».

<sup>107)</sup> Cf. A. MAGNAGHI, *Amerigo Vespucci*, 2 vols, Rome 1924. Vespucci's letter to Lorenzo di Pier Francesco de' Medici, in: *Revista do Instituto Histórico e Geográfico Brasileiro*, 41 (1878) pp. 20 ff. Rio de Janeiro 1878. Details of the Mexican festival at Rouen in 1550, at which the Tupinambá Indians — as allies of French merchants and mariners — performed at the court of Henry II of France in F. DENIS: *Une fête brésilienne célébrée à Rouen en 1550*, Paris 1850.

<sup>108)</sup> An example is the following description in C. VECELLO, *Habiti antichi et moderni di tutto il mondo*, second edition, Venice 1598, p. 473: «Giovane Messicano. In questa Provincia costumano molte delicatezze di fiori, profumi, et con essi si ornano il capo, et ne portano in mano abundantemente, et anco qualche specchio, quale tengono come gioie portateli dalli Spagnoli dall'Europa, costoro portano quest'habito, di sotto hanno una vestina di sottilissima bambagia, con certe braghe che non arrivano al ginocchio. La veste di sopra è fatta con bellissime opere di fiori, et altri animaletti, et anco di piuma di uccelli del resto i brazzi e gambe sono nudi...».

<sup>109)</sup> See the following for the reaction in Europe to the exotic in general: H. PLISCHKE, *Von den Barbaren zu den Primitiven. Die Naturvölker durch die Jahrhunderte*, Leipzig 1926. J. BALTRUSAITIS, *Le moyen âge fantastique Antiquités et exotismes dans l'art gothique*, Paris 1955, reviewed by G. BAZIN in the *Gazette des Beaux-Arts* 48 (1956), pp. 125 ff. BALTRUSAITIS replied in ibid. 49 (1957) pp. 253 f. See also the review by R. BERNHEIMER in *The Art Bulletin* 40 (1958), pp. 160 f. W. SCHMALENBACH, *Die Kunst der Primitiven als Anregungsquelle für die europäische Kunst*, Cologne 1961. N. DACOS, *Présents américains à la Renaissance. L'assimilation de l'exotisme*, in: *Gazette des Beaux-Arts*, 73 (1969), pp. 57 ff.

## DOCUMENTS

### MEXICAN COSTUMES AND FEATHERWORK ARTEFACTS

ASF. *Guardaroba Medicea*, vol. 7. *Inventario della Guardaroba del Duca Cosimo alla consegna di Giovanni Ricci da Prato*, 1539.

c. 26 r. Abiti da maschere

1. Sei habit al indiana di panno acotonato nerc trincato foderati di tafeta verde co' lor fornimenti da cavallo del medesimo.
2. Sette ispriachi<sup>1)</sup> di piume moreschi di penne d'India.
3. Cinque quarti di saii di penne d'India.
4. Tre vesticuole di penne d'India.
5. Quattro petti [di] piume moreschi.
6. Dieci rotelle picole di piume d'India.
7. Due teste di ucelli di penne d'India.
8. Quattro mazi di fiori di penne d'India.
9. Due vestaglie di penne d'India.

ASF. *Guardaroba Medicea*, vol. 28. *Inventario della Guardaroba che sono per el Palazzo di S. Ec.<sup>a</sup> Ill.<sup>ma</sup> [Cosimo de' Medici] inventariato per messer Giuliano del Tovaglia, messer Giovanni Ricci et Mariotto Cecchi*.

1553, novembre, 9.

10. Una coperta da letto di penne d'uccelli, a dua dritti, di 3½ et 32<sup>2</sup>).

### WOODEN MASKS FACED WITH TURQUOISE AND SHELL MOSAIC

ASF. *Guardaroba Medicea*, vol. 28. *Inventario della Guardaroba che sono per el Palazzo di S. Ec.<sup>a</sup> Ill.<sup>ma</sup> [Cosimo de' Medici] inventariato per messer Giuliano del Tovaglia, messer Giovanni Ricci et Mariotto Cecchi*.

c. 42 r. 1553, novembre, 7

11. Una maschera venuta dell'India composta di turchine sopra il legno<sup>3</sup>).

ASF. *Guardaroba*, vol. 30. *Inventario generale* 1553.

c. 19 s.

12. Una maschera venuta d'India composta di turchine sopra il legno<sup>4</sup>).

13. Dal Ill.<sup>mo</sup> et Ex.<sup>mo</sup> Sig.<sup>nr</sup> Duca addì 9 di marzo 1555 [*stile fiorentino*]<sup>5</sup>) una maschera di legno venuta d'India composta di turchine in sua vesta di cuoio nero; recò Desiderio scudiere.

ASF. *Guardaroba Medicea*, vol. 65. 1560. *Libro d'inventario generale della Guardaroba dell'Il.<sup>mo</sup> et Ecc.<sup>mo</sup> S.<sup>or</sup> Duca* [Cosimo de' Medici].

c. 248 s.

14. Dua maschere di legno coperte di turchine.

c. 248 d.

15. 1564. Dua maschere di legno coperte di turchine, poste dare in conto d'abiti et altre cose da mascherare in questo c. 327.

c. 327 s.

16. 1564. Dua maschere di legno coperte di turchine levate di conto di robe di più sorte in questo c. 248.  
*ASF. Guardaroba Medicea, vol. 572. Inventario originale della Guardaroba Generale, 1640.*  
*c. 31 r. 1640, settembre, 27*
17. Una maschera di scorza d'albero commessa tutta di turchine con uno anellino d'oro in bocca con rosetta di turchine indiana in una scatola di corame.  
*c. 68 r. 1640, ottobre, 15*
18. Una maschera di legno indiana commessa di turchine.  
*ASF. Guardaroba Medicea, vol. 585. Inventario generale segnato A, è de la Guardaroba Generale del Ser.™ Gran Duca Ferdinando secondo di Toscana, 1640.*  
*c. 119 s.*  
*Gioie e gioielli legate in oro e argento e d'ogni sorte*
19. Una maschera di scorza d'albero commessa tutta di turchine, con un anellino d'oro in bocca, con rosetta di turchine indiana in una scatola di corame, dal inventario segnato A nel 17 settembre, c. 31.
20. Una maschera di legno indiana commessa di turchine da dettore in detto.  
*c. 119 d.*
21. 1656. Una maschera di legno indiana commessa di turchine ad Anton Francesco Tofani custode dell'Armeria, ne' 31 agosto.
22. 1665. Una maschera di scorza d'albero commessa di turchine con un anello d'oro in bocca con rosetta di turchine.  
*A.S.F. I. e R. Corte, vol. 1288. Inventario generale a capi, 1744-1767.*  
*c. 35 sin.*  
*Gioie, gioielli, et altri lavori diversi con gioie.*
23. 1744. Una maschera di scorza d'albero commessa di turchine con un anello d'oro in bocca con rosetta di turchine dentro a scatola di corame, L. 1.  
*ASF. I. e R. Corte, vol. 1288. Inventario a capi del tesoro.*  
*c. 19 s.*
24. 1770. Una maschera di scorza di albero commessa di turchino, con un'anella d'oro in bocca, con rosetta di turchine, dentro a scatola di corame rotta.  
*ASF. Inventario della Guardaroba di Corte.*  
*p. 463. 1783, dicembre 21*
25. Una maschera di schorza d'albero, commessa di turchine, con occhi di madreperla, denti d'avorio e piccolo anello d'oro in bocca, con sei piccole turchine e un piccolissimo granato, guasta in parte con una custodia di corame nero <sup>6</sup>).

#### ANIMAL HEADS AND A « GRANCHIETTO » (SMALL CRAB) OF SEMI-PRECIOUS STONES

- ASF. Guardaroba Medicea, vol. 28. Inventario della Guardaroba che sono per el Palazzo di S. Ec.<sup>a</sup> Ill.<sup>ma</sup> [Cosimo de' Medici] inventariato per messer Giuliano del Tovaglia, messer Giovanni Ricci et Mariotto Cecchi.*  
*c. 47 r. 1553, novembre, 8*
26. Sette teste di varii animali cioè tre indiane una d'amatista et due d'agate, le quattro una di prisma, una di corniola, et due d'agata.
  27. Uno granchietto di corniola di rilievo in scatolletta tonda, le quali si sono rihavute questo dì sopraddetto [8 di novembre] da Benvenuto <sup>7</sup>).  
*A.S.F. Guardaroba Medicea, vol. 30. Inventario generale 1553.*  
*c. 19 s.*
  28. Sette teste di varii animali tre indiane una di amatista e due di agata, l'altre quattro una di prisma, una di corniola e due di agata.
  29. Uno granchietto di corniola di rilievo.  
*ASF. Guardaroba Medicea, vol. 37. Giornale della Guardaroba di S.<sup>a</sup> Eccellenzia Cosimo de' Medici [segnato] A.*  
*c. 13 v. 1559, giugno, 13*
  30. Ricordo come questo dì S. Ex.<sup>a</sup> per accomodar el suo scriptoio alle stanze nuove hebbe del armario del anticaglie di Guardaroba tutte le figure antiche e moderne, tutti e torri, animali e cose antiche et moderne che di metallo si trovarono in detto armario però si mettino a uscita al libro secondo che sono entrata <sup>8</sup>).  
*c. 14 r.*  
 Otto teste di varii animali grandi come nocciuole di varie pietre et gioie di mano di Benvenuto Cellini in scatolino coperto di cuoio nero.

## FANS MADE OF FEATHERS AND OTHER MATERIALS

- ASF. *Guardaroba Medicea*, vol. 79. *Inventario della Guardaroba del Ill.<sup>mo</sup> Rev.<sup>mo</sup> Cardinale* [Ferdinando de' Medici segnato] A, 1571.
- c. 211 s.
31. Una rosta di penne di pappagallo venuta dell'India come al quadernuccio di Guardaroba sotto dì 9 d'ottobre, c. 186.
  32. Dua roste di sandarlo<sup>9)</sup> venute d'India. Al detto quadernuccio sotto detto dì, c. 186.
  33. Ventidue ventagli di.... [*gap in original text*].... in una cassetta o scatola venuti del India. Al detto quadernuccio sotto detto dì.

c. 211 d.

  34. Una rosta di sanderli dette aute del Indie donò S.S. Ill.<sup>ma</sup> allo Ill.<sup>mo</sup> S.<sup>r</sup> Paulo Giordano sotto dì 28 di novembre come al giornale, c. 4.
  35. Una rosta di sanderli dette aute del Indie donò S.S. Ill.<sup>ma</sup> a Sua Santità [Pio V] sino addì 18 di dicembre. Portò Monsignor Signor Galletti come al giornale, c. 5.

## BISHOPS' MITRES OF FEATHER MOSAIC

- ASF. *Guardaroba Medicea*, vol. 79. *Inventario della Guardaroba del Ill.<sup>mo</sup> Rev.<sup>mo</sup> Cardinale* [Ferdinando de' Medici segnato] A, 1571.
- c. 49 s.
36. Una mitria composta di penne storiata d'una banda quella dinanzi la Trinità e sotto San Pietro e basso nel fregio la cena e dalla banda di dietro l'assunzione della Madonna Santissima e ne' pendoni d'oro San Pietro e San Paulo, guarnita. Avuta da S.S. Ill.<sup>m<sup>ma</sup></sup> recò M. Biagio Pignatti.
  37. Una mitria simile et da una banda un Christo crocifisso e dal altra la sconficcatione guarnita d'oro et foderata di raso rosso avuta da S.S. Ill.<sup>ma</sup>, consegnò M. Biagio Pignatti adì 21 di novembre 1586<sup>10)</sup>.

c. 49 d.

  38. Dua mitrie di penne del Indie dentro più santi composte di dette penne mandate chome sopra [a Firenze a quella Guardaroba] questo dì 26 detto [Novembre 1587].
- ASF. *Guardaroba Medicea*, vol. 190. *Inventario generale della Guardaroba del Ser.<sup>mo</sup> Gran Duca Ferdinando*, 1597.
- c. 126 r.
39. Una mitria episcopale con sua bendoni di perne d'uccelli tutta storiata al indiana entro la passione di nostro signore et altri misteri foderata di raso rosso con passamani et bottoni d'oro et argento et frochature [?].
  40. Una chustodia per detta di velluto rosso drento et fiori con passamani d'argento et mastietti d'argento.
- ASF. *Guardaroba Medicea*, vol. 572. *Inventario originale della Guardaroba Generale di S.A.S.* [Ferdinando II de' Medici] 1640.
41. Una mitria piscopale storiata di più santi e la Madonna di penne d'uccelli di varii colori drento a una custodia coperta di velluto rosso.
- ASF. *Guardaroba Medicea*, appendice 58. *Inventario generale a capi 1744-1767*.
- c. 51 s.
- Mitrie episcopali di ogni sorte.
42. 1744. Una mitria episcopale storiata di più sorti di penne d'uccelli di vari colori entro la sua custodia coperta di velluto rosso con mastietti e boncinelli d'argento di getto, che ne manca uno, dall'inventario segnato A ne' 10 aprile, fior. 1.
- ASF. *I. e R. Corte*, vol. 1288. *Inventario a capi del tesoro*.
- c. 19 s.
43. 1770. Una mitra episcopale storiata di più santi di penne di uccelli di vari colori entro la sua custodia coperta di velluto rosso con mastietti, e boncinelli di argento di getto che ne manca uno.
- ASF. *I e R. Corte*, vol. 1289. *Inventario del Tesoro dal 1782 al 17..*
- c. 141 s.
44. Una mitra episcopale storiatovi più santi fatti di penne di uccelli più colori con inscrizioni e contorno di bigherine d'oro con fucciacca di velo, entro a custodia di legno coperta di velluto rosso guarnita di biglierino di argento con due mastietti e due gancetti d'argento di getto, e due bullette simili nella parte, ove manca il terzo gancetto, L. 1 s.

## MEXICAN OBJECTS IN THE UFFIZI TRIBUNA

- Soprintendenza alle Gallerie di Firenze. Archivio. Inventario della Tribuna 1589.*  
c. 14 s.
45. Una maschera doppia con sua gangheratura, e serrature d'argento dorato con 13 chiocciole al naturale, con l'anime d'argento dorato con sua catena d'argento.  
c. 17 s.
  46. Un vaso di scorza di tartaruga guarnita d'argento venuta dell'Indie cioè coperchio, piede e beccuccio d'argento.
  47. Un vaso di terra rossa dipinta dell'Indie a uso di navicella serrata di sopra con suo beccuccio e sopra un giglio che fa peverino<sup>11)</sup>.  
c. 26 s.
  48. Una testa con busto d'uno idolo di calcidonio vestita con panno in capo e peduccio del simile.  
c. 27 s.
  49. Una scatola di legname aovata con coperchio verniciata all'indiana rossa e miniata d'oro.  
c. 41 s.
  50. Una tazza a uso di labica di diaspro venuta dall'Indie lavorata scanata stretti guarnita d'argento dorato all'Indiana segnata in fondo n° II.

## MEXICAN OBJECTS IN THE MEDICI ARMOURY

- ASF. Guardaroba Medicea, vol. 513. Inventario della Armeria di S.A.S. [Ferdinando II de' Medici] in su il corridore, 1631.*  
c. 15 s.
- Nella seconda stanza di detta Armeria.
51. Un guscio di una testuggine che serve per rotella, coperto di sotto di quoio rosso con frangie rosse.  
c. 19 s.
  52. Dua remi da fregata di legniame alla indiana.
  53. Quattro legni indiani di differente sorte.
  54. Uno altro legnio simile con un pennacchio a foggia di frange.  
c. 25 s.
  55. Tre zimarde di penne rosse alla indiana e altri colori e per cimiero penne di struzzolo non assette e sotto a una di dette zimare vi è una camiciola di panno grosso colorata<sup>12)</sup>.
  56. Tre cavalette per dette zimare di legno.
  57. Una armadura di legnio indiano cioè petto e stiena listrato d'oro a onde, con girello fatto a scarselle simile e manichi di tela nera con più penne, e un cappello di legnio e una mas [c] hera che tutto fa un fancioccio.  
c. 26 s.
  58. Una ventarola alla indiana tonda rossa con manicho storto toccho o miniato d'oro.  
c. 31 s.
  59. Dua cintoni alla indiana che una tutta commessa d'ossi bianchi, neri e rossi con testa di morte, e una tessuta di colori di seta.  
c. 33 s.
  60. Un cappello di penne alla indiana con una coda da cavalli che serve per insignia alla loro usanza.
  61. Un cappello a foggia di canpana alla indiana.

## DEVOTIONAL PICTURES OF FEATHER MOSAIC IN THE VILLA DI POGGIO IMPERIALE

- ASF. Guardaroba Medicea, vol. 657. Inventario della Guardaroba della Villa Imperiale, 1654<sup>13)</sup>.*  
c. 14 v.
62. Due quadretti di penne d'uccelli di più sorte che in uno una Pietà e nell'altrro. S. Maria Maddalena con adornamenti di granatiglio et ebano con cristallo sopra, alti br. 1/2, larghi 2/5.  
c. 17 v.
  63. Due quadretti di penne d'uccelli naturali, in uno entrovi la Madonna con Giesù in braccio, due angioletti sopra la testa con la corona; con cornici d'ebano con fogliami d'argento con foglia simile per attaccarlo, e l'altro il Beato Luigi Gonzaga con adornamento d'ebano con appiccagione d'argento, alti br. 2/5 incirca.  
c. 19 r.
  64. Un quadrettino d'ebano entrovi la Madonna dell'Oreto [Loreto], fatta di penne d'uccelli, con vetro sopra, alto br. 1/5 largo br. 1/8.

## THE GREENSTONE MASK IN THE MUSEO DEGLI ARGENTI

*Soprintendenza alle Gallerie di Firenze, Archivio.*

*Filza 14, doc. 82.*

*1781, novembre, 26*

65. Noi infrascritti abbiamo ricevuto dalla Guardaroba Generale.... quanto appiè:  
Una maschera di pietra turchina con occhi di diamanti legati in oro, sopra un fusto in forma d'albero con due rami che circondano detta testa di rovere, con foglie verdi smaltati sopra un ovato del medesimo turchino che forma il piede con base e cerchio d'oro tutto smaltato a rabbelli e bianchi.  
*Soprintendenza alle Gallerie di Firenze, Archivio. Inventario Generale della R. Galleria di Firenze, vol. II, 1784.*  
*c. 293 v.*
66. *The mask is described here in similar words, but it is correctly said that it is « incassata in una rama d'argento dorata ».*

## NOTES TO THE DOCUMENTS

<sup>1)</sup> The meaning of this word is unknown.

<sup>2)</sup> The complete inventory from which document 10 is taken was published by C. CONTI in: *La prima reggia di Cosimo I de' Medici*, Florence 1893, p. 190.

<sup>3)</sup> Published by C. CONTI, op. cit., p. 174.

<sup>4)</sup> Documents 13, 14, 16, 20, 21, 22 and 25 have been published by L. PIGORINI, *Gli antichi oggetti mesicani incrostanti di mosaici esistenti nel Museo Preistorico ed Etnografico di Roma* in: *R. Accademia dei Lincei, serie 3<sup>a</sup>, Memorie della Classe di scienze morali, storiche e filologiche*, vol. 12, seduta del 17 maggio 1885, pp. 5 f.

<sup>5)</sup> The New Year in Florence began on March 25th, the day of the 'Incarnazione del Divin Verbo'.

<sup>6)</sup> The text of this document is taken from L. PIGORINI, op. cit., p. 6. The original inventory is no longer traceable.

<sup>7)</sup> Documents 26 and 27 have been published by CONTI, op. cit., p. 189, and also by E. CAMESASCA, *Tutta l'opera del Cellini*, Milan 1955, p. 59 (only the 'granchietto') with the incorrect date of 1544/45.

<sup>8)</sup> Published by E. PLON, *Benvenuto Cellini*, Paris 1883, p. 150 & 385. The 'scrittoio', today known as the 'tesoretto', is the only room of the 'Quartiere di Cosimo' in Palazzo Vecchio which has been preserved as it was during the reign of the duke. Payments for the furnishing of this room designed by Vasari date from 1559 to 1562. For the history of its construction, cf. A. LENSI, *Palazzo Vecchio*, Milan 1929, pp. 185 f.

<sup>9)</sup> Sandalo, or sandalwood, from trees indigenous to the Indies and the Philippines.

<sup>10)</sup> C. PIACENTI-ASCHENGREEN was the first to refer to this document. Cf. *Il Museo degli Argenti a Firenze*, Florence 1967, p. 175, no. 831.

<sup>11)</sup> A similar vessel is described in the 1598 inventory of the Munich 'Kunstkammer' (Staatsbibliothek, Munich, cod. germ. 2133, c. 22): « Ein erdin navicella darauf in der mitt ein überhöchte rosen ausswending von indianischen gemähl und claim papageyfederlen geziert und sehet solche navicella dem geschirr gleich, welches man der Drey König ainen in die handt zu mahlen pflegt ». It is not possible to infer from the description whether the Florentine vessel originally came from Mexico.

<sup>12)</sup> Cf. R. LASSELS, *An Italian Voyage*, London 1698, p. 108. He writes of his visit to the Uffizi gallery: « First, we saw the Armory, that is, three or four great Chambers full of exotick curiosities: as the Habits of two Indian Kings made of Parrats Feathers sowed together... ».

<sup>13)</sup> I have to thank Signora Cristina Piacenti-Aschengreen for drawing my attention to the inventory of Villa Poggio Imperiale.

## COMMENTARY TO PLATES

1. Codex Vindobonensis 1, p. 48. Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek. Deerskin Mixtec hieroglyphic manuscript formerly in the possession of Clement VII and Cardinal Ippolito de' Medici. The God Quetzalcoatl, 'nine wind', is receiving his items of apparel and his four palaces in heaven. He climbs down a rope through a hole in the sky and carries the Quincunx disc of the planet Venus on a spear. Hanging from the sky to the right and left of him are the sun (carried by the fire-snake, 'four snake') and the moon as a face with a mask of human skin (carried by the eagle, 'seven snake'). On the right-hand side are sixteen Quetzalcoatl figures arranged in pairs, of which only eight are visible in this detail. These may not have been intended as sixteen representations of a single god, but eight twin figures.
2. Codex Zouche-Nuttall. London, British Museum. Deerskin. The Mixtec illustrated manuscript originates from the library of St. Mark's monastery in Florence. It illustrates a raid conducted by the heroic king, 'eight deer', who, with his two attendants 'nine water' and 'ten snake', is attacking an island stronghold in the year 'eight rabbit' (1046). In the upper left-hand corner is a sky frieze; the water contains all kinds of sea creatures.
3. Codex Zouche-Nuttall. London, British Museum. The red lines indicate the order in which the illustrated manuscript should be read: that is, from left to right. It represents local divinities from places in Oaxaca. The bird heads with rows of discs stand for the hours of the day.
4. Egnazio Danti, map of 'New Spain'. Florence, Palazzo Vecchio, Guardaroba. The map was commissioned by Cosimo I de' Medici about 1554. The detailed inscription in the cartouche states that the famous cartographer based some of his information on the reports of a Mexican monk who had come to Europe.
- 5-6. Mask. Rome, Museo Pigorini. Turquoise and shell mosaic on wood. Formerly in the possession of Cosimo I. It represents a human face peering out of a snake's throat. The upper and lower jaws of the reptile are seen from the inside represented as triangles above and below the face. Across the forehead of the human face are the entwined bodies of two fire-snakes. Below the outward-facing head of each snake is the tail end of the other reptile. The fire-snake also symbolised the heavens and lightning.
7. Small dog's head. Florence, Museo di Mineralogia. Onyx. Formerly in the possession of Cosimo I. Once part of an Aztec ornamental chain. The inset eye is composed of a disc of obsidian encircled by a mother-of-pearl ring. The same technique was used for the eye of the small parrot's head from Ambras Castle, Tyrol.
8. Small bird's head. Florence, Museo di Etnologia. Green agate. Formerly in the possession of Cosimo I. Once part of an Aztec ornamental chain. A similar piece is in Vienna; it belonged to the collection of Archduke Ferdinand of Austrian Tyrol in Ambras Castle.
9. Small dog's head. Florence, Museo di Mineralogia. Amethyst. Formerly in the possession of Cosimo I. Once part of an Aztec ornamental chain. The inset eye is composed of a metal disk surrounded by a horn ring.

10. A tapestry woven by Jan Rost on a cartoon by Agnolo Bronzino. Representing the 'Primavera'. Florence, Palazzo Pitti, Wool and silk. The tapestry was made for Cosimo I in 1549. The presence of a turkey in the foreground — a bird indigenous to Mexico — is strong evidence that Cosimo I de' Medici imported exotic animals into Italy.

11. Jacopo Ligozzi, A species of Morning-glory (*Ipomea quamoclit*). Florence, Uffizi Gallery, Gabinetto dei Disegni. Tempera and watercolour on paper. A drawing formerly in the possession of Francesco I or Ferdinand I. These scientific illustrations were originally bound as large books on fauna and flora. Exotic plants and animals were concrete evidence of the widening of geographic horizons.

12. Jacopo Ligozzi, Agave (*Agave americana* L.). Florence, Uffizi, Gabinetto dei Disegni. Tempera and water-colour on paper. A drawing once in the possession of Francesco I.

13. Jacopo Ligozzi, Agave in bloom. Florence, Uffizi Gallery, Gabinetto dei Disegni. Black pencil, tempera and water-colour on paper. Formerly in the possession of Francesco I. The drawing is unfinished. The leaves of the plant are merely sketched in with very faint pencil strokes, which are not discernible in the plate. Several sources testify that there was an agave in bloom in Florence during the year 1586. At that time, the plant was still rare, but it later became wild as a result of the similar climatic conditions in the entire Mediterranean area.

14. Jacopo Ligozzi, A species of Agouti. Florence, Uffizi, Gabinetto dei Disegni. Tempera and water-colour on paper. A drawing formerly in the possession of Francesco I. A hare-like rodent that readily breeds in captivity in Europe. It is impossible to determine from the drawing which species is represented.

15. Jacopo Ligozzi, False Jalap (*Mirabilis jalapa*). Florence, Uffizi, Gabinetto dei Disegni. Tempera and water-colour on paper. A drawing formerly in the possession of Francesco I or Ferdinand I. This is an example of the exotic plants that the Florentine Dukes cultivated in the famous botanical gardens of Pisa and Florence.

16. Jacopo Ligozzi, Crested Curassow (*Pauxi pauxi* L.). Florence, Uffizi, Gabinetto dei Disegni. Tempera and water-colour on paper. A drawing formerly in the possession of Francesco I. The drawing is unfinished. The delicate, almost miniature-like strokes of tempera have been added only on the bird's head and neck. A finished replica of this study is to be found in the collection of animal illustrations formerly belonging to the Bolognese naturalist, Ulisse Aldrovandi. A replica of the following plate also exists in his estate.

17. Jacopo Ligozzi, Galeated Curassow (*Crax rubra* L.). Florence, Uffizi, Gabinetto dei Disegni. Tempera and watercolour on paper. A drawing formerly in the possession of Francesco I. This study is evidence of the interest in importing foreign animals on the part of Francesco I de' Medici.

18. Bishop's mitre. Florence, Museo degli Argenti. Feather mosaic. Formerly in the possession of Ferdinand I. The highly perfected art of feather mosaic was placed at the service of the Church by Spanish missionaries.

19. Scenes from Christ's Passion. Miniature on parchment. Paris, Louvre, Cabinet des Dessins, collection Sauvageot. The iconography of the Passion scenes in this French miniature, which was painted around 1500, is similar to that of the mitre. The Mexicans probably based the imagery of their mitres of feather mosaic on European manuscripts of this kind, which had been brought to Mexico by monks.

20. The infulae of the Florentine mitre. Feather mosaic. Florence, Museo degli Argenti. The illiterate Mexicans put Christ's monogram also on the infula with Mary's Assumption. The inscriptions read: *Tu es gloria mea. Tu exaltas caput meum* (from Psalm 3, 4).

21. Bishop's mitre, reverse side. Florence, Museo degli Argenti. Between the intertwined monograms of Christ and Mary are scenes from the Redemption and the Passion of Christ.

22. The infulae of a bishop's mitre. Hohentwiel private collection. It represents Christ as Salvator Mundi and the Flight into Egypt.

23. Bishop's mitre. Hohentwiel private collection. Apart from slight variations, the scenes are the same as those on the Florentine mitre. The border frieze has been omitted. It is in poor condition. Both sides of the mitre are identical.

24. The infulae of a bishop's mitre in Vienna, Völkerkundemuseum. The coats-of-arms of Pedro de la Gasca embroidered in silk are probably a later European addition. They cover the arms of a cardinal bearing the motto: 'Buena guia'.

25. Bishop's mitre Vienna, Museum für Völkerkunde. From the 'Kunstkammer' of Archduke Ferdinand of Austrian Tyrol in Ambras Castle. Feather mosaic. It represents Adam's sepulchre and the Tree of Life with the apostles and evangelists.

26. The Madonna. Vienna, Museum für Völkerkunde. From the 'Kunstkammer' of Archduke Ferdinand of Austrian Tyrol in Ambras Castle. Bianca Capello, the second wife of Francesco I de' Medici, owned feather pictures similar to this and the following one.

27. St. Jerome. Vienna, Museum für Völkerkunde. Feather mosaic. Formerly in the possession of Archduke Ferdinand of Austrian Tyrol. The pictures are signed: *Iuanes Cuiris fecit Michuac[án]* (plate 26) and *Ioan Bapt. me fecit Michuac[án]* (on this plate)

28. Ludovico Buti, A Mexican resting under a tree. Florence, Uffizi Gallery. A fresco in the former Armoury, commissioned by Ferdinand de' Medici in 1586. The object in the Mexican's hand seems to be a mauquitel (an obsidian club). The upper-arm bracelet is documented by reliable sources.

29. Ludovico Buti, Grotesque tracery with exotic birds. Florence, Uffizi Gallery. The parrot in the top right-hand corner belongs to the Ara genus of macaws indigenous to Mexico and South America. The bird with the blue chest and chestnut cap is one of several species of motmot also common to these regions.

30. Ludovico Buti, A battle between Mexicans and Spaniards. Florence, Uffizi Gallery. The representation of the Mexicans' weapons and war attire is based on authentic evidence. A Mexican illustrated manuscript probably served as a model.

31. Ludovico Buti, A battle between Mexicans and Spaniards. Detail. Florence, Uffizi Gallery. The Mexican on the right of the picture is wearing the war attire of the white Huastecs, with the conical head-dress of tree bark paper. In his right hand, he is holding an obsidian sword, in his left, the striped Huastec shield. The head-dress of the other Mexicans is probably a misinterpretation of field banners, which were carried on the back and projected above the head.

32. Ludovico Buti, Mexican warrior. Florence, Uffizi Gallery. The knot of hair is authentic, but there should be two feather tassels instead of one. This head-gear would be the attribute of a ruler, though it hardly accords with the scanty attire of the Mexican, who is wearing only a loin cloth. The bell-trimmed boots are purely imaginary, although ankle bands decorated with bells did exist. The forms traced in yellow on the shield are unidentifiable. The representations of snakes in Buti's frescoes may perhaps stem from Mexican prototypes.

33. Ludovico Buti, Mexican warrior. Florence, Uffizi Gallery. The Mexican is wearing either the jaguar or eagle costume, which has been misunderstood by the painter. The greenish-grey colour of the costume is not confirmed by reliable sources. It was not made of animal skin, but was trimmed with feathers. The transverse stripes and edge of the electric blue shield are yellow and the feather fringes red. The war banner is composed of alternating blue and red feathers. It has, however, been misunderstood and does not correspond to known prototypes; the same applies to the spear.

34. Ludovico Buti, Mexican chieftain with his entourage. Florence, Uffizi Gallery. The chieftain is wearing an Aztec headband and upper-arm bracelet. The litter and feather shade appear to have been inspired by East Indian models. The two exotic regions of the Indies and America were frequently confused.

35. Bernardino de Sahagún, Historia general de las cosas de Nueva España. Florence, Biblioteca Laurenziana, cod. palat. 219 c. 373. It was perhaps purchased by Ferdinand I. The author compiled the chronicle with the help of Mexicans, who illustrated the bilingual manuscript (Aztec and Spanish). All aspects of the country are included: religion, history, festivals, crafts, zoology, botany, etc. The original text is to be found in the Real Academia de la Historia in Madrid. The Florentine manuscript in three volumes is the illustrated fair-copy. This page shows a craftsman hardening feathers with glue.

36. Sahagún, Historia. Florence, Biblioteca Laurenziana, cod. palat. 219, c. 373. The dyeing and glueing of feathers. In the lower right corner is a completed image of a saint made of feathers, similar to the feather picture preserved in Vienna (cf. plate 35 & 42).

37. Sahagún, Historia. Florence, Biblioteca Laurenziana, cod. palat. 220, c. 465. Mexicans landing in a warship with Spaniards attacking from both sides. The Mexicans pull a captured cannon into the water.

38. Sahagún, Historia. Florence, Biblioteca Laurenziana, cod. palat. 219, c. 284. Priests and warriors in battle attire. They are dressed in jaguar and eagle costumes. Some are wearing the pointed caps of tree bark paper. They are equipped with feather shields, war banners and obsidian swords. The first row con-

sists of three Mexicans, one of whom is carrying an idol on his back that has been represented as the Devil by the Christian painter.

39. Huastec feather shield. Mexico D.F., Museo Nacional de Historia, Chapultepec Castle. This so-called 'Shield of Moctezuma' was brought to Europe in the 16th century. It was preserved in Brussels until 1784, when it was taken to Vienna by the Austrians to protect it from the French troops. Later, it was removed to Laxenburg Castle. It was finally returned to Mexico by Emperor Maximilian. The Huastec shield was the most frequently used type and was often reproduced in illustrated manuscripts. The Huastecs originally wore crescents of gold or silver plate as nose ornaments. They are missing on this shield, the only remaining example of its kind. In all likelihood, Huastec shields were used as models for the representations in Buti's frescoes. He includes the transverse stripes, but omits the crescents.

40. Sahagún, Historia, Florence, Biblioteca Laurenziana, cod. palat. 218, c. 74. A jaguar warrior holding his shield up to the sun and brandishing an obsidian sword in his right hand. A festive custom in the month of Tlacaxipeualiztli.

41. Sahagún, Historia, Florence, Biblioteca Laurenziana, cod. palat. 220, c. 450. Battle-scene during the Spaniards flight from Tenochtitlán (original name of Mexico). They are shown receiving cover from the Mexicans of Tlaxcala, with whom they were allied.

42. Sahagún, Historia. Florence, Biblioteca Laurenziana, cod. palat. 219, c. 371. A feather worker with his finished products: field banners, a head-dress and a shield. Lodovico Buti included all these objects in his frescoes.

43. Mask. Florence, Museo degli Argenti. This mask of Mexican greenstone is either a product of colonial art or a European forgery. The European metal frame of gilded and enamelled copper is in the form of an oak tree. This was the heraldic emblem of the della Rovere family, and it therefore probably formed part of the dowry of Vittoria della Rovere, who married Ferdinand II de' Medici in 1634.

44. Unknown artist, Moctezuma, the last King of the Aztecs. Detail. Florence, Museo di Etnologia. Oil on canvas. Formerly in the possession of Cosimo III de' Medici. A painting executed in Mexico by a European artist. Hanging from one side of the regal headband are two ribbons with feather tassels. The King wears a golden rod in his ear-lobe and a labret on his lower lip. He also has a broad band of gilded leather on his upper arm.

45. Moctezuma. Florence, Museo di Etnologia. The sovereign is portrayed in his regal dance and festive robes. All details of his dress are attested by the descriptions of Sahagún. In many cases, however, they were interpreted and adapted by the painter according to European concepts.

46. Moctezuma, engraving. From the Italian edition of the 'Historia della Conquista del Messico' by Antonio de Solis y Ribadeneyra. The translation by Filippo Corsini appeared in Florence in 1699. The engraving is important for the inscription which records the provenance of the painting. Here it is easier to recognise the background detail than in the painting, which has darkened considerably with time.

47. King Nezahualpilli, Codex Istlilxochitl. Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale. The King of Tetzcoco in his festive robes, with a cloak, loin cloth and head-dress denoting his noble rank. He is holding bunches of flowers in his hands. A similar illustration from colonial times must have served as a model for Moctezuma's portrait.

48. Vida de los Yndios, p. 92. Florence, Biblioteca Nazionale. An image of Texcatlipoca, one of the goddesses of creation. She is holding the tool of vision in her left hand and a shield in her right, with a sacrificial flag and spear. To the right is the God of rain, Tlaloc, with the snake of lightning and the flowering rod. Along the lower edge are pieces of sacrificial paper with projecting feathers.

49. 'Vida de los Yndios', p. 91. Florence, Biblioteca Nazionale. Illustrated manuscript formerly in the possession of Antonio Magliabechi, Cosimo III's librarian. The manuscript, is on European paper. It is a copy of a pre-Columbian codex. The God of rain, Tlaloc, is represented above a temple. He is holding two corn cobs in his right hand; in his left, the rod of lightning. Beside him are three drops of rain. Above the head of the God is a piece of sacrificial paper decorated with feathers, which was burnt in his name during the cult ceremonies. On his right is the Goddess of earth and death, Ilamatecutli. She is holding a weaver's knife in her right hand and a shield and a flag in her left, although the staff of the latter is hidden. The small flags in her head-dress are allusions to the human sacrifices carried out in the temple.

50-53. Mexican jars. Florence, Museo degli Argenti, store-rooms. Terracotta. Typical examples of 18th-century pottery from Guadalajara. On the body of the jars is the Habsburg double eagle. However, even today, Mexicans still associate the eagle with the 'Holy Bird of the Mountains' of the pre-Columbian religion. Both interpretations are here fused in one symbol.

54-55. Mask. Florence, Soprintendenza alle Gallerie. Greenstone. Formerly in the possession of a Medici prince. Dating back to the zenith of the Teotihuacán period (5th to 6th century A.D.). The mask was originally a grave offering. This and the following objects here reproduced were discovered in post-Columbian times. The old (Plate 54) photograph shows, that the whites of the eyes were rendered by pieces of shell and the sparkling pupils by polished discs of obsidian. These encrustments have since crumbled and fallen out. The teeth still show traces of white colouring.

56-57. Idol. Florence, Museo di Etnologia. Greenstone. Formerly in the possession of a Medici prince. From the highlands of Guatemala. Late Classic period of Maya Culture (7th to 8th century A.D.). Engraved on the figure's chest ornament is a T-shaped sign, the symbol for Ik or life. The pedestal is of agate. The chain and trimmings of precious stones date back to colonial times. Two of the precious stones visible in plate 57 are missing today.

58-59. Idol. Florence, Museo di Etnologia. Greenstone. Formerly in the possession of a Medici prince. Mixtec-Puebla Culture — the last few centuries before the Conquest. The effigy of a deceased person bound ready for burial.

60. Head. Florence, Museo di Etnologia. Dark-green to black stone. Formerly in the possession of a Medici prince. Mixtec-Puebla Culture — the last few centuries before the Conquest. It is perhaps a portrait of the God of rain and lightning, Dzahui. Heads of this type or idols, similar to that of plate 58-59, are frequently encountered; they were probably grave goods.

61. Aztec mask. Florence, Museo di Etnologia. Greenstone. Formerly in the possession of a Medici prince. Rubies were inset in the eyes during the 16th or 17th century. The gilded-copper frame is perhaps of European origin.

## COMMENTI ALLE TAVOLE

1. Codice Vindobonensis Mexicanus 1, p. 48. Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek. Pelle di cervo stuccata. Il manoscritto illustrato mixteco fu in possesso di Clemente VII e del Cardinale Ippolito de' Medici. Il dio Quetzalcoatl, 'Nove Vento', riceve in cielo le sue vesti e i suoi quattro palazzi. Scende per una scala di corda, attraverso un foro del cielo, portando appeso ad una lancia il disco Quincunx del pianeta Venere. A destra e a sinistra pendono dal cielo il sole — sorretto dal serpente di fuoco 'Quattro serpente' — e la luna, rappresentata come un volto con una maschera di pelle, sorretta dall'aquila 'Sette Serpente'. A destra sedici figure di Quetzalcoatl disposte a coppie, delle quali solo otto sono visibili in questo particolare. Probabilmente non si tratta di sedici aspetti di una sola divinità, ma di otto coppie gemelle.
2. Codice Zouche-Nuttall, Londra, British Museum. Pelle di cervo stuccata. Il manoscritto illustrato mixteco proviene dal Convento di San Marco a Firenze. Vi è rappresentata una spedizione del re degli eroi 'Otto Cervo' che con due compagni, 'Nove Acqua' e 'Dieci serpente', dà l'assalto a una fortezza insulare nell'anno dell' 'Otto Coniglio' (1046).
3. Codice Zouche-Nuttall, Londra, British Museum. Le linee rosse indicano la successione in cui vanno letti i particolari del manoscritto, da sinistra a destra. Vi sono rappresentate le divinità tutelari di luoghi nella regione di Oaxaca. Le teste di uccelli, con una serie di dischi rotondi, rappresentano le ore del giorno.
4. Egnazio Danti, Carta geografica della 'Nuova Spagna'. Firenze, Palazzo Vecchio, Guardaroba. La carta fu dipinta intorno al 1554 su commissione di Cosimo I de' Medici. La dettagliata iscrizione nel cartiglio rende noto che il famoso cartografo si basò, tra l'altro, sulle informazioni di un monaco messicano venuto in Europa.
- 5-6. Maschera. Roma, Museo Pigorini. Mosaico di turchesi e di conchiglie su legno. Già in possesso di Cosimo I. Rappresenta un volto umano che si affaccia dalle fauci di un serpente. Le parti superiore e inferiore della mandibola del rettile, viste dall'interno, appaiono come zone triangolari sopra e sotto il volto. Sulla fronte del volto umano vi sono, intrecciati l'un l'altro, i corpi di due serpenti di fuoco. Sotto alla testa sporgente di uno dei due serpenti compare la coda dell'altro. Il serpente di fuoco era anche il simbolo del cielo diurno e del fulmine.
7. Piccola testa di cane. Firenze, Museo di Mineralogia. Onice. Già in possesso di Cosimo I. Elemento di una collana decorativa atzeca. Gli occhi incastonati sono dischi di ossidiana circondati da un anello di madreperla. Con la medesima tecnica sono eseguiti gli occhi della testina di pappagallo nel Castello di Ambras, in Tirolo.
8. Piccola testa di uccello. Firenze, Museo di Etnologia. Agata verde. Già in possesso di Cosimo I. Elemento di una collana decorativa atzeca. Un pezzo simile si trova a Vienna, proveniente dalla raccolta dell'arciduca Ferdinando nel castello di Ambras (Tirolo).
9. Piccola testa di cane. Firenze, Museo di Mineralogia. Ametista. Già in possesso di Cosimo I. Elemento di una catena decorativa atzeca. L'occhio incastonato è costituito da un bottone di metallo circondato da un anello corneo.

10. Jan Rost su disegno di Agnolo Bronzino. Arazzo con la 'Primavera'. Firenze, Palazzo Pitti. Lana e seta. L'arazzo fu tessuto nel 1549 per Cosimo I. In primo piano il Bronzino ha rappresentato un tacchino, originario del Messico, eloquente testimonianza delle importazioni di animali esotici da parte di Cosimo I de' Medici.

11. Jacopo Ligozzi, Gelsomino pennato (*Ipomea Quamoclit*). Firenze, Uffizi, Gabinetto dei Disegni. Tempera e acquerello su carta. Disegno già in possesso di Francesco I o Ferdinando I. Queste illustrazioni scientifiche erano un tempo raccolte in grandi volumi di piante e animali. Le piante e gli animali esotici servivano a dare un'idea concreta di quanto si fosse ampliata la conoscenza del mondo.

12. Jacopo Ligozzi, Agave (*Agave americana* L.). Florence, Uffizi, Gabinetto dei Disegni. Tempera e acquerello su carta. Disegno già in possesso di Francesco I.

13. Jacopo Ligozzi, Fiore di agave. Firenze, Uffizi, Gabinetto dei Disegni. Matita nera, tempera e acquerello su carta. Il disegno è incompiuto; le foglie della pianta sono appena accennate da un sottilissimo tratto di matita. Un'agave in fiore è citata in alcune fonti fiorentine del 1586. La pianta, in quel tempo ancor rara, si diffuse più tardi, spontaneamente, per analoghe condizioni climatiche in tutte le zone costiere del bacino del Mediterraneo.

14. Aguti (Aguti species (?)). Firenze, Uffizi, Gabinetto dei Disegni. Tempera e acquerello su carta. Disegno già in possesso di Francesco I. Si tratta di un roditore simile alla lepre (il disegno non permette di identificarlo con sicurezza) che in Europa si riproduce facilmente in cattività.

15. Jacopo Ligozzi, Bella di notte (*Mirabilis Jalapa*). Firenze, Uffizi, Gabinetto dei Disegni. Tempera e acquerello su carta. Disegno già in possesso di Francesco I o di Ferdinando I. Anche questo è un esempio di piante esotiche messe a dimora nei celebri orti botanici di Pisa e di Firenze.

16. Jacopo Ligozzi, Pavoncella. (*Pauxi Pauxi* L.). Firenze, Uffizi, Gabinetto dei Disegni. Tempera e acquerello su carta. Disegno già in possesso di Francesco I. Si tratta di un gallinaceo messicano. Il disegno è incompleto; solo sulla testa e sul collo dell'uccello sono stati condotti sottili ritocchi a tempera, a guisa di miniatura. Una replica di questo foglio, condotta a termine, si trova nella raccolta di disegni di animali del naturalista bolognese Ulisse Aldrovandi, dove pure vi è una replica dell'illustrazione seguente.

17. Jacopo Ligozzi, Re di quaglie (*Crax rubra* L.). Firenze, Uffizi, Gabinetto dei Disegni. Tempera e acquerello su carta. Disegno già in possesso di Francesco I. Queste miniature attestano l'importazione di animali da parte di Francesco I de' Medici.

18. Mitra vescovile. Firenze, Museo degli Argenti. Mosaico di piume. Già in possesso di Ferdinando I. La sviluppatissima tecnica del mosaico a base di piume di uccelli fu posta dai missionari spagnoli al servizio della Chiesa.

19. Scene della Passione di Cristo. Miniatura su pergamena, Parigi, Louvre, Cabinet des Dessins, Coll. Sauvajeot. L'iconografia della Passione, in questa miniatura francese eseguita intorno al 1500, è identica alle scene sulla mitra. I messicani, per eseguire le loro mitre a mosaico, usarono probabilmente modelli simili a questo, tratti da manoscritti europei portati in Messico dai monaci missionari.

20. Infule della mitra vescovile di Firenze, a mosaico di piume. Firenze, Museo degli Argenti. Anche nella scena dell'Assunzione della Vergine al cielo gli indiani analfabeti hanno inserito il monogramma di Cristo. Il testo delle iscrizioni: Tu es gloria mea / tu exaltas caput meum (dal Salmo 3,4).

21. Mitra vescovile, parte posteriore. Firenze, Museo degli Argenti. Tra i monogrammi intrecciati di Cristo e di Maria sono raffigurate scene della Redenzione e della Passione.

22. Infule di una mitra vescovile in collezione privata, Hohentwiel. Vi sono raffigurati il Salvator Mundi e la Fuga in Egitto.

23. Mitra vescovile. Collezione privata, Hohentwiel. Con poche varianti la mitra presenta le stesse scene del pezzo fiorentino. Non furono aggiunti fregi al bordo come nella mitra di Firenze; lo stato di conservazione è cattivo. I due lati della mitra sono uguali.

24. Infule della mitra vescovile nel Völkerkundemuseum di Vienna. Gli stemmi ricamati in seta sono un'aggiunta più tarda, forse europea, e coprono lo stemma di un cardinale il cui motto era *Buena Guia*.

25. Mitra vescovile. Vienna, Völkerkundemuseum Già in possesso dell'arciduca Ferdinando del Tirolo. Mosaico di piume. Vi è rappresentato l'Albero di Jesse e il sepolcro di Adamo. Proviene dalla 'Kunstkammer' dell'arciduca Ferdinando nel castello di Ambras (Tirolo).

26. Madonna, Vienna, Völkerkundemuseum. Dalla 'Kunstkammer' dell'arciduca Ferdinando nel castello di Ambras (Tirolo). Quadri eseguiti con piume — simili a questo e al successivo — erano in possesso di Bianca Cappello, seconda moglie di Francesco I de' Medici.

27. San Gerolamo, Vienna, Völkerkundemuseum. Mosaico di piume. Già in possesso dell'arciduca Ferdinando del Tirolo. I quadri sono firmati: Iuanes Cuiris (me) fecit Michuac(an) (fig. 26) e Ioan. Bapt. me tecit Michauc(an) (fig. 27).

28. Ludovico Buti, Indiano in riposo sotto un albero. Firenze, Uffizi. Affresco in una stanza dell'antica Armeria, eseguito su commissione di Ferdinando I de' Medici nel 1586. È impossibile identificare l'oggetto che l'indiano tiene in mano mentre corrisponde a quanto tramandato dalle fonti la fascia che cinge la parte superiore del braccio.

29. Ludovico Buti, Grottesche con uccelli esotici. Firenze, Uffizi. Affresco. In alto a sinistra è raffigurato un pappagallo che appartiene alla famiglia dei pappagalli arara, originaria del Messico e del Sudamerica. L'uccello dal petto azzurro e il ciuffo marrone è il Mot Mot anch'egli originario del medesimo paese.

30. Ludovico Buti, Battaglia tra Indiani e Spagnoli. Firenze, Uffizi. La raffigurazione delle vesti e delle armi indiane si basa su fonti autentiche; servì probabilmente da modello un manoscritto illustrato messicano.

31. Ludovico Buti, Battaglia tra Indiani e Spagnoli (particolare). Firenze, Uffizi. L'indiano presso il margine destro dell'illustrazione indossa l'abito da guerra dell'huaxteco bianco col copricapo di scorza d'albero a punta. Brandisce con la destra una spada d'ossidiana (mauquitel) e regge con la sinistra lo scudo striato huaxteco. Sopra alle sue spalle sventola uno stendardo di guerra. Quanto alle acconciature sulle teste degli altri indiani si tratta fors'anche di interpretazioni errate di quelle insegne che venivano portate sulle spalle e che sventolavano sulla testa.

32. Ludovico Buti, Guerriero Indiano. Firenze, Uffizi. Il ciuffo di capelli annodato corrisponde a quanto viene tramandato dalle fonti, ma il pittore avrebbe dovuto dipingere non uno ma due ciuffi di piume nei capelli. Si tratta probabilmente degli attributi di un capo, cui non corrisponde il ridottissimo abbigliamento dell'indiano, vestito solo di un perizoma. Le calzature fornite di sonagli sono una libera invenzione del pittore; vi erano tuttavia cinghie con sonagli legate al malleolo. Le figure tracciate in giallo sullo scudo non sono leggibili. I serpenti raffigurati negli affreschi del Buti risalgono probabilmente a modelli messicani.

33. Ludovico Buti, Guerriero indiano. Firenze, Uffizi. L'indiano è in veste di giaguaro, o forse di aquila, male interpretata dal pittore. Il colore grigio verdastro della veste non corrisponde alla realtà, perché le vesti non erano fatte di pelli ma di piume. Le fasce trasversali e i bordi dello scudo azzurro acciaio sono gialli, rosse le frange piumate, mentre le piume dello stendardo di guerra sono alternativamente blu e rosse. Quest'ultimo oggetto, come pure la lancia, sono male interpretati e non corrispondono ai modelli.

34. Ludovico Buti, Capo indiano col suo seguito. Firenze, Uffizi. Una benda atzeca fascia la fronte del capo mentre un bracciale cinge la parte superiore del braccio. La portantina e gli ombrelli di piume sembrano suggeriti da modelli provenienti dalle Indie orientali. Le due aree esotiche delle Indie e dell'America erano spesso confuse fra loro.

35. Bernardino de Sahagún, Historia general de las cosas de Nueva España. Firenze, Biblioteca Laurenziana, Cod. Palat. 219. Forse acquistato da Ferdinando I. Il compilatore stese la cronaca in collaborazione con gli indiani che illustrarono il manoscritto bilingue (atzeco-spagnolo). Tutti gli aspetti del paese vi sono raffigurati: la religione, la storia, le feste, i mestieri, la zoologia, la botanica ecc. Il manoscritto originario si trova nella Real Academia de la Historia a Madrid. Il manoscritto fiorentino in tre volumi è la 'copia a pulito' illustrata. Nel foglio qui riprodotto è raffigurato un artigiano che indurisce le piume con la colla.

36. Sahagún, Historia, Firenze, Biblioteca Laurenziana, Cod. Pal. 219, c. 373. Vi è raffigurato il momento in cui le piume sono colorite e incollate. A destra in basso l'immagine di un santo, già completata, eseguita con le piume, del genere di quelle ora conservate a Vienna (cfr. fig. 35 e 42).

37. Sahagún, Historia, Firenze, Biblioteca Laurenziana, Cod. Palat. 220, c. 465. Gli indiani sbarcano da un battello da guerra, sono assaltati dagli spagnoli da due parti e gettano in acqua un cannone conquistato.

38. Sahagún, Historia. Firenze, Biblioteca Laurenziana, Cod. Palat. 219, c. 284. Sacerdoti e guerrieri in assetto di guerra, in vesti di giaguaro e di aquila; alcuni portano il copricapo appuntito di corteccia d'albero. Sono equipaggiati con scudi di piume, insegne e spade di ossidiana. Nella fascia superiore tre indiani, uno dei quali con un idolo sulle spalle rappresentato come un diavolo dal pittore cristiano.

39. Scudo di piume huaxteco. Città del Messico, Museo Nacional de Historia, Castillo de Chapultepec. Questo scudo, detto 'di Montezuma' pervenne in Europa nel XVI secolo. Fino al 1794 fu con-

servato a Bruxelles e portato in seguito a Vienna dagli austriaci per sottrarlo alla rapina delle truppe francesi. Più tardi passò nel castello di Laxenburg e fu riportato in Messico dall'Imperatore Massimiliano. Lo scudo huaxteco è di uno dei tipi più comuni, raffigurato più volte nei manoscritti illustrati. Le mezzelune qui riprodotte sono ornamenti del naso huaxtechi e consistevano in lamine d'oro o d'argento. In questo scudo, l'unico rimastoci di questo tipo, esse sono andate perdute. Gli scudi huaxtechi servirono probabilmente al Buti quali modelli per i suoi affreschi: egli ne riproduce la scompartizione trasversale per mezzo di strisce, ma tralascia le mezzelune.

40. Sahagún, Historia, Firenze, Biblioteca Laurenziana, Cod. Palat. 218, c. 74. Un guerriero-giaguaro alza lo scudo contro il sole, mentre con la mano destra, sollevata, regge una spada di ossidiana. Uso festivo del mese di Tlacaxipeualiztli.

41. Sahagún, Historia, Firenze, Biblioteca Laurenziana, Cod. Palat. 220, c. 450. Combattimento degli Spagnoli durante la loro fuga da Tenochtitlan (antico nome del Messico). Li coprono alle spalle gli indiani Tlaxcalla, loro alleati.

42. Sahagún, Historia, Firenze, Biblioteca Laurenziana, Cod. Palat. 219, c. 371. Un artigiano, specializzato nella lavorazione delle piume con i suoi prodotti finiti: standardi di guerra, un diadema e uno scudo, tutti oggetti raffigurati anche da Ludovico Buti nei suoi affreschi.

43. Maschera, Firenze, Museo degli Argenti. La maschera, di pietra verde messicana, è un lavoro coloniale o una falsificazione europea. La montatura in metallo fu eseguita in Europa ed è a forma di quercia in rame dorato e smaltato. La quercia era elemento dello stemma della famiglia Della Rovere e potrebbe quindi trattarsi di un'eredità di Vittoria della Rovere che nel 1634 sposò Ferdinando II de' Medici.

44. Ignoto, Montezuma, ultimo re degli Aztechi (particolare). Firenze, Museo Etnologico. Olio su tela. Già in possesso di Cosimo II de' Medici. Dipinto eseguito in Messico da un pittore europeo. Dal diametro regale scendono ai lati due bande che terminano in ciuffi di piume. Nel lobo dell'orecchio è inserita una sbarretta d'oro; un altro ornamento è appeso al labbro inferiore e una larga fascia di cuoio dorata cinge la parte superiore del braccio del re.

45. Montezuma, Firenze. Museo Etnologico. Il principe è raffigurato con gli attributi regali per la danza e le feste. Tutti i dettagli dell'abbigliamento risalgono alla descrizione di Sahagún, male interpretati e modificati tuttavia dal pittore in senso europeo.

46. Montezuma. Incisione su rame. Dall'edizione italiana della Conquista del Messico di Antonio de Solis y Ribadeneyra. La traduzione di Filippo Corsini comparve nel 1699 a Firenze. L'incisione è importante per l'iscrizione che indica la provenienza del dipinto. Lo sfondo è qui più chiaramente leggibile che non nel dipinto, molto oscurato.

47. Il Re Nezahualpilli, Codice Ixtlilxochitl. Parigi, Bibliothèque Nationale. Il re di Tetzcoco è ritratto nelle vesti festive con mantello, perizoma e con i capelli acconciati alla maniera dei potenti; in mano tiene mazzi di fiori. Un'immagine simile a questa del periodo coloniale servì probabilmente come modello per il ritratto di Montezuma.

48. Vida de los Yndios. Firenze, Biblioteca Nazionale, p. 92. Vi è raffigurato Texcatlipoca, una delle divinità della creazione. Tiene nella sinistra uno strumento per vedere e nella destra uno scudo con uno standardo sacrificale e una lancia. A destra è raffigurato il dio della pioggia Tlaloc col serpente-fulmine e un bastone di fiori. Al margine inferiore della pagina, offerte sotto forma di carte con piume conficcate.

49. Vida de los Yndios, Firenze, Biblioteca Nazionale, p. 91. Manoscritto illustrato, già in possesso di Antonio Magliabechi, il bibliotecario di Cosimo III. Il manoscritto, su carta europea, è copia di un codice precolombiano. Sul culmine di un tempio il dio della pioggia, Tlaloc; tiene nella mano destra due pannocchie di granturco, nella sinistra il bastone del fulmine. Accanto tre gocce d'acqua. Sulla testa del dio, come offerta, una carta decorata di piume che veniva bruciata durante le ceremonie in suo onore. A destra, la dea della terra e della morte Ilamatecutli che nella mano destra tiene la spola per tessere e nella sinistra lo scudo e una bandiera con l'asta coperta. Le bandierine nell'acconciatura della testa alludono alla morte delle vittime umane che le venivano offerte.

50-53. Vasi di terracotta messicani. Firenze, Museo degli Argenti, depositi. Già in possesso di Cosimo III. Tipici esempi della ceramica di Guadalajara intorno all'anno 1700. Sul vaso è dipinta l'aquila bicipite asburgica, tuttavia per gli indiani, fino ai giorni nostri, l'aquila ha quel significato che aveva fin dai tempi della religione precolombiana, cioè 'uccello sacro del monte'. Qui i due significati sono fusi insieme.

54-55. Maschera, Firenze. Soprintendenza alle Gallerie. Pietra verde. Già in possesso di un principe mediceo. Opera del periodo aureo della cultura di Teotihuacan (V/VI secolo). Queste maschere venivano usate come corredo funebre. Si tratta, come per gli oggetti riprodotti successivamente, di reperti archeologici del periodo postcolombiano. La fotografia più antica (fig. 54) dimostra che il bianco degli occhi era reso con pezzetti di conchiglie, mentre le pupille luminose erano costituite da dischi di ossidiana levigati. In seguito l'incrostazione si è sbriciolata. Sui denti vi sono tracce di vernice bianca.

56-57. Idolo, Firenze Museo di Etnologia. Pietra verde. Già in possesso di un principe mediceo. Altopiano del Guatema. Periodo tardo-classico della cultura Maya (VII/VIII secolo d. C.). Sull'elemento decorativo che la figura porta sul petto è graffito il segno a forma di T, simbolo di Ik, cioè la vita. La base di agata, la catenella e le pietre preziose sono aggiunte visibili nella foto 57. Sono oggi scomparse.

58-59. Idolo, Firenze, Museo di Etnologia. Pietra verde. Già in possesso di un principe mediceo. Cultura Mixteca-Puebla degli ultimi secoli prima della Conquista. Raffigura un defunto fasciato come una mummia.

60. Testa. Firenze, Museo di Etnologia. Pietra da grigio scuro a nero. Già in possesso di un principe mediceo. Cultura Mixteca-Puebla degli ultimi secoli prima della Conquista. Forse vi è raffigurato il dio della pioggia e del fulmine Dzahui. Teste di questo tipo o idoli erano molto comuni; probabilmente si trattava di corredi funebri.

61. Maschera atzeca. Firenze, Museo di Etnologia. Pietra verde. Già in possesso di un principe mediceo. Nel '500 o nel '600 furono incastonati rubini negli occhi. La cornice in rame dorato è probabilmente europea.

## IL MESSICO E I MEDICI

### *Riassunto del saggio introduttivo*

Le collezioni dei principi del Rinascimento comprendevano le cose più disparate: dal vasellame in oro, argento, o cristallo di rocca, ai minerali grezzi, alle conchiglie, ai coralli, alle ambre, insieme naturalmente alle opered'arte. Vi si addensano testimonianze di tutte le culture, passate e presenti. Così nella 'Kunstkammer', — voce cinquecentesca passata dal tedesco in tutte le lingue, a indicare questo tipo di collezione, — prende forma tangibile il desiderio di dominare tutto il sapere. Parte da non trascurare del lustro di un principe, essa diventa espressione di potenza.

Perciò, in queste pagine, non ci siamo preoccupati di dare soltanto un saggio di archeologia messicana, ma abbiamo inteso accostare il lettore allo spirito della 'Kunstkammer' tardorinascimentale e barocca. Non vi mancano, dunque, oggetti del periodo coloniale, né illustrazioni della flora, della fauna e, più in generale, della geografia del Messico.

L'interesse suscitato dal Nuovo Mondo, la cui scoperta appariva ad un cronista spagnolo del Cinquecento 'la mayor cosa cosa después de la creación del mundo, sacando la encarnación y muerte del que lo criò', dà ragione del grande spazio che si concede all'esotismo: è un modo di impadronirsi intellettualmente della nuova strabiliante esperienza. Ecco, dunque, principi e studiosi contendesi a gara le rarità dell'America, quasi le pietruzze lunari di oggi; ed ecco la preoccupazione di produrre in serie, nelle colonie, mosaici di penne di colibri, con immagini scintillanti che agli Europei affascinati, 'paiono miniate col pennello, et lumeggiate d'oro sopra il velluto'. Questa moda ha avuto, tra l'altro, il merito di fare arrivare fino a noi oggetti di materiale deperibile, sottraendoli al vandalismo dei 'conquistadores'.

Nelle collezioni medicee, ad eccezione di un piccolo idolo di pietra verde dell'altopiano del Guatemala tutto il materiale proveniente dalle Indie Occidentali è messicano. Prendendolo in esame, abbiamo iniziato dai codici già di proprietà di Clemente VII (oggi a Vienna e a Londra), per passare poi alle raccolte granducali. Quasi niente era stato, fino ad oggi, pubblicato, tranne i famosi manoscritti miniati e una maschera azteca di legno, incrostata di turchesi e conchiglie (poco note e in genere neglette sono le vicende di questo primo collezionismo di cose messicane). Per rintracciare quanto rimane, ho visi-

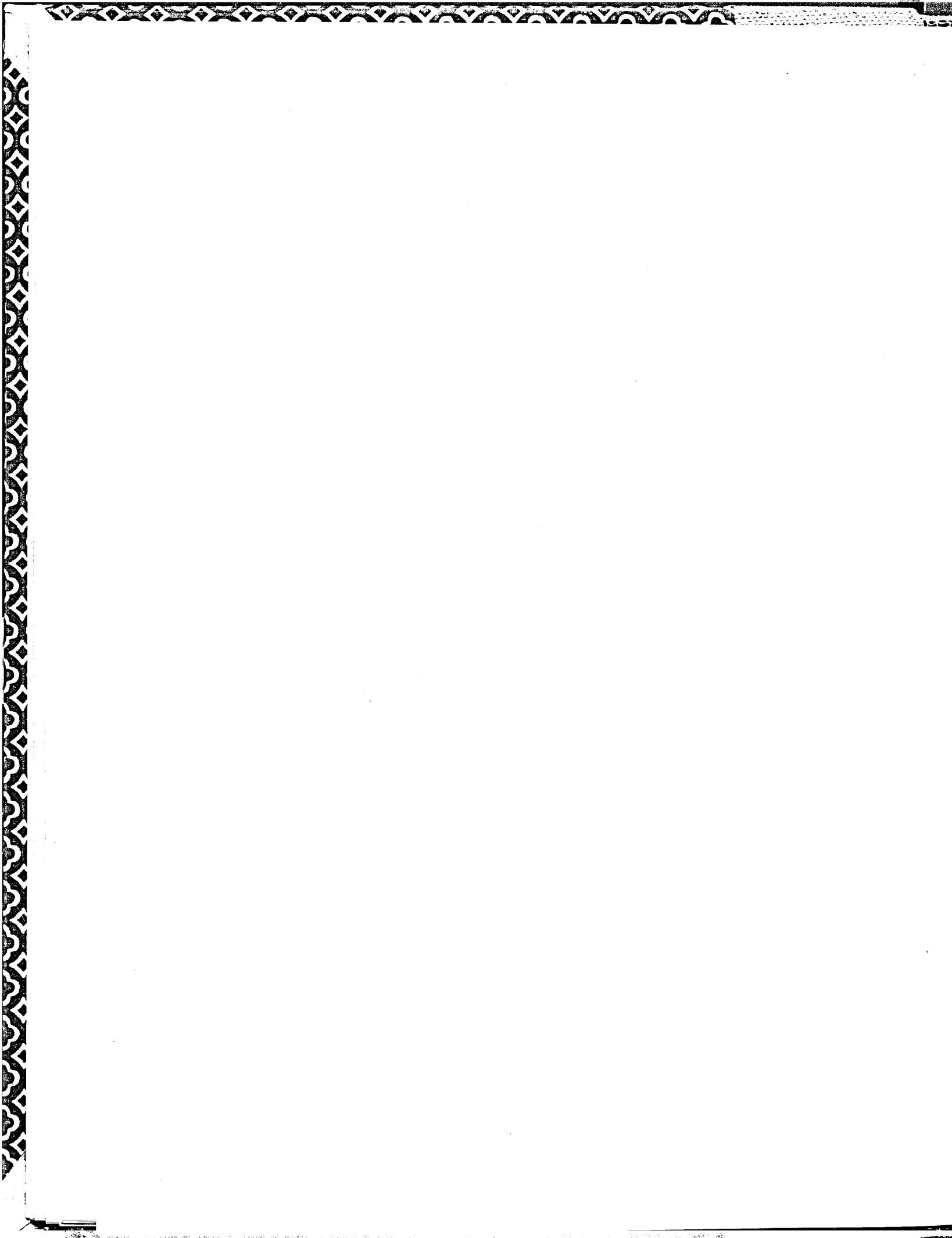
tato tutti i musei e le collezioni universitarie di Firenze. Mi è occorso, così, di imbattermi, nel Museo di Mineralogia, in due testine di cani in pietra dura, già di proprietà di Cosimo I (1537-1574). Nell'Armeria che Ferdinando I (1587-1609) stabilì agli Uffizi e che alla Galleria restò legata fin verso il 1770, oltre a quelle europee, comparivano armi e costumi esotici, di cui molti messicani. Ancor oggi, in una delle sale, che negli affreschi serba traccia dell'antica destinazione, il visitatore, distogliendosi per un momento dai Giambellino, Dürer e Giorgione ivi esposti, potrà scoprire, tra il pergolato del soffitto, pappagalli ed altri uccelli tropicali, ritratti al naturale nelle voliere del Granduca. E, in un 'quadretto riportato', Ludovico Buti ha raffigurato una battaglia fra Spagnoli e indigeni, ispirandosi alle illustrazioni di un codice messicano, verosimilmente la 'Historia' di Bernardino de Sahagún, oggi nella Biblioteca Laurenziana. In tali affreschi è possibile leggere le contrastanti opinioni che gli Europei si erano formati dell'America: da un lato, un paradieso esotico, dall'altro, una terra di esseri diabolici, ad annientare.

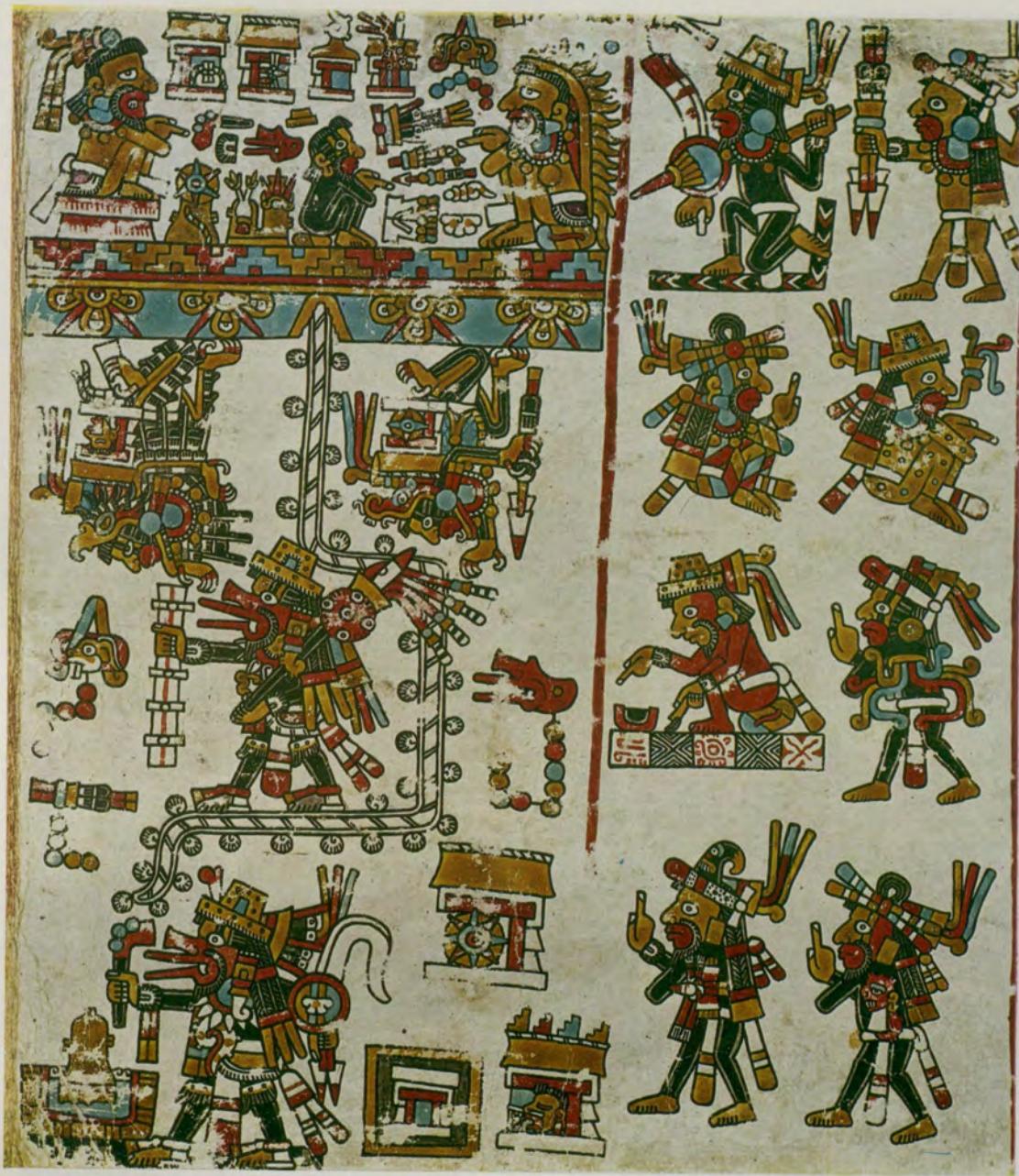
Nel Cinquecento, non fu solo la passione del collezionismo, ma più solide considerazioni di ordine economico, a stimolare l'interesse per il Messico. È noto quali cupidigie accendessero i tesori favolosi che, dalle navi spagnole, si riversarono allora su Siviglia, e come il commercio d'oltremare divenisse un miraggio per molti stati europei. Cosimo I, che della Toscana si era proposto di fare una potenza marittima, non mancò di procurarsi, da un esperto navigatore, un portolano 'per andare alla Nuova Spagna' (così era chiamato il Messico). Maggiormente i sogni di ricchezza coloniale dovettero agire sul figlio Ferdinando, sotto il quale Livorno divenne un porto importante e un centro di cartografia nautica che poco aveva da invidiare a Venezia, Genova e Messina. Malgrado la gelosa sorveglianza degli Spagnoli, il Granduca equipaggia navi per viaggi d'oltremare, e invia esploratori nell'America del Sud, alla ricerca di pietre preziose e d'oro. Sotto questo rispetto, tuttavia, nel corso del Seicento, il Nuovo Mondo perde d'interesse per il Granducato mediceo, che, sia pure ricchissimo, deve rassegnarsi al ruolo politico di piccolo stato. Missionari e avventurosi viaggiatori continuano, però, a fomentare la curiosità per quelle terre esotiche e per i loro abitanti, e si sviluppa, sulle loro orme, un'ondata di letteratura erudita e romanzesca. A Firenze sono soprattutto i missionari che mantengono vivi i contatti con il Messico: forse attraverso uno di loro, Cosimo III (1670-1723) acquista il ritratto di Moctezuma, ultimo re degli Aztechi, e quattro orci di Guadalajara.

Ordinando il materiale secondo la successione dei granduchi, abbiamo considerato a parte alcune maschere e idoli, dei quali non è noto quando entrarono nelle collezioni. Queste erano, un tempo, molto più ricche di oggetti messicani: ce lo rivelano le entrate d'inventario trascritte, qui, in appendice. Molto è andato perduto, nel corso degli ultimi due secoli, per negligenza e ignoranza. Ciononostante Firenze, come risulta da questo scritto, può ancora testimoniare, insieme a pochi altri centri in Europa, quest'aspetto del collezionismo del passato, soprattutto per quanto concerne il Cinquecento. Ancora una volta le raccolte medicee provano la loro inesauribile capacità. Indubbiamente gli idoli, le maschere, i manoscritti geroglifici sono oscurati dallo splendore di un mondo ideale di quadri, sculture, arazzi e tanti altri tesori dell'Occidente. Non viene, tuttavia, meno il significato culturale ed artistico dei primi contatti europei con le, allora, 'remotissime contrade', e gli 'sconosciuti regni delle Indie', tanto più attuale quanto le distanze geografiche sempre meno si impongono come barriere di comunicazione.

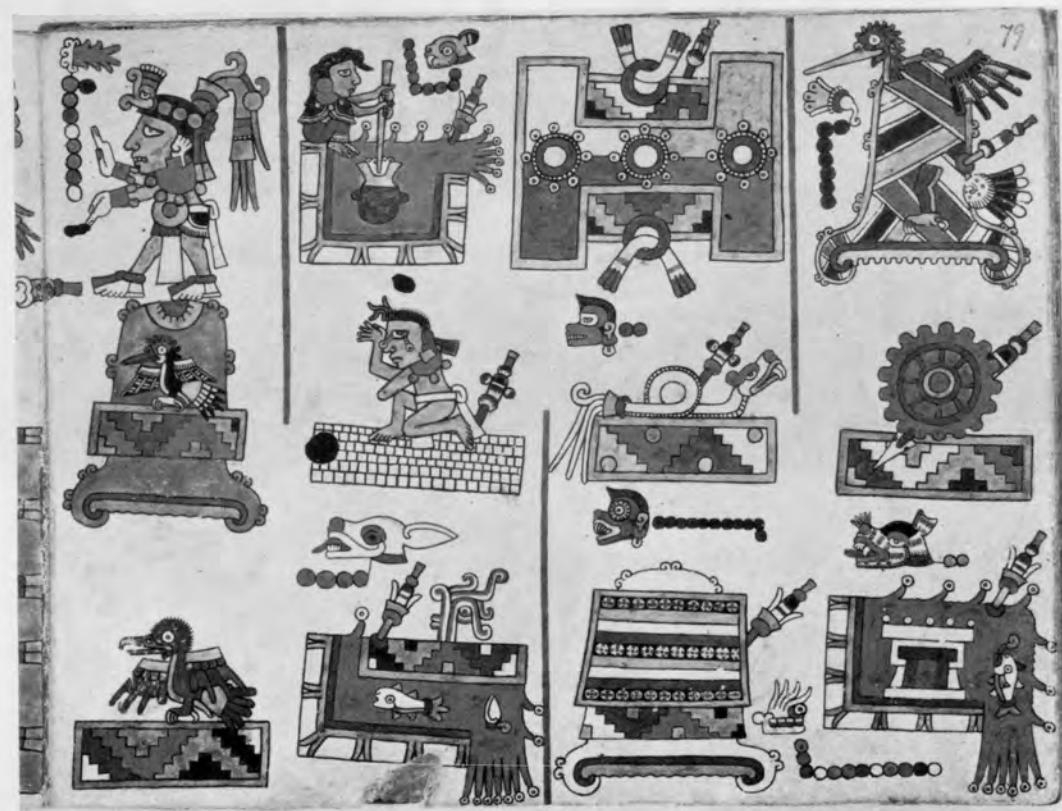
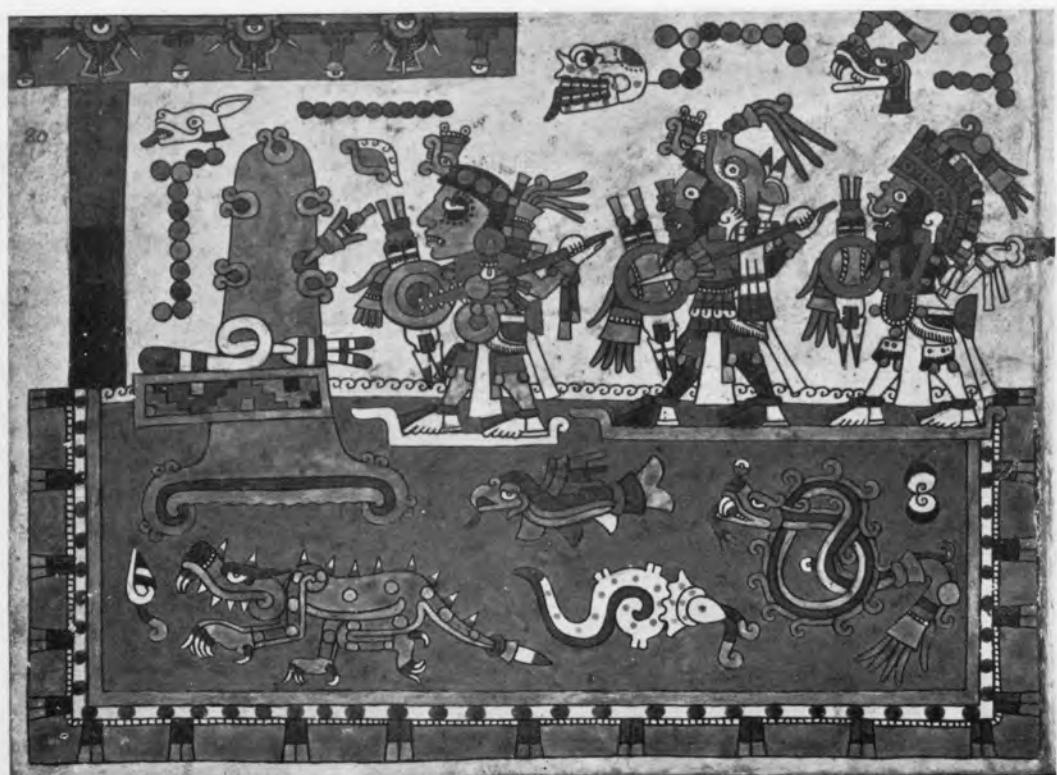
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PLATES

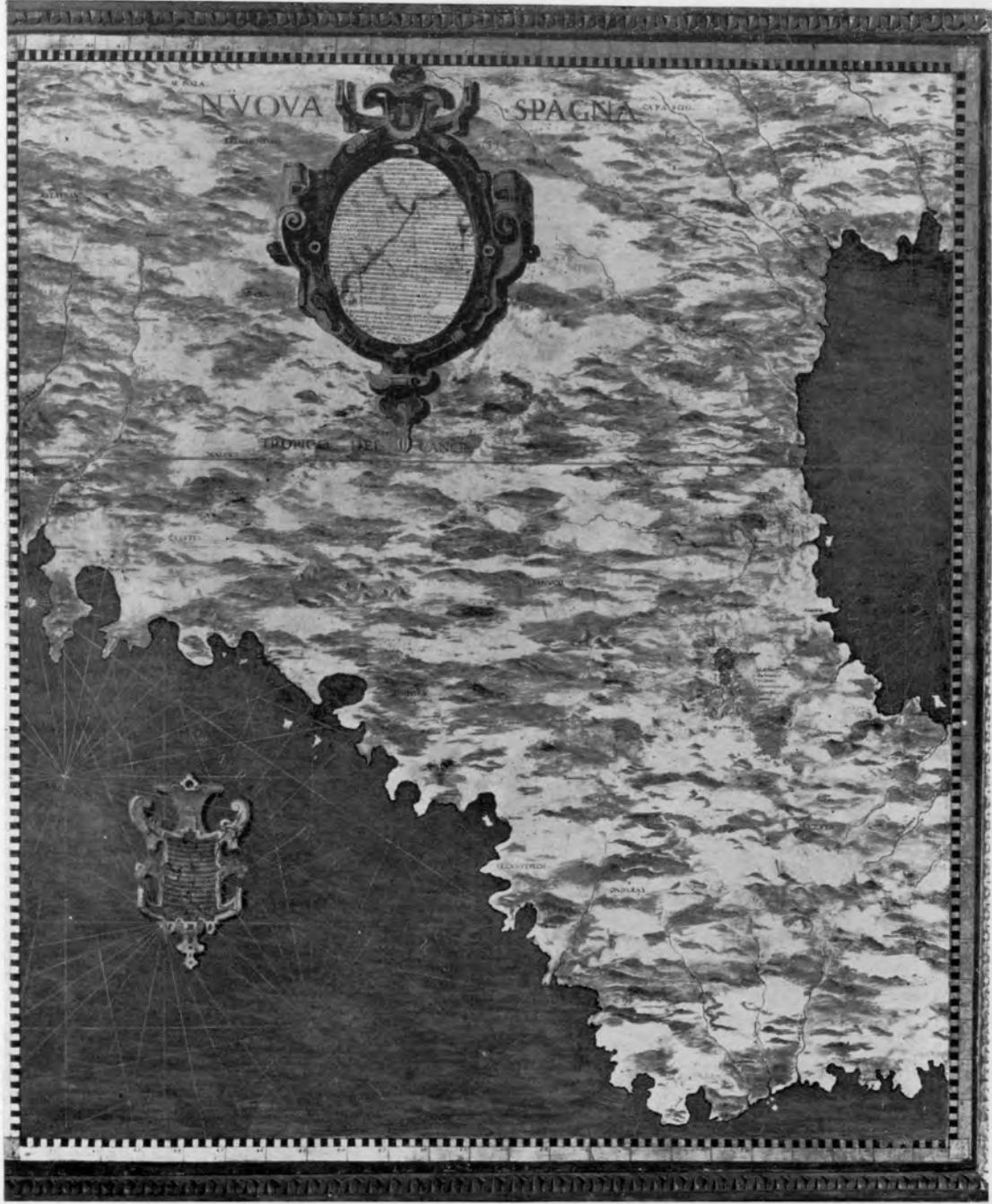




1. Codex Vindobonensis Mexicanus 1, Mixtec hieroglyphic manuscript. Vienna, Oesterreichische Nationalbibliothek.
1. Codice Vindobonensis Mexicanus 1, Manoscritto mixteco a geroglifici. Vienna, Oesterreichische Nationalbibliothek.



2-3. Codex Zouche-Nuttall, Mixtec hieroglyphic manuscript. London, British Museum.  
2-3. Codice-Nuttall, Manoscritto mixteco a geroglifici. Londra, British Museum.



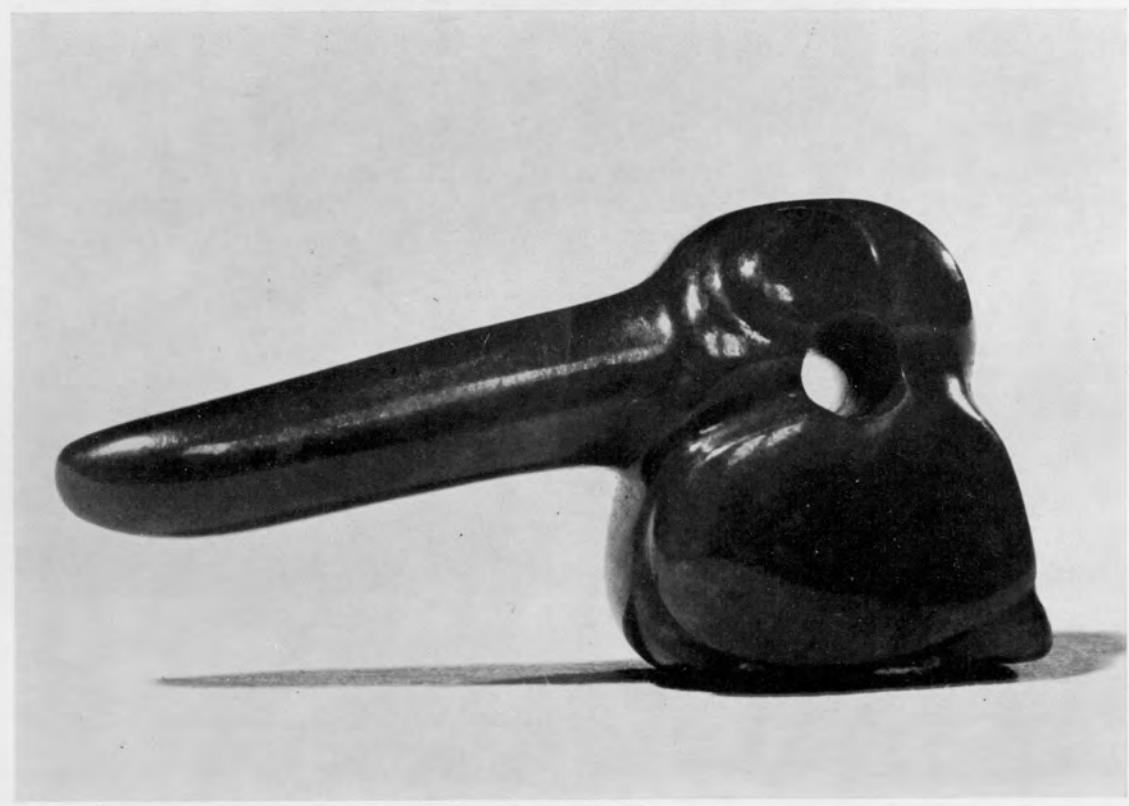
4. Egnazio Danti, Map of 'New Spain'. Florence, Palazzo Vecchio.  
4. Egnazio Danti, Mappa della 'Nuova Spagna'. Firenze, Palazzo Vecchio.



5. Mask, Mixtec-Puebla Culture. Rome, Museo Pigorini.  
5. Maschera, Cultura Mexteco-Puebla. Roma, Museo Pigorini.



6. Mask, Mixtec-Puebla Culture. Rome, Museo Pigorini.  
6. Maschera, Cultura Mixteco-Puebla. Roma, Museo Pigorini.



7. Small dog's head of onyx, Aztec. Florence, Museo di Mineralogia.
7. Piccola testa di cane in onice, atzeca. Firenze, Museo di Mineralogia.
8. Small bird's head of green agate, Aztec. Florence, Museo di Etnologia.
8. Piccola testa di uccello in agata verde, atzeca. Firenze, Museo di Etnologia.



9. Small dog's head of amethyst, Aztec. Florence, Museo di Mineralogia.  
9. Piccola testa di cane in ametista, atzteca. Firenze, Museo di Mineralogia.



10. 'Primavera', tapestry, designed by Agnolo Bronzino. Florence, Palazzo Pitti.  
10. 'Primavera', arazzo su disegno di Agnolo Bronzino. Firenze, Palazzo Pitti.



11. Jacopo Ligozzi, A species of Morning-glory. Florence, Uffizi, Gabinetto dei Disegni.

11. Jacopo Ligozzi, Gelsomino pennato. Firenze, Uffizi, Gabinetto dei Disegni.



12. Jacopo Ligozzi, Agave. Florence, Uffizi, Gabinetto dei Disegni.  
12. Jacopo Ligozzi, Agave. Firenze, Uffizi, Gabinetto dei Disegni.



13. Jacopo Ligozzi, Agave in bloom. Florence, Uffizi, Gabinetto dei Disegni.  
13. Jacopo Ligozzi, Agave in fiore. Firenze, Uffizi, Gabinetto dei Disegni.



14. Jacopo Ligozzi, A species of Agouti. Florence, Uffizi, Gabinetto dei Disegni.  
14. Jacopo Ligozzi, Una specie di Aguti. Firenze, Uffizi, Gabinetto dei Disegni.

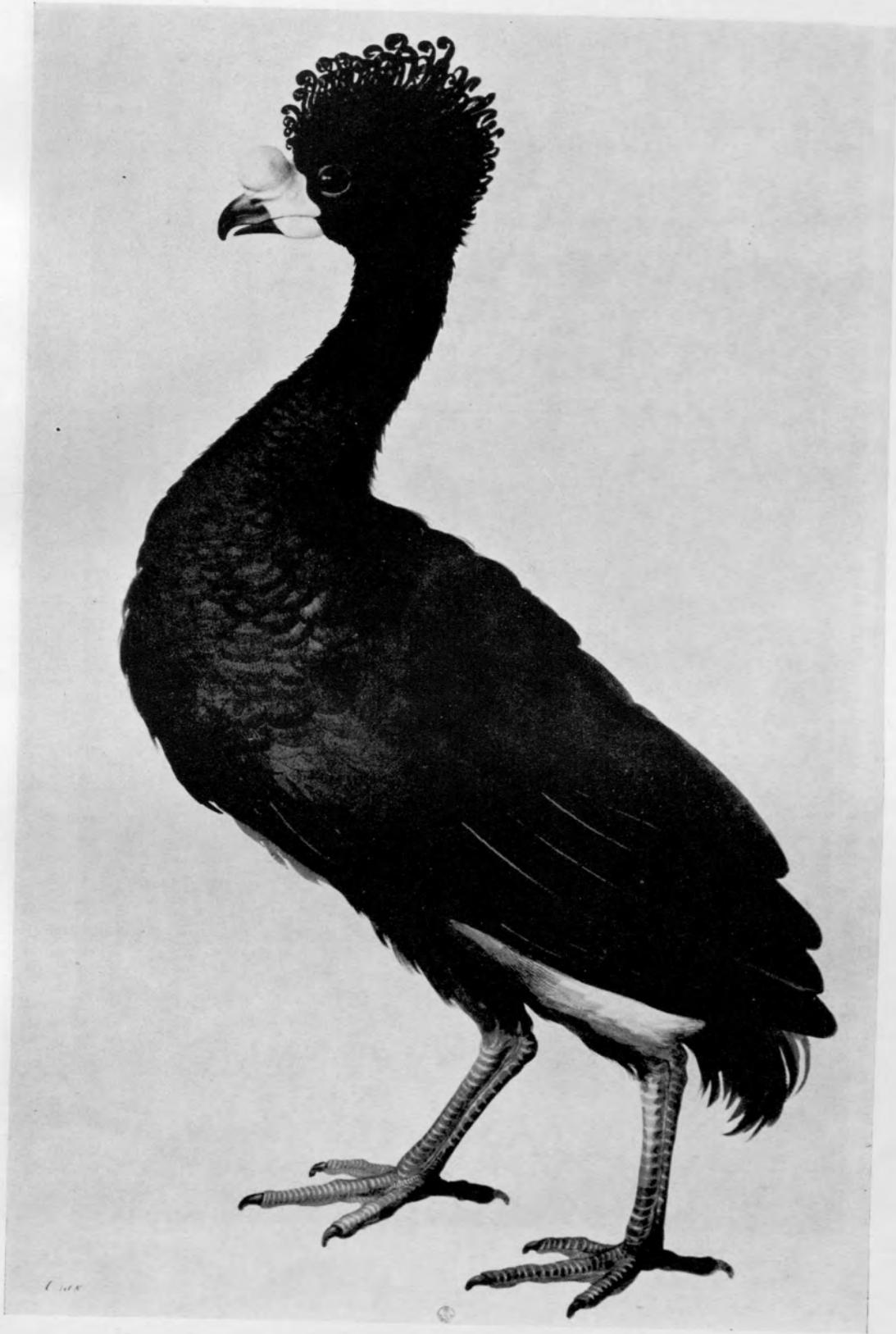


*Nicotiana*

15. Jacopo Ligozzi, False Jalap. Florence, Uffizi, Gabinetto dei Disegni.  
15. Jacopo Ligozzi, Bella di notte. Firenze, Uffizi, Gabinetto dei Disegni.



16. Jacopo Ligozzi, Crested Curassow. Florence, Uffizi, Gabinetto dei Disegni.  
16. Jacopo Ligozzi, Pavoncella. Firenze, Uffizi, Gabinetto dei Disegni.



17. Jacopo Ligozzi, Galeated Curassow. Florence, Uffizi, Gabinetto dei Disegni.  
17. Jacopo Ligozzi, Re di quaglie. Firenze, Uffizi, Gabinetto dei Disegni.



18. Bishop's mitre of feather mosaic. Florence, Museo degli Argenti.  
18. Mitra vescovile in mosaico di piume. Firenze, Museo degli Argenti.



19. Scenes from Christ's Passion, miniature on parchment. Paris, Louvre, Cabinet des Dessins, Collection Sauvageot.

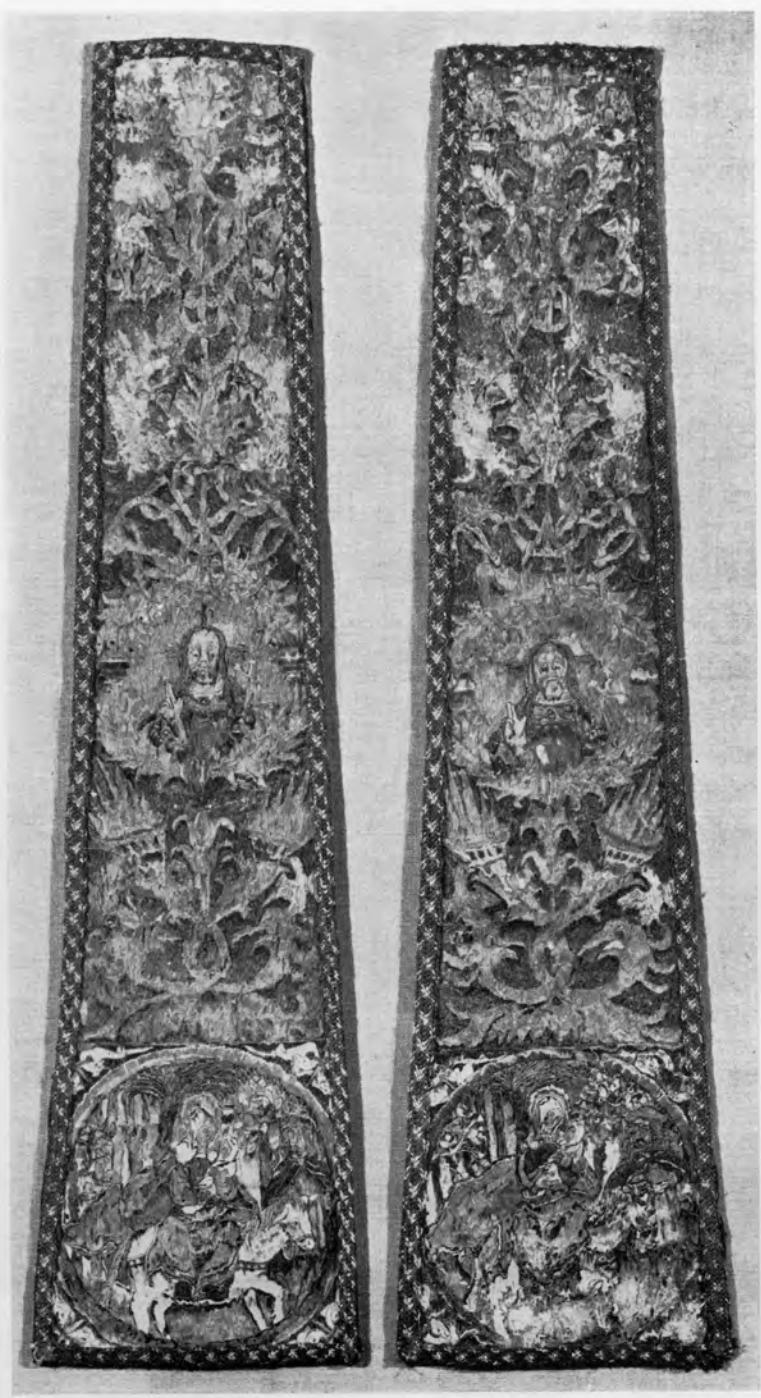
19. Scene della Passione di Cristo, miniatura su pergamena. Parigi, Louvre, Cabinet des Dessins, Collection Sauvageot.



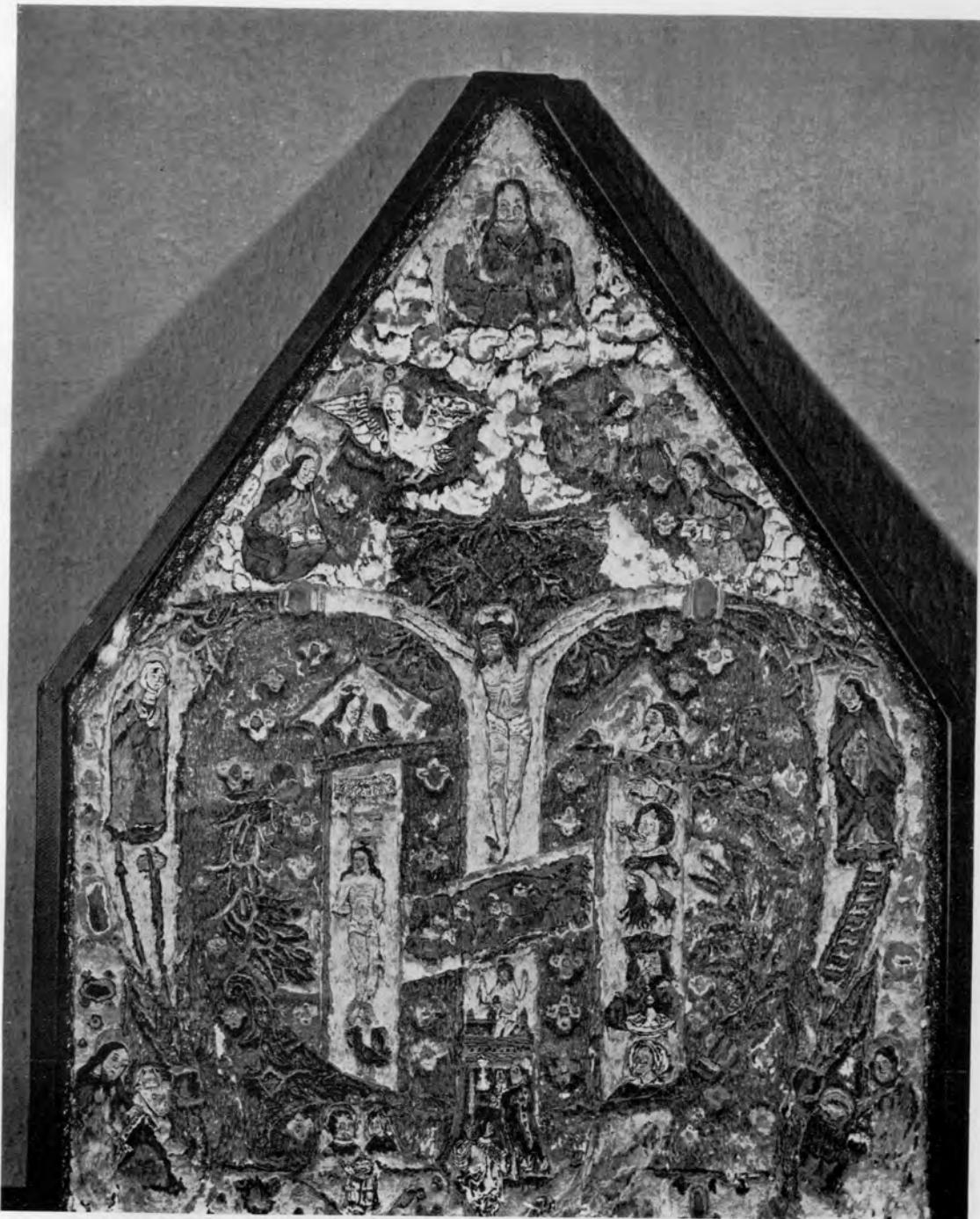
20. Infulae of a bishop's mitre made of feather mosaic. Florence, Museo degli Argenti.  
20. Infule della mitra vescovile in mosaico di piume. Firenze, Museo degli Argenti.



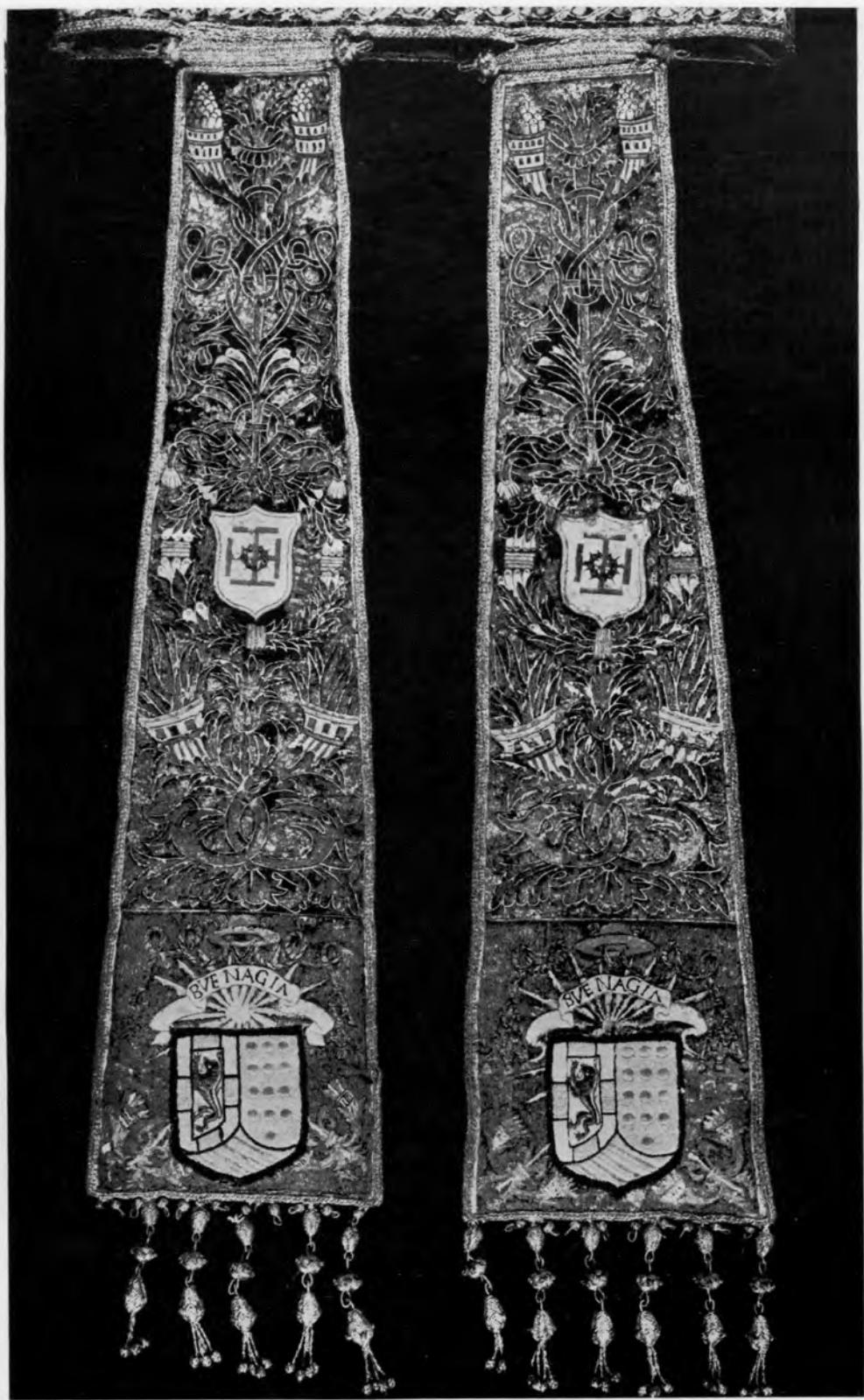
21. Bishop's mitre of feather mosaic, reverse side. Florence, Museo degli Argenti.  
21. Mitra vescovile in mosaico di piume, parte posteriore. Firenze, Museo degli Argenti.



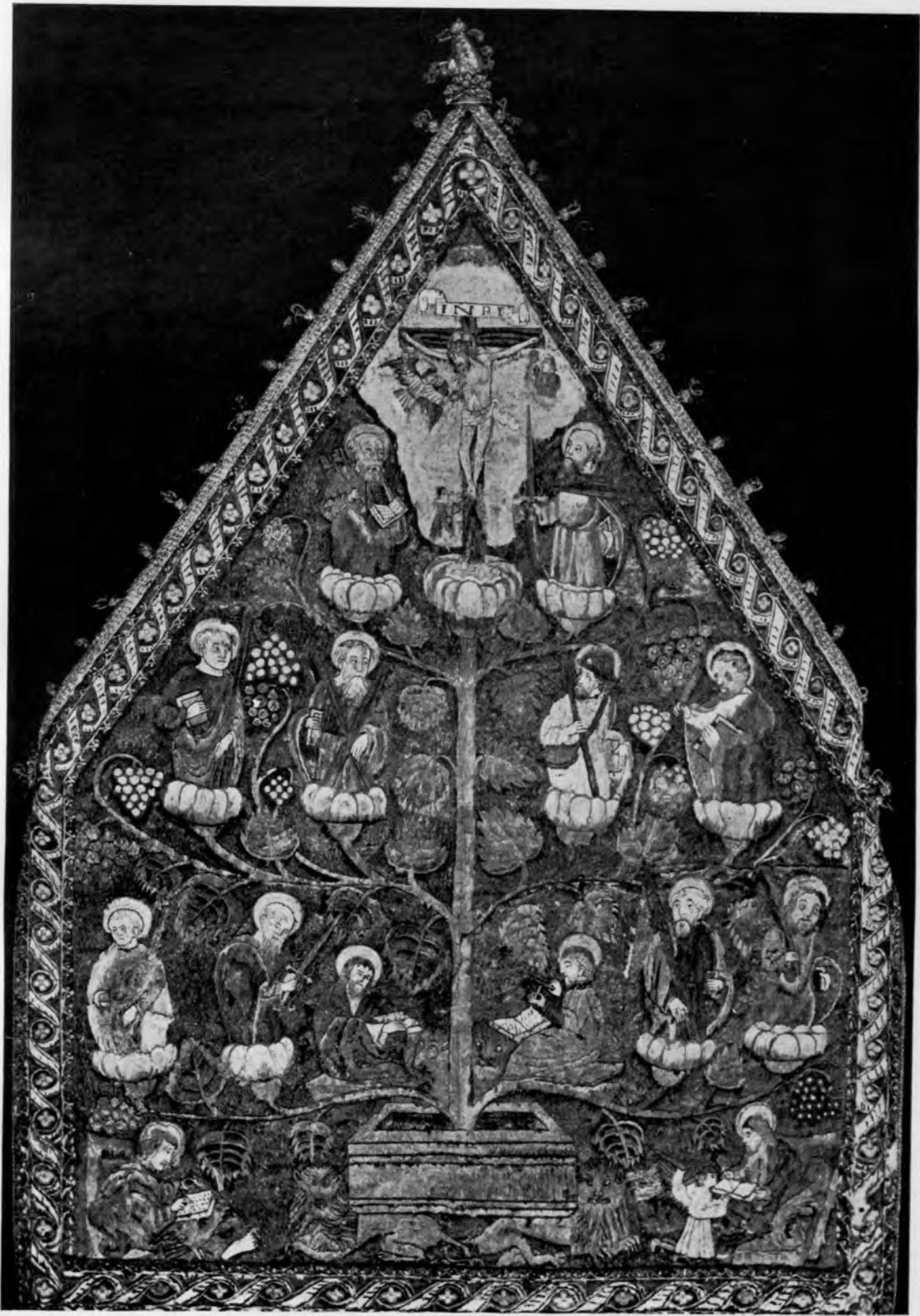
22. Infulae of a bishop's mitre. Hohentwiel, private collection.  
22. Infule di mitra vescovile. Hohentwiel, coll. privata.



23. Bishop's mitre of feather mosaic. Hohentwiel, private collection.  
23. Mitra vescovile in mosaico di piume. Hohentwiel, coll. privata.



24. Infulae of a bishop's mitre. Vienna, Museum für Völkerkunde.  
24. Infule di mitra vescovile. Vienna, Museum für Völkerkunde.



25. Bishop's mitre of feather mosaic. Vienna, Museum für Völkerkunde.  
25. Mitra vescovile in mosaico di piume. Vienna, Museum für Völkerkunde.



26. The Madonna, feather-mosaic picture. Vienna, Museum für Völkerkunde.  
26. Madonna, quadro in mosaico di piume. Vienna, Museum für Völkerkunde.



27. St. Jerome, feather-mosaic picture. Vienna, Museum für Völkerkunde.

27. San Girolamo, quadro in mosaico di piume. Vienna, Museum für Völkerkunde.



28. Ludovico Buti, Mexican resting under a tree, fresco. Florence, Uffizi.

28. Ludovico Buti, Messicano in riposo sotto un albero, affresco. Firenze, Galleria degli Uffizi.



29. Ludovico Buti, Grotesque tracery with exotic birds, fresco. Florence, Uffizi.  
29. Ludovico Buti, Decorazione a grottesche con uccelli esotici, affresco, Firenze, Galleria degli Uffizi.



30. Ludovico Buti, Battle between Mexicans and Spaniards, fresco. Florence, Uffizi.  
30. Ludovico Buti, Battaglia tra Messicani e Spagnoli, affresco. Firenze, Galleria degli Uffizi.



31. Ludovico Buti, Battle between Mexicans and Spaniards, detail. Florence, Uffizi.  
31. Ludovico Buti, Battaglia tra Messicani e Spagnoli, dettaglio. Firenze, Galleria degli Uffizi.



32. Ludovico Buti, Mexican warrior, fresco. Florence, Uffizi.

32. Ludovico Buti, Guerriero messicano, affresco. Firenze, Galleria degli Uffizi.



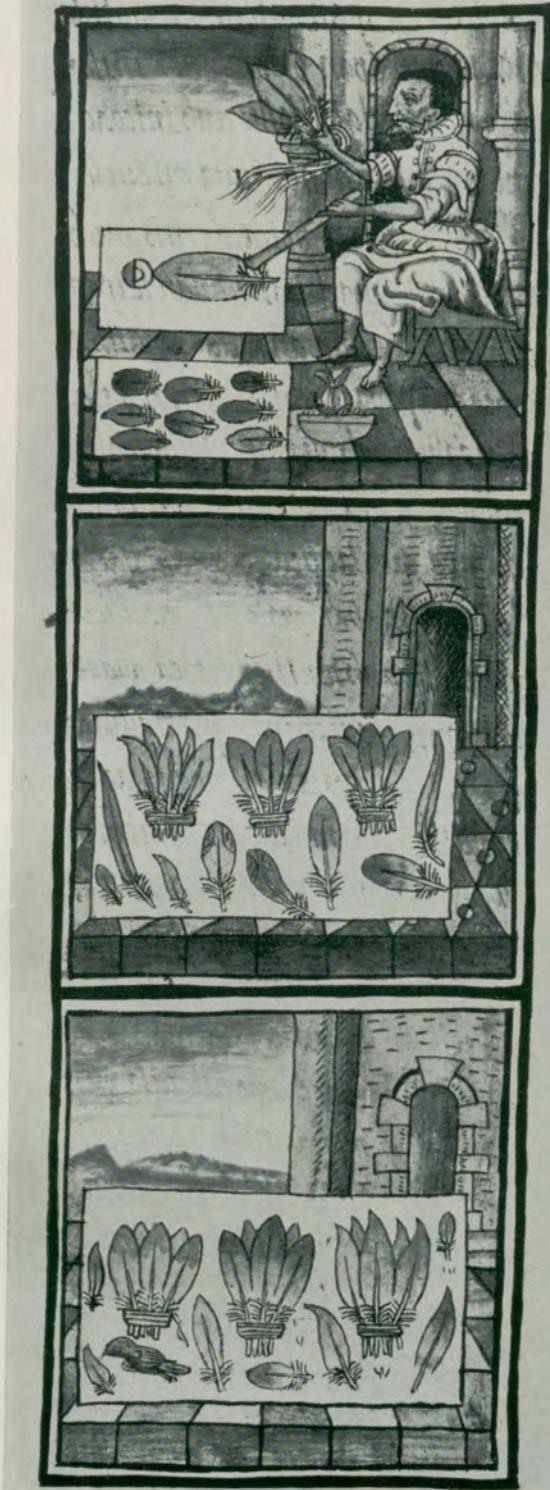
33. Ludovico Buti, Mexican warrior, fresco. Florence, Uffizi.

33. Ludovico Buti, Guerriero messicano, affresco. Firenze, Galleria degli Uffizi.



34. Ludovico Buti, Mexican chieftain with his entourage, fresco. Florence, Uffizi.

34. Ludovico Buti, Capo messicano col suo seguito, affresco. Firenze, Galleria degli Uffizi.



canoccecentetl motetequi, mo-  
tzacuoatza inihuitl, motenehoa  
tlatzacoatlalli: tzacutica mopi-  
loa, motzacupiloa inihuitl, ca-  
repan mepan moçaloa, omiut-  
ica omisxi petzoa. Inin mote-  
nehoa tlaoatlalli: canocmodhe  
inmaccoalihuitl, calehoatl uel  
quiacana, quiacatia inicieca  
ui ihuitlachioalli: ichoatl achto  
tlapepechiotl, i pepech mochloa  
quimo pe pechtia, inisquich tlac-  
oihuitl, aco coztlapalli inmo-  
tzacoatza, anoco aztatl, anoco  
chamolin, anoco cuiatlaxostli,  
anoco cocho ihuitl, anoco itla  
ihuitl can tlapalli; tlatalpal-  
palli; i pan mouelitta, moiche  
coa, monanamictia, in castle  
hoatl quimonamictiz, quimo pe  
pechtiz tlacoihuitl, inxiusto-  
totl, ichoatl mo pepechiotia,  
incuiatlaxostli ihuijo: ichoatl  
quisoaltia in alo: auhintziniz  
can, ichoatl quimo pe pechtia  
in cochoihuitl: auhintlaush.

35. Bernardino de Sahagún, Historia general de las cosas de Nueva España, Craftsman hardening feathers with glue. Florence, Biblioteca Laurenziana.
35. Bernardino de Sahagún, Historia general de las cosas de Nueva España, Artigiano che indurisce le piume con la colla. Firenze, Biblioteca Laurenziana.

de los oficiales



de pluma

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quechol:iehoatl ipe pech mochioa,  
incan ienoie isala pachio, tlauhque  
chot, aroco tla tlapalli ihuitl;  
auh intoztli ipe pech mochioa incos  
tlapalli ihuitl, cannoie quimope  
pechtia intozcuicuil, inihuitl in  
motenehioa coztlapalli, canmopa,  
mocozticapa, mocoza pa fleco icucic:  
ipan quaqualaca intlapalli, cacatlas  
calli, tlaxocotl momamictia: auh  
catepan motequisquiua, inicoac in  
omotequisquiul, inicomocencauh,  
inizquicac icac tlapetechiostl, imi  
hui tlaoatzalli: inienouian omote  
tecac, omotzacoaz, imipan ichcatl  
mepan tlacuiloalli, catepan mocoleoai.  
Auh inicoac centetl momana:oa  
paltonthi ipan moçaloa e amatl,  
occeppa ipan micuiloa inomocri  
cuic machiotl, in tlacuiloitl o  
mochiuh: ie hoatl ipan iecauini ini  
huitlachioalli, ipan mocençaloa  
inihuitl oapalli, aco suchitlacui  
lolli, aco quillacuiloalli, andco itla  
tlaixiptlahioatl inmochioaz, inqao  
quenamii tlamachitli, intlauelitta  
lli. Inicoac omicuilo, inomothli.

36. Bernardino de Sahagún, The dyeing and glueing of feathers. Florence, Biblioteca Laurenziana.
36. Bernardino de Sahagún, La coloritura e incollatura delle piume. Firenze, Biblioteca Laurenziana.



- 37. Bernardino de Sahagún, Battlescenes between Mexicans and Spaniards. Florence, Biblioteca Laurenziana.
- 37. Bernardino de Sahagún, Scene di battaglia tra Messicani e Spagnoli. Firenze, Biblioteca Laurenziana.
- 38. Bernardino de Sahagún, Priests and warriors in battle attire. Florence, Biblioteca Laurenziana.
- 38. Bernardino de Sahagún, Sacerdoti e guerrieri in assetto di guerra. Firenze, Biblioteca Laurenziana.



39. Huastec feather shield. Mexico D.F., Museo Nacional de Historia, Castillo de Chapultepec.
39. Scudo di piume, huaxteco. Mexico D.F., Museo Nacional de Historia, Castillo de Chapultepec.



40. Bernardino de Sahagún, a jaguar warrior holding his shield up to the sun. This and the two following illustrations, Florence, Biblioteca Laurenziana.
40. Guerriero-giaguaro che alza il suo scudo contro il sole. Questa e le due illustrazioni seguenti Firenze, Biblioteca Laurenziana.
41. The retreat of the Spaniards.
41. Ritirata degli Spagnoli.
42. A feather-work craftsman with his finished products.
42. Artigiano coi suoi prodotti in mosaico di piume.



43. Greenstone mask. Florence, Museo degli Argenti.  
43. Maschera in pietra verde. Firenze, Museo degli Argenti.



44. Unknown artist, Moctezuma, the last King of the Aztecs, detail. Florence, Museo di Etnologia.  
44. Ignoto, Montezuma, ultimo re degli Atzechi, dettaglio. Firenze, Museo di Etnologia.



45. Unknown artist, Moctezuma, Florence, Museo di Etnologia.  
45. Ignoto, Montezuma. Firenze, Museo di Etnologia.

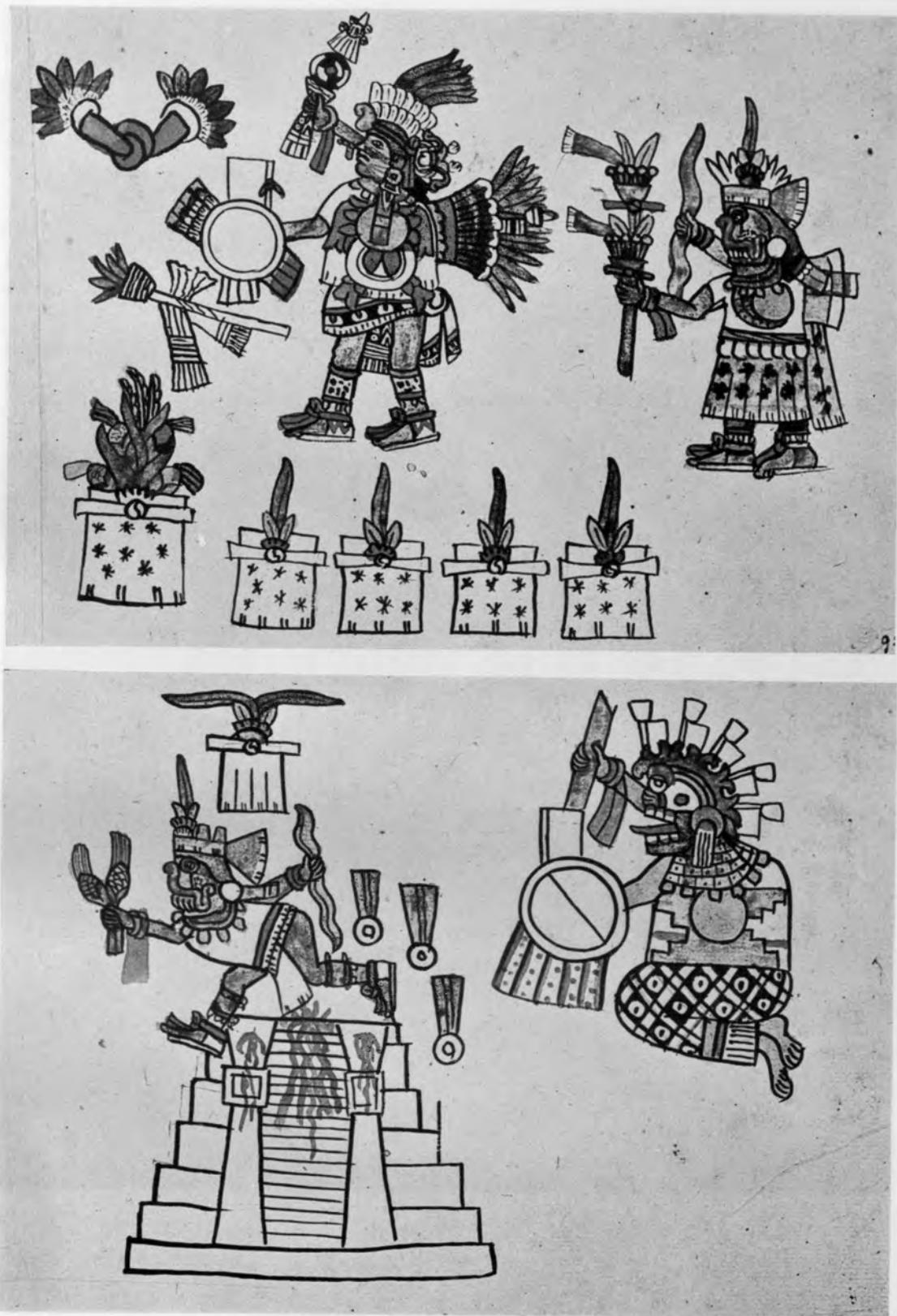


46. Moctezuma, 1699, engraving.

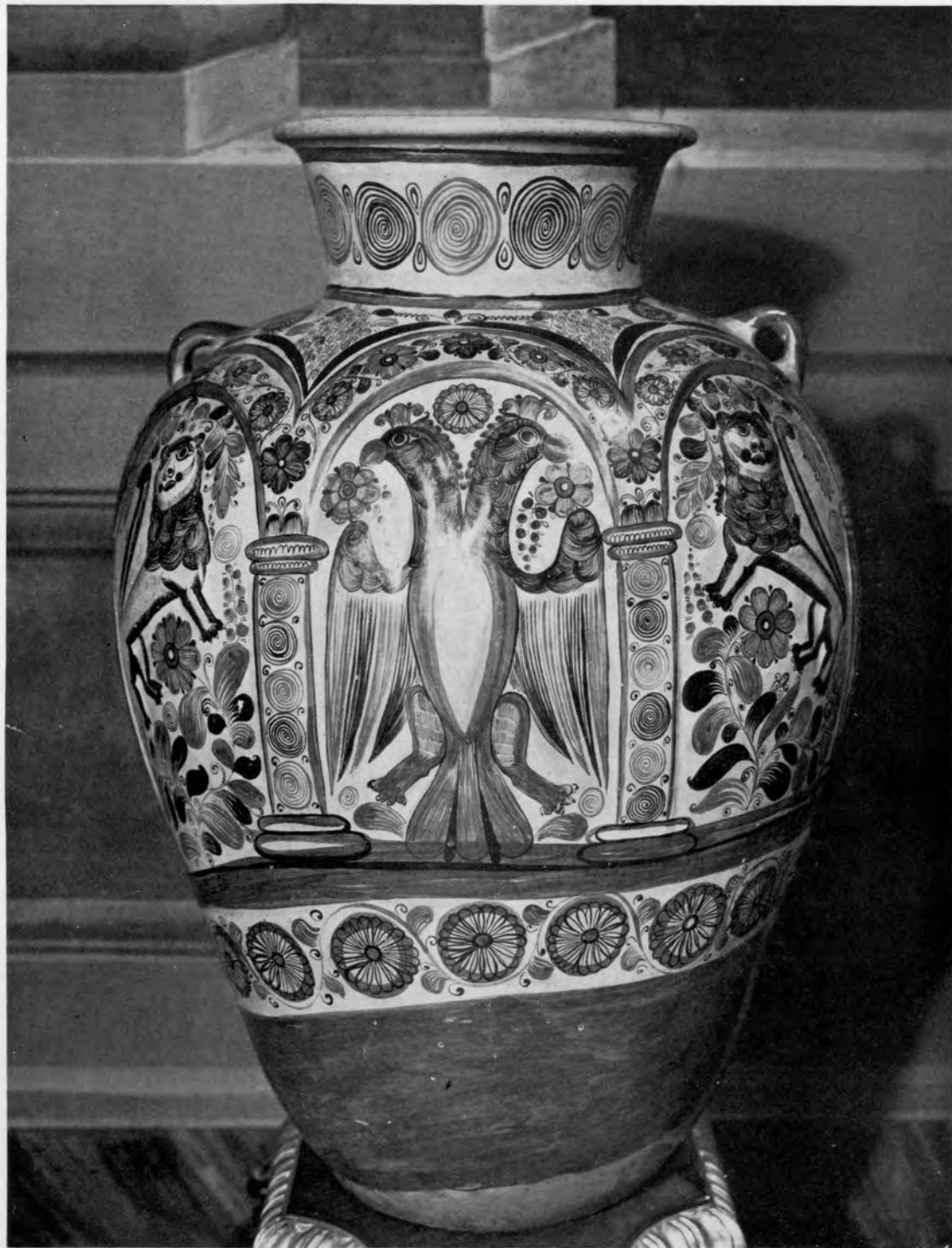
46. Montezuma, incisione del 1699.



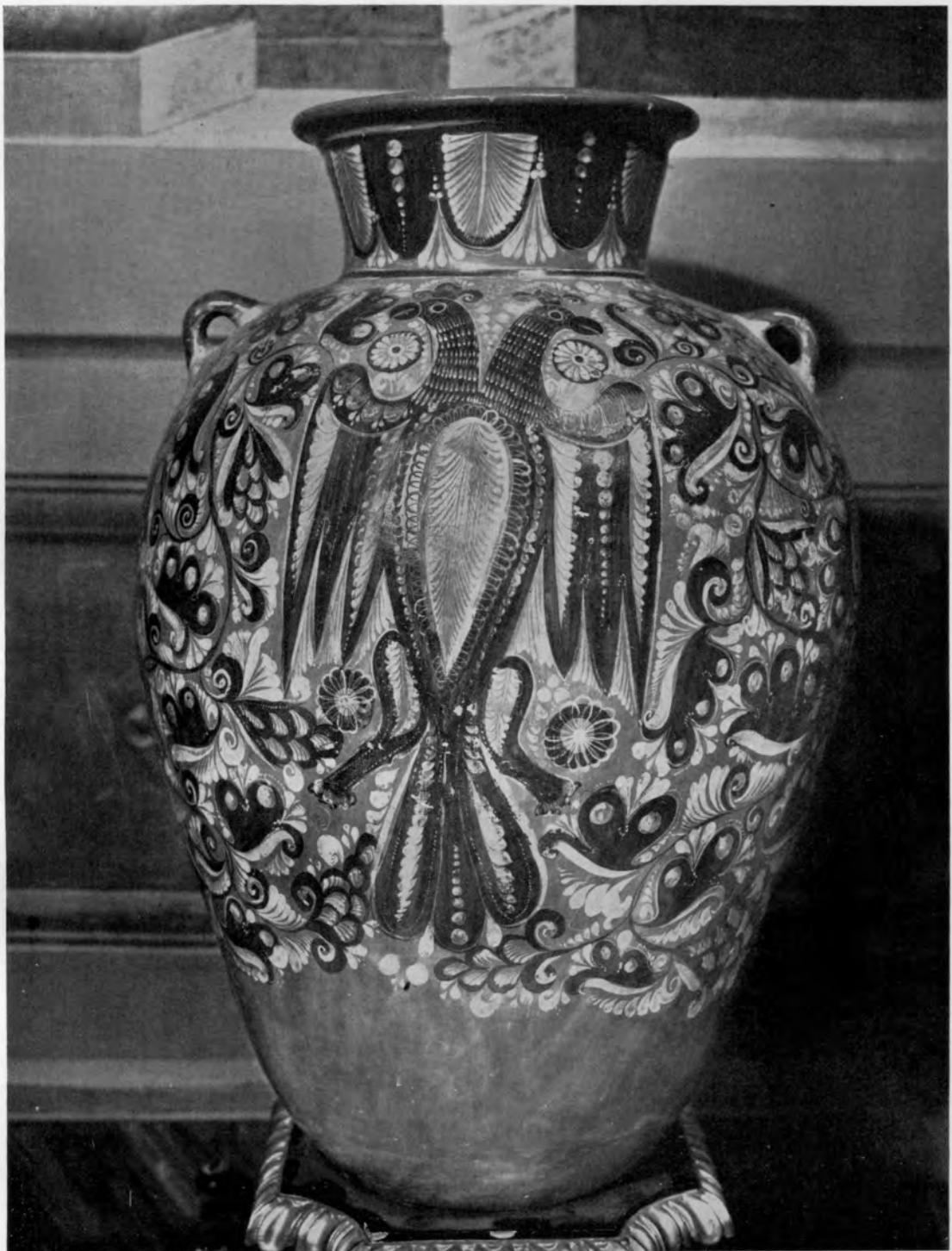
47. King Nezahualpilli, Codex Ixtlilxochitl. Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale.  
47. Il Re Nezahualpilli, Codice Ixtlilxochitl. Parigi, Bibliothèque Nationale.



48-49. Vida de los Yndios, post-Columbian illustrated manuscript. Florence, Biblioteca Nazionale.  
48 - 49. Vida de los Yndios, manoscritto illustrato post-colombiano. Firenze, Biblioteca Nazionale.



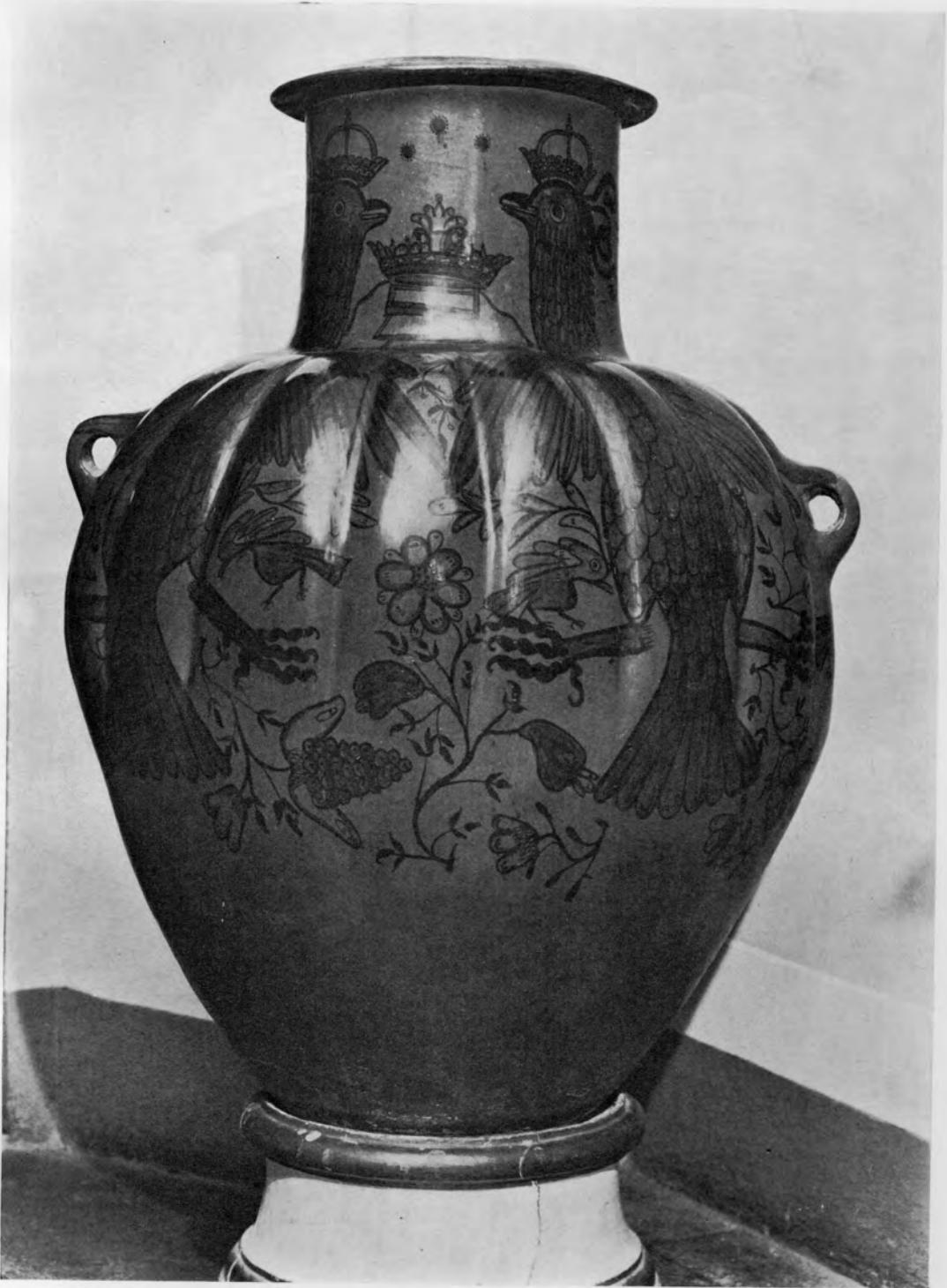
50. Earthenware jar from Guadalajara, Florence, Museo degli Argenti, Store-rooms.  
50. Vaso in terracotta di Guadalajara. Firenze, Museo degli Argenti, Depositi.



51. Earthenware jar from Guadalajara, reverse side. Florence, Museo degli Argenti, Store-rooms.  
51. Vaso in terracotta di Guadalajara. Firenze, Museo degli Argenti, Depositi.



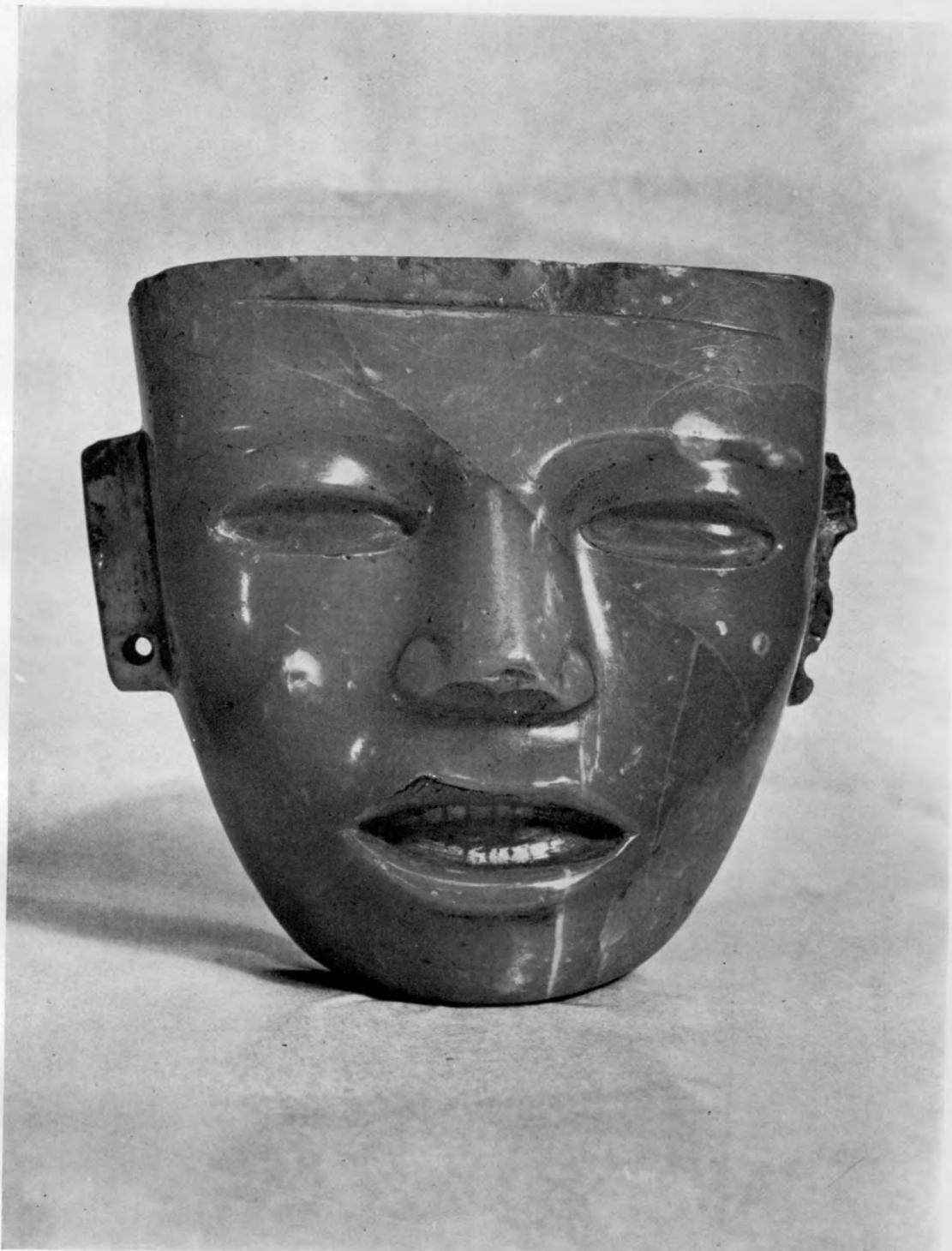
52. Earthenware jar from Guadalajara. Florence, Museo degli Argenti, Store-rooms.  
52. Vaso in terracotta di Guadalajara. Firenze, Museo degli Argenti, Depositi.



53. Earthenware jar from Guadalajara. Florence, Museo degli Argenti, Store-rooms.  
53. Vaso in terracotta di Guadalajara. Firenze, Museo degli Argenti, Depositi.



54. Mask, Teotihuacan Culture. In original condition with eyes enhanced by encrustments.  
Florence, Soprintendenza alle Gallerie.
54. Maschera, Cultura Teotihuacán. Nelle condizioni originali con occhi rilevati da incrostazioni.  
Firenze, Soprintendenza alle Gallerie.

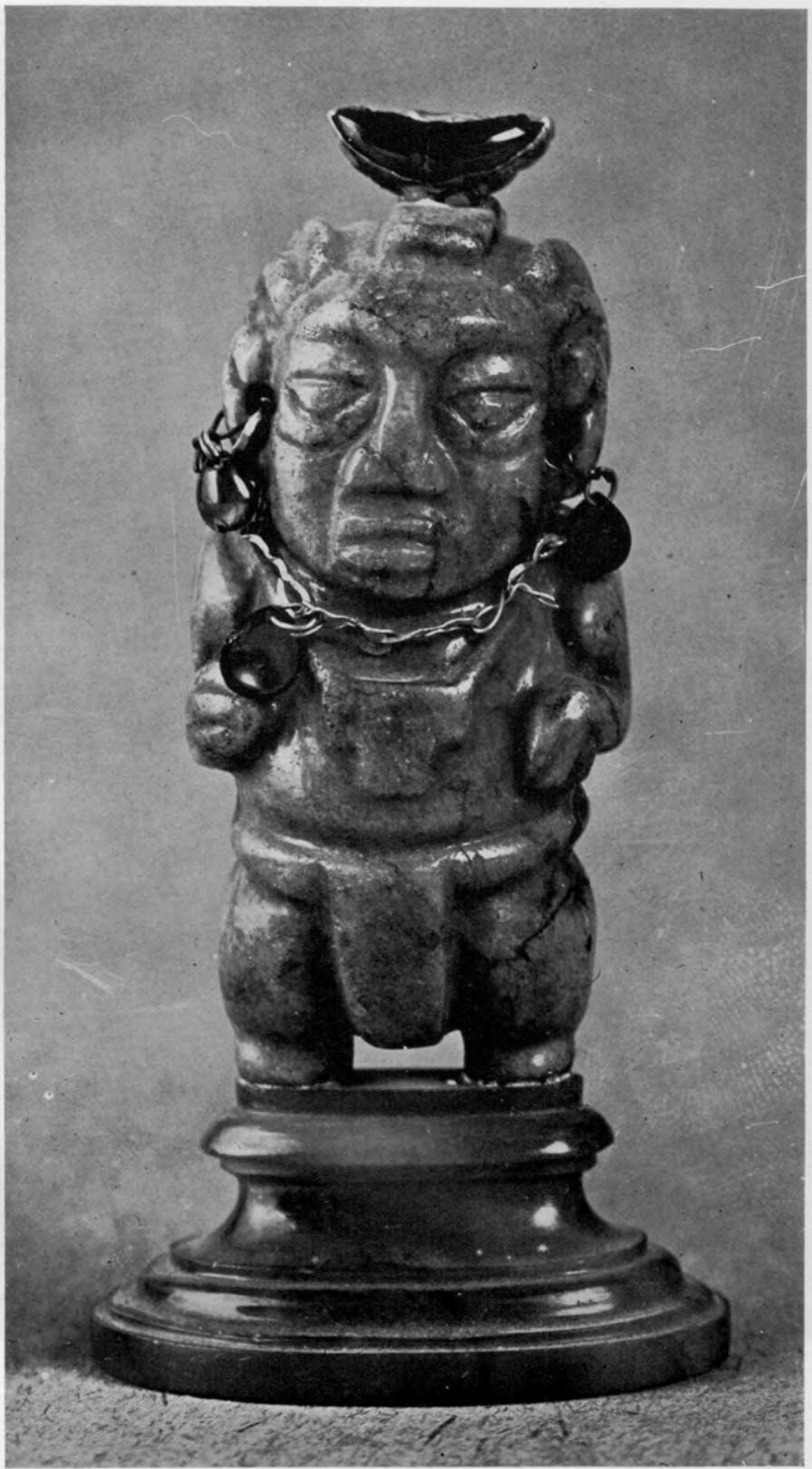


55. Mask, Teotihuacán Culture. Present state. Florence, Soprintendenza alle Gallerie.

55. Maschera, Cultura Teotihuacán. Condizione presente. Firenze, Soprintendenza alle Gallerie.



56. Idol, Highlands of Guatemala. Florence, Museo di Etnologia.  
56. Idolo, Altopiano del Guatemala. Firenze, Museo di Etnologia.



57. Idol, Highlands of Guatemala. Florence, Museo di Etnologia.  
57. Idolo, Altopiano del Guatemala. Firenze, Museo di Etnologia.



58. Idol, Mixtec-Puebla Culture. Florence, Museo di Etnologia.

58. Idolo, Cultura Mixteco-Puebla. Firenze, Museo di Etnologia.



59. Idol, Mixtec-Puebla Culture. Florence, Museo di Etnologia.  
59. Idolo, Cultura Mixteco-Puebla. Firenze, Museo di Etnologia.



60. Head, Mixtec-Puebla Culture. Florence, Museo di Etnologia.  
60. Testa, Cultura Mixteco-Puebla. Firenze, Museo di Etnologia.



61. Aztec mask. Florence, Museo di Etnologia.

61. Maschera Atzeca. Firenze, Museo di Etnologia.

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