

# **III**

## **Perceiving and Representing the 'Other'**



# Visiting the ‘Serraglio del Gran Signore’. Medici Diplomacy and Cross-Cultural Contacts at the Time of Grand Duke Francesco

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In the diplomatic correspondence dating to January and February 1575, Francesco de’ Medici (r. 1574–87) tried to represent himself as a stern supporter of the Christian cause against the Turks who, at that time, were ravaging the Mediterranean with their ships. In the letters sent abroad, Francesco stated repeatedly that he had no relationships with the Ottoman rulers. He affirmed that the Medici – in contrast to the Habsburg Emperors – neither maintained ‘friendly relations, nor do we trade with the Turk, or want to conclude a truce with him’.<sup>1</sup> Francesco added that with their ships the grand dukes of Tuscany waged war on the Ottomans with great determination. This expression of hostile sentiments can be explained with Francesco’s disappointment following his vain attempt to conclude a commercial treaty with the Ottoman Sultan Selim II (r. 1566–74) in 1574.<sup>2</sup> The failure to have the sultan guarantee free maritime trade for Florentine merchants in the Eastern Mediterranean was caused by the grand duke’s refusal to agree to a general armistice with the Turks, and to stop the continuous attacks on Ottoman ships and merchants by the galleys of the Order of St Stephen.<sup>3</sup>

However, two years later both parties returned to a politics of pacification. According to the Florentine diarist Bastiano Arditi, in the beginning of September 1577, Francesco was invited by Sultan Murad III (r. 1574–95) to keep ‘a consul in Constantinople and, furthermore, to send galleys full with merchandise to Constantinople, with a peaceful attitude’.<sup>4</sup> The information provided by Arditi is supported by the fact that in September 1577 Grand Duke Francesco reported to several of his foreign correspondents that he had obtained permission by the Ottoman court to re-install a Florentine *bailo* – or resident consul – in Constantinople.<sup>5</sup>

In response to Murad’s invitation, in autumn 1577, Francesco decided to send Bongianni di Piero Gianfigliuzzi and Cristoforo Spina, both of them knights of the Order of

Malta, together with a further four Florentine noblemen and the future Florentine *bailo*, Jacopo Mormorai, to Constantinople (Fig. 1).<sup>6</sup>

The ambassador chosen by Francesco, Bongianni Gianfigliuzzi, belonged to a family with long-standing and strong ties to the Medici.<sup>7</sup> In the eyes of Francesco, Bongianni may have qualified for this diplomatic mission – the first of many others to follow<sup>8</sup> – because he had participated in the battle of Lepanto, and had been a captive of the Ottomans for a certain period.<sup>9</sup> Since 1575, Gianfigliuzzi was one of the agents of Francesco in Rome.<sup>10</sup> As early as September 1577, Francesco had asked

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Fig. 1. Jacopo Ligozzi, *Persian*, watercolor drawing, sold in 1988 by Hazlitt, Gooden & Fox, London.

the grand master of the Order of Malta for permission to send Gianfigliuzzi and Spina to Constantinople. However, for unknown reasons, Grand Master Jean de la Cassière (r. 1572–81) granted his permission only on 9 February 1578.<sup>11</sup>

The documents related to Gianfigliuzzi's Levantine mission make possible the retracing of his journey in details.<sup>12</sup> By October 1577, an official of the Ottoman court (*ča'ush*) and several janissaries were already expected in Ragusa, intended as guide and guards to the Florentine ambassador and his companions on their way to Constantinople.<sup>13</sup> On 22 February 1578, less than a fortnight after the authorization of the grand master of Malta had arrived, Francesco ordered his treasurer to pay 6,000 *scudi* to Gianfigliuzzi for his travel expenses. On March 1, a series of credential letters addressed to high dignitaries at the Ottoman court were issued; the recipients included the commander of the Janissaries, the Head Interpreter Urem, Sinan Pasha (c. 1512–96), the Great Visir Sokollu Mehmet Pasha (c. 1505–79), Lala Mustafa Pasha (c. 1500–80), and the sultan himself.<sup>14</sup> On 27 March 1578 Gianfigliuzzi arrived in Ancona. By May 3, Gianfigliuzzi and his companions had arrived in Ragusa, where they were honorably received by Bartolommeo Pescioni, the Florentine consul in residence.<sup>15</sup> From there, they proceeded on horseback via Cernizza (May 17), Sofia (May 31), Plovdiv (June 5) and Edirne (June 10). Finally, having traveled for over ten weeks, the Florentines arrived in Constantinople on June 22.

Gianfigliuzzi took residence in the suburb of Pera (today Galata), as did the other European ambassadors; at that time Pera was the area where the majority of the non-Muslim population lived.<sup>16</sup> On July 4, Gianfigliuzzi was received by Mehmet Pasha, and the day after by the sultan, to whom he presented the Florentine proposals for a commercial treaty.<sup>17</sup> After a promising start, the negotiations came to a standstill. This drawback was caused by the opposition of both the French and the Venetians. The first ones were unwilling to share with other nations the privileges granted as a consequence of their alliance with the Ottomans in 1540; the latter disliked the idea that Florentine merchants could become more actively involved in the Mediterranean trade.<sup>18</sup> In late October 1578, Gianfigliuzzi attended his last audience with the sultan in the *serraglio*. Unfortunately, the position of the Order of St Stephen remained a critically unresolved issue, as had happened in 1574. At this point, Gianfigliuzzi decided to leave.<sup>19</sup>

This essay, however, does not wish to focus on the complex scenario of diplomatic relationships related to this event, which Ozden Mercan has undertaken in her own

contribution to this volume, but instead wants to pinpoint the importance of Gianfigliuzzi's mission as a background for a cultural exchange between the Florentine and the Ottoman courts. With the 1578 embassy, the Medici were offered an occasion to impress the Ottomans by the means of their gifts, which represented the level of sophistication reached by contemporary European luxury culture. Vice versa, the diplomatic negotiations served the Florentines as a means to acquire, both mentally and visually, an image of Ottoman culture. To please the sultan and the other Ottoman intermediaries, Francesco had prepared a wide range of presents.<sup>20</sup> The more bulky and heavy objects, such as a gilded coach decorated with ivory carvings, were directly shipped from Livorno to Constantinople. Amongst them there was probably a large globe (or world map), and two precious *pietre dure* tables executed in the workshops of the grand duke.<sup>21</sup> The latter were works of art much admired and much sought-after by the European aristocracy and were presented to Mehmet Pasha and to the sultan.<sup>22</sup> The gifts that were lighter and easier to carry, were brought to Constantinople by Gianfigliuzzi, along with three of the four horses destined to pull the coach. The horses were paraded before the sultan during Gianfigliuzzi's first official reception.<sup>23</sup> Further precious items sent as presents included a rock crystal vase and twenty dresses made of gold brocades, velvet, satin, and less fabrics, all of them probably specimens of the renowned Florentine textile industry. Finally, the sultan received four wooden and gilded crossbows, some scissor boxes, silk flowers, as well as fruits and sugar candies.<sup>24</sup>

None of these gifts appear to have been chosen to please specifically their Ottoman recipients. Ignoring any difference in religion and cultural background, these items were typical products of the contemporary Western court culture. They could have been sent as diplomatic gifts practically everywhere in Europe. From an European perspective, the *pietre dure* tables underlied the elevated social position of the recipient: only European princes, in fact, proudly possessed similar items.<sup>25</sup> The globe would have been interpreted as a glorification of modern science, whereas the horses and the crossbows referred to the military bravery of their owner. Finally, the textiles, the silk flowers, and the sweets represented cultural refinement and artistic skill.

At the same time, the grand duke and his emissaries understood Gianfigliuzzi's mission as an unparalleled chance to increase their awareness of the 'other' – that is of Turkish culture. With the help of the mind, sight, and touch the Florentines tried to elaborate their concepts of 'strangeness' and of far-off Ottoman culture. Consequently, before leaving Florence, Gianfigliuzzi

received a list of items to procure for Francesco while in Constantinople.<sup>26</sup> Unfortunately, this list seems to be lost. We only know that the grand duke's 'shopping list' included 'cavalli turchi',<sup>27</sup> which is not surprising, given the fame of Arabic and Ottoman horse breeding. Last but not least, the documents tell us that, during his return journey, Gianfigliuzzi sent the grand duke a large bottle, two cups, and other small objects, all made of corals.<sup>28</sup>

Francesco intended to profit, however, from Gianfigliuzzi's trip to Constantinople, and not only in terms of enlarging his personal collections. He was also keen to create a kind of dossier containing important facts about the organization of the Ottoman state, including its dignitaries, politicians, and military figures. This explains why Gianfigliuzzi, after his return to Florence in December

1578, and after having personally referred to the grand duke about his experiences, presented a *Relazione di Gostantinopoli*, which has come down to us only in a mutilated copy of nine pages.<sup>29</sup> Gianfigliuzzi underlined the discrepancy between European culture and the Ottoman laws and customs. As a sort of guide, the former ambassador reported in his text the noteworthy things he had observed during his stay, summarizing also aspects that the grand duke might have read or heard about. In the five sections of his text, Gianfigliuzzi comprehensively discussed the territorial and regional subdivisions of the Ottoman Empire, the State's finances, its military organization, its principles of government, concluding with some remarks on the personality and character of the sultan and of some of his favourites (Fig. 2).



Fig. 2. Lodovico Buti, *Persian*, detail of the frescoed ceiling of the Sale dell'armeria; Florence: Museo degli Uffizi.

As Gianfigliuzzi spent only four months in Constantinople, the vast amount of information on Ottoman dignitaries and government summarized in his memorandum cannot have been personally gathered from first-hand experience. Probably, his text results also from consulting the numerous printed eyewitness reports (or historic compendia) on the Turks and which, by then, were available on the book market.<sup>30</sup> At a later stage, Gianfigliuzzi may have embroidered his *Relatione* with details heard from expert Western visitors he had encountered during his journey, or from members of the resident European community in Pera. We know, for instance, that in Edirne Gianfigliuzzi met his colleague David Ungnad von Sonnegg (c. 1542–1600), ambassador of the Habsburg emperor, who was returning to Vienna.<sup>31</sup> In 1578, Ungnad had been ambassador for five years, and therefore was well acquainted with Ottoman affairs. Consequently, Gianfigliuzzi confessed that he had gratefully accepted his advice on the life and etiquette of the Ottoman court when invited to dine with him.<sup>32</sup>

There is also evidence that during the 1578 embassy Francesco had tried to complement written information with visual documentation. A letter Gianfigliuzzi sent to the grand duke on 1 March 1578, immediately before his departure from Florence, hints to this fact. Gianfigliuzzi declared that he had tried to reduce his travel expenses:

[...] lascio di menare Girolamo Inghirlani, Giulio Caccini Il dipintore, che io menava, et ho fatto lasciare a questo [*sic*] altri gentilhuomini duo de' loro servitori, accio menino i miei, per levarmi, come ho detto, tutte le spese che si puo [...].<sup>33</sup>

Due to the missing punctuation in the relevant passage, one may first believe that 'Il dipintore' mentioned in this letter was Giulio Caccini. However, a second letter clarifies that this was not the case. There, Giulio Caccini himself speaks of an anonymous painter whom Gianfigliuzzi planned to take to Constantinople.<sup>34</sup>

Given the fact that the painter who initially was supposed to accompany Gianfigliuzzi on his mission to the Ottoman Empire was not Giulio Caccini, but another person, we are inclined to think that this painter had an outstanding position at the court of Francesco. Thus, none of the correspondents deemed to mention his name. I would suggest – conscious that this cannot be more than a hypothesis given the loss (so far) of irrefutable written proof – that this painter might be Jacopo Ligozzi (c. 1547–1627).<sup>35</sup> A specialist in miniature painting, Ligozzi had already established a contact with the grand duke by September 1576.<sup>36</sup> In 1577 or 1578 he entered the Medici's payroll as a court artist with the same stipend as Giambologna.<sup>37</sup> Until 1592, Ligozzi's official title was 'Pittor del Serenissimo Gran Duca di Toscana'.<sup>38</sup> Ligozzi

must have started working for Francesco in September 1577 at the latest, when the Bolognese scientist, Ulisse Aldrovandi (1522–1605), commented on the stunning naturalistic style of his drawings. In a letter to Francesco dating from 1577, Aldrovandi addressed the painter anonymously as 'his most excellent painter'.<sup>39</sup> Further correspondents did the same, omitting the name of Ligozzi and referring to him just as 'the painter'.<sup>40</sup>

It is therefore possible that 'the Painter' who had been appointed to accompany the Florentine ambassador to Constantinople in 1578 was indeed Ligozzi. In any case, it is certain that on this occasion Francesco was keen to collect, not only factual knowledge about the Turks and their statecraft, but that he also wanted a painter in Constantinople. The artist's task would have been to observe daily life in the Ottoman capital and to condense his impressions into non-fictional 'documentary' images intended for the Florentine court.

With this idea, the Medici were following the precedent of the Habsburg emperors who, out of cultural curiosity, and with an eye on possible strategic benefits in their negotiations with the Turks, had established a similar practice.<sup>41</sup> The humanist, Ogier Ghiselin de Busbecq (c. 1520/1–92), had been the first imperial ambassador in Constantinople to be accompanied by an artist.<sup>42</sup> The painter, Melchior Lorck (c. 1526–83), was a member of Busbecq's retinue from 1555 to 1559; he had later presented his Western audience a vast collection of woodcuts showing portraits of Ottoman characters, genre scenes of Turkish life, and views of Ottoman architecture.<sup>43</sup> Later Habsburg ambassadors emulated the example of Busbecq: Karel Rijn (1533–84) stayed in Constantinople between 1570 and 1574, and the painter Lambert de Vos was one of his companions. Lambert de Vos created two albums for Rijn, one with views of various monuments in Constantinople, and one with watercolor drawings showing the whole variety of people and religions inhabiting the Ottoman Empire.<sup>44</sup> Finally, during his trip, Gianfigliuzzi had become acquainted with the imperial counselor, David Ungnad von Sonnegg (c. 1542–1600), who ordered an album with miniatures representing Ottoman characters. As Sonnegg was unable to find a professional (Western) painter in Constantinople while residing there between 1573 and 1578, the drawings were made by an anonymous member of his legation.<sup>45</sup>

Even after the initial plan to send a painter to Constantinople had been abandoned, the grand duke insisted on broadening his knowledge on the Turks relying, not only on the help of Gianfigliuzzi's *Relatione*, written as a 'recount of what [...] he had read and heard from others', but also on a series of artistic images.<sup>46</sup>

Actually, Francesco managed to find an appropriate artist to prepare an album with a series of drawings representing the vast variety of religious, military, and secular professions and costumes of the inhabitants of the Ottoman Empire: Jacopo Ligozzi. His name emerges again – I believe not only by mere chance – as author of such a ‘Turkish’ album. Thirty-one of the drawings contained in the album have been identified so far, dispersed in public or private collections, possibly with more to reappear on the art market in the future.<sup>47</sup>

No surviving document indicates the person who commissioned, or initially owned, the *taccuinum*.<sup>48</sup> However, it has so far gone unnoticed that as early as 1588 some of Ligozzi’s drawings were used as a model by another painter at the service of Francesco – a circumstance that very much indicates how these drawings were executed for the grand duke, and were still his property at that time.<sup>49</sup> Ludovico Buti (c. 1550–1611), when painting the ceiling frescoes in the grand ducal armory (*armeria*) in the Uffizi, copied, in fact, two of Ligozzi’s ‘Turkish’ drawings: one showing a Persian warrior, and the other a Janissary.<sup>50</sup> The armory was surely the most suitable place to paint such images, as it was one of the four rooms arranged by Francesco in the 1580s to house the Medici collections of non-European items, including Oriental weapons.<sup>51</sup>

The use made by Buti of the Turkish drawings by Ligozzi demonstrates that this series was actually understood as a kind of visual sourcebook providing insight into the peculiarities of contemporary Ottoman costume. This impression is confirmed by the way these drawings are organized into a kind of visual encyclopedia. The subject of each drawing was classified by the artist in a systematic way: Ligozzi wrote its Turkish name next to each image, adding brief remarks on professions, regional origins, and further details.<sup>52</sup> By doing so, it became possible for an observer to leaf through the *taccuinum* like a dictionary while searching for a topic of interest. At the same time, Ligozzi’s ethnographic representations of the Turks are so specific that whoever wanted to properly understand their meaning needed further guidance. It is likely that a second volume existed, and that it included an extensive commentary giving a more detailed account with reference to religion, occupation, and habits of the represented characters. The meaning of the various animals combined with each Easterner would also have been explained.

The frescoes painted by Buti in 1588 also establish a reliable *terminus ante quem* for the execution of the drawings. A thorough analysis of Ligozzi’s representations

permits a dating of the drawings to between 1577 and 1580, that is, in the years immediately following Gianfigliuzzi’s embassy to Constantinople. The representation of Sultan Selim II in one of Ligozzi’s drawings is very enlightening in this respect.<sup>53</sup> Assuming that Ligozzi was drawing in late 1570s, the painter’s failure to present an up-to-date genealogy of the Ottoman dynasty would not have been regarded as unusual. In fact, other chronicles and books published within these years do so accordingly.<sup>54</sup> The fact that Ligozzi represented some of the animals combined with the Turks after the engravings designed by Jan Van der Straet (Giovanni Stradano; 1523–1605) suggests also that the drawings can be dated to the 1570s. The relevant engravings might have been known to Ligozzi through Van der Straet’s drawings, which were published by Philips Gallé in 1578: two of Ligozzi’s horses clearly derive from plates in the engraved collection *Equile Ioannis Austriaci Caroli V. Imp[eratoris] F[ilii]*.<sup>55</sup> Moreover, some of Ligozzi’s more exotic animals, such as the fat-tailed sheep,<sup>56</sup> the elephant,<sup>57</sup> and the ostrich<sup>58</sup> are inspired by the corresponding particulars in engravings of the enlarged, second edition of the *Venationes Ferarum, Avium, Piscium* published after 1578.<sup>59</sup>

Finally, it is enlightening to analyze several books with engravings and woodcuts printed between 1577 and 1580 in Venice, Nuremberg and Antwerp, and which illustrate the same topic as Ligozzi. Nearly all of Ligozzi’s ‘Turkish’ characters appear with only minor variations in Hans Weigel’s *Habitus praecipuorum populorum tam virorum quam foeminarum singulari arte depicti* (Nürnberg 1577); in Caspar Rutz’s *Omnium poene gentium imagines, ubi or[b]is totiusque corporis & vestium habitus [...] exprimuntur* (Köln 1577),<sup>60</sup> in Jean-Jacques Boissard’s *Habitus variarum orbis gentium. Habitz de Nations estra[n]ges. Trachten mancherley Völcker des Erdkreysz* (n.p. [Antwerpen?] 1581),<sup>61</sup> amongst the seven additional illustrations of ‘Turks’ in the Italian edition of *Le navigationi et viaggi, fatti nella Turchia*, an illustrated travelogue by the French geographer, Nicolas de Nicolay (Venice: Francesco Ziletti, 1580); and finally, in Cesare Vecellio’s *Habiti antichi et moderni di tutto il mondo* (Venice: 1590) (Fig. 3).<sup>62</sup>

A careful comparison reveals that Ligozzi did not simply copy his ‘Turks’ from the plates in these books. Neither did he provide preparatory drawing for the illustrations in any of them.<sup>63</sup> Rather, the clear interrelation of the images in all of these works indicates that all these versions – woodcuts, engravings and Ligozzi’s watercolors – derive from a common prototype, circulating among artists and amateurs in the form of drawings. A particularly telling example in that sense is

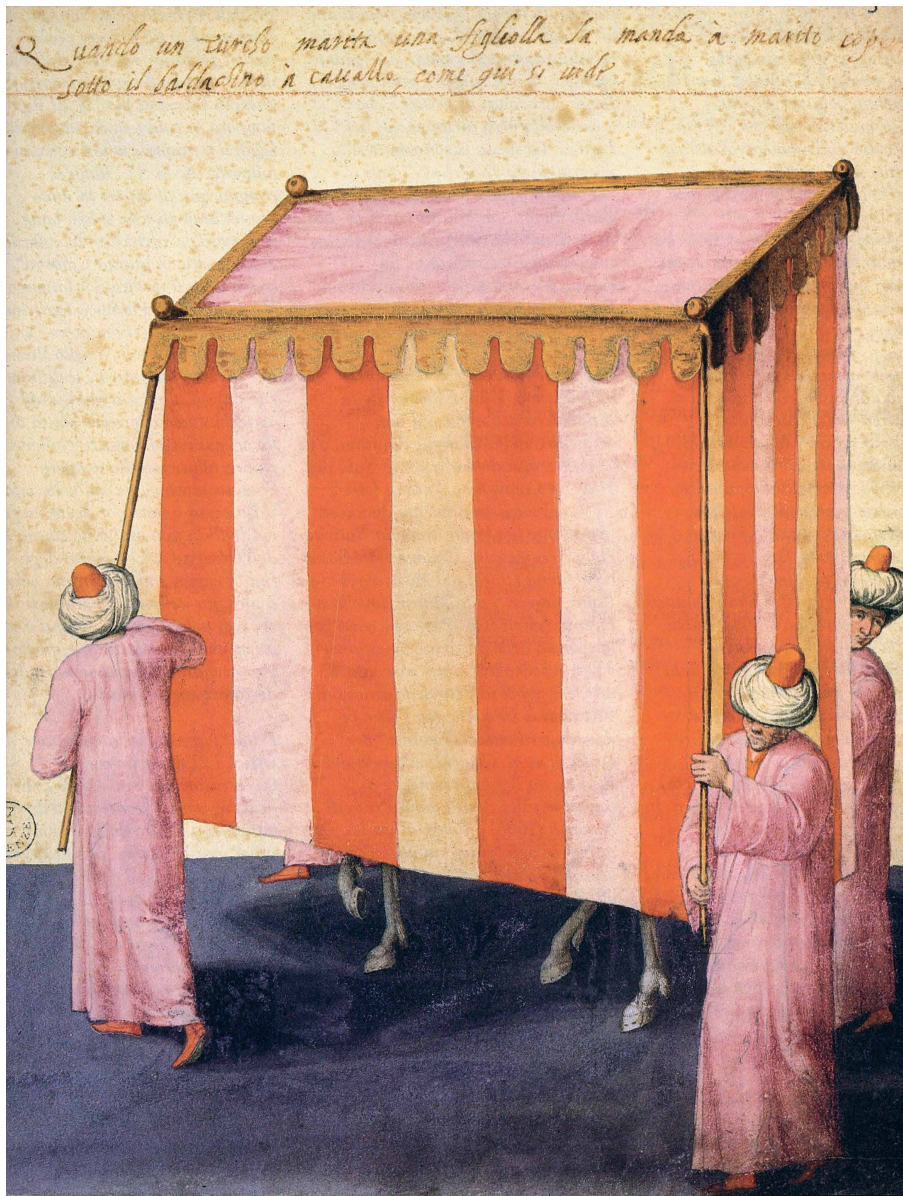


Fig. 3. Jacopo Ligozzi, *Turkish bride conducted to her husband*, watercolor drawing, Florence: Uffizi, Gabinetto Disegni e Stampe, Inv.nr. 2949F.

the sheet with Ligozzi's Turkish bride carried under a baldachin, a representation that particularly fascinated Western people. It can be found in the drawings of various albums brought home by European travelers during the 1570s.<sup>64</sup> This motif is also contained in all the books indicated above, some of which – like the costume books by Hans Weigel<sup>65</sup> and Cesare Vecellio<sup>66</sup> – presented the same theme, but were printed as a mirror image due to the process of graphic reproduction.

The fact that the images in the costume books, as well as the illustrations in the French travelogue, and the drawings by Ligozzi derive from the same set of prototypical drawings is proved by further evidence. Ligozzi included in his watercolor series a motif clearly deriving from one of these prototypes, but which eventually was not included into the books. This archetype is described in

Nicolas de Nicolay's travelogue. The French geographer, when writing about the Arabic way of life, mentioned the habit of riding a horse half-naked. In his publication, De Nicolay announced that he would have included such an illustration.<sup>67</sup> However, due to an error, a loss occurred while preparing the book so this plate is missing in all the editions. It was Ligozzi who included for the first time such a depiction of a Moor, scarcely clothed, barefoot, and riding a grey horse in his *taccuinum*.<sup>68</sup> The painter did not invent this figure, but he must have referred to an extant prototype familiar to him. This is shown by the similarities of Ligozzi's Arabic rider in terms of physiognomy and dress, (headband included), with *Arabs sive aethiops ex Barbaria* in a woodcut in Weigel's costume book (1577).<sup>69</sup> As mentioned above, Weigel's Eastern characters depended from the same set of prototypes.





Fig. 4. Jacopo Ligozzi, *Arab on horseback*, watercolor drawing, Florence: Gabinetto Disegni e Stampe, Inv.nr. 2959F.

To summarize: Ligozzi, when executing his ‘Turkish’ figures, methodically exploited a figurative repertoire that was particularly authoritative between 1577 and 1580. Venice seems to have been central in its divulgation. In fact, sets of similar Turkish figures are contained either in books printed in Venice (De Nicolay, Vecellio), or in cities having strong commercial ties with Venice (Weigel in Nuremberg). In other cases, it is known that the authors-editors of these images had been resident in Venice. First of all, Ligozzi had been living and working in Venice in the early 1570s, where he rented a house in 1575.<sup>70</sup> Another crucial figure, the French humanist, Jean-Jacques Boissard (1528–1602), travelled to Venice in 1555 before touring large parts of Italy and Greece, and returning home only at the end of 1559.<sup>71</sup> Together with his written notes, Boissard brought home some sketchbooks with detailed

costume drawings that included representations of Ottoman dress. In 1576, Boissard returned to Padua and was in contact with numerous humanists and scholars in the Veneto.<sup>72</sup> His collected sketches later served for the above-mentioned book *Habitus variarum orbis gentium* which also illustrates Ottoman dress in detail.

The ‘Turkish’ repertoire, extensively present in books and manuscripts dating to the late 1570s, doubtlessly originated from the illustrations of the albums acquired by Western travelers and diplomats, such as Karel van Rijm or David Ungnad. These ethnographic souvenir images often illustrated the same motifs and depended upon one another.<sup>73</sup> It was common that these images were eventually included in the plates of late sixteenth-century European costume books. One editor, Caspar Rutz, directly described this practice in the preface of *Omnium*



Fig. 5. *Black man from Arabia*, woodcut in Hans Weigel, *Habitus praecipuorum populorum* (Nuremberg: 1577), plate 184.

*poene gentium imagines* (Cologne 1577). He declared that the set of Turkish figures in his book were copied from some drawings that had been executed by some travelers while in Constantinople.<sup>74</sup> However, it was even more common that during the process of transmission and copying, the artists and/or the editors lost track of the origins of the ethnographic images presented. This happened for example to Francesco Ziletti, the publisher of the 1580 Venetian edition of de Nicolay's travelogue (Fig. 4).<sup>75</sup>

In light of the evidence discussed in this essay, we can properly judge the artistic accomplishment of Jacopo Ligozzi. After ambassador Gianfigliuzzi returned to Florence in 1578, the Florentine court missed the 'authentic' first-hand portraits of the inhabitants of the Ottoman territories. When asked to remedy this situation, the most obvious step for Jacopo Ligozzi was

to draw from a visual repertoire familiar to him due to his Venetian connections. Due to his extraordinary artistic workmanship, he was able to create a *vademecum* of detailed and illusionistic 'Turkish' characters from a set of known prototypes – which may have been not even of excellent quality, as they were probably executed by some amateur painter in Constantinople. Ligozzi combined his 'Turkish' figures with representations of animals, and using also in this case older drawings and sketches circulating in Florence at that time. The similarities with Van der Straet's engravings are enlightening in this respect. To conclude, we can properly understand the reason why the Bolognese naturalist, Ulisse Aldrovandi, was admiring Ligozzi unconditionally. In 1577, Aldrovandi praised 'the drawings from life by *signor* Jacomo Ligozzi, who are missing only a soul'.<sup>76</sup>

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## NOTES

1. Archivio di Stato, Firenze (hereafter ASF), Mediceo del Principato 244, fols 15, 43.
2. See the relative correspondence in ASF: Mediceo del Principato 661, fol. 156; Mediceo del Principato 666, fol. 181; Mediceo del Principato 2983, fol. 117; Mediceo del Principato 4279, fol. 12.
3. On the diplomatic Medici initiatives of 1574 and 1578: Jacopo Riguccio Galluzzi, *Storia del Granducato di Toscana*, 11 vols (Florence: Marchini, 1822), IV, pp. 8–9, 66–68; Mario Baruchello, *Livorno e il suo porto. Origini, caratteristiche e vicende dei traffici livornesi* (Livorno: Società anonima riviste tecniche, 1932), pp. 148–49; Sergio Camerani, 'Contributo alla storia dei trattati commerciali fra la Toscana e i Turchi', *Archivio storico italiano*, 97/4 (1939), 83–120 (pp. 89–91); Vittorio Salvadorini, 'Traffici con i paesi islamici e schiavi a Livorno nel XVII secolo: problemi e suggestioni', in *Livorno e il mediterraneo nell'età medicea, Atti del convegno, Livorno, 23–25 settembre 1977* (Livorno: Bastogi, 1978), 1–52.
4. Bastiano Arditì, *Diario di Firenze e di altre parti della Cristianità*, ed. by Roberto Cantagalli (Florence: Istituto Nazionale di Studi sul Rinascimento, 1970), p. 167.
5. ASF, Mediceo del Principato 59, fols 565, 752; ASF, Mediceo del Principato 247, fol. 29. For an explanation of the word *baille* (fr) or *bailo* (it) see Pierre Hurtubise (ed.), *Correspondance du nonce en France Antonio Maria Salviati* (Rome: Université Pontificale Grégorienne/Ecole française de Rome, 1975), I, p. 157, n. 8.
6. ASF, Mediceo del Principato 247, fol. 27. Ernest Charrière, *Négociations de la France dans le Levant ou correspondances, mémoires et actes diplomatiques des ambassadeurs de France à Constantinople et des ambassadeurs, envoyés ou résidents à divers titres à Venise, Raguse, Rome, Malte, et*

- Jérusalem, en Turquie, Perse, Géorgie, Crimée, Syrie, Égypte, etc. et dans les états de Tunis, D'Alger et de Maroc* (Paris: Imprimerie Nationale, 1848–60), III, p. 751.
7. In 1575, the Gianfigliuzzi are qualified as a 'devotissima famiglia verso questa ser.ma casa' Medici (ASF, Mediceo del Principato 245, fol. 38). For the various family members and the Gianfigliuzzi genealogy see the material in ASF, Ceramelli Papiani 2341.
  8. From 1582 to 1586 (or 1588) he acted as Medici ambassador in Spain. See Marcello Del Piazzo, 'Gli ambasciatori toscani del principato (1537–1737)', *Notizie degli archivi di Stato. Bollettino bimestrale a cura del Ministero dell'interno*, 12 (1952), 57–106 (pp. 88, 98).
  9. Charrière, *Négociations*, II, notes on pp. 737, 749.
  10. As such, he personally reported to the grand duke in May 1575 (ASF, Mediceo del Principato 244, fol. 101).
  11. ASF, Mediceo del Principato 247, fol. 27; ASF, Mediceo del Principato 248, fol. 56.
  12. The relative correspondence is in ASF: Mediceo del Principato 247, fol. 48; Mediceo del Principato 248, fols 65, 79–80, 96, 101; Mediceo del Principato 249, fol. 37; Mediceo del Principato 705, fol. 35; Mediceo del Principato 706, fols 160, 138; Mediceo del Principato 708, fols 149–40; Mediceo del Principato 709, fols 217, 300; Mediceo del Principato 711, fols 10–11, 186; Mediceo del Principato 712, fols 21, 22, 30; Mediceo del Principato 714, fol. 374; Depositeria Generale, parte antica 986, mazzo antico n° 8 and 57.
  13. The *ča'ush* was a palace official employed as envoy, messenger and aide-de-camp. See Albert H. Lybyer, *The Government of the Ottoman Empire in the time of Suleiman the Magnificent* (New York: Russell & Russell, 1966), p. 130.
  14. These interpreters were attached to foreign embassies and acted as diplomats and intermediaries for European powers. In the sixteenth century they were usually recruited 'from the Levantine peoples who knew Italian, Italian being at that time the lingua franca of the eastern Mediterranean basin'. See Clifford E. Bosworth, 'Tardjuman', in *Encyclopedia of Islam* (New Edition), ed. by Clifford Ed. Bosworth and others, 12 vols (Leiden: Brill, 1960–2005), X, 236–38.
  15. ASF, Mediceo del Principato 251, fol. 7.
  16. ASF, Mediceo del Principato 715, fols 9, 19, 22; ASF, Mediceo del Principato 716, fol. 277. For the population of Pera, mostly consisting of orthodox Greek, Jews and European Christians, see Edhem Eldem, 'Istanbul: from imperial to peripheralized capital', in *The Ottoman City between East and West. Aleppo, Izmir, and Istanbul*, ed. by Edhem Eldem, Daniel Goffman, and Bruce Masters (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999), 135–206 (pp. 143, 148–49, 157, 180).
  17. ASF, Mediceo del Principato 713, fols 5–6, 95; ASF, Mediceo del Principato 4274, ins. 1, fols 21–22. Only the title page of the 'Trattato di Commersio con i Turchi per mezzo di Buongianni Gianfigliuzzi spedito dal Gran Duca Francesco a Costantinopoli l'anno 1578' and several drafts of its text seems to have survived (ASF, Mediceo del Principato 4274, ins. 1, fols 11–12, 14–20; ASF, Mediceo del Principato 4275, fol. 320).
  18. On the causes of the failure to conclude a treaty see ASF: Mediceo del Principato 713, fol. 81; Mediceo del Principato 3602, fols 243–44; Mediceo del Principato 4274, ins. 1, fols 23–29.
  19. ASF, Mediceo del Principato 4274, ins. 1, fols 26–29. By 29 October, he had packed and was ready to depart (ASF, Mediceo del Principato 249, fol. 159).
  20. See Charrière, *Négociations*, II, pp. 737, 749–51.
  21. ASF, Mediceo del Principato 711, fol. 399. The fact that the coach was gilded is mentioned by the Florentine diarist Ardit, *Diario di Firenze*, p. 176.
  22. On the grand ducal *pietre dure* workshops then situated in the Casino di San Marco: Annamaria Giusti, 'La manifattura medicea delle pietre dure', *Contributi per la storia dell'oreficeria, argenteria e gioielleria*, Prima collana di studi sull'oreficeria, 1, ed. by Piero Pazzi (Venice: Edizioni della Biblioteca Orafa San Antonio Abate in San Giovanni Evangelista, 1996), 173–79; Annamaria Giusti, 'Da Roma a Firenze: Gli esordi del commesso rinascimentale', in *Eternità e nobiltà di materia: Itinerario artistico fra le pietre policrome*, ed. by Annamaria Giusti (Florence: Polistampa, 2003), 197–230.
  23. ASF, Mediceo del Principato 249, fol. 37; ASF, Mediceo del Principato 713, fols 5–6.
  24. ASF, Mediceo del Principato 713, fols 5–6; ASF, Depositeria generale, parte antica 986, mazzo antico no. 55.
  25. Inlaid marble tables became fashionable amongst the Roman cardinals already in the 1560s (see Olga Raggio, 'The Farnese Table: a rediscovered work by Vignola', *The Metropolitan Museum of Art Bulletin*, 18 (1960), 213–31). And Emperor Rudolf II, per example, received in 1589 in occasion of his wedding a *pietre dure* table inlaid with semi-precious stones as gift from Grand Duke Ferdinando I and immediately ordered a second one (see Karla Langedijk, 'The table in "pietre dure" for the Emperor: A new understanding of Rudolph II as collector', *Mitteilungen des Kunsthistorischen Institutes in Florenz*, 42 (1998), 358–82).
  26. ASF, Mediceo del Principato 708, fol. 217, Florence, 1 March 1578.
  27. ASF, Mediceo del Principato 247, fols 2, 29; Mediceo del Principato 248, fol. 65; Depositeria generale, parte antica 986, mazzo antico no. 8.
  28. These objects entered the grand ducal *guardaroba* on 11 June 1578 (ASF, *Guardaroba Medicea* 196, fol. 99r).
  29. Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale, Firenze (hereafter BNCF), Manoscritti II, II, 140, fols 115–23. In the title, the anonymous copyist speaks of Gianfigliuzzi in third person, and erroneously dates the text to 31 December 1577. However, the past tense in which Gianfigliuzzi throughout his *Relatione* referred to his mission, makes it clear that the text was written after his return.
  30. A thorough analysis of the most popular sixteenth-century Italian books on the history of the Turks can be found in Almut Höfert, *Den Feind beschreiben. 'Türkengefahr' und europäisches Wissen über das Osmanische Reich 1450–1600* (Frankfurt am Main: Campus, 2003).
  31. On Ungnad see *Im Lichte des Halbmonds. Das Abendland und der türkische Orient* (Leipzig: Edition Leipzig, 1995), nos 81a–f, pp. 103–04; Rudolf H. W. Stichel, 'Ein Nachtrag zum Porträtbuch des Hieronymus Beck von Leopoldsdorf. Bildnisse orientalischer Herrscher und Würdenträger in Cod. Vindob. 8615', *Jahrbuch des Kunsthistorischen Museums Wien*, 93 (1999), 189–207 (pp. 192–93).
  32. ASF, Mediceo del Principato 712, fol. 21.
  33. ASF, Mediceo del Principato 708, fol. 128.
  34. ASF, Mediceo del Principato 708, fol. 225.
  35. On the biography of the artist see Lucilla Conigliello, *Jacopo Ligozzi. Le vedute del Sacro Monte della Verna, i dipinti di Poppi e Bibbiena* (Poppi: Comune di Poppi, 1992).
  36. See Paola Barocchi and Giovanna Gaeta Bertelà (eds), *Collezionismo mediceo. Cosimo I, Francesco e il cardinale Ferdinando. Documenti 1540–1587* (Modena: Panini, 1993), doc. no. 123.
  37. Ligozzi was mentioned in the grand ducal payrolls of 1575, 1577, 1589, 1591, 1621 (as listed by Warren Kirkendale, *The Court Musicians in Florence during the Principate of the Medici* (Florence: L. S. Olschki, 1993), p. 57. Furthermore, he was registered in a payroll of 1579 (ASF, *Miscellanea Medicea* 264/20). On Ligozzi's position as a stipendiary court artist see Lucilla Conigliello, 'Alcune note su Jacopo Ligozzi e sui dipinti del 1594', *Paragone*, 41/485 (1990), 21–42 (p. 22, nn. 9–10); Lucilla Conigliello, 'Jacopo Ligozzi tra turchi, fantolini e disegni di architettura', *Paragone*, 60 (2009), 49–57 (p. 55).
  38. This official title is found in a woodcut dated 1585. Adam von Bartsch, *Le Peintre Graveur* (Leipzig: Barth, 1866–76), XII (1866), p. 67, n. 27.
  39. ASF, Mediceo del Principato 702, fol. 71. Similarly in second letter of 1581 (ASF, Mediceo del Principato 745, fol. 243). In a third letter to Francesco from 1586, Ligozzi is simply called 'suo pittore'. See Giovanni Cipriani, 'L'Appennino di Giambologna: Riflessioni ed Appunti', in *Tra libri e carte. Studi in onore di Luciana Mosiici*, ed. by Teresa De Robertis and Giancarlo Savino (Florence: Cesati, 1998), 63–72 (doc. on p. 64).
  40. Francesco dei Medici himself spoke in 1578 of Ligozzi as 'il mio pittore' (ASF, Mediceo del Principato 249, fol. 92). And in 1578 the grand duke received a letter from Barga, announcing the dispatch of a box with a salamander 'per il pittore' (ASF, Mediceo del Principato 716, fol. 124). That

- this painter was Ligozzi can be deduced from the fact that he made a drawing for Francesco which shows two of these animals. See *Mostra di disegni di Jacopo Ligozzi (1547–1626)*, ed. by Mina Bacci and Anna Forlani Tempesti (Florence: L. S. Olschki, 1961).
41. On painters visiting the Ottoman Empire as members of the Habsburg legations during the second half of the sixteenth century, see the short survey by Stichel, 'Ein Nachtrag zum Porträtbuch', pp. 192–98.
  42. On Busbecq and his Turkish letters reporting about the Ottomans, see *Soliman le Magnifique. Catalogue de l'exposition du Grand Palais* (Paris: Ministère des Affaires Étrangères 1990), n. 313; Zweder R. W. M. von Martels, 'Impressions of the Ottoman Empire in the Writings of Augerius Busbequius (1520/1591)', *Journal of Mediterranean Studies*, 5/2 (1995), 208–21.
  43. On Lorck's biography and the works see Erik Fischer, *Melchior Lorck*, 5 vols (Copenhagen: Vandkunsten, 2009–11).
  44. The first is the so-called Freshfield album at Trinity College, Cambridge, and the second a manuscript in *Das Kostümbuch des Lambert de Vos. Vollständige Faksimile-Ausgabe im Originalformat des Codex Ms. or. 9 aus dem Besitz der Staats- und Universitätsbibliothek Bremen*, ed. by Hans-Albrecht Koch, 2 vols (Graz: Akademische Druck- und Verlagsanstalt, 1990–91).
  45. On the album of Ungnad which is today lost, and extant copies of it, see Stichel, 'Ein Nachtrag zum Porträtbuch', pp. 189–207; Claudia Schnitzer, 'Ein "Spionagebericht in Bildern" aus Istanbul', *Dresdner Kunstblätter*, 39 (1995), 98–195; Esin Atil, *Images of Istanbul: Facsimile Edition of Eight Panoramic Views Made by Zacharias Wehme in 1582 from an Album in the Sächsische Landesbibliothek Dresden Mscr. J2a* (Istanbul: A. Ertuğ; Esbank, 1993), pp. 103–05, cat. no. 81.
  46. BNCF, Manoscritti, II, II, 140, fol. 115.
  47. Twenty drawings of the series are today in the Gabinetto dei Disegni e Stampe of the Uffizi (Inv. no. 2947F-2967F). For the rest of the set see: *Old Master Drawings, Sotheby's*, New York, 16 January 1986; *European Drawings. Recent Acquisitions. Catalogue* (Hazlitt, Gooden & Fox: London December 1988, cat. no. 19; *Old Master Drawings*, Christie, Manson and Woods International: New York, 11 January 1989, lot 110; *Old Master Drawings*, Christie, Manson and Woods International, London 18 April 1989, lots 9–12; *Italian Drawings: Catalogue*, Hazlitt, Gooden & Fox, London November 1991-January 1992, cat. no. 12; Nicholas Turner, Lee Hendrix and Carol Plazzotta (eds), *European Drawings: Catalogue of the Collections* (Los Angeles: The J. Paul Getty Museum, 1988–2001), III (1997), cat. no. 32; Conigliello, Jacopo Ligozzi tra turchi', p. 55, n. 9; four drawings of this series have been sold by Trinity Fine Art, London (*An Exhibition of Old Master Drawings, Prints and Paintings* (Trinity Fine Art: London, May 1998), cat. no. 6, 7 – two drawings went uncatalogued); Stijn Alsteens, Carmen C. Bambach, George Goldner, Colta Ives, Perrin Stein, and Nathalie Strasser (eds), *Raphael to Renoir: Drawings from the Collection of Jean Bonna* (Metropolitan Museum of Art: New York, 2009), p. 48, cat. no. 22.
  48. Two scholars advanced the hypothesis that the album may have been directly executed on behalf of Niccolò Gaddi (1537–91), who was *luogotenente* of the Florentine *Accademia del Disegno* in 1578 and had close contacts with Francesco (see Cristina Acidini Luchinat, 'Niccolò Gaddi collezionista e dilettante del Cinquecento', *Paragone*, 31/359–61 (1980), 141–75 (p. 174, n. 75); Conigliello, 'Jacopo Ligozzi tra turchi', p. 52).
  49. I hinted at this circumstance in Ulrike Ilg, 'Vom Reisebericht zum ethnographischen Kompendium: Zur Rezeptionsgeschichte von Nicolas de Nicolay. "Quatre premiers livres ds navigations et peregrinations orientales (1567)", in *Text und Bild in Reiseberichten des 16. Jahrhunderts. Westliche Zeugnisse über Amerika und das Osmanische Reich*, ed. by Ulrike Ilg (Venice: Marsilio, 2008), 161–92 (pp. 188–89 with figs. 45–48). Much earlier, also Anna Forlani, 'Jacopo Ligozzi nel gran Serraglio', *FMR*, 1 (1982), 72–103 (p. 74) had hypothesized that Ligozzi's drawings may have been a Medici commission.
  50. On the frescoes in this room: *Gli Uffizi. Catalogo generale*, ed. by Luciano Berti (Florence: Centro Di, 1980, 2<sup>nd</sup> edition), p. 1160.
  51. Detlef Heikamp and Ferdinand Anders, *Mexico and the Medici* (Florence: Edam, 1972), pp. 11–12; *Firenze e la Toscana dei Medici nell'Europa del Cinquecento. Palazzo Vecchio: committenza e collezionismo mediceo, exhibition catalogue* (Firenze, 1980), pp. 162–72, cat. nos 299–317; Mario Scalini, 'Oggetti rari e curiosi nelle collezioni medicee: esotica e naturalia', in *Antichità viva*, 35/2–3 (1996), 59–67.
  52. The autograph character of the inscriptions on Ligozzi's drawings was ascertained in *European drawings*, p. 55.
  53. This drawing is today in the Bonna collection in Geneva (Alsteens and others (eds), *Raphael to Renoir*, p. 48, cat. no. 22).
  54. For example, the portrait gallery of Ottoman rulers in Philipp Lonicer's monumental *Chronicorum Turcicorum* (Frankfurt am Main: Sigmund Feyerabendt, 1578), tome I, fol. 39r, also stopped with a woodcut of Sultan Selim II.
  55. Compare the drawing Florence, *Gabinetto Disegni e Stampe degli Uffizi*, Inv. nr. 2959F with Alessandra Baroni Vannucci, *Jan Van Der Straet detto Giovanni Stradano flandrus pictor et inventor* (Milan/Rome: Sapi, 1997), cat. no. 692, Fig. 42; Manfred Sellink (ed.), *Philips Gallé*, The New Hollstein. Dutch and Flemish etchings, engravings and woodcuts 1450–1700 (Rotterdam: Sound & Vision Publishers, 2001), I, pp. xlvi, lv, with nn. 106, 150; and compare the drawing in Florence, Gabinetto Disegni e Stampe degli Uffizi, Inv. no. 2965F with the horse to the left of the title cartouche of the *Equile* (Baroni Vannucci, *Jan Van Der Straet*, cat. no. 692, Fig. 2).
  56. Compare the sheep represented on Ligozzi's drawing of the 'done greche maritate di Costantinopoli et Pera' (See *Old Master Drawings*, Christie, Manson and Woods International, London, 18 April 1989, pp. 20–21, lot 12) with the identical detail by Stradanus in Baroni Vannucci, *Jan Van Der Straet*, cat. no. 380, Fig. 48).
  57. The drawing was sold by Trinity Fine Art, London (no catalogue). For some possible elephant motifs by Stradanus, which may have inspired Ligozzi see Baroni Vannucci, *Jan Van Der Straet*, cat. no. 693, figs 1–5, 7, 13.
  58. The ostrich in Ligozzi's drawing (Florence, Gabinetto Disegni e Stampe degli Uffizi, Inv.no 2963 F) has strange hooves, a particularly the animal shares with the one in Stradanus's engraving (Sellink, *Philips Gallé*, part 3, cat. no. 543).
  59. Friedrich Wilhelm Hollstein, *Dutch and Flemish etchings, engravings and woodcuts c. 1450–1700* (Amsterdam: Hertzberger, 1952), VII, p. 81, cat. nos 424–527; Sellink, *Philips Gallé*, I, pp. liii–liv and III, p. 244.
  60. The plates in this book are the major work of the Antwerp etcher Abraham de Bruyn (1538/9–c.1587). See for this artist: Bernadette Schöller, 'Bruyn, Abraham de', in *Saur. Allgemeines Künstlerlexikon*, ed. by Günter Meißner (München/Leipzig: Saur, 1996), XIV, p. 614.
  61. On this book see Heinrich Doege, 'Die Trachtenbücher des 16. Jahrhunderts', in *Beiträge zur Bücherkunde und Philologie: August Wilmanns zum 25. März 1903 gewidmet* (Leipzig: Harrassowitz 1903), 429–44; *Katalog der Lipperheideschen Kostümbibliothek. Neubearbeitet von E. Nienholt/G. Wagner-Neumann*, I (Berlin: Mann 1965), cat. no. Aa 23.
  62. See *Katalog der Lipperheideschen*, cat. nos 17 and 21; Jeannine Guérin Dalle Mese, *L'occhio di Cesare Vecellio. Abiti e costumi esotici nel '500. Oltramare*, 6 (Alessandria: Edizioni dell'Orso, 1998).
  63. The idea by Gert J. van der Sman, 'Jacopo Ligozzi tra Venezia e Firenze: appunti sui costumi turcheschi', in 'Aux Quatre Vents': *A Festschrift for Bert W. Meijer*, ed. by Anton W. A. Boschloo, Edward Grasman and Gert Jan van der Sman (Florence: Centro Di, 2002), 73–77 (pp. 74–76), is that Ligozzi provided the Venetian editor Francesco Ziletti with the preparatory sketches for the engraving in the 1580 *Navigazioni* can be safely dismissed. Indeed, the motifs of four of its five additional plates with Ottoman characters appear already in the 1577 costume books by Hans Weigel and Caspar Rutz.
  64. The motif of the Turkish bride can be found, for example, in the Dresden copy of Ungnad's album (Esin Atil, *Images of Istanbul: Facsimile Edition of Eight Panoramic Views Made by Zacharias Wehme in 1582 from an Album in the Sächsische Landesbibliothek Dresden Mscr. J2a* (Istanbul: A. Ertuğ; Esbank, 1993), plate 1, no. 4.

65. Hans Weigel, *Habitus praecipuorum popolorum, tam virorum quam feminarum singulari arte depicti* (Nürnberg: Nachdr. der Ausg. 1577), plate 202: 'Hoc pacto domum deducitur a Turcis Sponsa',
66. Guérin Dalle Mese, *Locchio di Cesare Vecellio*, fol. 390v, titled as 'Sponsa turca'.
67. Nicolas De Nicolay, *Quatre premiers livres des navigations et pérégrinations orientales* (Lyon: Guillaume Rouillé, 1567), pp. 19, 23.
68. See Ligozzi's drawing Florence, *Gabinetto Disegni e Stampe degli Uffizi*, Inv. no. 2959F.
69. See Weigel, *Habitus praecipuorum popolorum*, plate 222.
70. Conigliello, *Le vedute del Sacro Monte*, p. 21; Conigliello, 'Jacopo Ligozzi tra turchi', p. 51, n. 17.
71. On Boissard's travels see Michael Thiemann, *Jean Jacques Boissard. Ovids Metamorphosen 1556* (Berlin: Mann 2005), pp. 24–29; Michael Thiemann, 'Erinnerung an das Fremde: Jean Jacques Boissards Trachtenbuch für Johann Jakob Fugger', *Marburger Jahrbuch für Kunstwissenschaft*, 32 (2005), 117–48 (p. 130).
72. Tommaso Casini, 'La galleria dei ritratti a stampa di Jean-Jacques Boissard e Théodore de Bry', *Annali della Scuola Normale Superiore di Pisa. Classe di Lettere e Filosofia, Quaderni*, 4<sup>th</sup> series, 1–2 (1996), 287–98 (p. 288, n. 13).
73. An (incomplete) list of various manuscripts which were brought home by European travelers and which with their costume drawings were often interrelated, in: *Das Kostümbuch des Lambert de Vos. Vollständige Faksimile-Ausgabe im Originalformat des Codex Ms. Or. 9 aus dem Besitz der Staats- und Universitätsbibliothek Bremen*, ed. by Hans-Albrecht Koch, 2 vols (Graz: Akademische Druck- und Verlagsanstalt, 1990–91), I, pp. 48–54.
74. Thiemann, *Jean Jacques Boissard. Ovids Metamorphosen*, fol. 5.
75. Ziletti added seven new illustrations to the book and about one of them he declared: 'Si veggono quattro donne, tre delle quali mostrano d'esser d'una medesima conditione, ma diverse d'età come ne gli habiti loro si può vedere [...]. Vedesi, che gli habiti sono molto vaghi & puliti, ma di qual provincia, ò città non s'è potuto haver notitia'. Nicolay, 'Quatre premiers livres ds navigations et peregrinations orientales (1567)', p. 191.
76. Alessandro Tosi, *Ulisse Aldrovandi e la Toscana. Carteggio e testimonianze documentarie, Archivio della corrispondenza degli scienziati italiani*, 5 (Florence: Olschki, 1989), p. 205.

