

Medici Rule Reimagined: Cosimo III, the Dutch Republic, and Grand Ducal Aspirations for Seventeenth-Century Tuscany (c. 1667-1723)

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Abstract

The enticingly modern strain of republicanism that young Prince Cosimo III de' Medici (1642-1723) encountered during his two sojourns in the Dutch Republic (1667-1669) proved a forceful means to reimagine Tuscany's own, administrative past and present. Through comparative analysis of the unpublished travel journal of Medici secretary Apollonio Bassetti (1631-1699) and the diary in verse by court physician Giovanni Andrea Moniglia (1624-1700), we argue that Cosimo III's ambitious agenda abroad was influenced predominantly by his desire to implement environmental reform and portray a contrasting socio-political model at home. Cosimo's own journeys were followed by ongoing transnational exchange, as testified by the court's efforts to conceptualize a Medici town atlas and cultivate exotic pineapple plants on the Tuscan soil. By importing artefacts and ideas, then, Cosimo III—just prior to his succession by Gian Gastone (1671-1737), last of the Medici grand dukes—sought to consciously craft the Medici dynasty's lasting legacy.

Not only does travel contain many qualities which authors have acclaimed far and wide and which is proved by the practice itself, but I also believe there is nothing more splendid or marvelous than to witness personally the virtue of those renowned elsewhere and to gain the favour or *friendship* of great men.

Pieter Blaeu's dedication to Antonio Magliabechi in the edition of Petronius's *Satyricon* issued by the Blaeus in 1669.

In the winter of 1667-1668, the young Florentine prince Cosimo de' Medici (1642-1723) travelled through Northern Europe. The well-prepared trip was motivated not—as a contemporary comment that resonates throughout current scholarship would have it—by Cosimo's wish to escape his unhappy marriage with Marguerite Louise d'Orléans (1645-1721), but rather by the prince's explicit aim to learn about the governmental structures accompanying the intellectual, artistic, and commercial prosperity of Germany and, especially, the Low Countries.¹

During his sojourn, Cosimo encountered a different society up close and made ample use of this opportunity to augment his network of international contacts through meetings with scholars, dignitaries, and merchants. This approach proved successful: once he had returned to Florence and became grand duke (1670), Cosimo was eager to maintain and nurture the contacts established during his travels. As Van Veen and McCormick have noted, it would in fact seem that Cosimo tried to use the ties that continued to connect Tuscany and the Dutch Republic after his return to Florence to deal with some of the processes of decline the Grand Duchy witnessed during his reign (1670-1723).² Yet only few, initial attempts have so far been made to study the impact of these relations on Medici strategies to turn the cultural and intellectual tide of late seventeenth century Tuscany.³ By assessing more systematically some of the most active avenues of a remarkably lively process of cross-cultural

exchange, this essay aims to indicate the broader political significance of contacts between both states.

Cosimo left Florence for the first of his two trips on 22 October 1667. After stops in Mainz, Arnhem, and Utrecht, the prince and his entourage eventually reached Amsterdam. They remained in the city widely known as the centre of trade and publishing until 7 January 1668. Guided by merchant Francesco Feroni (1614-1696) and bookseller Pieter Blaeu (1637-1706), Cosimo paid visits to the town hall, to printing offices and book shops, and to the headquarters of the East and West Indian Trading companies. Thanks to his local contacts, the prince was able, moreover, to personally inspect some of Amsterdam's most renowned cabinets of curiosities and to set foot in a great number of Protestant and (clandestine) Catholic churches.

The travel journals carefully drawn up during and after Cosimo's stay show that he was delighted by the variety and sophistication of products, ranging from books, over engravings and art, to exotic curiosities including spices and natural specimens on offer in Amsterdam. As we will argue, this is indicative not solely of the more mundane interest in conspicuous consumption Cosimo shared with other travellers to the Republic at the time, but may equally point to Medici awareness of Amsterdam's publishing trade providing a window onto noteworthy developments on the stage of global trade and politics. Through technical advances and apt editorial strategies, publishers in turn strove to support Italian rulers in their desire for self-celebration through print, as evinced by the international prestige of the unfinished town atlas treated below.

After Amsterdam, Cosimo carried on his voyage to arrive, through Haarlem and Alkmaar, in Leiden, where he visited the university, its library and anatomical theatre. In The Hague, Prince William III of Orange (1650-1702) organised a ballet in his honour on 5

February 1668.⁴ The next day, Cosimo and his entourage travelled to Amsterdam, where they remained several days before moving on to Hamburg and, eventually, return to Italy.

Significantly, Cosimo was so intrigued by what he had seen during his first tour that he again visited the Dutch Republic as early as the following year: in 1669, the Medici prince embarked on a second trip, this time to Spain, Portugal, Great Britain, France, and the Low Countries.⁵

During his second stay in the Republic, Cosimo made a point to visit additional sites of contemporary interest, including the polders that formed the imposing result of recent drainage projects and two towns in the province of Friesland that—because of the ancient usages allegedly observable there—had been highly recommended by Grand Pensionary Johan de Witt (1625-1672).⁶

As we will seek to stress, Medici interest in the Low Countries thus reached beyond the desire to acquire artefacts and (re)affirm social standing abroad; it was directed, additionally, towards a more ideological appropriation of the socio-political model projected outwardly by the burgeoning Dutch Republic. Just how did the Dutch, in the eyes of the Tuscans, manage to establish commercial might overseas whilst maintaining (seeming) stability through public power at home? What may Medici interest in the newly emerging strain of republicanism adopted by a small, yet extremely successful, state in northern Europe tell us, in turn, about the Grand Duchy's engagement with its own political structures, past and present? As noted by Paola Benigni, it would seem that 'this sovereign [Cosimo III], on a par with his famous predecessors and unlike what has so far been maintained in traditional historiography, was actively involved with problems of state. Problems that were more complex inasmuch as these derived from the process of formation and consolidation of an absolutist Renaissance state that, grafted onto particulars and privileges of republican origin, in fact never had the political strength to eliminate or reduce them'.⁷ In a spirit of scholarly re-appraisal, then,

Cosimo's curiosity will be assessed in this essay not just as a prominent, and highly privileged, lens on Dutch culture and its developments, but also as a mirror image that sheds light on—and raises some new questions as to—the aspirations that were cultivated on paper by the future Grand Duke and his entourage. In the accounts that were purposefully produced by Cosimo's courtiers, the young Dutch Republic figures prominently as a study case demonstrating state-formation in progress, while the success of trading companies provides an irresistible example inviting emulation.

In an attempt to investigate Cosimo's ambitious agenda abroad, we will present several highly significant—yet largely overlooked—sources, including the travel journal of Medici secretary Apollonio Bassetti (1631-1699) and the diary in verse by court physician Giovanni Andrea Moniglia (1624-1700). As Bassetti and Moniglia's writings reveal, despite his strong religious convictions, Cosimo III was quite open to the liberal culture of the Dutch Republic and extremely keen to establish ties there. To the Tuscans, the exceptional appeal of the Dutch Republic rested on pillars that reveal the convergence of cultural curiosity, commercial interests, and matters of a more political nature.

The Company of Florentine Courtiers in Prose and Poetry

In April 1667, a pressing letter from Florence reached Pieter Blaeu in Amsterdam: Cosimo III requested a copy of Athanasius Kircher's *China Illustrata* (published that same year, by competing bookmen Van Waesberge and Weyerstraten).⁸ Pleased with the prompt delivery of both this work and a much appreciated nautical atlas, in May Cosimo extended his order to 'other books that treat the information emerging from new travels or [that contain] exotic, and recent, knowledge'.⁹ Evidently, by familiarizing himself with the products and prowess of the

Dutch book trade—recognized recently as ‘the Republic’s most successful cultural export’¹⁰—Cosimo had started to mentally prepare himself for his upcoming tour through northern Europe.

When the Medici prince set out for the first of his travels in October, he did so in the company of about forty courtiers. In order to retain memories of what was to be encountered along the way, many of them kept a diary. Upon their return to Florence, these reports were edited by Cosimo’s chamberlain Filippo Corsini (1647-1706) and bound into an official account, still held at the Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana.¹¹ The diaries’ texts are complemented by an album of drawings and watercolors depicting landscapes, fortresses, harbors, cities, and churches that are all attributed to artist and architect Pier Maria Baldi (c. 1630-1686).¹²

Grand ducal secretary Apollonio Bassetti and court physician and poet Giovanni Andrea Moniglia recorded their experiences in additional accounts that were compiled in curiously contrasting styles. Bassetti’s journal, preserved at the Biblioteca Moreniana, consists of two thin oblong volumes, closely written on both sides of the page in casual, occasionally rushed, handwriting.¹³ On the whole, this diary is less formal than Moniglia’s; it was, in all likelihood, intended mostly for personal use, as is testified by its material features. The small booklet could easily be kept—and carried around—in Bassetti’s pockets, allowing him to scribble down annotations or develop more elaborate observations *en route*. In this way, the journal by Bassetti also served a larger purpose as the ad hoc model for future field reporters’ notebooks. During Cosimo’s trip, the particular set up of his journal enabled Bassetti, first and foremost, to record his impressions on features that in many cases, as we will see, correspond closely to broader Medici interests. The careful process of selection that underpins Bassetti’s

information gathering may, in fact, be seen as the implicit expression of the Tuscans' agenda abroad.

Conversely, Moniglia's account is of a completely different nature: composed in *terza rima* throughout, it reveals a strong literary value and seems to have been written predominantly to entertain—possibly even influence—its readers. Rather than the empirical, on-site recording carried out by Bassetti, the style adopted by Moniglia appears to have artfully accommodated a more open voicing of Medici critique and appraisal; both journals could, in this respect, equally be seen to promote a perspective on the Dutch Republic that is deeply rooted in their authors' own, local identity.¹⁴ In Moniglia's case, this seems further underlined by the choice for a rhyme scheme that, first recorded in the works of Dante Alighieri, would have struck contemporaries as Florentine *par excellence*. Still awaiting a comprehensive edition, Moniglia's journal survives in four manuscript copies currently held in Florence and Leiden.¹⁵ Despite Bassetti and Moniglia's greatly differing approaches, revealed through framings that are at once stylistic and strategic, both of their diaries leave no doubt as to the fascination shared by Cosimo III and his courtiers for the Dutch. The relatively young Republic was to prove one of the most interesting states visited by the Tuscans outside of Italy, perhaps because here the principal objective phrased by Moniglia—to distinguish 'from the false the true / dogmas of good rule'¹⁶—could best be put to the test.

While the Medici prince travelled to learn how to best behave as (future) ruler, the northern sojourn prepared Bassetti for the governmental career that awaited him, too, in Florence. When Cosimo ascended the grand ducal throne following the death of Ferdinando II in 1670, he immediately secured Bassetti's new role by appointing him *Segretario della Cifra*, with tasks and responsibilities comparable to those of a modern-day secretary of state. For the following thirty years, Bassetti acted as Cosimo's chief counsellor, confidential advisor, and

friend. Besides fulfilling his role as Cosimo's prime secretary, in 1666 Bassetti was named canon of San Lorenzo, the parish church of the Medici family. This significantly strengthened his position as a clergyman, placing him strategically in the center of ecclesiastical power.¹⁷ Local prior Giovan Battista Frescobaldi summed up Bassetti's dual role as a man of state as much a man of faith in his eulogy after Bassetti's death (1699): 'just as in court he was the idea[] of the learned, in church he was the model of religious men'.¹⁸ As we will show below, eventually Bassetti rose to become the true mastermind behind Cosimo's efforts to curb the seemingly inevitable decline of Tuscany.

During their voyage, Bassetti got closer to the prince by taking care of all of Cosimo's correspondence, while at the same time keeping Ferdinando II up to date on the whereabouts of his son. Bassetti also organized meetings with Dutch dignitaries, scholars, and merchants; in this way, his experience abroad resulted in a vast network of contacts across Europe through which he later kept abreast of political, economic, and cultural developments. Thousands of letters testifying to this practice are still preserved at the Medici Grand Ducal Archives.¹⁹

While Bassetti saw to Cosimo's administration, Giovanni Andrea Moniglia, as physician, was responsible for his well-being; by virtue of Medici patronage, the poet from Pisa may, however, have equally sought to advance an agenda geared towards literary fame. First trained at Jesuit institutions in Florence, Moniglia later joined the University of Pisa where he earned doctorates in philosophy and medicine. He eventually became the private physician of Cardinal Giancarlo de' Medici (1611-1663), Vittoria della Rovere (1622-1694), and, after the death of former grand ducal physician Francesco Redi in 1698, of Grand Duke Cosimo III.²⁰ Between 1667 and 1681, Moniglia held a chair in practical medicine at Pisa, followed by his appointment in the field of female medicine ('de morbis mulierum').²¹ Besides

his acclaim in early modern medicine, Moniglia was an equally active literator, writing comedies and opera for the Accademia degli Immobili and the Accademia della Crusca; in this sense, Cosimo's court physician may, in confirmation of Angela Nuovo's apt observation, be considered yet another 'significant example of the participation of physicians in the broader culture of late humanism'.²² Moniglia's deliberate usage of Florentine *terza rima* in the narrative genre of the travelogue—an act of self-fashioning no doubt meant to flatter and secure future favours from his Medici patron—seemingly mirrors the Pisan poet's entwined ambitions at court. Today, Moniglia is perhaps best remembered for his work *Ercole in Tebe*, which celebrates the marriage of Cosimo III with Marguerite Louise of Orléans, published in Florence in 1661.²³ By reflecting, less than ten years later, on the roots of Medici rule through its comparison with contemporary states in consciously composed verse, Moniglia may well have aspired to rise through the ranks and pass from Cosimo's personal physician to become his official court poet.²⁴

Equally testifying to his ambitious—if not outright competitive—character are individual acts that reveal rather unscrupulous strategies to get ahead in the academic and courtly circles that characterized Medicean Tuscany.²⁵ By virtue of his influential position at the University of Pisa, Moniglia could make scholarly reputations as easily as he could break them. He is said to have sabotaged the career of many university professors, as confirmed in the well-documented case of Dutch philologist Jacob Gronovius (1645-1716).²⁶ Following the passing of Tuscan scholar Valerio Chimentelli in 1668, Cosimo III personally offered Gronovius the prestigious chair in Greek at Pisa.²⁷ Although the origins of the Pisan *studio* date back to the fourteenth century, conscious Medici involvement first emerged when in 1473 Lorenzo the Magnificent (r. 1469-1492) moved the Tuscan state university (founded long before Medici ascendancy) from Florence to Pisa, where it could come across more

convincingly as creation of the current ruler.²⁸ From 1543 onwards, the University of Pisa came to fruition as attribute of a strong, centralized state owing to the support of Cosimo I (1519-1574) and his successors.

By appointing an eminent scholar from the north, Cosimo III clearly attempted to further perpetuate the prestige of university and Medici dynasty alike. Yet after teaching his first classes in Pisa in March 1674, a vindictive campaign was waged against Gronovius.²⁹ According to Medici librarian Antonio Magliabechi (1633-1714), Moniglia was responsible for instigating the Florentine lawyer and university *auditore* Ferrante Capponi (1611-1689), who effectively acted as minister of higher education at court, to plot against Gronovius:³⁰ it seems Capponi could not accept that a northern scholar had been given the chair in Pisa without his permission.³¹ In time, the faction mobilized against Gronovius grew to include more and more eminent men surrounding the Medici court, including Apollonio Bassetti, Florentine nobleman Carlo Dati (1619-1676), and even the Roman Inquisition.³²

Involving the Church turned out to be a successful move on the part of Moniglia and his associates. Eventually, Cosimo III got blindsided by the number of letters he started to receive from Rome. He was told time and again how inappropriate it was to have a Protestant scholar lecture at a university supported by the Catholic Church.³³ The grand duke, naturally, became worried about the repercussions the affair might have for the ties between Florence and Rome. He felt pressured to give Gronovius an ultimatum: unless he changed his religion, Cosimo could no longer support him.³⁴ But Gronovius refused to convert to Catholicism and was forced, then, to resign his chair at the University of Pisa in September 1674, mere months after his appointment.³⁵

The Dutch Republic to which Gronovius returned, was characterized by a relatively tolerant religious and intellectual climate. Favouring the exchange of ideas amongst faiths and

schools of thought, its more liberal atmosphere stood in strong contrast to Moniglia's Tuscan surroundings. With a characteristic sense of scepticism tempering admiration, at the time of his arrival from Florence to Utrecht on 17 December 1667, Moniglia proclaims:³⁶

Where we had now arrived, oh how well one sees

The order of things, is that Holland

Of the treasures of Spain was made heir.

Here the People rule, and solely commands

That which it knows to be useful, and courtesy

If it is [of] no profit, is put aside.

Here extravagance has no place,

Are prohibited [any] luxuries, and [the] sole custom

Of all is to do business, or [provide] provisions.

Here Soldiers live, and have [as their] quarters

Civilized people, and [for] some still

Sojourn [here] affection, and good manners.

Of the inhabitants, they worship what[ever] they wish

Whichever God they like best; the Holy,

Catholic rite, [too], one still honores.

With the Grand Duchy of Tuscany under the sway of powerful, hereditary princes, to the eyes of Cosimo's courtiers the Dutch Republic appeared as a society where the public good—in line with criteria that, as we will see, reveal opportunism as much as (apparent) openness—

was served instead by the rule of the citizenry itself. In Tuscany, highly centralized state control had been cemented over the course of more than a century of monarchical Medici dominance, initiated by first Grand Duke Cosimo I (r. 1537-74). The Dutch Republic's rule, in contrast, was rather fragmented, as the confederation of united provinces (recognized as independent state only in 1648 at the end of the Eighty Years' War) lacked a formally centralized government.

The Republic's quintessentially federated form of government was the result of its arduous struggle for independence. As such, its underlying ideology was strongly advocated by political thinkers like Grand Pensionary Johan de Witt, whom Cosimo met in person. De Witt maintained that in a republic, influential political positions ought not to be assigned automatically to those whose ancestors held these same posts in the past; clearly this would go against the highly-regarded ideal of (individual) freedom, but it could equally compromise the (collective) circumstances needed for the budding state to flourish optimally. Hence in his *Deduction* of 1654, De Witt defended the Act of Seclusion that debarred the Prince of Orange and his descendants from holding office in the state. Tellingly, De Witt's *Deduction* moves, moreover, from an oration praising Holland's absolute sovereignty and true freedom—denying any rights to the States General and the House of Orange—to a discourse on less laudable republics in Europe. Here, De Witt refers especially to Florence under Medici rule, where, as he argues, state and society had lost their splendor because a single, inherently dangerous, 'eminent head' had sought to circumscribe the free spirit of truly republican rule.³⁷

De Witt's notion that the Grand Duchy of Tuscany suffered greatly under ineffectual Medici rule resonates with a long line of more recent historical work that repeats the traditional view of Cosimo's III reign as one characterized by bigotry, cultural decadence, and intellectual obscurantism.³⁸ Eric Cochrane has presented a more nuanced view of Cosimo's

reign in a welcome attempt to partially rehabilitate the long-vilified perspective on late seventeenth-century Florence.³⁹ Cochrane too, however, does not deviate from the established view that Cosimo's religious inclinations (apparently) proved of greater importance to the grand duke than the effective rule of his state.⁴⁰ Contemporary sources would, at first instance, seem to confirm the relative dominance of faith to Cosimo III's mind: in the years following his travels, Medici librarian Magliabechi wrote that Cosimo, 'does not care for scholarship anymore, but [is concerned instead] with devotion'.⁴¹ In July 1696, Magliabechi wrote in even stronger terms to Jacob Gronovius that 'These Serene Princes no longer buy books; as for letters and study, all things have ended completely here'.⁴² In order not to compromise his own reputation by harming that of his sovereign (and immediate superior), Magliabechi scribbled these words on a small piece of paper, separate from the main letter and ready to be burned after reading.⁴³

Yet the testimonies penned by Medici courtiers abroad reveal a markedly different perspective. At the time of their arrival to Amsterdam on 19 December 1667, Cosimo's interest in international politics, trade, and scholarship seems anything but dormant. Moniglia's praise of the Dutch Republic foreshadows some of the later, commercial aspirations of Medici policy at home (see 'Epilogue: The 'Republican' Aftermath of a Princely Tour') while Bassetti's journal leaves no doubt as to Cosimo's observational agenda abroad. In an attempt to explain the Republic's economic success, then, Moniglia takes care to underline how military superiority and commercial expansion across the globe made Amsterdam the richest city of this world:⁴⁴

Descend, Apollo, (I beg you) and with joyful

Demeanor prepare your verses, to praise

The most wealthy City of this World.

Not of eminent Architecture, and nor of Marble

Drawn from Paro's bussom, and neither of Heroes

Is fecund Amsterdam, but [of] Gowns, and Arms

She has as many as suffice; but then

In politics, and in this moment, equal to her

In the [whole] wide [world] you cannot find.

Formidable on land, immortal

At sea she has arisen, and to an even greater rank

Through good government [she] reigns imperiously.

Seventeenth-century Amsterdam was characterized by imposingly modern canal houses, ports, and warehouses that reflected the scope and success of the overseas trade carried out by the city's mercantile population.⁴⁵ In Florence, conversely, churches and *palazzzi* inhabited by priests and nobles formed the decorous surroundings of a society immersed in religion and age-old civic ritual. Moniglia observes that although the wealth of Amsterdam is not so easily discernible from the (immediate) majesty of the city's buildings and monuments, it is embodied forcefully by its inhabitants, whose dress and attributes—'Gowns, and Arms'—signal learning and warfare.

The favourable commercial conditions in the Republic attracted the attention of foreign merchants, including many Tuscans. With the end of the Thirty Years' War (1618-

1648), an international grain crisis had emerged, threatening with famine large parts of Southern Europe. When the Dutch, in response, began to trade large quantities of grain, the economic—and cultural—relations between the Dutch Republic and the Grand Duchy of Tuscany improved considerably.⁴⁶ Consequently, numerous Italian merchants established themselves in Amsterdam. The city became quite active in trade with the Iberian Peninsula and the Spanish colonies, particularly on the market for Spanish wool and in the slave trade, as exemplified by the case of Francesco Feroni.⁴⁷ In the 1640s, Feroni had left Tuscany and moved to Amsterdam, where he successfully established himself as merchant-banker. His quick ascent was due mainly to his active involvement in global trade: Feroni became shareholder to the Dutch West India Company and acted as intermediary in the slave trade in the West Indies. Later, Feroni served as Tuscan envoy; in 1666, he became the Grand Duchy's official representative. From then on, his correspondence with Medici secretary Bassetti grew especially voluminous: Feroni's extensive reports, that include countless copies of the news publication *La Gazette d'Amsterdam*, directly mirror Cosimo III's increasing enthusiasm for all kinds of cultural, economic, and political aspects of life in the Dutch Republic.⁴⁸

Another wave of Italian immigration took place during the second half of the seventeenth century, which coincides with the sudden upswing of Florentine companies *in accomandita* or 'limited partnerships' abroad.⁴⁹ This phase is illustrated by the presence of the Florentine merchants Giovacchino Guasconi, Giuseppe Marucelli, and Giovanni de Verrazzano, all of whom established trading companies in Amsterdam during the 1660s. The fact that branches of their family businesses eventually spread throughout Europe made them appealing as (prospective) partners not just for the merchants of Amsterdam, but for Cosimo III as well.

On 17 December 1667, Cosimo met Guasconi, Marucelli, and De Verrazzano upon their arrival to Utrecht ‘in a beautiful boat garnished with mirrors’; the merchants’ ceremonious entry was meant, in turn, to celebrate the Medici prince’s arrival in the Dutch Republic.⁵⁰ Francesco Feroni, ‘*prima figura*’ of the company, was duly placed at the center of attention, ‘demanding great respect from these *cavalieri*?’⁵¹ Moniglia sharply sums up his first impressions of the clearly well-off merchants, infusing slight derision with more concrete considerations:⁵²

We then heard [being] said ‘They have arrived
From Amsterdam, the Florentine merchants!’
All in good health, and well-stuffed

And after [a] thousand hand-kisses and bows
Extended by them to the Prince, to Feroni
His Highness turns [and] says ‘My wines

Have they yet arrived?’ They had made orders
The Prince of Chianti and [the Prince] of Castello
[To be] furnished in Florence, delicate and tasteful [wines]

And then, with astute order, and beautifully
Enclosed in cases [had these] shipped to Amsterdam
By Celibi on a Vessel;

Where when they had arrived
Through the precious Elixir, that Bacchus distils

The spirits were revived;

With such hope all souls were calmed

Saying: 'In Amsterdam we drank in the best of ways',

And of joy the heart leaps in our breasts.

The Marvels of the 'Magazzino del Mondo'

In keeping with their worldly concerns, in Amsterdam Cosimo and his courtiers visited the headquarters of the East and West Indian Trading Companies (known in Dutch as VOC and WIC respectively). They saw for themselves how the ships of both brought into the Dutch Republic a wide variety of goods from all corners of the globe, including merchandise and curiosities eagerly awaited by traders and (private) collectors alike. As testified by Bassetti, the Tuscans paid a visit to one of the companies' well-stocked warehouses, where precious pepper, nutmeg, cinnamon, and cloves were first carefully selected, then to have an estimated market value assigned to them.⁵³

The presence of such products, just like that of international information in the shape of news and publications, became an indirect consequence of the Dutch Republic's remarkable societal structure.⁵⁴ Merchants like Guasconi and Feroni benefitted, as did the Republic's own trading companies, from the absence of strong, centralized governmental control and the lack of a state religion in the years following the Dutch Revolt. Amsterdam, in particular, at times acted more or less like an independent city-state.⁵⁵ The strength of the Dutch economy as a whole ensured the arrival of raw materials from all over the world; one sector that profited greatly from this situation was the book trade.⁵⁶ Printer-publishers turned

paper, ink, and newly gathered knowledge into finished products: books, prints, and newspapers to be sold both in the Republic—where relatively high rates of literacy and education encouraged demand—and abroad.⁵⁷

The Republic's intellectual climate, characterized by religious tolerance and relatively lenient censorship policies (compared to other regions), made Amsterdam widely known as 'magazin de l'universe', in the aphorism commonly attributed to Voltaire (1694-1778).⁵⁸ The notion already circulated, however, in the years prior to Cosimo III's tour, as we learn from the travel journal of Roberto Orazio Pucci (1625-1698), a member of the influential Florentine family closely allied to the Medici. During his stay in the Republic (1657), Pucci expressed a sense of marvel echoed later by Moniglia.⁵⁹

Where there are no canals one admires an immensity of shops and equally well-stocked [ware]houses. [...] Hence of Amsterdam one may well say that it is the *magazzino* of the world, [allowing you to gain] knowledge [of everything,] from the smallest thing to the largest. There is nothing that is not available here in great abundance, so much so that [merchandise] flows to all parts of Europe. Countless ships can be seen from the city: imagine you are looking at a large wood, stripped of many thousands of leaves.⁶⁰

Dutch printers clearly flourished under such favourable circumstances, and took advantage of the fact that in other countries state and ecclesiastical authorities kept a closer watch on their colleagues' output. As a result, Amsterdam rose to become the absolute centre of seventeenth-century publishing; the city's printers and book merchants soon occupied the place of Antwerp a century earlier. Magliabechi, in a letter to the Huguenot printer Pierre Huguëtan in Amsterdam, stated astutely that Huguëtan found himself in a country where 'it is legal to

freely print what[ever] one wants'.⁶¹ The smoothly operating printing presses of the Low Countries were not lost on Bassetti and Moniglia either: together with the Medici prince, they visited countless libraries, bookshops, and printers' workshops. Faced with the overabundance of available books, Moniglia records a mixture of (initial) awe and enthusiasm followed, perhaps inevitably, by discouragement:⁶²

In a huge printing office I have seen [an] infinitely
Large number of Books, [and] I then said
'Why am I not given [any] copies?'
The Prince, my Master, who always honours
My modest talent, past the threshold
Of [his] Room summons me, and throws out
[A] hundred coins; to me he donates [these]; he wants for me
To do some noble spending; I grab the Books
But the wish to study them [then] leaves me.

As acclaimed Amsterdam bookseller, Cosimo's guide Pieter Blaeu, was more than happy, of course, to personally accompany the prince to his shop. As Bassetti relates, Pieter and Cosimo spent hours examining the most extraordinary books and maps:⁶³

He took [Cosimo] to see exclusive and much sought-after maps, and [to observe through them] the location of various places [as] drawn of the towns of India. He was shown several books with images that illustrate the dress, customs and many [of the] activities of the peoples of India, China, and Japan; and [Cosimo] negotiated to buy these.

Through Blaeu, too, Cosimo got to know the lawyer Laurens van der Hem (1621-1678), who was especially well-known as a passionate collector. Amongst Van der Hem's books, prints, and manuscript materials, the prince admired 'drawings of cities, places, and [the] coasts of the Indies excellently illuminated, and a great number of geographical maps of the world and its particulars, equally [well] executed'.⁶⁴ Such rare—possibly unique—artefacts offered a highly informed perspective on regions that may have been of equal cultural and commercial interest to Cosimo.

Van der Hem was one of the Blaeu firm's most illustrious clients: clear evidence of the connection between publishers and patron is the outstanding Atlas Blaeu-Van der Hem, which has been included in UNESCO's Memory of the World Register since 2003.⁶⁵ Van der Hem's bespoke atlas consists of forty-six books, plus four separate, additional bindings and a portfolio of drawings. Several editions of the famous *Atlas major*, issued from 1662 onwards by Pieter's father Joan Blaeu (1598/99-1673), form the cosmography's core, while the work also contains some of the—often not otherwise accessible—cartographic content arising from the activities of Joan Blaeu as official cartographer to the VOC.⁶⁶ Following his visit, Cosimo requested that maps and views of several VOC holdings be produced and delivered to him through the Blaeus; these were destined to adorn the walls of his Villa Castello in Florence.⁶⁷

Art, Erudition, and the Book

Cosimo's contact with Van der Hem may well have further convinced the future Grand Duke not only of the direct, documentary value of cartographic information available in Amsterdam, but just as much of the more worldly significance surrounding Blaeu atlases. Their imposing materiality in large folio format could be enhanced by the services of experts at the

intersection of the art and book worlds, such as binders and painter-colorists. In ensuing years, Cosimo showed a remarkable persistence to have created a town atlas of Tuscany that was meant to place his governmental legacy in a good light. The complicated conceptualization of the work partially overlapped with the publication history of the more comprehensive *Theatrum Italiae*, meant as a series of city books covering the entire peninsula. Let us, therefore, now turn to the ambitious project's origins and afterlife.

In 1663 Joan and Pieter Blaeu succeeded in issuing the *Theatrum*'s first three volumes, all thanks to the personal and professional connection to Italy that is epitomized by their influential contacts in Tuscany.⁶⁸ The works' initial edition includes the *Civitates status ecclesiastici* (on the towns of the Papal State), the *Admiranda urbis Romae* (treating the circuses, obelisks, and theatres of ancient and contemporary Rome), and the preliminary (incomplete) *Theatrum civitatum nec non admirandorum Neapolis et Siciliae regnorum*. Of these, the *Admiranda urbis Romae* was based, to an overwhelming extent, on the scholarly work dedicated to the city's Egyptian obelisks by German Jesuit and antiquarian polymath Athanasius Kircher (1602-1680).⁶⁹ In as early as the 1650s, Kircher's unwavering enthusiasm for the study of Coptic and the origins of hieroglyphic script had led to the publication of his *Oedipus Aegyptiacus* in three volumes (Rome: Vitalis Mascardi, 1652-1654). In 1655, Pieter Blaeu was on his way to meet with Kircher in Rome when he was offered a synopsis of the work during the Frankfurt Book Fair; at that point, however, the Blaeus preferred postponing its purchase because they still awaited the arrival of previously dispatched volumes of the *Oedipus* in full, already on their way from Tivoli to Amsterdam.⁷⁰ They eventually incorporated, virtually without alteration, a great number of the same images after obelisks in the *Admiranda urbis Romae*, adding strategic dedications to influential Amsterdam patricians, but only occasionally acknowledging Kircher's efforts explicitly.⁷¹ Such unscrupulous strategies further attest to the fierce

competition that characterized the intellectual circles surrounding—and stimulating—the international book trade. Yet in the process of gathering original content for the book on the Papal State (1663), and for anticipated works on Tuscany and Piedmont, the Blaeus made a strong attempt to more directly involve governmental bodies and local experts through patronage ties that reveal the *Theatrum Italiae*'s great significance on the stage of seventeenth-century politics.

The approach of the Blaeus in preparing the publication of an additional town atlas treating the territories of the Medici may be gleaned from the prescriptive parameters presented to the Medici court during the reign of Cosimo's predecessor Ferdinando II (1621-1670). It appears the atlas's (projected) contents were meant to highlight the Grand Duchy's illustrious origins as an erudite means to show contemporary Tuscany from an equally elevated perspective.⁷² To this end, suitably entwined details on geography and history needed to be selected, including 'ancient and modern writings' on Tuscany, complemented by 'maps, panoramas, reliefs, and drawings of the principal towns and territories, together with a lengthy description [...] of each of these places'.⁷³ The compilers were to rely primarily on locals for the 'collection of the most relevant information for the author's purposes, or most appropriate to the honour of the town', because of their attachment to, and knowledge of, their birthplace.⁷⁴ The support of local intermediaries was indeed actively sought from the Medici volume's initial stages onwards: widening the potential reach of their quest for contributions, Pieter and Joan Blaeu were quick to involve Magliabechi and Carlo Dati, the renowned philologist who was a member of such illustrious Florentine learned societies as the Accademia della Crusca and Accademia del Cimento, no doubt hoping that both well-connected individuals would offer access to their extensive networks.⁷⁵

Individual contributors were asked, firstly, to consider ‘the origins and etymology of each placename’, followed by a concise description of the town and its environs.⁷⁶ Then, strategically merging the model of learned chorography with classic elements of city praise, environmental aspects such as the quality of location and air—implicitly understood as contributing to the citizenry’s character over time—were to be treated together with descriptions of public buildings and their architectural style. The history of towns all over Tuscany was to be recounted through a unifying narrative that ran smoothly from foundation to shifting administrative structures, culminating in the rule of urban élites in the *signorie*.⁷⁷ Ultimately, this phase formed the checkered prelude, of course, to hereditary Medici rule. Hence, the instructions for the atlas also stressed the importance of mentioning the claims to fame of renowned men in the budding monarchy and beyond: after all, ‘the virtues of inhabitants are what makes noble their homeland’.⁷⁸

The image of Tuscany’s ‘unfinished Renaissance’, as evoked eloquently by Sutherland, Findlen, and Lelková, emerges here as an ongoing, editorial work-in-progress.⁷⁹ Local authors and artists could contribute actively to what all contributors to the *Theatrum Italiae* considered a highly important task: to collectively make the noteworthy physical aspects and eminent individuals born and raised across their region more widely known. A sense of civic pride kindled both by local circumstances—rivalries amongst towns and states, or their historical struggle towards independence, for instance—and the encouraging effect of foreign interest in regional accomplishments and culture certainly served the Blaeus well in their hopes of publishing a panoramic portrait of Italian cities.⁸⁰

Much like the Medici, the House of Savoy, too, had high hopes for the portrayal of its state as a means to affirm power on paper. In strong contrast to the declining political and cultural influence of the Medici at the beginning of the eighteenth century, the Savoy

eventually (1713) turned their duchy into a kingdom. By adding Sicily to the territories under their control, the Savoy gained the crown and royal status the Medici never managed to obtain. When observed in this light, the (intended) contents of the Tuscan town atlas complement Moniglia's glorification of contemporary republicanism—where the splendour of Amsterdam, established by its mercantile citizenry, forms the ideal décor for golden age narratives on a modernized footing—as a nostalgic mirror of the fortune of the first Medici dukes in paving the way from patrician dominance towards increasingly absolutist rule.

During the second half of the seventeenth century, the Blaeu publishers sought to use the aspirations that would shape the future of the Italian peninsula to their own benefit. They attempted to stoke competition between the courts of the Medici and Savoy, as emerges when in 1661 Pieter Blaeu states slyly to Cosimo III that:⁸¹

The Duke of Savoy sends to my father all the cities and other curious things of his state and in addition to this, he has personally promised that he wishes to pay for everything that my father will spend on his drawings. I do not write this to Your Illustrious Lordship with the intention that I wish [for] this, too, from the Most Serene Grand Duke, but only to make You aware that other great princes are making effort to honour the work of my father.

The strategy underlying this deferential phrasing seems to have worked: in the winter of 1665, Pieter wrote to Magliabechi that he eagerly awaited the first drawings 'of the cities with which the Prince of Tuscany, through his own means, is pleased to favour me'.⁸² Apparently, preparations were in full swing by May 1666, when Magliabechi informed Pieter that about twenty to thirty drawings were now ready to be shipped to Amsterdam.⁸³ All good intentions notwithstanding, in June 1666 Blaeu informed Magliabechi that the firm could not continue with the production of the book on Tuscan cities before having completed the Savoy atlas. It

has, until recently, been maintained that after such a promising start ‘nothing more was ever heard of the Tuscan volume’.⁸⁴

Yet newly discovered sources shed light on a short-lived, but significant, revival of the project. Only one year later, on 12 July 1667, Cosimo III wrote to Bernardino De’ Vecchi, a nobleman from Siena, that he desired to resume the gathering of descriptions and drawings because, to Cosimo’s knowledge, by now the Blaeus were eager to print the volumes on Tuscany.⁸⁵

Since the volumes that show the cities, and places of the Ecclesiastical State, as well as even that of Piedmont [*sic*] have already come off the presses, they now urgently request the publication of those of Tuscany, which has stimulated me to consider anew the drawings of all cities and towns of the State of Siena.

While the *Civitates Status Ecclesiastici* was, as we have seen, effectively issued in 1663, the publication of the *Theatrum Sabaudiae* was suspended several times. Preparatory drawings for the work had started to arrive in Amsterdam as early as 1661 and their editorial elaboration was fully underway by 1664; the majority of copperplates were ready in 1666. The first edition was originally foreseen for 1667, as was communicated to Magliabechi by Pieter Blaeu in 1666.⁸⁶ Yet plans for publication were, eventually, pushed to 1671, because of issues that arose along the way: some drawings were lost, several maps had to be retouched, and new elements added.⁸⁷ After the passing not only of Joan Blaeu (1673), but also of courtly initiator Duke Carlo Emanuele II of Savoy in 1675, only in 1682 could Blaeu’s heirs Joan II, Pieter, and Willem ship the first copies of the *Theatrum Sabaudiae* to the successor of their Turinese patron, Duke Vittorio Amadeo II (1666-1732).⁸⁸

By 1667, however, news on the Savoy volumes' unfortunate fate had not yet reached the Medici court: Cosimo's desire to revive the Tuscany atlas was kindled by his firm belief that the Blaeus were, by now, able to fully commit themselves to the work. Cosimo therefore contacted Bernardino De' Vecchi and requested he provide him with drawings of Siena and its surroundings. Closely in line with the encomiastic outlook shared by the texts and imagery in the Medici atlas as a whole, the drawings needed to include both the 'buildings and most remarkable things [conducive] to the beauty [of said city], as would be the square, cathedral and all else that, according to Your Lordship, merits to be exposed to the public'.⁸⁹

In later letters, the identity of the—formerly unknown—artist responsible for the visual rendition of Siena is revealed: it appears that De' Vecchi, in turn, dispatched the draughtsman and painter Antonio Ruggieri to depict the town as accurately as possible on the spot.⁹⁰ But Cosimo III did not particularly appreciate the cityscape produced by Ruggieri, as he made quite clear to De' Vecchi on 30 August 1667:⁹¹

I do not like the drawing sent to me by Your Lordship, which was made by Ruggieri as a view of the urban composition of Siena, seeming to me that it is too plain and too small in perspective; whereas I would [however] agree with what you observe at the end of your letter, [that is] to not contain an excessive amount of space on a single sheet, but to render the noteworthy buildings more distinctive[ly], and make them bigger.

To help Ruggieri adjust his drawings so they would more suitably reflect the splendor of Siena, Cosimo sent De' Vecchi a copy of the *Civitates Status Ecclesiastici*, strategically obtained through Pieter Blaeu, whose view of Bologna—featuring an urban overview that allows equally for an impression of individual elements at street-level—could serve him as a model (see Fig. 1):⁹²

And so that Your Lordship may see how they were composed in Holland, I send you the first volume of the *Cities of Italy*, issued most recently, in which you will notice especially the rendition of Bologna with her buildings, that I have marked together with the very sheet [done] by Ruggieri, seeming to me that ours should also be depicted in that way.

Figure 1. Bologna in Joan Blaeu, *Civitates status ecclesiastici*, Amsterdam, 1663. © Bodleian Libraries, University of Oxford. J. Maps 267 [47].

The fragmentary, yet highly concrete, perspective allowed by the correspondence between Cosimo III and De' Vecchi shows that the future sovereign was particularly keen to have his Blaeu atlas issued in earnest. The letters highlight Cosimo's active involvement in the creative process underlying the work's conceptualization. Besides letters, no tangible traces of such remarkable efforts—original sketches or drawings for the Tuscany atlas—are, currently, known to survive.

But before being sent to Amsterdam from 1666 onwards (followed by their disappearance from Florence), the materials made after the orders of publisher and patron may, nonetheless, have inspired other projects for geographical works on Tuscany. These include plans for an equally ambitious—and destined to remain unrealized—atlas by Athanasius Kircher,⁹³ and a book that did make it into print: the *Relatione della città di Fiorenza, e del gran ducato di Toscana, sotto il regnante gran duca Ferdinando II: con tutte le cose più degne e curiose da sapersi* (Brussels: François Foppens, 1668), by Galeazzo Gualdo Priorato (1606-1678).⁹⁴ It seems Gualdo even tried to avoid the risk of issuing a publication whose contents would partially overlap with, and thus overshadow (or compare unfavourably to) those of the

foreseen atlas. He therefore refrained from including topographical maps of various Tuscan cities in his work.⁹⁵ In return for this prudent publication strategy, Gualdo in fact hoped, as he confessed to Magliabechi, that the Blaeus would have included (parts of) the contents of his textual *Relatione* in the work they prepared as the *Theatrum Italiae*'s Tuscan instalment.⁹⁶

Most significant for the angle of this essay, investigating anew the atlas of interrupted, grand ducal glory has allowed for a surprising sense of continuity to surface: this is signalled by the unwavering, late Medici commitment to the favourable portrayal of their patrimony. The project that remained perennially in-progress emerges here as a forceful augury that operated, in the minds of all parties involved, against Tuscany's perceived decadence. But Cosimo III's lively interest in the book world was certainly not limited to the promise of publicity on the pages of the Blaeu atlas.

Evidently, Cosimo was intrigued just as much by books serving as attributes of erudition. At Leiden University (founded by Prince William I of Orange in 1575),⁹⁷ he was welcomed by its community of scholars, including Nicolaas Heinsius (1620-1681) and Johannes Fredericus Gronovius (1611-1671; father of Jacob Gronovius), who delivered a Latin oration in honour of the 'Etruscan Prince'.⁹⁸ After the ceremonious session, prints containing additional, encomiastic poems were distributed amongst the audience; these were later included in a comprehensive edition (1668).⁹⁹ Responsible for this publication was the local branch of the 'famous printing office' of the Amsterdam Elzevier firm, visited by the prince and his entourage under Heinsius' guidance. Conveniently located right next to the academy building and botanical garden in Leiden, the Elzeviers 'enjoy[ed] the benefit of all the faculty's professors, who generously assist[ed] in the correction [of works to be issued]'.¹⁰⁰

As underlined by their immediate surroundings, the Elzeviers served as official university printers from 1620 to 1713. They had managed to secure this position owing

especially to their large assortment of typefaces, including rare and highly specialist fonts (such as Arabic), that were used to print the oriental studies and editions composed by Leiden's internationally-acclaimed faculty.¹⁰¹ Various members of the Heinsius family took up influential roles within the Elzevier firm. While Nicolaas Heinsius acted as trusted advisor to the Amsterdam office, his father, the renowned philologist Daniel Heinsius (1580-1655), held that same position in Leiden. Nicolaas Heinsius even offered personal counseling to his good friend Daniel Elzevier, who on 7 January 1668 presented himself to Cosimo III. At that occasion, Elzevier gifted the prince several books that had just been issued by his family's firm.¹⁰² In as late as 1679, Daniel Elzevier showed a remarkably profitable awareness of Cosimo's ongoing appreciation of Dutch erudition when he sent Heinsius's new editions of Virgil to Florence, where the works were received favourably by both Bassetti and the grand duke.¹⁰³ In the long run, however, Elzevier had not succeeded in conquering a position similar to that of Pieter Blaeu, who continued to serve as Cosimo's trusted book agent—and confidential informant—once the travel party had returned to Tuscany.¹⁰⁴

Before the Tuscans' departure, Leiden's University Library did not prove quite as impressive as Cosimo III's hosts might have hoped. The adjacent anatomical theatre (inaugurated in 1597), based as it was on the theatre in use at the University of Padua since 1594, only served to bring to mind the even earlier, Tuscan example constructed upon orders of Cosimo I de' Medici (1569):¹⁰⁵

He was then led to the anatomical theatre, which is just like the one in Pisa, as is [its] auditorium, but [the latter is] adorned with countless skeletons [that are all] closely related, of men, [and of] large and small animals, [of the] terrestrial, aerial, aquatic, and amphibian [kind]. What is more, [there are] cabinets filled with peculiar natural curiosities such as animals, plants,

shells, minerals, and the like, donated by several learned men, as for each object recounts its inscription. Taken together, [as a] collection this theatre has nothing [of the] unique, nor grand. Nearby, and [with]in the same complex of buildings, is [located] the public library for the convenience of studious youths in which, neither for the quality nor quantity of books, for the decoration of its interior, or for any other circumstance, one does not see anything remarkable [at all]; and so Your Highness quickly hurried away [from the library].¹⁰⁶

Wonders of Nature and the Nature of Wonder

With markedly more zest, Cosimo inspected some of the botanical gardens that had emerged in the Dutch Republic after Italian examples, notably Europe's first academic *orti botanici* in Pisa and Padua (opened as early as 1544-1545);¹⁰⁷ in addition, the prince enthusiastically admired several cabinets of curiosities, all with the specific aim of learning about new discoveries in the fields of natural history and anatomy. Cosimo was greatly interested in the shells, animals, and plants the Dutch had imported from the East and West Indies. It was thanks to the trading networks of the East and West India companies, of course, that Cosimo was able to witness quite so many astonishing exotica in the Dutch gardens and cabinets. Through their conspicuous provenance, such objects formed tangible remnants of trajectories that further underline the intricate connection between science and commerce in the Republic.¹⁰⁸

As noted by Moniglia in his highly stylized praise of Amsterdam, it was indeed by virtue of the city's populace and its involvement in learning and trade that artefacts and naturalia had made their way into warehouses and private residencies. Bassetti not only confirms this situation, but—through the direct, observational orientation of his detailed passages—provides a particularly compelling perspective. We learn how on 27 December

1667, Cosimo and his courtiers visited the aviary of Jan Roeters (1614-1668), secretary to the city council, who had collected beautiful birds from every corner of the world, including the ‘most exotic, and rare’ species.¹⁰⁹ The following day, they saw the private collections of Johan Uytenbogaert (1608-1680), receiver-general of Holland and a distant cousin of the influential Protestant minister, who had spent the previous fifty years gathering the shells and minerals ‘that have so far been brought by all ships [returning] from the Indies, and other parts of the world’.¹¹⁰ On 4 January, then, the Medici company decided to pay a visit to the renowned anatomist Frederik Ruysch (1638-1731), whose cabinet constituted one of the absolute must-sees of seventeenth-century Amsterdam. Here Bassetti was struck by the display of numerous anatomical specimens and wondered, especially, how Ruys had prepared these to convey such a remarkable sense of liveliness.¹¹¹ The Tuscans personally inspected, moreover, the collection of insects brought together by Jan Swammerdam (1637-1680). It proved so appealing to Cosimo III that he even offered the Dutch scientist 12,000 guilders for the collection, on condition that Swammerdam would take up a position at the Medici court.¹¹²

A similar tactic was adopted—this time with success—in the case of skilled paper-cutter Joannes van Achelom, renowned especially for the remarkable artistry of his renditions after portraits of European rulers, heraldry, landscapes, Biblical scenes, and anatomical imagery.¹¹³ Van Achelom was formally presented to Cosimo III on 3 January 1668 and clearly left a favourable impression on the prince: he was invited to accompany the Medici entourage on their return to Florence, where he spent the following years of his career as chamberlain at court.¹¹⁴ For Cosimo III and his mother Vittoria della Rovere (1622-1694), Van Achelom produced several cleverly cut pieces, including a representation of Vittoria’s initials adorned by the Medici and Della Rovere devices, portraits of Cosimo himself and of King Charles II of England, and at least four paper-cuttings depicting human blood cells and the nervous

system.¹¹⁵ Cosimo's active interest in these ephemeral collectables indicates how well aware he was of the established reputation of the Dutch in the connected fields of scholarly empiricism and realism in the arts; the resulting objects could serve variegated purposes in the Grand Duchy, including their role in courtly entertainment meant to impress by evoking a sense of awe not unlike the intended effect of imported collections of curiosities, or of the Tuscany atlas that would have directly represented the lasting legacy of Medici rule to contemporaries and posterity alike.¹¹⁶ Although the purchase of Swammerdam's cabinet failed, Cosimo continued to keep a close watch over the gathering of natural specimens in the Dutch Republic, likely with a view to advancing the study of botany in the Grand Duchy of Tuscany.¹¹⁷

Towards the end of his reign, in 1714 Cosimo III sent Jacopo Niccolò Guiducci to the Republic to observe how the Dutch themselves grew countless of the wondrous, exotic plants—not to say seeds—of which they had obtained first-hand knowledge through intertwined mercantile and colonial connections worldwide. Of particular interest was the pineapple, whose early, European cultivation by female botanist Agnes Block (1629-1704) in 1684 stimulated visual renditions ranging from the well-known portrait painted by Jan Weenix (today in the Amsterdam Museum) to the silver medal that represents Block as 'Flora Batava' amidst the gardens of her estate Vijverhof (Rijksmuseum; Fig. 2).¹¹⁸ The artists and scholars that gathered frequently at Vijverhof included Maria Sybille Merian (1646-1717), well known for the empirical originality of her exceptionally detailed images after plants and insects.¹¹⁹ Cosimo III's delegate Guiducci met with Merian thanks to the Florentine merchant Cesare Sardi, who had welcomed him in Leiden. It was also through Sardi, then, that Guiducci eventually came into contact with the esteemed botanist Caspar Commelijn (1668-1731), who was head of Amsterdam's *Hortus Medicus*. This opportunity gave the Medici court the chance

to further pursue, by means of the knowledge and naturalia accessibile in the Dutch Republic, its long-cherished desire to ‘bring the New World to Italy’.¹²⁰

Figure 2. Jan Boskom, verso of silver medal featuring ‘Flora Batava’, 1700. © Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam.

As shown by Lia Markey, desiccated specimens of a pineapple—recorded in drawings executed in Florence by Francesco de’ Medici’s artist Jacopo Ligozzi and studied closely by Bolognese naturalist Ulisse Aldrovandi—were present in Tuscany as early as *c.* 1570.¹²¹ But succesful local cultivation was only to follow more than a century later: after Comelijn provided Guiducci with precise instructions on how to grow pineapple plants (1714),¹²² their presence was first recorded in the 1723 catalogue of the University of Pisa’s *orto botanico* (see Fig. 3), dedicated to its courtly patron Cosimo III.¹²³ The mediation of art collector and merchant Pieter de la Court-Van den Voort (1664-1739) in interceding years may well have proved decisive. Van den Voort helped the Tuscan botanists Angiolo Giannetti and Antonio Morini during yet another Medici expedition to Amsterdam, where he instructed them on how best to ‘observe the rarest, and most esteemed things of these gardens’.¹²⁴ In response to such remarkable instances of transnational exchange, on 30 September 1720 Cosimo personally wrote to Van den Voort, informing him that he had obtained two pineapples, which he had ‘also eaten and found to be perfect’.¹²⁵ In ensuing years, several Dutch pineapple plants followed the coveted information on their cultivation sent from Amsterdam to Florence, where they further prepared the grand duke and his botanists for the appearance—and perhaps taste—of the freshly grown specimens that sprung up later in the 1720s.¹²⁶

Figure 3. Michelangelo Tilli, titlepage of *Catalogus plantarum Horti Pisani*, Florence, 1723.

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Learning and the Environment

In addition to attention for the natural wonders that had first arrived in the Dutch Republic from overseas, the appraisal of urban fortification structures and technical innovations forms another *fil rouge* throughout Bassetti's account. While travelling from the German border to the Low Countries by canal boat, Bassetti had every opportunity to study the regions' most striking environmental accomplishments, including the 'fortress [erected] upon a promontory' in Schenkenschans, where it was placed strategically at the bifurcation of the Rhine to Arnhem.¹²⁷ In Utrecht, Bassetti observed how the Dutch defended their territories against enemies, controlled water in an efficient manner, and used windmills to cut wood. Observing such features up close became especially relevant when Cosimo's ambitions to deal with Tuscany's own natural challenges started to crystalize more clearly back home.

Bassetti's diary may well have paved the way for the later travels—effectively eco-technical espionage expeditions—of engineers such as the Florentine Pietro Guerrini (1651-1716).¹²⁸ Guerrini's sojourn (1683) held great strategic significance: he was to report back to the Medici court about strategies to strengthen the state's defense, observed from entwined technological and environmental angles.¹²⁹ Bassetti carefully planned Guerrini's itinerary, to which he added concrete instructions that were modelled upon his own, earlier agenda in the Low Countries. Thanks to the local support of Pieter Blaeu and Giovacchino Guasconi, Guerrini could visit even the least accessible places, where he inspected equipment not otherwise shown willingly to foreign eyes.¹³⁰ Meanwhile, Guerrini kept Bassetti well informed

about his progress abroad through the sketches he frequently sent back to Florence. Around Amsterdam, the engineer paid particular attention to local strategies to protect farmland from inundation: Guerrini submitted several drawings to Bassetti, showing him the windmills that were used to efficiently drain away water.¹³¹

Guerrini's experience in the Dutch Republic, where he learnt so much about water management, proved highly useful in the Tuscany shaped by Cosimo III's ambitious vision. As Felicia M. Else posits persuasively, Cosimo's industrious forebear Cosimo I had already 'understood that control of water was vital to ensure the productivity of the surrounding land on which a citystate like Florence, with its empire, was directly dependant'.¹³² Hydrography was of great importance not only to the flourishing of the state, but also to the conscious crafting of the Medici monarchs' outward image. To Cosimo I, instigating improvement in this area was 'a task that he pursued throughout his reign and passed on to his heirs',¹³³ as corroborated by the activities of Bassetti and Guerrini in the Dutch Republic, where they operated in strict accordance with Cosimo III's orders. Upon Guerrini's return, the engineer worked at the service of mathematician Vincenzo Viviani (1622-1703).¹³⁴ As member of the *Capitani di Parte*, Viviani was involved in the administration of towns throughout the Florentine dominions. In the 1680s, the *Capitani* carried out several land-reclamation and water-control projects at the marshes of Fucecchio, where Francesco Feroni had acquired the Medici landholding Bellavista. Feroni first commissioned Viviani's associates to drain the land surrounding his property; having thus extended the territories under their control, the work of the *Capitani di Parte* then turned towards the protection of the area from floods.

Curiosity and Cultural Difference

In addition to the careful adjustment of selected foreign strategies to Tuscan circumstances, of equal interest to Cosimo III was the lasting memory of conflicting cultural differences he had himself observed abroad. As announced by the case of Jacob Gronovius in Pisa (1668-1675), some of the religious practices common in the Dutch Republic remained far removed from what was acceptable within Cosimo and his courtiers' own circles. Nowhere else had the Medici travel party come across a greater diversity of faiths, in fact, than in the extraordinary situation they witnessed in Amsterdam.¹³⁵ As testified by Bassetti and Moniglia, the Tuscans set foot in countless Catholic as well as Protestant churches, and also attended a service at the Portuguese synagogue. Private chambers were even prepared for the prince by the Sephardic community, but Cosimo 'did not make use of [these] at all and passed only little time there', as he preferred the hospitality offered by Francesco Feroni in his family home.¹³⁶ Cosimo's inquisitive—though certainly not unbiased—stance is further evinced by visits to 'a church of the Lutherans, one of the Anabaptists, a Socinian and an Arminian one', which (as Bassetti notes dryly) 'are all different religions'.¹³⁷

In the back corner of the principal Calvinist Church of Amsterdam (the *Nieuwe Kerk*), the courtiers relived some of the recent history Tuscany shared with the Republic. Here they encountered the grave of a military man well-known to them: Commander Johan van Galen (1604-1653), who had had been involved in the battle of Livorno.¹³⁸ Fought in March 1653, this was one of the most important military confrontations in the first Anglo-Dutch War (1652-54) that erupted as a result of the intense commercial rivalry between the two nations; inevitably, the Grand Duchy of Tuscany, too, had been drawn into the conflict's overseas arena. Despite its favourable outcome for the Dutch, the war did not end well for Van Galen:

after a cannon-shot had smashed his leg, the comander died ‘in the harbour, nine days after the victory’.¹³⁹

In later parts of his carefully compiled journal, Bassetti—in line with his empirical approach—provides an eye-witness account of the ceremonial rites observed by Reformed Christians in the Calvinist New Church.¹⁴⁰ This contrasts markedly with Moniglia’s musings, that appear charged with disapproval towards the Reformation.¹⁴¹ Yet despite Bassetti’s seemingly more distanced perspective, the contents of his account too may, on occasion, be seen to reflect some of the ‘Tuscans’ reservations. A case in point is the fact that Bassetti frequently dwells on the restrictions affecting Catholic worship throughout the Dutch Republic, in effect confining services to inconspicuous—hidden—churches. When Cosimo and his entourage arrived in the Republic, the overwhelming majority of its population adhered to the Reformed Church. Tolerant as the Dutch Republic prided itself to appear, the Reformed Church formed the sole public church; Roman Catholics were only allowed to gather in cleverly disguised chapels.¹⁴² While the Reformed Church was supported by the civic authorities through policies granting a formal endorsement of great symbolic significance, the Catholics were distinctly at a disadvantage. Concealment eventually emerges, from the perspective of the Tuscan courtiers, as a direct consequence of Dutch toleration. In Haarlem, Bassetti noted that the Catholics were ‘left to live in liberty, except for the public observance of their rites’, an observation corroborated by the situation encountered in Leiden and Delft.¹⁴³ Throughout Bassetti’s diary, Cosimo III comes across as relatively open-minded towards faiths differing from his own; the Medici prince appears rather curious and willing to explore the customs of their adherents throughout the Dutch Republic.

Yet, as a cautious sovereign, Cosimo was certainly not in full agreement with the (apparent) freedom left to the Republic’s citizenry and seems wary especially of its—

potentially disruptive—forces within society at large. When in the 1670s, Baruch Spinoza (1632-1677) came to know that Cosimo negatively viewed the *Tractatus Theologico-politicus* (Amsterdam: Israël de Paull, 1669) in which he advocated how freedom of speech and religion benefit the state,¹⁴⁴ Spinoza desired to meet Cosimo in person, but was made to understand that the Grand Duke preferred not to receive ‘such a man’.¹⁴⁵ The extraordinary cultural climate thanks to which even a work as controversial as that of Spinoza found a haven in Amsterdam’s publishing houses—from where it would go on to reach international audiences, despite its highly-critical local reception—was equally responsible, ultimately, for Cosimo III’s anxiety.

Moniglia’s praise of the dual forces of publicly-shared power and mercantile pragmatism by virtue of which the Dutch Republic ‘formidable on land, immortal at sea; through good government reigns imperiously’, certainly should not be taken at face value. If the active interest entertained by Cosimo and his courtiers has revealed anything, it is their great appreciation of the Republic’s potential to provide—through the exotic merchandise, information, and print publications that epitomize the advantages of Dutch liberty—a window onto a wider world that would prove irresistible precisely to a ruler eager to remedy his own demise through innovation. As we will see in the concluding sections of this essay, the delicate socio-political balance that was struck in the North appeared to Cosimo’s eyes as a promise not only of peril, but also of profit.

Epilogue: The ‘Republican’ Aftermath of a Princely Tour

The epistolary exchange between the Medici court and the Dutch Republic that continued in the wake of Cosimo III’s travels bears eloquent witness to the prince’s ongoing interest in the

latest international developments in politics, trade, and art. It was by virtue of his connection to the Low Countries, then, that Cosimo came to possess what Paula Findlen has called ‘the most valuable commodity of the early modern era: global information collected by reliable agents’.¹⁴⁶

Shortly after Cosimo ascended the grand ducal throne, the few strategic contacts that had been maintained in Amsterdam by his predecessor Ferdinando II, including Francesco Feroni and local merchant Jan van der Nessen, were replaced by a much more comprehensive network of merchants, diplomats, and scholars.¹⁴⁷ These cross-cultural ties were orchestrated by two individuals—Apollonio Bassetti and Antonio Magliabechi—who, each in his own way, embodied Cosimo’s ambitions. Immediately after his enthronement in 1670, Cosimo sagely secured their position at the Medici court by nominating Bassetti *Segretario della Cifra* and making Magliabechi court librarian in 1673.

Unlike Magliabechi, who later established epistolary connections directly from Florence, Bassetti in his new capacity relied extensively on the people he had met over the course of his travels for Cosimo III. In the following years, Bassetti’s contacts abroad proved priceless in executing Cosimo’s wide-ranging requests: selected intermediaries carried out diplomatic activities for the Medici court that were complemented by weekly newsletters through which they constantly kept Bassetti in the know; additionally, these trusted international allies supplied the books, artworks, and naturalia with which Cosimo sought to enrich the grand ducal collections and symbolically enhance his own, outward image.

The wealth of information that Bassetti thus gathered through his network of informants still survives in the shape of thousands of letters and *avvisi*, containing commercial and political news from the Dutch Republic, preserved at the State Archive of Florence. Much like his contemporary Jean-Baptiste Colbert, the French Minister of Finance who served King

Louis XIV from 1661 to 1683, Bassetti seems to have believed that virtually all knowledge was of concrete value for government; as ministers of state, Bassetti and Colbert could learn from humanist, ecclesiastic, mercantile, military, and engineering culture alike.¹⁴⁸ In this way, both appear excellently equipped as ‘information master’ (to borrow Jacob Soll’s felicitous phrasing), rendering Bassetti capable of dealing not only with the financial accounts, but also the socio-political administration of the Medici reign.¹⁴⁹ Bassetti systematically collected information by dispatching messages that were drafted directly after Cosimo’s orders to correspondents that the secretary and his sovereign trusted equally. Pieter Blaeu, whose excellent Italian was praised profusely by his correspondents,¹⁵⁰ clearly held a prime position in such circles of confidentiality: during Bassetti’s stay in Amsterdam, it had been Pieter, after all, who personally disclosed his insider’s information about Dutch trade with the Indies and provided a precious perspective on the East through maps and other coveted materials in print and manuscript.

It is no wonder, then, that Cosimo III continued to rely on Pieter Blaeu after his sojourns in the Dutch Republic. In the aftermath of his journey, following ongoing efforts to conceptualize a Medici town atlas and cultivate exotic pineapple plants on the Tuscan soil, the curiosity of the grand duke appears anything but dormant. In a letter from 1683 that has so far escaped scholarly attention, Cosimo wrote to Pieter:

Having always entertained myself, as you know, by gathering knowledge of the things, characteristics and customs of foreign peoples, I would now like to have an exact and comprehensive account of all that is requested on the attached sheet, concerning their measurements, weights, and currency in order to know well the names given to their varieties, their usage, and their value, and also how these relate to ours in Italy. I have, however, set out to obtain this from all the parts of the known world as far as commerce arrives, and I am

sending in various places a copy of this very sheet. Judging that you, too, through your kind work may take pleasure in contributing to my aim, either by yourself, or by way of your friends, and of their contacts, I desire from you the pieces of information expressed on the aforementioned sheet from the following countries:

1. Of all the domains that the United Provinces have in Lower Germany.
2. Of all the states, islands, and ports of call in their possession outside Europe, such as the Coasts of Africa, the East Indies, and the West Indies.

For this I ask you to take upon yourself the inconvenience of this business gladly because of your love for me, and to have made as many copies as necessary of the articles 1-2 of the present and the attached sheet to send to the people you deem able to satisfy me in this matter, whilst I shall be greatly obliged to receive its considerable pleasure, since all that of this kind one finds printed in books is uncertain and false: being aware of that, with this I favourably confirm to you my affection and sympathy and I pray to Heaven for your good fortune.¹⁵¹

Cosimo III repeats his request in a strategically adjusted version of this document addressed to Giovacchino Guasconi (1630-*c.* 1699), the Tuscan merchant who operated mostly from Amsterdam and acted occasionally as Cosimo's book agent; in that role, he seems to have made ample use of his close contact with Pieter Blaeu. Guasconi is asked specifically to provide information on 'all the provinces of Flanders [that are part] of the Low Countries, both of the Spanish and of the Dutch', and on 'Westphalia, the Luneborg States, and their environs'. Cosimo also wishes to know more about 'the provinces under the rule of Moscow and its maritime ports of call from the Caspian to the White Sea', possibly through the help of

Giovacchino's brother Francesco, who led a trading company in Russia and lived in Moscow.¹⁵² Giovacchino Guasconi closely followed these instructions and eventually sent Bassetti all details desired by the grand duke.¹⁵³

The full reach of Cosimo's carefully planned enquiry went well beyond the circles of informants surrounding Blaeu and the Guasconi brothers: upon the grand duke's orders, Bassetti wrote a series of similar letters to Medici agents living in the most important—and well-connected—cities in Italy and beyond. Besides Venice, Genoa, Naples, Livorno, Bologna, and Milan, letters were dispatched to France (Lyon and Paris), Germany (Hamburg and Augsburg), Spain (Madrid and Cádiz), Portugal (Lisbon), England (London), the Habsburg Empire (Vienna), Poland (Warsaw), and the Ottoman Empire (Smirne).¹⁵⁴ Bassetti gave each agent the specific assignment to provide an overview of cultural and commercial details, including the local standards currently used to define the weights, measures, and monetary value essential to international trade and diplomacy. What emerges strikingly here is how much the grand duke esteemed the extensive network of contacts held together by his trusted secretary following their journeys throughout Europe; Cosimo was mindful, mostly, of its potential for the careful accumulation of knowledge about the wider world—especially the kind of politically-charged information not (immediately) available in print. The strategies adopted by state informants, merchants, and publishers seem appropriated here by a ruler eager to lay hands on sensitive information of a value transcending that of more conventionally-shared know-how.

The assertive approach to state intelligence that speaks from this particular instance was instrumental to commercial ambitions that further testify to Cosimo's great fascination about the Dutch Republic and its concrete connections to Asia and the New World: he dreamt of establishing a Tuscan equivalent to the Dutch East-India Company that would have

operated from Livorno, the Medici port through which forebears going back at least a century (1560-70s) had already longed to gain direct access to the Americas.¹⁵⁵ Prior to his travels to the Republic, Cosimo had instructed Pieter Blaeu to provide him with books concerning Dutch trade with the East and West Indies, knowledge that was no doubt augmented significantly by what the future grand duke heard and saw first-hand in Amsterdam.¹⁵⁶ Following his return to Florence, Cosimo in 1676 officially granted Livorno the status of *porto franco*, lowering the transaction costs associated with the deposit, transit, and exchange of merchandise; this was followed by the construction of a new district filled with warehouses meant for mercantile activity after the example of Amsterdam. Although the initiative never quite lived up to the high standards set in the North, the Tuscans so ambitiously pursued the goal of turning Livorno into the ‘Amsterdam of the Mediterranean’ that the port city experienced an exceptional phase of urban development at the end of the seventeenth century.¹⁵⁷

As this essay has shown from a fresh, and appropriately itinerant, perspective, Cosimo III’s princely prudence found its ultimate expression in the commercial and governmental aspirations—their effective results notwithstanding—carefully cultivated at the Medici court in the face of its imminent end. During his reign, Cosimo sought to reform Medici rule under the aegis of a specially-installed committee of experts, the *Deputazione per la Riforma dei Magistrati*.¹⁵⁸ Eventually, he went as far as to prepare for the grand duchy to be turned into a republic after his death: in 1710, through his envoy Carlo Rinucci, Cosimo requested a ‘blueprint’ to be drawn up by Anthonie Heinsius (1641-1720), Grand Pensionary to the province of Holland, detailing how the illustrious *repubblica fiorentina* could be restored after the model of the Dutch Republic.¹⁵⁹ In this way, the Grand Duke had hoped to prevent the Tuscan territories from falling into foreign hands should he pass away without leaving a direct

heir. As Cosimo III's first son, Grand Prince Ferdinando (1663-1713) predeceased his father, this risk was averted only when Gian Gastone (1671-1737) took his older brother's place and succeeded Cosimo in 1723. Consequently, the plan to turn the Grand Duchy of Tuscany into a republic faded into obscurity.

The late Medici attempt at reviving the alluring echo of the past by casting a curious gaze towards a present-day example of (seeming) stately success may, however, reveal the Grand Duchy's defining difference with the Dutch Republic that grew up over the course of the seventeenth century. In the North, governmental structures of relatively recent origin remained versatile, leaving space for the demands of a changing—and increasingly globalized—world; in Tuscany, the age-old rule of a single dynasty was anchored in the *memoria storica* of its republican heritage entwined with interceding centuries of absolutist rule. The dual legacy thus facing Cosimo III, accompanied by a bureaucratic apparatus notoriously hindering reform, certainly helps explain why Tuscany's aspired republican Renaissance shipwrecked as Cosimo's swansong, artfully staged after the modern model the Medici prince had discovered in the Dutch Republic.

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Captions

Figure 1. Bologna in Joan Blaeu, *Civitates status ecclesiastici*, Amsterdam, 1663. © Bodleian Libraries, University of Oxford. J. Maps 267 [47].

Figure 2. Jan Boskom, verso of silver medal featuring 'Flora Batava', 1700. © Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam.

Figure 3. Michelangelo Tilli, titlepage of *Catalogus plantarum Horti Pisani*, Florence, 1723. © Sistema Bibliotecario di Ateneo. Università di Pisa.







CATALOGUS
PLANTARUM HORTI PISANI

AUCTORE

MICHAELE ANGELO TILLI

E CASTRO FLORENTINO

In Pisano Athenæo Simplicium LECTORE Ordinario

ET EJUSDEM HORTI CUSTODE

NEC NON

Regiæ Societ. LONDINENSIS, ac Acad. Botanicæ FLORENTINÆ SOCIO

SUB AUSPICIIS R. C.

C O S M I I I I.

M. E. D.

COMUNE DI PISA
LEGATO
FRANCIONI



FLORENTIÆ. M.DCC.XXIII.

Typis Regiæ Celsitudinis. Apud Tartinium & Franchium. Super. Permissu.

¹ Henk Th. van Veen has demonstrated that Cosimo III's travels were driven predominantly by political and diplomatic motives: 'Cosimo de' Medici's Reis naar de Republiek in een Nieuw Perspectief', *BMGN: Low Countries Historical Review*, 102 (1987), 44-52. Also see Sabrina Corbellini, 'Cosimo III alla scoperta dei Paesi Bassi (1667-1668)', in Angelo Cattaneo and Sabrina Corbellini, eds., *Sguardi Globali: Mappe olandesi, spagnole e portoghesi nelle collezioni del Granduca Cosimo III de' Medici* (Florence, 2019), 11-18; *Il viaggio in Europa di Pietro Guerrini (1682-1686). Edizione della corrispondenza di un inviato di Cosimo III dei Medici*, ed. Francesco Martelli, 2 vols. (Florence, 2005), vol. I, XXX; Leonardo Rombai, 'Vedere per il Principe', *Geostorie. Bollettino e Notiziario del Centro italiano per gli Studi storico-geografici*, 5 (1997), 3-11; Serenella Rolfi, 'Il difetto di lontananza. Appunti sui viaggi di Cosimo III de' Medici nel Nord Europa', *Ricerche di storia dell'arte*, 54 (1994), 53-68.

² Henk Th. van Veen and Andrew P. McCormick, *Tuscany and the Low Countries: An Introduction to the Sources and an Inventory of Four Florentine Libraries* (Florence, 1985), 62. Previous, partial reassessment of Cosimo III's reign resulted in the conference and ensuing publication by Franco Angiolini, Vieri Becagli, and Marcello Verga, eds., *La Toscana nell'età di Cosimo III. Atti del convegno, Pisa-San Domenico di Fiesole, 4-5 giugno 1990* (Florence, 1993).

³ Van Veen, 'Cosimo de' Medici's Reis naar de Republiek in een Nieuw Perspectief'; cf. Hans Cools, 'Francesco Feroni, intermediario in cereali, schiavi e opere d'arte', *Quaderni storici*, 122 (2006), 353-365.

⁴ Henk Th. van Veen, 'Ein italienischer Augenzeuge eines Holländischen Ballets', *Maske und Kotburn. Internationale Beiträge zur Theaterwissenschaft*, 27 (1981), 123-134.

⁵ On Cosimo's five-month stay in Spain, see Miguel Taín Gusmán, *A Medici Pilgrimage: The Devotional Journey of Cosimo III to Santiago de Compostela (1669)* (Turnhout, 2019). On his travels in Portugal, see Susana Varela Flor, 'Portraits by Feliciano de Almeida (1635-1694) in Cosimo III de' Medici's Gallery', *RIFA journal*, 144 (2016), 1-37; Carmen M. Radulet, 'Cósimo III Medici and the Portuguese Restoration: A Voyage to Portugal in 1668-1669', *E-Journal of Portuguese History*, 1 (2003), 1-8. For England, see Stefano Villani, 'La religione degli inglesi e il viaggio del principe: Note sulla Relazione Ufficiale del viaggio di Cosimo de' Medici in Inghilterra', *Studi secenteschi*, XLV (2004), 175-194; Anna Maria Crinò, *Un principe di Toscana in Inghilterra e in Irlanda nel 1669: Relazione Ufficiale del viaggio di Cosimo de' Medici tratta dal «Giornale» di L. Magalotti* (Rome, 1968).

⁶ Hans Cools, 'A Tuscan Travel Party amongst the Frisian Natives: The Day Trip of Prince Cosimo to Stavoren and Molkwerum, 26 June 1669', *Incontri. Rivista europea di studi italiani*, 30 (2015), 80-90.

⁷ Cited after Paola Benigni, 'Francesco Feroni: da mercante di schiavi a burocrate nella Toscana di Cosimo III. Alcune anticipazioni', in *La Toscana nell'età di Cosimo III*, 181. Unless otherwise stated, all translations are our own.

⁸ *Pieter Blaeu: Lettere ai fiorentini Antonio Magliabechi, Leopoldo e Cosimo III de' Medici, e altri, 1660-1705*, ed. Henk Th. van Veen and Alfonso Mirto (Amsterdam/Maarssen, 1993), 313; also see Corbellini, 'Cosimo III alla scoperta dei Paesi Bassi', 13.

⁹ *Lettere ai fiorentini*, ed. Van Veen and Mirto, 313: 'altri libri che trattassero materie di viaggi nuovi o di cognizioni pellegrine, e recenti'.

¹⁰ Andrew Pettegree and Arthur der Weduwen, *The Bookshop of the World: Making and Trading Books in the Dutch Golden Age* (New Haven, 2019), 289.

¹¹ Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana, Ms. Med. Pal. 12. See Godefridus J. Hoogewerff, *De Twee Reizen van Cosimo de' Medici, Prins van Toscane, door de Nederlanden (1667-1669). Journalen en Documenten* (Amsterdam, 1919).

¹² As indicated by Hoogewerff, accounts were also kept by the grand ducal treasurer Cosimo Prié (first voyage) and by the Bolognese physician Giovan Battista Gornia (second voyage). For contrasting views on the authorship of the official account, see Cools, 'A Tuscan Travel Party amongst the Frisian Natives', 85; Radulet, 'Cosimo III Medici and the Portuguese Restoration', 3.

¹³ Biblioteca Moreniana, Bigazzi 32: 'Memorie delle occorrenze del viaggio intrapreso dal Serenissimo Principe Cosimo di Toscana per Alemagna, et Olanda il dì 22 Ottobre 1667', 2 vols (referenced below as *Memorie Bassetti*).

¹⁴ See recently Malgorzata Trzeciak-Cyga, 'Un viaggio a due voci: il nunzio apostolico Andrea Santacroce e il suo segretario Giovan Battista Fagioli nella Polonia del Seicento', *Italian Studies*, 75 (2020), 1-15.

¹⁵ 'Viaggio del Serenissimo Principe Cosimo di Toscana descritto in sette Capitoli dal dottore Giovanni Andrea Moniglia suo Medico' (referenced below as *Viaggio Moniglia*): Archivio di Stato di Firenze [ASF] (Mediceo del Principato, 6385), Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale di Firenze [BNCF] (Cod. Palatino 804), and Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana (cod. Antinori 85); Leiden University Library [UBL] (BPL 3294). Selected portions of Moniglia's journal have so far been published in Van Veen, 'Ein italienischer Augenzeuge'; Mario Battistini, 'Erasmus dans la Relation de voyage du poète florentin Jean André Moniglia (XVIIe siècle)', *De Gulden Passer*, 15 (1937), 52-58; Mario Battistini, 'Un poète florentin à Anvers en 1668 (Giovanni Andrea Moniglia)', *De Gulden Passer*, 7 (1929), 110-18; Edoardo Benvenuti, 'Insieme con Giovanni Andrea Moniglia da Firenze a Bologna, Trento, Innsbruck Magonza, Amsterdam, Amburgo, Olmütz nel 1667', *Rivista delle Biblioteche*, 23 (1912), 37-81.

¹⁶ *Viaggio Moniglia*, UBL, BPL 3294, f. 1: ‘Ragion’è ben’ d’assomigliare a’ Numi / Cui di nobil’desio servendo il Seno / Vide molte Città, molti costumi; / Quindi d’alta virtù, voi, che ripieno / L’animo avete, e dentro al Regio petto / Non è d[e]l Mondo tutto augusto meno, / Nudriste suavissimo dilet[t]o / Scorrer, [per] indagar riti stranieri / Remoto clima, e peregrino tetto. / E distinguendo poi dai falsi i veri / Dogmi di ben regnar ergere il segno / A’ vostri sagacissimi pensieri / Veder cio che s’intese è pregio degno / D’Eroe sovrano, onde si fan gli esempi / Dell’altrui Monarchia base al Suo Regno / Dolce pietà, di Tirannia gli scempi / Tranquilla pace, altro furor di Marte / Culto incorrotto, e profanati tempi / Rimirati da voi, più che le Carte / Se ben vergate d’erudito Inchiostro, / D’accrescere il Dominio additan L’Arte’.

¹⁷ Francesco Martelli, ‘A corte e in capitolo: Apollonio Bassetti, segretario di Cosimo III dei Medici e canonico di San Lorenzo, e il priore Giovan Battista Frescobaldi’, in Robert W. Gaston and Louis Alexander Waldman, eds., *San Lorenzo: A Florentine Church* (Cambridge, MA, 2017), 639.

¹⁸ Martelli, ‘A corte e in capitolo’, 632. Contemporary contextualization in Riguccio Galluzzi, *Istoria del granducato di Toscana sotto il governo della casa Medici* (Florence, 1781), vol. VIII, 354.

¹⁹ ASF, Miscellanea Medicea (MM), 368, f. 1366, ‘Appunti per lo svolgimento del lavoro di segreteria, presumibilmente durante il mandato di Apollonio Bassetti’. For the correspondence between Bassetti and the Dutch Republic, see ASF, Mediceo del Principato (MdP), Fiandre & Olanda, 4260-4265.

²⁰ Marco Catucci, ‘Moniglia, Giovanni Andrea’: <https://www.treccani.it/enciclopedia/giovanni-andrea-moniglia_%28Dizionario-Biografico%29/> [accessed 21 April 2022]. Contemporary biographical details are given in Gregorio Leti, *L’Italia Regnante o vero Nova Descrizione dello Stato Presente di tutti Principati e Republiche d’Italia* (Geneva, 1675-1676), vol. 3, 403-408.

²¹ Ridolfo Del Gratta, ‘I docenti e le cattedre dal 1543 al 1737’, in *Storia dell’Università di Pisa 1343-1737*, vol. 1.2 (Pisa, 1993), 526.

²² Angela Nuovo, ‘Gian Vincenzo Pinelli’s Collection of Catalogues of Private Libraries in Sixteenth-Century Europe’, *Gutenberg Jahrbuch* (2007), 138.

²³ Giovanni Andrea Moniglia, *Ercole in Tebe: Festa teatrale rappresentata in Firenze per le reali nozze de’ Serenissimi Sposi Cosimo terzo, Principe di Toscana, e Margherita Luisa, Principessa d’Orleans* (Florence, 1661).

²⁴ For recent contextualization, see Enrico Zucchi, ‘Republics in Comparison: Cross-Cultural Perspectives on Genoa, Venice and the United Provinces in Italian Literature (1650–1699)’, *History of European Ideas* (2021).

²⁵ Anecdotal evidence in Leti, *L’Italia Regnante*, vol. 3, 407-40; Franco Carnevale, ‘Ramazzini vs Moniglia: Una ‘terribile’ polemica medica seicentesca’, *Medicina & Storia*, XI (2011), 213-226.

²⁶ See Ingeborg van Vugt, *The Structure and Dynamics of Scholarly Networks between the Dutch Republic and the Grand Duchy of Tuscany in the Seventeenth Century* (doctoral dissertation, Scuola normale superiore, Pisa, and Amsterdam University, 2019).

²⁷ UBL, LTK 860, f. 2r. See also Magliabechi to Nicolaas Heinsius, 15 February 1674, UBL, BUR F 8.

²⁸ On the University of Pisa, see Jonathan Davies, *Culture and Power: Tuscany and its Universities 1537-1609* (Leiden, 2009) and Paul F. Grendler, *The Universities of the Italian Renaissance* (Baltimore, 2002), especially 70-77.

²⁹ Magliabechi to Heinsius, 19 June 1674, UBL, BUR F 8: ‘Quasi tutti costoro, copertamente perseguitano terribilmente il Signor Gronovio benché apparentemente gli facciano cortesia. Ne’ pochi mesi che ’l detto Signor Gronovio è stato qua, ha benissimo conosciuto la malignità che qua regna’.

³⁰ Francesco Martelli, ‘Nex Spes Nec Metus’: Ferrante Capponi, giurista ed altro funzionario nella Toscana di Cosimo III’, in *La Toscana nell’età di Cosimo III*, 137-165; Davies, *Tuscany and its Universities 1537-1609*, 83-85; Romano P. Coppini, *Breve storia dell’Università di Pisa* (Pisa, 2009), 18. On Magliabechi, see especially Jean Boutier, Maria Pia Paoli and Corrado Viola, eds., *Antonio Magliabechi nell’Europa dei saperi* (Pisa, 2017); Pina Totaro, ‘Libri e circolazione libraria nelle lettere di Antonio Magliabechi a corrispondenti olandesi’, *Lexicon philosphicum*, X (1999), 173-195.

³¹ Giovanni Targioni Tozzetti, *Clarorum Belgarum ad Antonium Magliabechium nonnullosque alios epistolae ex autographis in bibliotheca Magliabechiana; quae nunc Publica Florentinorum est, adservatis descriptae* (Florence, 1745), vol. II, 4.

³² Magliabechi to Gronovius, undated, Ludwig Maximilian University Library (LMU), Cod 4° Cod. Msc 778, f. 18: ‘Quel Medico scellerato [Moniglia], e con altri maligni, invidiosi, e della grazia che Vostra Signoria Illustrissima godeva appresso di Sua Altezza Reale, e della provvisione che aveva, si unirono, con quel ateo Ministro [Capponi], per rovinarlo. Vedendo che le loro cabale contro di Vostra Signoria Illustrissima, con Sua Altezza Reale, non operavano nulla, perché Sua Altezza Reale l’aveva in una infinita stima, si rivolsero a scrivere a Roma, che era una cosa affatto intollerabile, che in uno Studio Cattolico, e particolarmente in quello di Pisa, leggesse un Protestante’.

³³ For further contextualization, see Grendler, *The Universities of the Italian Renaissance*, 75.

³⁴ See ensuing passages from Magliabechi to Gronovius (LMU, Cod 4° Cod. Msc 778, f. 18): ‘Continuamente venivano Lettere di Roma a Sua Altezza Reale, e particolare dal signore Cardinale Barberini [...]. Sua Altezza

Reale stette forte molto tempo, resistendo questo potette, ma finalmente, per iscrupoli cred'io, cedette, e mi disse, che se Vostra Signoria Illustrissima non avesse mutata Religione, non l'avrebbe più potuta sostenere'.

³⁵ See Ingeborg van Vugt, 'Networking in the Republic of Letters: Magliabechi and the Dutch Republic', *Journal of Interdisciplinary History* LIII:1 (forthcoming: summer 2022). Magliabechi to Heinsius, 25 September 1674, UBL, BUR F 8: 'Finalmente la malignità di costoro ha pienamente trionfato, poichè ieri si partì il Signor Gronovio [...] per ritornarsene costà in Olanda. Oltre all'aver con mille indegnità e porcheriuole, costretto il detto Signor Gronovio a chieder licenza, come da se stesso ha generosamente fatto, hanno anche operato che il Gran Duca Serenissimo, nel partirsi, non gli ha donato cosa alcuna, come stimo che infallibilmente avrebbe fatto, mentre che la malignità di costoro non si fosse opposta'.

³⁶ *Viaggio Moniglia*, f. 43: 'Ove pur giunti, oh quanto ben si vede / L'ordine delle cose, è che l'Olanda / Dei tesori di Spagna è fatta Erede. / Ivi il Pubblico regge, e sol comanda / Quant'utile conosce, e cortesia, / Se guadagno non è mette da banda. / Ivi Luogo non tien la bizzaria, / Son bandite le gale, e sola usanza / Di tutti è far mercato, o senseria. / V'abitano Soldati, ed hanno stanza / Genti civili, e [per] qualchuno ancora / Vi soggiorna l'affetto, e la creanza. / Degl'abitanti qualsivoglia adora / Qual Nume più gli piace, et il Divino, / E cattolico rito anco s'onora'.

³⁷ Johan de Witt, *Deductie ofte Declaratie van de Staten van Hollandt ende West-Vrieslandt* (The Hague, 1654), 37. See especially Jonathan I. Israel, *The Dutch Republic: Its Rise, Greatness, and Fall, 1477-1806* (Oxford, 1995), 725-726; Arthur Weststeijn, *Commercial Republicanism in the Dutch Golden Age: The Political Thought of Johan & Pieter de la Court* (Leiden, 2011), 48.

³⁸ See markedly Furio Diaz, *Il Granducato di Toscana. I Medici* (Turin, 1976), 494; Christopher Hibbert, *The Rise and Fall of the House of Medici* (London, 1974), 302. Also see the bibliography given in this essay's first footnotes.

³⁹ Eric Cochrane, *Florence in the Forgotten Centuries 1527-1800* (Chicago/London, 1973), 272.

⁴⁰ Cochrane, *Florence in the Forgotten Centuries*, 299.

⁴¹ Magliabechi to J. Gronovius, Florence, undated [1676], LMU, Cod 4° Cod. Msc 778, f. 8: 'Non si cura più niente degli studi, ma della pietà'.

⁴² Magliabechi to J. Gronovius, Florence, July 1696, LMU, Cod 4° Cod. Msc 778., f. 23: 'Questi Serenissimi Principi non comprano Libri, essendo qua per le Lettere, e per gli Studi, finita ogni cosa affatto'.

⁴³ *Ibidem*. 'Per le viscere di Gjesù Cristo, e per tutte le sante leggi dell'amicizia, prego Vostra Signoria Illustrissima, a stracciare questa carta, subito che l'avrà letta, scrivendolela io in estrema segretezza, e confidenza, ed in sigilo di confessor naturale, perchè mai in tempo alcuno, possa esser veduta da anima vivente'.

⁴⁴ *Viaggio Moniglia*, f. 47: 'Scendi Apollo (ti prego) e con giocondo / Aspetto per lodar, prepara i carmi / La più ricca Città di questo Mondo. / Non di Macchine eccelse, e non di Marmi / Tratti dal sen di Paro, e non d'Eroi / È fecondo Amsterdam, ma toghe, ed Armi / Ha tante quante bastano; ma poi / In politica, e in ora, a questa eguale / Nell'ampio giro tuo trovar non puoi. / In terra è formidabile, immortale / Nel mar s'è resa, e a maggior grado ancora / Nel buon governo imperiosa sale'.

⁴⁵ See also *Viaggio Moniglia*, f. 52: 'Partij dal Porto, e curioso il Piede / Volgo altronde a mirar Piazze, e persone / L'occhio per tutto meraviglie vede / Quanto ha di vago, e Maestoso l'Arte / Quella bella Città tutto possiede. / Gioventù atta al bel mestier di Marte, / Gran quantità di merci peregrine, / Popolo numeroso in ogni parte'.

⁴⁶ Antonella Bicchì, 'Immigration and Acculturation: Italians in Amsterdam', in Peter van Kessel and Elisja Schulte, eds., *Rome * Amsterdam. Two Growing Cities in Seventeenth-Century Europe* (Amsterdam, 1997), 250-251.

⁴⁷ On Feroni, see especially the work of Paola Benigni and Hans Cools: Benigni, 'Francesco Feroni empoiese negoziante in Amsterdam', *Incontri - Rivista di studi italo-nederlandesi*, 3 (1985), 98-121; 'Francesco Feroni: da mercante di schiavi a burocrate', in *La Toscana nell'età di Cosimo III*, 165-83; Cools, 'Francesco Feroni, 1614/16-1696. Broker in Cereals, Slaves and Works of Art', in Marika Keblusek, Badeloch Vera Noldus, and Hans Cools, eds., *Your Humble Servant. Agents in Early Modern Europe* (Hilversum, 2006), 39-50; 'An Italian in the Metropolis: The Amsterdam Career of Francesco Feroni (ca. 1640-1672)', in Jean-Pierre Delville et al., eds., *The Quintessence of Lives: Intellectual Biographies in the Low Countries Presented to Jan Roegiers*, 91 (Turnhout, 2010), 227-247.

⁴⁸ For the correspondence between Feroni and Bassetti, see ASF, MdP, Fiandre & Olanda, 4260 (ff. 313-549) and 4261 (ff. 194-476); contextualization in Pierre Rétat, *La Gazette d'Amsterdam: Miroir de l'Europe au XVIIIe siècle* (Liverpool, 2001).

⁴⁹ Bicchì, 'Immigration and Acculturation', 253.

⁵⁰ *Memorie Bassetti*, vol. 1, f. 135: 'In una barca bella guarnita di specchi'.

⁵¹ *Ibidem*: 'Essigendo da quei cavalieri un gran rispetto'.

⁵² *Viaggio Moniglia*, fols 43-44: 'Alor sentiamo dir sono arrivati / D'Amsterdam i Mercanti Fiorentini / Tutti con buona Cera, ed ingrassati / E doppio mille baciabassi, e inchini / Fatti da loro al Principe; Al Feroni / Volta l'Altezza Sua, disse i miei vini / Son anco giunti? Avean provisioni / Il Principe, di Chianti, e di Castello / Fatte in Firenze delicati, e buoni, / E con ordine poscia accorto, e bello / Racchiusi in Casse ad Amsterdam mandati /

Avea del Celibi sopra un Vascello; / Onde qual ora fussimo arrivati / Dal prezioso Elisir, che Bacco stilla / Venissero gli spirti rattivati; / Con tal speranza ogn'alma si tranquilla / Dicendo: in Amsterdam berem per bene, / E d'allegrezza in petto il cuor ci brilla'.

⁵³ *Memorie Bassetti*, vol. 1, f. 142: 'Nel suddetto Palazzo sono però i magazzini di tutte le merci che vengono d'India, in genere di droghe, et un altro ne anno nel cuore della città ove stanno le merci fini d'alta natura, come gioie, Telerie, udori e cose diverse. Nel primo vedole Sua Altezza tutte le stanze, altre piene di centinaia di botti di noci mostarda altre, di Pepe, a migliara e migliara di moggia, spalato et ammortato sino al tetto, come usa nelli magazzini del grano, altre di migliara di balle di cannella, altre di garofani il cui valore ascende a milioni di fiorini'.

⁵⁴ Among recent scholarship, see notably Pettegree and Der Weduwen, *The Bookshop of the World*; Clara Rasterhoff, *Painting and Publishing as Creative Industries: The Fabric of Creativity in the Dutch Republic, 1580-1800* (Amsterdam, 2016); Paul Hoftijzer, 'The Dutch Republic, Centre of the European Book Trade in the 17th Century', in *European History Online* (EGO): <<http://www.ieg-ego.eu/hoftijzerp-2015-en>> [accessed 21 April 2022]. Further contextualization in Oscar Gelderblom, *Cities of Commerce: The Institutional Foundations of International Trade in the Low Countries, 1250-1650* (Princeton, 2013); Jan de Vries and Ad van der Woude, *The First Modern Economy: Success, Failure, and Perseverance of the Dutch Economy, 1500-1815* (Cambridge, 1997), 9-12.

⁵⁵ Hoftijzer, 'The Dutch Republic, Centre of the European Book Trade in the 17th Century'.

⁵⁶ Clé Lesger, *The Rise of the Amsterdam Market and Information Exchange: Merchants, Commercial Expansion and Change in the Spatial Economy of the Low Countries c. 1550-1630*, trans. J. C. Grayson (Aldershot, 2006), 214-257; De Vries and Van der Woude, *The First Modern Economy*; Jonathan I. Israel, *Dutch Primacy in World Trade 1585-1740* (Oxford, 1989); Isabella Henriette van Eeghen, *De Amsterdamsche Boekhandel 1680-1725*, vol. IV (Amsterdam, 1964), 7-11; cf. Elizabeth Sutton, 'To Inform and To Delight: The Commodification of Travel Images in Amsterdam', *Mediaevalia*, 32 (2011), 325-356.

⁵⁷ See Arthur der Weduwen, *Dutch and Flemish Newspapers of the Seventeenth Century*, 2 vols. (Leiden, 2017); Willem Frijhoff and Marijke Spies, *1650: Bevochten Eendracht* (The Hague, 1999), 258-268.

⁵⁸ Christiane Berkvens-Stevelinck, Hans Bots, Paul Hoftijzer, and Otto Lankhorst, eds., *Le Magasin de l'Univers: The Dutch Republic as the Centre of the European Book Trade* (Leiden, 1992).

⁵⁹ 'Dove non sono canali s'amira una immensità di botteghe con case medesimamente piene [...]. D'Amsterdam in quel particolare [...] si può dire che sia il magazzino del mondo [...] perchè dal meno possiate venire in cognizione delle cose maggiori. Non è cosa che vi sia in abbondanza grandissima, sì che ne va in tutte le parti dell'Europa. La quantità de vasselli che sono a vista della città sono innumerabili, figuratevi vedere una gran bosaglia di molte miglia spogliata di foglie'. ASF, vol. 6381, insert 2 (Roberto Pucci, 'Memorie del viaggio fatto da me Ruberto Pucci nell'anno 1657 d'Alemagna, Fiandra con le sette Provincie Unite, Inghilterra, Francia, Spagna et Italia. Con alcune notizie o curiosità per la sodisfazione di qualche amico che desiderasse viaggiare in dette parti del mondo più praticato. Finito nell'anno 1661 alli di Giugno'), f. 75.

⁶⁰ See also *Viaggio Moniglia*, fols 50 and 60: 'Un giorno intanto dal pensiero sciolto / Il gran timor dell'acque feci gita / In fino al porto, ed ei mi piacque molto / Eravi quantità grande; infinita / Di navi, di barconi, e di vasselli / Che drento al Porto or fean ritorno, or gita / Mi parean tutti a maraviglia belli / Onde piu volte colmo di stupore / Mi fermava a vedere, e questi, e quelli, / E diceva fra me: l'ira, e 'l furore / Sprezzando qui dell'Ocean fremente / Sèn vola l'uom d[e]l nostro Mondo fuore. / Vede strani Paesi, e strana gente, / E di Lingua, e di volto, e di costume / Tanto da noi discorde, è differente / Va fin colà dove il Rettor d[e]l Lume / Apre l'Amabil giorno, e dove poi / Stanco si posa in su l'ondose spume; / E dalle spiagge degl'estremi Eoi / Gl'aromati piu fini, e piu pregiati / Porta tornando in su le mense a noi'; 'Per verso Amsterdam; Città ripiena / Di Popol, di bellezza, e mercanzia. / Rende la mosa tal riviera amena, / E [per] entro a Canali, oh quanto appare / Di vasce' Navi sontuosa scena. / Delle più ricche merci, e le più rare / Ratto sen viene in quel sicuro lido / Dall'arene dell'Indo onusto il Mare'.

⁶¹ Magliabechi to Huguetan, undated, UBL, PAP 15: 'E' lecito liberamente lo stampare ciò che [si] vuole'. See Alfonso Mirto, *Il carteggio degli Huguetan con Antonio Magliabechi e la corte medicea* (Soveria Mannelli, 2005), 192.

⁶² *Viaggio Moniglia*, f. 53: 'In ampie stamperia veddi infinito / Gran numero di Libri, dissi allora / Perché di Doble non son io fornito? / Il Principe Padron, che sempre onora / Il mio debil talento, entro la soglia / Di Camera mi chiama, e caccia fuora / Cent'ungheri; a me donagli; m'invoglia / Di far nobile spese; I Libri piglio / Ma di studiarli m'andò via la voglia'.

⁶³ *Memorie Bassetti*, vol. 2, f. 9: 'A veder carte recondite, e situazione di luoghi diversi disegnati delli paesi d'India. Le furono mostrati varij libri d'immagini, che mostrano li abiti, il costume e molte azioni de' popoli d'India, di China, e del Giappone e trattò di comprarli'.

⁶⁴ 'Disegni di città, luoghi, e coste dell'Indie eccellentemente miniati, et un gran numero di carte geografiche universali e particolari pur manufatte'. *Memorie Bassetti*, vol. 2, f. 14.

- ⁶⁵ On Van der Hem's Atlas, see Erlend de Groot and Peter van der Krogt, *The World of a Seventeenth-Century Collector: The Atlas Blaeu–Van der Hem* (Houten, 2006); Koert van Horst, ed., *The Atlas Blaeu–Van der Hem of the Austrian National Library: The History of the Atlas and the Making of the Facsimile* (Houten, 2011).
- ⁶⁶ See Kees Zandvliet, *Mapping for Money: Maps, Plans, and Topographic Paintings, and their Role in Dutch Overseas Expansion during the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries* (Amsterdam, 1998), 119-129; Djoeke van Netten, *Koopman in kennis: De uitgever Willem Jansz Blaeu (1571-1638) in de geleerde wereld van zijn tijd* (Zutphen, 2014), 243.
- ⁶⁷ Zandvliet, *Mapping for Money*, 129-30; Cattaneo and Corbellini, *Sguardi Globali*.
- ⁶⁸ See Gloria Moorman, *Italy from the Armchair: The Publication of Town Atlases from the Sixteenth-Century City Book to Joan Blaeu's Theatrum Italiae (1663-1682)* (doctoral dissertation, University of Warwick, 2019).
- ⁶⁹ Daniel Stolzenberg, *Egyptian Oedipus: Athanasius Kircher and the Secrets of Antiquity* (Chicago, 2013); Joscelyn Godwin, *Athanasius Kircher's Theatre of the World* (London, 2009), 64-76; Paula Findlen, ed., *Athanasius Kircher: The Last Man Who Knew Everything* (Abingdon, 2004), 1-48. Most recently, see Iva Lelková, Paula Findlen, and Suzanne Sutherland, 'Kircher's Bohemia: Jesuit Networks and Habsburg Patronage in the Seventeenth Century', *Eruition and the Republic of Letters*, 5 (2020), 163-206.
- ⁷⁰ See Caspar Schott's letter to Kircher of 4 October 1655, made accessible by T.E. Conlon and H-J. Vollrath in *Early Modern Letters Online*: <<http://emlo.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/profile/work/1e5c8c10-8d94-408e-949e-b29458852b33?sort=date-a&rows=50&people=blaeu&baseurl=/forms/advanced&start=22&type=advanced&numFound=32>> [accessed 6 May 2022]; also see Godwin, *Kircher's Theatre of the World*, 55.
- ⁷¹ Gloria Moorman, 'A Changing Perspective on the Eternal City Revealed: Blaeu's *Admiranda Urbis Romae* (1663) Compared to Later Editions of the Town Atlas of Rome', *Quaerendo*, 45 (2015), 108-124.
- ⁷² Biblioteca Riccardiana, MS. 2122, f. 392r-397v: published in Van Veen, 'A Tuscan Plan of Action', *Lias*, 18 (1991), 221-227.
- ⁷³ 'Memorie antiche e moderne di questa provincia. [...] In esso saran collocate non che le piante, le vedute, rilievi e disegni delle città e terre principali ed eziando vi aggiungerà lo scrittore una distesa relazione di ciascun d'essi luoghi'. Van Veen, 'A Tuscan Plan of Action', 224.
- ⁷⁴ 'A fine di recar lustro alle memorie della patria [...] con ragione si ricorre per tanto a gli stessi abitanti de' luoghi, acciò come affezionati della patria loro e informati delle sue memorie si compiacciono di raccogliere quelle notizie che stimeranno più opportune per l'intenzione dell'autore, o più accomodate all'onore del Paese' (*Ibid.*, 224).
- ⁷⁵ See Letter 1 in *Lettere ai fiorentini*, ed. Van Veen and Mirto, 93-94. On Dati, see Magda Vigilante, 'Dati, Carlo Roberto', in *Dizionario biografico degli italiani*, vol. 33 (1987): <<https://www.treccani.it/enciclopedia/carlo-roberto-dati/>> [accessed 6 May 2022]; see also Eric Cochrane, *Tradition and Enlightenment in the Tuscan Academies 1690-1800* (Chicago, 1961).
- ⁷⁶ 'Degli assegnati luoghi primieramente considerare l'origine ed etimologia della voce con che è [che] si chiamano. [...] Dall'esame del nome dovrà passarsi ad una ristretta ma puntuale descrizione così della città, od altro luogo che ci sia, come del suo distretto e contado' (*Ibid.*, 224).
- ⁷⁷ 'Si consideri la qualità del sito, [...] la bontà dell'aria, [...] la distanza della città dominante, la condizione degli edifici pubblici [...], de'quali tutto è necessario il fare particolare menzione. [...] è bene scrivere con quale ordine di architettura [...] fossero edificate [...]. Descritto il luogo si potrà cominciare a narrare in che tempo avesse principio, chi ne fosse il fondatore, come finalmente e quando sia edificato [...]. Sarà dunque ben fatto l'accennare il suo antico governo pigliandone il cominciamento dalla caduta dell'autorità imperiale in Italia, scendendo a narrare poi in che modo passasse nella Signoria della città dominante' (*Ibid.*, 225).
- ⁷⁸ 'Sono le virtù degli abitanti, che rendono nobile la patria loro. Facciasi però espressa menzione in ciascun luogo degli uomini che stati vi sono insigni per santità di vita, per fortuna di Principato, per valor d'armi, per sapere di scienze, o per eccellenza nell'arti che liberali si chiamano' (*Ibid.*, 225).
- ⁷⁹ Suzanne Sutherland, Paula Findlen, and Iva Lelková, 'Etruscan Dreams: Athanasius Kircher, Medici Patronage, and Tuscan Friendships, 1633–1680', *I Tatti Studies in the Italian Renaissance*, 21 (2018), 299-349. On self-consciously created narratives of local pride, also see Caroline S. Hillard, 'Mythic Origins, Mythic Archaeology: Etruscan Antiquities in Sixteenth-Century Narratives of the Foundation of Florence', *Renaissance Quarterly*, 69 (2016), 489-528.
- ⁸⁰ On civic pride and rivalry, see Jill Krave, Marc Laureys, and David A. Lines, eds., *Forms of Conflict and Rivalries in Renaissance Europe* (Göttingen, 2015); Marc Laureys and Roswitha Simons, eds., *Die Kunst des Streitens. Inszenierung, Formen, und Funktionen öffentlichen Streits in historischer Perspektive*, 10 (Göttingen, 2010); Philippa Jackson and Fabrizio Nevola, eds., *Beyond the Palio: Urbanism and Ritual in Renaissance Siena* (Oxford, 2006); Francis Ames-Lewis, *Tuscan Marble Carving, 1250-1350: Sculpture and Civic Pride* (Aldershot, 1997).

⁸¹ 'Il Duca di Savoia manda al mio padre tutte le città et altre cose curiose del suo stato, et oltre questo ha promesso da per sé di voler pagare tutto quello che mio padre spenderà intorno alli suoi disegni. Io non scrivo questo a Vostra Signoria Illustrissima con intentione ch'io desideri anche questo dal Serenissimo Gran Duca, ma solamente per darle ad intendere, che altri principi grandi si danno della briga per honorare l'Opera del mio padre'. Letter of 27 October 1661 in *Lettere ai fiorentini*, ed. Van Veen and Mirto, 98.

⁸² 'Delle Città de' quali il Serenissimo Principe di Toscana per mezzo suo si è compiaciuto favorirmi'. Blaeu to Magliabechi, Amsterdam-Florence, 2 October 1665, in *Lettere ai fiorentini*, ed. Van Veen and Mirto, 141.

⁸³ *Lettere ai fiorentini*, ed. Van Veen and Mirto, 148. See also Van Veen, 'Pieter Blaeu and Antonio Magliabechi', *Quaerendo*, 2 (1982), 130-58 (136).

⁸⁴ Van Veen, 'A Tuscan Plan of Action', 223.

⁸⁵ 'Essendo già usciti da' Torchi di Olanda i volumi che mostrano le Città, e luoghi dello Stato Ecclesiastico, come pur del Piemonte [sic], sollecitano adesso la stampa di quelle di Toscana, il che mi ha dato motivo di considerar nuovamente i Disegni, che di tutte le Città e Terre dello Stato di Siena'. Apollonio Bassetti, on behalf of Cosimo III, to Bernardino De' Vecchi, 12 July 1667, ASF, MdP, 1562, f. 60. Sixteen additional letters regarding drawings of Siena for the Medici atlas and maps of the Mediterranean (including the "Tuscan Arcipel") that interested Cosimo, were exchanged between Bassetti and Bernardino, Ludovico, and Leopoldo De' Vecchi between 22 June 1667 and 9 January 1668: ASF, Mediceo del Principato, 'Carteggio dei segretari', 1562 ('Altri luoghi della Toscana'), fols 46-47, 54-64, 76-80, 92.

⁸⁶ BNCF, Magl. II, I, 382, fols 61-62, letter of 11 June 1666: 'Mentre che la maggior parte de' rami già sono finiti, io spero che sarà ridotto a perfezzione nel principio dell'anno 1667'.

⁸⁷ Lucia Nuti, *Ritratti di città: Visione e memoria tra Medioevo e Settecento* (Venice, 1996), 183-184.

⁸⁸ See Gloria Moorman, 'Atlases Fit for a Future King: Vittorio Amadeo II, Master-Colourist Dirk Jansz. van Santen, and the Splendour of the *Theatrum Sabaudiae* (1682)', *La Bibliofilia*, 122: 3 (2020), 533-547. For detailed accounts of the various stages of the *Theatrum Sabaudiae*'s publication history, see the documentary evidence presented in Luigi Firpo et al., eds., *Theatrum Sabaudiae (Teatro degli stati del Duca di Savoia)*, 2 vols. (Turin, 1985) and previously in Ferdinando Rondolino, ed., *Théâtre des États de Son Altesse Royale le Duc de Savoie, Prince de Piémont Roy de Cypre* (Turin, 1964).

⁸⁹ 'Edifizij e cose più riguardevoli alla venustà detta, come sarebbe la Piazza, il Duomo e quel di più che secondo il discernimento di Vostra Signoria meriti esser esposto alla pubblica cognizione'. Cosimo to Bernardino De' Vecchi, 12 July 1667, ASF, MdP, 1562, f. 60.

⁹⁰ Sutherland, Findlen, and Lejková, 'Etruscan Dreams', 343; Van Veen, 'A Tuscan Plan of Action', 227.

⁹¹ 'Non mi piace il disegno trasmessami da Vostra Signoria che ha fatto il Ruggieri per una veduta delle fabbriche di Siena, parendomi, che sia troppo secco, e che mostra troppo in piccola; onde approverei ciò, che Vostra Signoria riflette nel fine della sua lettera, di non abbracciar tanto paese in un foglio, ma segnare gli edifizij notabili più distinti, e più grandi'. Cosimo to Bernardino De' Vecchi, 30 August 1667, ASF, MdP, 1562, f. 80. On 21 August 1667, De Vecchi in fact sought to clarify whether Ruggieri had to 'proseguire l'altro [disegno] in questa forma, o pure con non includere tanto spatio di Paese in una istessa veduta, far dette fabbriche più grandi, e più distinte'. De' Vecchi to Cosimo, Siena, 21 August 1667, ASF, MdP, 1562, f. 76.

⁹² 'E perché Vostra Signoria possa vedere, come si sono contenuti in Olanda le mando il primo volume delle Città d'Italia uscito ultimamente ove osserverà particolarmente quella di Bologna con le sue fabbriche, che ho contrassegnate col foglio stesso del Ruggieri, parendomi che in quella forma dovessero delineate anche le nostre'. Cosimo to Bernardino De' Vecchi, 30 August 1667, ASF, MdP, 1562, f. 80.

⁹³ On Kircher's (intended) atlas, see Sutherland, Findlen, and Lejková, 'Etruscan Dreams', especially 302; 328; 331-32; 335-36; 341-49; Gaia Baglioni, 'La corrispondenza di Magliabechi con Pieter Blaeu e Athanasius Kircher: Due importanti progetti di pubblicazione sulla Toscana', *Medicea*, 2 (2009), 25-27; Nuti, *Ritratti di città*, 186-87.

⁹⁴ Alessandro Metlica, 'Galeazzo Gualdo Priorato et l'imprimeur bruxellois François Foppens', in Renaud Adam and Chiara Lastraioli, eds., *Itinéraires du livre italien à la Renaissance. Suisse romande, anciens Pays-Bas et Liège*, 3 (Paris, 2019), 159-169.

⁹⁵ 'Io non intendo di dar motivo a detto Blaeu di creder che l'abbia impedito [...], perché sono aliene dall'animo mio tali attioni, oltre che [...] non è conveniente pregiudicare con altre stampe alle sue, o che per favorire la mia persona s'entri in una spesa superflua, e si disfavorisca l'amico che è honoratissimo'. BNCF, Magl. VIII 1172, 54, fol. 91. Contextualization in Carla Sodini, *Scrivere e complire: Galeazzo Gualdo Priorato e le sue relazioni di stati e città* (Lucca, 2004), 78-84; 92-93; 96.

⁹⁶ 'Poi il suddetto sig[nor] Blaeu potrà valersi delle mie relazioni, e far un'opera con più proposito della già fatta'. BNCF, Magl. VIII 1172, 54, f. 91.

⁹⁷ Willem Otterspeer, *Groepsportret met Dame*, vol. I (Amsterdam, 2000).

⁹⁸ See *Viaggio Moniglia*, f. 57: ‘In Leida si giunse, ove festosa / C’aspettava la gente; ove i Ragazzi / Ci fecero corona numerosa / E correndoci dreto come pazzi / Sempre a furor di Popolo, e d’Urtoni / Entrammo nelle Chiese, e ne Palazzi / Vedemmo quei togati Dottoroni / Del famoso liceo, vedemmo pure / Il rito d[e]lle varie Religioni / Vedemmo il gran Teatro, ove l’oscare / Cose d’Anatomia da saggia mano / Mostransi [per] veraci, e [per] sicure / Ed emulando l’Orator Romano / Il facondo Granovio in alta stima / Delle lodi parlò del Re Toscano, / Vivamente mostrò come s’imprima / Nel nostro Serenissimo Signore / Degli Antenati suoi la gloria prima / E d’Elegiaci carmi in bel tenore / Cantonne pur l’[H]Einsio, a cui si deve / Delle Muse Latine il primo onore. / Di tanti ch’il mio Principe riceve / Encomij Illustri, ancorche vasto il giro / Diviene al suo gran merito angolo breve, / Del Silvio, del Van Horn’ allorch’io mico / L’oppre stampate, e mentre lor favello / Con l’Ignoranza mia forte m’adico, / E dico: fui pur io riposto in quello / Numero di Togati; or come tocca / A loro l’esser dotti, e a me un bacello?’

⁹⁹ Johannes Fredericus Gronovius, *Allocutio ad serenissimum principem Cosmum, Magnum Etruriae Principem, Cum Academiam visitaret* (Leiden, 1668); also see Chris L. Heesakkers, ‘An *Lipsio Licuit et Cunaeo Quod Mibi Non Licet?* Petrus Francius and Oratorical Delivery in the Amstrdam *Athenaeum Illustrè*’, in Gilbert Tournoy and Dirk Sacré, eds., *Ut Granum Sinapis: Essays on Neo-Latin Literature in Honour of Jozef IJsewijn*, XII (Leuven, 1997), 333.

¹⁰⁰ *Memorie Bassetti*, vol. 2, f. 28: ‘Nel cortile preambolo al liceo, vi è un elegantissimo, e ben tenuto orto di semplici, pieno assai di piante rare. Havvi ancora la famosa stamperia dell’Helzeviro librario d’Amsterdam che anche qui come ad Utrecht fa andare tale officina. In questa sono sei torchi, ed huomini esperti che sempre lavorano, e godono il beneficio di tutti li professori della facultà che prestano ogni opera più cortese alla correzione’.

¹⁰¹ On the Elzeviers, see Paul Hoftijzer, ed., *Boekverkoopers van Europa. Het zeventiende-eeuwse Nederlandse uitgevershuis Elzevier* (Zutphen, 2000); David W. Davies, *The World of the Elzeviers, 1580–1712* (Dordrecht, 1954); Alphonse Willems, *Les Elzevier: Histoire et Annales typographiques* (Brussels, 1880).

¹⁰² *Memorie Bassetti*, vol. 2, f. 22.

¹⁰³ *Brieven van Daniel Elzevier aan Nicolaas Heinsius (9 mei 1675-1 juli 1679), volgens het handschrift bewaard ter Universiteits-bibliotheek te Utrecht, met enkele aantekeningen uitgegeven*, ed. W.R. Veder (Amsterdam, 1890). Letters expressing the Grand Duke’s gratitude survive in the collection of Leiden University Library: UBL, Bur F 7, 1, Apollonio Bassetti to Nicolaas Heinsius, 10 October, 1670; UBL, Bur F 7, 5-6, Cosimo III to Heinsius, 10 October, 1679; 7 November 1679.

¹⁰⁴ See notably *Memorie Bassetti*, vol. 1, f. 140, on ‘il Blau come confidente’. The confidential role Pieter Blau maintained in later years also emerges from his ongoing correspondence with the Medici court; see for instance his letters to Bassetti in April 1688: ASF, MM, f. 646, 17, fols 59-62.

¹⁰⁵ See Grendler, *The Universities of the Italian Renaissance*, 339-341.

¹⁰⁶ *Memorie Bassetti*, vol. 2, f. 27, ‘Apresso fu condotto al Teatro dell’anatomia che è giusto come quello di Pisa, quanto all’auditorio, ma ornato di moltissimi scheletri ben collegati, d’huomini e d’animali grossi e minuti, tenestrie, aerei, aquatili, et anfibi, et di più di alcuni armarij di rarità naturali curiose in genere di animali, piante, conchiglie, minerali e cose di tal natura, donate da diversi huomini dotti, secondo a ciascuna cosa canta l’iscrizione. Tutto insieme, l’aggregato di questo teatro non ha punto del singolare, e del grande. Vi è vicina, e congiunta nello stesso ceppo di fabbriche la pubblica biblioteca a comodo della studiosa gioventù in cui né per qualità né per quantità di libri, né per ornamenti, né per nessun’altra circostanza, non si vede nulla di riguardevole, onde Sua Altezza presto se ne sbrighò’.

¹⁰⁷ Grendler, *The Universities of the Italian Renaissance*, 74.

¹⁰⁸ Dániel Margócsy, *Commercial Visions: Science, Trade, and Visual Culture in the Dutch Golden Age* (Chicago/London, 2014), 2. See also Eric Jorink, *Reading the Book of Nature in the Dutch Golden Age, 1575–1715*, trans. Peter Mason (Leiden/Boston, 2010).

¹⁰⁹ *Memorie Bassetti*, vol. 2, f. 6: ‘Si condusse ad un Giardino fuori della città pel vedere certo serbatorio d’uccelli raccolti da uno che si diletta conservarne di tutte le spezie reperibili in qualunque parte del mondo, i più pellegrini, e rari: onde d’India Orientale, e d’America vi sono cose bellissime. Appunto in tal giorno era morto il Padrone di tal luogo che faceva questa professione signore Routers segretario della città. Et nel medesimo punto erano anche morti due uccelli singolari, non senza molta ammirazione della gente’.

¹¹⁰ *Memorie Bassetti*, vol. 2, f. 8: ‘Quanto hanno mai condotte tutte le navi d’Indie, et d’altre parti del mondo’.

¹¹¹ *Memorie Bassetti*, vol. 2, f. 16. This was particularly evident in a ‘cadavero di un Putto così ben conservato, che par vivo’. For a description of Ruysch’s cabinet, see Jorink, *Reading the Book of Nature*, 319–325.

¹¹² Jorink, *Reading the Book of Nature*, 314. See also Jorink, ‘Snakes, Fungi and Insects. Otto Marseus van Schrieck, Johannes Swammerdam and the Theory of Spontaneous Generation’, in Karl A. E. Enekel and Paul J. Smith, eds., *Zoology in Early Modern Culture* (Leiden, 2014), 197-234; Eric Jorink, ‘Swammerdam, Hoveling? Enige kanttekeningen bij de reputatie van een wetenschappelijk onderzoeker’, *Studium* 8 (2016), 173-197.

- ¹¹³ Joke and Jan Peter Verhave, 'De Nederlands-Italiaanse Knipkunstenaar Joannes van Achelom omstreeks 1700', *Oud Holland*, 128 (2015), 147-160.
- ¹¹⁴ Verhave and Verhave, 'De Nederlands-Italiaanse Knipkunstenaar', 150.
- ¹¹⁵ Verhave and Verhave, 'De Nederlands-Italiaanse Knipkunstenaar', 151-152.
- ¹¹⁶ Recent insights are provided in Pamela H. Smith, Tianna Helena Uchacz, Sophie Pitman, Tillman Taape and Colin Debuiche, 'The Matter of Ephemeral Art: Craft, Spectacle, and Power in Early Modern Europe', *Renaissance Quarterly*, 73 (2020), 78-131.
- ¹¹⁷ Van Veen and McCormick, *Tuscany and the Low Countries*, 44.
- ¹¹⁸ See recently Catherine Powell, 'Locating Early Modern Women's Participation in the Public Sphere of Botany: Agnes Block (1629-1704) and Networks in Print', *Early Modern Low Countries*, 4 (2020), 234-258.
- ¹¹⁹ For a helpful introduction, see the essays in English and Dutch provided in the facsimile curated by Marieke van Delft, *Maria Sibylla Merian. Metamorphosis insectorum Surinamensium* (1705) (Tiel, 2016).
- ¹²⁰ Lia Markey, *Imagining the Americas in Medici Florence* (University Park, PA, 2016), 206; 202.
- ¹²¹ Markey, *Imagining the Americas*, 206-214; 217-218.
- ¹²² Guiducci to Cosimo III, Amsterdam, 20 April 1714, ASF, MM, 92, ins. 1, ff. 64-65. For detailed instructions on how to cultivate the pineapple plant, see fols 115-117.
- ¹²³ Michelangelo Tilli, *Catalogus plantarum Horti Pisani* (Florentiae, 1723). Also see Enrico Baldini, 'Cenni storici sulla coltivazione dell'ananasso (BROMELIA ANANAS L.) in Italia', *Rivista di Storia dell'Agricoltura*, XXXIX, 2 (1999), 41-52.
- ¹²⁴ Van den Voort to Cosimo III, 10 September 1720, Amsterdam University Library (UBA), Hs 121 Aq 1: 'Osservare le cose più rare, e più stimabili di codesti giardini'.
- ¹²⁵ UBA, hs 121 Aq 2 (30 September 1720): 'Anche mangiatele e trovate a perfezione'.
- ¹²⁶ In 1722, Van den Voort sent the Grand Duke four other pineapple plants; see the letter between Van den Voort and Angiolo Giannetti of 14 April (UBA, Hs 120 U): 'Supplico Vostra Signoria Illustrissima a mandarmi quattro piante di Anan[a]s di quelle grande che principino a fare il frutto e le faccia ben serrare in una scatoletta e mandarla per terra con le lettere che passano a Milano e da Milano, a Firenze e che le dette quattro piante di Anan[a]s siano dirette al Serenissimo Granduca il quale subito le farà pervenire nelle mie mani e se con esse manderà ancora quattro Corone con le quattro piante di Anan[a]s'. For additional letters regarding the shipment of pineapples from the Dutch Republic to Tuscany: Morini to Van den Voort, 22 December 1720, UBA, Hs 121 Dd 1; Morini to Van den Voort, 19 July 1721, UBA, Hs 121 Dd 2; Cesare Sardi to Van den Voort, 24 April 1723, UBA, Hs 123 Cp.
- ¹²⁷ *Memorie Bassetti*, vol. 1, f. 128: 'Fortezza delli olandesi sopra la punta d'una lingua di terra'.
- ¹²⁸ According to an anonymous account, Cosimo III 'mantenne a sue spese frequentemente dei giovani toscani nei paesi stranieri per istruirgli in quelle cose che egli seppe che si facevano altrove con maggiore perfezione'. 'Memoria sopra il governo del Serenissimo Gran Duca Cosimo Terzo', ASF, MdP, 2713, f. 226.
- ¹²⁹ *Il viaggio in Europa di Pietro Guerrini (1682-1686)*, ed. Martelli, vol. 1, 13 and ASF, MdP, 4263, f. 712 bis.
- ¹³⁰ *Il viaggio in Europa di Pietro Guerrini (1682-1686)*, ed. Martelli, vol. 1, LXXIII: 'Non lo mostrano volentieri'. On the involvement of Blaeu and Guasconi respectively, also see vol. 1, 5-6; 12-13.
- ¹³¹ *Il viaggio in Europa di Pietro Guerrini (1682-1686)*, ed. Martelli, vol. 2, images 54 and 58a.
- ¹³² Felicia M. Else, 'Controlling the Waters of Granducal Florence: A New Look at Stefano Bonsignori's View of the City (1584)', *Imago Mundi*, 61 (2009), 181. Also see Else, *The Politics of Water in the Art and Festivals of Medici Florence: From Neptune Fountain to Naumachia* (Abingdon, UK / New York, 2019).
- ¹³³ Else, 'Controlling the Waters of Granducal Florence', 170.
- ¹³⁴ 'Viviani, Vincenzo': <<https://www.treccani.it/enciclopedia/vincenzo-viviani/>> [accessed 21 April 2022]; Iolanda Maglioni, 'Vincenzo Viviani e l'Arno. Scienza galileiana e problemi di un fiume e del suo bacino nel XVII secolo', *Archivio Storico Italiano*, 159:1 (2001), 151-170.
- ¹³⁵ On religious diversity in the Dutch Republic, see Benjamin J. Kaplan, *Reformation and the Practice of Toleration* (Leiden/Boston, 2019), 204-222; Kaplan, *Divided by Faith: Religious Conflict and the Practice of Toleration in Early Modern Europe* (Cambridge, 2007), 172-176; Willem Frijhoff, 'Dimensions de la coexistence confessionnelle', in C. Berkvens-Stevelink, J. Israel and G.H.M. Posthumus Meyjes, eds., *The Emergence of Tolerance in the Dutch Republic* (Leiden/ Boston, 1997), 213-237; Willem Frijhoff, 'La coexistence confessionnelle. Complicités, méfiances et ruptures aux Provinces Unies', in Jean Delumeau, ed., *Histoire vécue du peuple chrétien*, vol. 2 (Toulouse, 1979), 229-255.
- ¹³⁶ *Memorie Bassetti*, vol. 1, f. 148: 'Non ne usò punto e vi si trattenne anche poco'.
- ¹³⁷ *Memorie Bassetti*, vol. 2, f. 5: 'Una chiesa di Luterani, in una d'Anabattisti, in una di Sociniana et in una di Arminiana, che sono tutte religioni differenti'.

¹³⁸ See Nicholas Brownlees, 'A Medici Agent's Newsletters to Florence during the Leghorn Crisis of 1653', in Alessio Assonitis and Brian Sandberg, eds., *The Grand Ducal Medici and their Archive (1537-1743)* (London, 2016), 203-211.

¹³⁹ *Memorie Bassetti*, vol. 2, f. 2: 'Botta di cannone; nel porto 9 giorni doppo la vittoria'.

¹⁴⁰ *Memorie Bassetti*, vol. 2, fols 3-4.

¹⁴¹ Tellingly, the outer appearance of the Calvinist New Church is described by Moniglia as follows: 'È sontuoso il Tempio ove si onora / La falsa Religion di quella setta, / Che dell'empio Calvino il nome implora' (*Viaggio Moniglia*, f. 56). For an even stronger sense of the disapproval voiced by Moniglia, see Battistini, 'Erasmus dans la relation de voyage du poète florentin Jean André Moniglia (XVIIe siècle)'; cf. *Memorie Bassetti*, vol. 2, f. 56.

¹⁴² Israel, *The Dutch Republic*, 129.

¹⁴³ *Memorie Bassetti*, vol. 2, f. 25: 'Lasciati viver con libertà, salvo nel far publiche le lor sacre funzioni'; f. 29 (Leiden); f. 52 (Delft).

¹⁴⁴ See Anthony Grafton, 'Baruch Spinoza Reads the Bible', in *Inky Fingers. The Making of Books in Early Modern Europe* (Cambridge, MA, 2020), 232-253; Steven Nadler, *A Book Forged in Hell: Spinoza's Scandalous Treatise and the Birth of the Secular Age* (Princeton, 2013); Rindert Jagersma and Trude Dijkstra, 'Uncovering Spinoza's Printers by Means of Bibliographical Research', *Quaerendo*, 43 (2013), 278-310.

¹⁴⁵ Jacob Gronovius, 'Dagverhaal eener reis naar Spanje en Italië in 1672 en 1673', UBL, LTK 859, f. 26: 'Sulck een man'. Further contextualization in Giuseppina Totaro, 'Niels Stensen (1638-1686) e la prima diffusione della filosofia di Spinoza nella Firenze di Cosimo III', in Paolo Christofilini, ed., *L'Herésie spinoziste: La discussion sur le Tractatus Theologico-Politicus, 1670-1677, et la reception immediate du spinozisme* (Amsterdam, 1995), 161; see also Jonathan I. Israel, *Radical Enlightenment: Philosophy and the Making of Modernity 1650-1750* (Oxford, 2011), 44.

¹⁴⁶ Paula Findlen, 'Early Modern Scientific Networks: Knowledge and Community in a Globalizing World', in Paula Findlen, ed., *Empires of Knowledge: Scientific Networks in the Early Modern World* (Abingdon, 2018), 2.

¹⁴⁷ Van Veen and McCormick, *Tuscany and the Low Countries*, 62.

¹⁴⁸ Jacob Soll, *The Information Master: Jean-Baptiste Colbert's Secret State Intelligence System* (Ann Arbor, 2009), 2-3.

¹⁴⁹ See Soll, *The Information Master*, 67.

¹⁵⁰ As testified especially by a letter Blaeu sent to Magliabechi on 20 May 1667 (Uppsala Universitetsbibliotek, 510: SE 751 20, Waller Ms benl-00067): 'Le lodi, che Vostra Signoria Illustrissima attribuisce al mio scrivere in lingua italiana, pervengono dall'affetto soprabondante suo verso di me, del cui non solo adesso, ma già dal tempo che m'trattemi a Firenze, ho havuto mille, e mille prove, che non sono per uscire mai dalla mente mia'.

¹⁵¹ 'Essendomi sempre diletato come Vostra Signoria sa alla cognizione più individuale delle cose proprietà e costumi de' popoli stranieri vorrei adesso un'esatta e piena confezione di quanto vien' ricercato nell'accluso foglio circa le loro misure pesi e monete ad effetto di saper bene i nomi che hanno le passioni, l'uso e'l valore, sì come anche il ragguglio loro con queste nostre d'Italia: Ho però intrapreso a procurarlo da tutte le parti del mondo conosciuto sin dove arriva il commercio, e mando in diversi luoghi un exemplare del medesimo foglio. Reputando che anche Vostra Signoria coll'opera sua cortese possa aver gusto di contribuire all'intento mio, o per se stesso, per mezzo degli amici suoi, e de corrispondenti loro, desidero da lei pure le notizie espresse nel foglio suddetto da i seguenti Paesi: 1. Di tutto il dominio che hanno le Provincie unite nella Bassa Germania. [2] Di tutti li stati isole e scali che posseggono le medesime fuora d'Europa, come Coste d'Africa, le Indie Orientali, et Indie Occidentali. Per il che prego Vostra Signoria a prendere volentieri per amor mio l'incomodo di mettersi in questa pratica e di far fare quante copie bisogneranno degli articoli 1.2. alla presente e del foglio inserto per mandare alle persone che ella stimerà abili a render me in ciò sodisfatto, mentre sarò per riceverne il piacere [con aggrandimento singolare] giaché tutto quello che in tal genere si trova stampato su' libri riesce mald'incerto e fallace: né accorendomi con questa di vantaggio confermo a Vostra Signoria la affittuosa mia parzialità e le prego dal Cielo ogni maggiore fortuna'. ASF, MM, f. 367, 2, fol. 1191.

¹⁵² ASF, MM, f. 367, 2, fols 1192-1193. In 1688, Giovacchino left the Dutch Republic to visit his brother: from Russia, he continued to correspond with the Medici court, sending descriptions of the country and of the events he witnessed there. See *Il viaggio in Europa di Pietro Guerrini (1682-1686)*, ed. Martelli, vol. I, LXXVI; Maria Di Salvo, *Italia, Russia e il mondo slavo: studi filologici e letterari* (Florence, 2011).

¹⁵³ He had obtained these in a manner as ingenious as it must have been efficient, by sending out custom-made strips that correspond to each unit of measurement: ASF, MM, 367, f. 1193.

¹⁵⁴ 'Lettere scritte fuora per aver cognizione della natura de' pesi, misure e monete straniere', ASF, MM, 367, ff. 1169-1202. Letters were addressed to: Giovanni Targioni in Smirne, Alessandro Guasconi in Venice, Giovanni Battista Pucci in Vienna, Santi Bassi in Warsaw, Theodor Kerkring in Hamburg, Giulio Quaratesi in Lyon, Domenico Zipoli in Paris, Francesco Terriesi in London, Ottavio Tancredi in Madrid, Francesco Ginori in Cádiz, Lorenzo Ginori in Lisbon, Annibale Ranuzzi in Bologna, Giovanni Pietro Cella in Naples, Francesco Bondicchi

in Milan, Giovanni Battista Cinatti in Genova, Benedetto Tincher in Augsburg, Marco Alessandro del Borro, and Lorenzo Gonieri in Livorno.

¹⁵⁵ See Markey, *Imagining the Americas*, 193-199.

¹⁵⁶ Van Veen, 'Cosimo de' Medici's Reis naar de Republiek', 48-49.

¹⁵⁷ Van Veen, 'Cosimo de' Medici's Reis naar de Republiek', 49. See also Marie-Christine Engels, *Merchants, Interlopers, Seamen and Corsairs: The 'Flemish' Community in Livorno and Genoa (1615-1635)* (Hilversum, 1997), especially 25-33; 39-46. More recently, see Corey Tazzara, *The Free Port of Livorno and the Transformation of the Mediterranean World* (Oxford, 2017), 137-65.

¹⁵⁸ Van Veen, 'Cosimo de' Medici's Reis naar de Republiek', 46.

¹⁵⁹ Van Veen, 'Cosimo de' Medici's Reis naar de Republiek', 52.