The structure and dynamics of scholarly networks between the Dutch Republic and the Grand Duchy of Tuscany in the 17th century

van Vugt, I.

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CHAPTER 3
Dutch travelers in the Grand Duchy of Tuscany

INTRODUCTION
While the correspondence of Apollonio Bassetti sheds light on the Grand Duke’s zeal to stimulate industrial, technological innovations and to revitalize commerce, the scholarly correspondence of Magliabechi provides us with a better understanding of the librarian’s efforts to curate the intellectual life of the Grand Duchy of Tuscany that emerged from the lively exchange with the United Provinces. So, while Bassetti was more closely connected to mercantile circles, Magliabechi was more closely connected to academic ones. Thanks to his huge network of contacts, Magliabechi became a highly influential figure throughout Europe, transforming Florence into a hub for scholarly correspondence and book dispersion.

Magliabechi’s centrality in the Tuscan-Dutch exchange is not only exemplified by the extensive exchange of letters and books, but also by his reoccurrence in most Dutch travel journals in the second half of the seventeenth century. After he had been made librarian of the Biblioteca Palatina by Cosimo III in 1673, it was all but impossible for foreign visitors to come to Florence in order to collate manuscripts and not come into contact with the Florentine librarian. Upon arrival in Florence, Dutch travelers rushed to the house of Magliabechi, hoping that he could guarantee them access to the collections of the Medici libraries and arrange meetings with Cosimo III. Furthermore, by the 1670s, Magliabechi had grown so famous for the vast extent of his reading, and his amazing memory of what he had read, that he himself had become an attraction in Florence. The desire to visit the celebrated librarian is perhaps best expressed by the historian Gregorio Leti (1630-1701), he himself a correspondent of Magliabechi, in his well-known guide of travelers to Italy – l’Italia Regnante (1676) – writing that “cento altri Huomini celeberri, mi hanno piu volte detto, che non per altro havevano desiderio, o di andare, o di tornare in Italia, che per vedere il Magliabechi”.*

The moments in which Dutch scholars traveled to the Grand Duchy of Tuscany can be broken down into three distinct phases, each of which will be discussed separately in this chapter. The first important phase happened in the 1640s, when a number of Dutch philologists began to focus their attention on Florence. This first generation of travelers came to Tuscany when Magliabechi was still a child, yet they laid the foundation for the network on which generations of scholars to come would rely to exchange information with the Florentine librarian. The second phase, in the 1660s, is characterized by a single, yet fundamental event: the arrival in Florence of the Amsterdam bookseller Pieter Blaeu. As noted earlier in the previous chapter, the strong link between Blaeu and the Medici court finds its ultimate

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*Gregorio Leti, l’Italia regnante, vol. 3 (Valenza: Guerini, 1676): 423, "hundreds of other famous men, have said to me many times, that they had no other desire, or to come, or to return to Italy, than to see the Magliabechi". Born in Milan in 1630, Gregorio Leti, whose publications are all listed on the Index Librorum Prohibitorum, fled England in 1683 for Amsterdam, where he became the city historiographer in 1685 until his death in 1701. Magliabechi provided Leti with material for his publications, in particular for his Italia Regnante. The two maintained an extensive correspondence from 1672 until 1679, which is extensively described in Luigi Fassò, Avventurieri della punta del Seicento: Gregorio Leti, Giovanni Gerolamo Arconati Lamberti, Tomaso Tomasi, Bernardo Gnassoni (F. Le Monnier, 1924). While Leti’s stay in the Dutch Republic is understudied, his stay in England has received considerable scholarly attention, see for example, Stefano Villani, ‘Encomi “inglesi” di Gregorio Leti’, in Forme e occasioni dell’Encomio tra Cinque e Seicento. Formes et occasions de la louange entre XVVe et XVIIIe siècle, ed. Danielle Boillet and Liliana Grassi (Luca: Pacini Fazzi, 2011), 213–36. The correspondence between Leti and Magliabechi, consisting of 120 letters written by Leti from Genève, Paris, Lyon, London and Amsterdam, is extent in the National Library of Florence, Magl. VIII 752. 
expression in 1668, when Cosimo decided to let Pieter act as his guide during his grand tour in the Dutch Republic. Pieter’s stay in Florence must thus have been a crucial component in the creation of a friendship bond between Blaeu and the Medici court. The third and last phase, the 1670s, witnessed a boom of Dutch travelers to Florence. In the aftermath of Cosimo’s visit in the Dutch Republic, the Dutch knew that they were welcomed by the Grand Duke and they benefitted from his hospitality. In addition, they valued the opportunity such a visit afforded to meet Magliabechi, under whose influence the Florentine collections became more accessible than ever before. Yet, Magliabechi was more than that. He appears to have shielded the Dutch from significant dangers at the time. Religious conversions and atrocities committed by evil custodians and invidious scholars were part of the daily life at the Medici court, and Magliabechi tried to do everything in his power to guarantee the Dutch an unconcerned stay in the Grand Duchy of Tuscany.

1. THE RISE OF ANTONIO MAGLIABECHI

At present, the secondary literature on Magliabechi’s life and career had received considerable scholarly interest. The importance of Magliabechi’s correspondence was already recognized in the early 1740s, when Giovanni Targioni Tozzetti (1712-1783), curator of the library of Magliabechi, edited and published a large number of the librarian’s incoming correspondence. Since then, numerous articles and various editions of his correspondence were realized, which reached its peak with the publication of the most recent volume in 2018, which is entirely dedicated to the complex personality and activities of Magliabechi himself. The book attempts to critically rethink the role assigned to Magliabechi in European intellectual history, by placing him in the foreground as a major contributor to the early modern scholarly society, instead of viewing him as a secondary figure in the Republic of Letters. Although Magliabechi never wrote anything besides his letters, it were precisely these letters that kept the scholarly community going. He acted as an important information-broker by introducing scholars to each other and by circulating information about who was doing what, where and when. His letters contained precise bibliographical reports, with which he informed his correspondents about the most recent publications, as well as his opinion on the contents and the authors of these books. In the sixth, and last chapter of this study, we will take a closer look at the role of these bibliographical reports in the scholarly exchange of the Florentine librarian. The following paragraph provides a brief biography of the Florentine librarian, showing why any discussion of intellectual contacts between the Dutch Republic and the Grand Duchy of Tuscany in the seventeenth century – probably even Italy – is incomplete without at least some mention of Magliabechi.


308 Tozzetti curated Magliabechi’s incoming correspondence from Venice, the Low Countries and Germany: Clarorum Venetorum ad Ant. Magliabechium nonnullasque alios Epistole. Ex Autographis in Biblioth. Magliabechiana, quae nunc Publica Florentinorum est, adseravi descriptae, 2 vol. (Florentiae, Ex Typographia ad Insigne Apollonis in Platea, 1745-1746); Clarorum Belgarum ad Ant. Magliabechium nonnullasque alios Epistole. Ex autographis in Biblioth. Magliabechiana, quae nunc Publica Florentinorum est, adseravi descriptae, 2 vol. (Florentiae: Ex Typographia ad Insigne Apollonis in Platea, 1745: Clarorum Germanorum ad Ant. Magliabechium nonnullasque alios Epistole. Ex Autographis in Biblioth. Magliabechiana, quae nunc Publica Florentinorum est, adseravi descriptae (Florentiae, Ex Typographia ad Insigne Apollonis in Platea, 1746).

309 Jean Boutier, Maria Pia Paoli, and Corrado Viola, eds., Antonio Magliabechi nell’Europa dei sapere.

310 On this topic, see Corrado Viola, ‘Magliabechi ‘autore’’, in Antonio Magliabechi nell’Europa dei sapere, 143-181.
1.1 MAGLIABECHI: A BRIEF BIOGRAPHY

Magliabechi was born in Florence on the 20th of October 1633. In his remarkable account of the early life of Magliabechi, Joseph Spence (1699-1768) portrays Magliabechi as an employee of a fruit vendor. Spence describes that, although Magliabechi had never learned to read, he was continuously looking at the leaves of the old books that were used to wrap the fruit. One day, a bookseller walked by and noticed this curious habit. Knowing that the boy could not read, he asked him why he stared so much on the printed paper. The young Magliabechi answered that he did not know exactly why, but that “he loved it of all things”. Moreover, he answered, he would “be the happiest creature in the world, if he could live with him, who had always so many books with him.” The Florentine bookseller remained astonished with the answer of the child and agreed to employ him in his bookshop. This image of Magliabechi as described by Spence is certainly idyllic, yet substantially inconsistent with other, more reliable, accounts of Magliabechi's childhood. Anton Francesco Marmi (1665-1736), whose biography of Magliabechi has been recently edited by Corrado Viola, stated that Magliabechi was apprenticed to a goldsmith in Florence, which is the prevailing view we have of Magliabechi nowadays. Out of his small resources, Magliabechi bought as many books as he could, reading them in his spare time. Likewise, Anton Maria Salvini, writer of the Delle lodi di Antonio Magliabechi in 1715, wrote that Magliabechi's true vocation was towards scholarship since childhood, which was so strong as a “calamita verso il polo” that in his spare time he pleased himself only with books which were his “compagni inseperabili”.

The goldsmith’s shop was frequented by leading scholars in Florence, including the priest Andrea Torsi da Bibbiena, who taught Magliabechi the Latin language, and Michele Ermini, librarian of Cardinal Giovan Carlo de’ Medici (1611-1663). Ermini, impressed by the outstanding intellectual capacities and memory of Magliabechi, taught him Greek and Hebrew. In the 1650s, Ermini introduced Magliabechi into the company of other Tuscan scholars, including Carlo Dati (1619-1676), Andrea Cavalcanti (1610-1673), Lorenzo Panciatichi (1635-1676) and Lorenzo Pucci. Dati, Cavalcanti and Pucci introduced Magliabechi to Leopoldo de’ Medici (1617-1675), who decided to entrust him with the task of managing the collections of his own library, for which he also wrote a vast catalogue detailing the library of Leopoldo. As such, Magliabechi started to buy book for Leopoldo’s library, which brought him into contact with the leading representatives of the book trade in the 1660s. These include the Combi-La Noü family in Venice, the Borde-Arnaud family and the Anisson family in Lyon, the Huguenot family in Lyon.

311 For the family context of Magliabechi, see Maria Pia Paoli, ‘Antonio Magliabechi e Firenze: il contesto “familiare”’, in Antonio Magliabechi nell’Europa dei sapere, 19–61.
313 Spence, 7-8.
315 Anton Maria Salvini, Delle lodi di Antonio Magliabechi orazione funerale del sig. abate Anton Maria Salvini detta da lui pubblicamente nell’Accademia fiorentina il di 23. di settembre dell’anno 1715 nel conseglato dell’illustrissimo sig. abate Sabino Salvini (Florence: nella stamperia di S.A.R. per i Guiducci, e Franchi, 1715): cit. VII, “Magnet to its pole”; “inseparable comrades”.
and later in Amsterdam, and the Blaeu family in the latter city. As will be discussed in more detail below, the Amsterdam bookseller Pieter Blaeu visited Magliabechi in 1660 to promote his father’s project on the Tuscan town atlas. This visit was the beginning of a long-standing epistolary exchange between Magliabechi and the Blaeus, that lasted from 1660 until 1705, which resulted in a continuous flow of books between Amsterdam and Florence in the second half of the seventeenth century.

When Cosimo left on his grand tour through Northern Europe in 1667, Magliabechi was already busy building his elaborate network of learned and literary contacts across Europe. Figure 2 gives a clear picture of the overall structure of Magliabechi’s correspondence, by highlighting those cities that played a major role in his network. In these maps, the size of the nodes indicates the number of correspondents. As the map shows, Florence, Rome and Venice constitute the core of Magliabechi’s network in Italy, while in Germany the cities of Leipzig, Nuremberg, Hamburg and Augsburg are of considerable importance. His network of contacts in France is mainly concentrated in Paris and Lyon. As noted earlier, Magliabechi was in touch with many Lyons booksellers. In Paris, Magliabechi exchanged letters with several distinguished members of the Parisian scholarly community, including, amongst all, Emery Bigot (1626-1689), who became acquainted with Magliabechi during his stay in Florence in 1659-1661, and Gilles Ménage (1613-1692). They, on discovering Magliabechi’s valuable knowledge of books, introduced him to other scholars in France, Germany and the Dutch Republic. Consequently, his network grew in importance as more scholars joined his network over time. In 1671, for instance, Emery Bigot, introduced the Dutch philologist Nicolaas Heinsius to Magliabechi, and the two initiated a correspondence that would last until 1674.

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320 Magliabechi’s, rather marginal correspondence network in England has been discussed by Luisa Simonutti, ‘Prima osservazioni sulle curiositates magliabechiane d’Oltremanica’, in Antonio Magliabechi nell’Europa dei sapori, 417.

321 Magliabechi’s network in Germany has been studied by Thomas Wallnig, ‘Magna tua [...] in Germanos omnes benignitasse: Magliabechi e il mondo germanico’, in Antonio Magliabechi nell’Europa dei sapori, 379–93.


323 For Bigot’s introduction see Heinsius to Magliabechi, 15 December 1671, UBL, BUR F 1.
Fig. 2 Evolution of the epistolary network of Antonio Magliabechi. Maps created with nodegoat.
Fig. 3 Evolution of the epistolary network of Antonio Magliabechi in the Dutch Republic (see Appendix 1). Maps created with nodegoat.
While the epistolary networks between the Dutch Republic and the Grand Duchy of Tuscany reached across a vast geographic area, these networks themselves centered on certain people and cities. These people were almost always based in one of the main cities of the Republic of Letters – cities which afforded access to great libraries, to universities, to the patronage of wealthy benefactors, and to printing presses, the engines of early modern Europe. As shown by figure 3, Magliabechi’s correspondence took off in Amsterdam in the 1660s, “which thanks to its flourishing bookselling and publishing activities was a crossroads in scholarly Europe during this period.” In this year, he started to exchange letters with the Blaeu family. In the 1670s, university cities like Leiden and Utrecht contributed considerable to his network, where he found correspondents who were at least as beneficial to him as he was for them, including the scholars Jacob Gronovius, Laurens Gronovius (1648-1724), Coenraad Ruysch (1650-1731) in Leiden and Johannes Georgius Graevius (1632-1703) and Jacob Tollius (1633-1696) in Utrecht. The Hague, Deventer and Haarlem appear on the map in these years because of the presence there of Nicolaas Heinsius, Willem Goes (1610-1686), Rulaeus Phillipus (1640-?) and Gisbert Cuper. In the 1680s, Magliabechi established a relationship with the scientist Antoni van Leeuwenhoek (1632-1723) in Delft. In the same years, many French booksellers living in Amsterdam joined the network, including the Huguenot printers Henry Desbordes (1640-?) and Marc Huguetan (1655-1702) who had been forced to leave France after the Edict of Fontainebleau in 1685. This policy, issued by Louis XIV of France in 1685 made official the persecution of Protestants, who subsequently sought refuge in other nations. The 1690s is characterized by Magliabechi’s correspondence with Pierre Bayle (1647-1706) in Rotterdam. In the last phase of Magliabechi’s network, the 1700s, a whole new generation of scholars joined the network of Magliabechi, including the scholars Jean Le Clerc, Willem Surenhuis (1664-1729) and Henriik Brenchman (1681-1736) in Amsterdam, Pieter Burman (1668-1741), Adriaan Reeland (1676-1718) and Abraham Cousson in Utrecht and Joannes Kool (1672-1712) in Amersfoort. A complete list of Magliabechi’s correspondents is provided in Appendix 1. In the next chapter, we will look more closely at the way these correspondents joined the network of Magliabechi.

The maps in figure 2 and 3 show that Magliabechi’s network took off at the moment when Cosimo entrusted Magliabechi with the custody of the Medici’s Palatine library in the Pitti Palace in 1673. In this function, Magliabechi had to ensure that all books, which were scattered over the various parts of the palazzo and the Medici villas, were re-united and catalogued. Moreover, he began to organize Cosimo’s library into an up-to-date information collection. According to Magliabechi, the library was to acquire all new publications, in particular “de’ moderni” and he used his strong relations with the Dutch Republic to buy the missing volumes. For example, on the 20th of February 1673, Magliabechi wrote to the Dutch philologist Nicolaas Heinsius to inform him about Cosimo’s plan to build a library in his

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326 Cfr. Moorman, Discovering Rome through Joan Blaeu’s Admiranda Urbis Roma: the creation of the town atlas of Rome (Amsterdam, 1663) in the light of Italian-Dutch relationships in the seventeenth century, 34. Moorman refers here to the Treccani entry on Magliabechi:

palace, a desire he had formed right after his grand tour. Yet, these plans were delayed because of the sudden death of his father, Ferdinando II de’ Medici, in 1670:

“Face fare un bellissimo vaso, con iscaffali, ecc., ma quando appunto aveva pensiero di empierlo di ottimi Libri, morì il Serenissimo Gran Duca Ferdinando, onde gli bisognò badare alle cose del governo. Il suo pensiero però è sempre stato, ed è, di accumulare un gran numero di Libri, come avrà dato qualche aggiustamento alle cose dello Stato. Qui inclusa troverà una piccola nota di alcuni pochi Libri, che con un numero innumerabile di altri gli mancano. De’ moderni non ne ha quasi alcuno, e degli antichi gliene mancano moltissimi.”

Magliabechi continues this letter by saying that Cosimo III possessed few books because he was unwilling to buy any while on his grand tour without his advice. Cosimo appeared thus to have trusted his librarian completely.

The map in figure 2 underlines that beyond Magliabechi’s local circles of learning in Florence, layed the Republic of Letters. Whilst his post as the custodian of the Biblioteca Palatina gave him considerable prominence and liberty at the court of the Medici family, he is remembered more for his contribution to the Republic of Letters, and most specifically for his prodigious memory and encyclopedic knowledge of each subject, “quasi come di Dittatore di tutta la Letteratura europea de’ suoi tempi”, for which he was consulted “da tutti gli studiosi d’Europe come un oracolo”. Besides the Grand ducal collections, Magliabechi had created his own book collection, which had become famous for both the quality and quality of manuscripts and printed works it contained. His collection of books was kept at his house in Via della Scale in Florence, primarily consisting of books that were donated and dedicated to him by (travelling) scholars from all over Europe.

To accumulate and read more and more books, Magliabechi was willing to make any sacrifice by leading a solitary and frugal life (sordid and miserable in the opinion of many of his contemporaries).

327 Magliabechi to N. Heinsius, 20 February 1673, UBL, BUR F 8, f. 4, “[the Grand Duke] ordered to make a beautiful vessel, with shelves, etc. but when he was thinking about filling it with excellent books, the Serene Grand Duke Ferdinando died, upon which he needed to look after government affairs. His idea, however, has always been, and still is, to accumulate a large number of Books, after having made some adjustments to the matters of State. Here included you can find a small list including a few books, which, with an innumerable number of other books, he misses. He has almost no modern books, and he misses lots of antique books”

328 Ibidem, “Quando fu costà, in Francia, ed in altri luoghi, non volle comprar Libri, perché io non ero seco” [When the Grand Duke was there in the Dutch Republic, in France, and in other places, he did not want to buy books, because I was not there],


330 Moorman, Discovering Rome through Joan Blaeu’s Admiranda Urbis Rame: the creation of the town atlas of Rome (Amsterdam, 1663) in the light of Italian-Dutch relationships in the seventeenth century, 34.


332 On Magliabechi’s atypical behavior at the court, see Callard, ‘Diogène au service des princes: Antonio Magliabechi à la cour de Toscane (1633–1714)’, 85–103; Curious is also the account of Magliabechi given by Isaac D’Israeli in his Curiosities of Literature, who defined Magliabechi as a “a living Cyclopaedia, though a dark lantern”. In his account, D’Israeli follows the observations of the Dutch professor Johannes Heyman, who visited the library in Florence: “His habits of life were uniform. Ever among his books, he troubled himself with no other concern whatever; and the only interest he appeared to take for any living thing was his spiders. While sitting among his literary piles, he affected great sympathy for these weavers of webs, and perhaps in contempt of those whose curiosity appeared impertinent, he frequently cried out, “to take care not to hurt his spiders!” (Isaac D’Israeli, Curiosities of Literature, vol. 1 (London: Frederick Warne and co., 1881), 345–47.
He slept on his books, only ate eggs, chewed tobacco and was dressed in a sloppy manner. We will come across several examples of Magliabechi’s eccentric life and behaviour in the following paragraphs, such as those reported in the travel diaries of several Dutch scholars who visited Magliabechi in Florence.

It does not appear that the librarian ever married and had children. He died at the age of 81, on the 4th of July 1714, at the monastery of Santa Maria Novella. According to his testament, with was carried about by Anton Francesco Marmi and the lawyer Lorenzo Comparini after the death of Magliabechi in 1714, it was Magliabechi’s explicit wish to leave his entire collections of around 30,000 printed publications “a beneficio universale della città di Firenze”. To organize all the books, the executors of Magliabechi’s will, Marmi and Comparini, rented an old theatre, the Teatro degli Istrioni or di Baldracca. In 1747, during the reign of Francis I Stefano di Lorena (1708-1765), the Magliabechiana library was opened to the public, becoming Florence first public library, and an important meeting point for Florentine academics. Following the unification of Italy, the Magliabechiana provided the basis for what would be called today the Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale Firenze. Besides his book collections, also his correspondence have been kept in a printed card catalogue, which has been digitized in 2013. In the following chapter of this study, this digitized card catalogue will be used to map the network of Antonio Magliabechi in the wider context of the Dutch Republic.

2. THE 1640S: THE FOUNDING FATHERS OF THE DUTCH-TUSCAN NETWORK

Years before Magliabechi’s presence at the Medici court, Dutch interest in the Grand Duchy of Tuscany had already started to grow remarkably. During the 1640s, several Dutch scholars travelled to Florence with the prospect of collating manuscripts in the rich collections of the Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana and the San Marco library. At the same time, they made sure to study the antiquities and the archaeological sites Italy had to offer. These journeys can be classified as a peregrinatio academica, a traditional scholarly pilgrimage for students and scholars, particularly in the seventeenth century, along the most prestigious libraries, universities and academies of southern Europe. It was a way of getting to know the scholarly


334 About the foundation of the Magliabechiana, see Giuseppina Carla Romby, ‘Da “teatro d’istioni” a “teatro di sapienza”’. L’architettura della pubblica Libreria Magliabechiana tra decoro e ornamento., in Antonio Magliabechi nell’Europa dei saperei, 429-43. For a general overview about role of public libraries in Florence in the eighteenth century see E. Chapron, «Ad utilità pubblica. Politiques des bibliothèques et pratiques du livre aux XVIIIe siècle» (Genève: Droz, 2009).

335 Romby, ‘Da “teatro d’istioni” a “teatro di sapienza”’. L’architettura della pubblica Libreria Magliabechiana tra decoro e ornamento’, 443.


world, a formative experience that shaped future careers and networks. The Dutch philologists Johannes Fredericus Gronovius (1611-1671), Isaac Vossius (1618-1689) and Nicolaas Heinsius (1620-1681) were among the first to arrive in the city of Florence. They laid the groundwork for all future relations between the Dutch Republic and the Grand Duchy of Tuscany which reached their peak in Magliabechi’s time. Therefore, in this paragraph, we will take a look at the travel itineraries of these three scholars – who can be considered as the founding fathers of the Dutch-Tuscan network.

Johannes Fredericus Gronovius was the first Dutch philologist to visit Florence, which was part of a greater tour he made to England, France, Germany and Italy from 1639 until 1642. Gronovius was born in Hamburg in 1611, where he remained during the first twenty years of his life. In 1633, he met the renowned legal scholar Hugo Grotius (1583-1645), who advised him to finish his studies in Holland. Armed with letters of recommendation from Grotius, he travelled to the Dutch Republic, where he came into contact with several scholars, including the renowned philologist Gerards Johannes Vossius (1577-1649), the French theologian André Rivet (1572-1651) and Nicolaas Heinsius, with whom he became close friends. During his stay in the Republic, he became a preceptor to children of a wealthy Amsterdam family which enabled him in 1639 to embark on a peregrinatio academica. Together with his pupils he toured through Europe, buying books, transcribing manuscripts, visiting academies, and meeting as many leading scholars as they could.

Although Gronovius did not leave a travel account of his travels, his itinerary can be reconstructed by means of his correspondence, as has been done in the works of Paul Dibon and Françoise Waquet. He went first to England, where he was granted an entrée to the Oxford libraries thanks to the recommendation letters of Gerards Johannes Vossius and Franciscus Junius (1591-1677). From there, he crossed the North Sea and entered France, travelling to Paris and Angers, where he acquired a Doctor’s degree in Law. In the fall of 1640, he crossed the Mediterranean to Italy, where he travelled to Pisa, Florence, Bologna, Padua and Venice, to ultimately arrive in Rome. During his stay in Rome, he was offered a professorship in history and eloquence at the Athenaeum in Deventer, upon which he decided to return home. At the time of his visit to Florence, Ferdinando II de’ Medici was Grand Duke. Under his reign, Florence blossomed once again after a long period of crisis caused by plague epidemics in the 1630s and massive depressions in the linen and wool industries. These favorable circumstances made Florence an attractive destination for foreign travelers, amongst whom Gronovius, who came to Florence to consult ancient manuscripts in the Medici libraries. Yet, he was greatly disappointed when this did not work out the way he had hoped. While he did not encounter any difficulties in obtaining permissions to enter the Parisian libraries, Gronovius lamented the accessibility of the Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana. Here, he had to bribe the custodian to work on his collations. If someone other than the custodian entered the library, Gronovius had to hide his pencil and paper and

339 De Waardt, 20.
342 Dibon and Waquet, Johannes Fredericus Gronovius, pélerin de la république des lettres, 3–14.
344 Dibon and Waquet, 33-36.
pretend that he was just reading. Moreover, he could copy the manuscripts against payment of 6 stuivers per hour. Though Gronovius complained that Florentine librarians refused to assist him, he nevertheless established some valuable friendships, including the renowned Giovan Battista Doni (1593-1647), professor of rhetoric at the University of Pisa, Carlo Dati, the Florentine Latinist Jacopo Gaddi (c. 1600-after 1658), Paganino Gaudenzi (1595-1649), professor of lettere umane at the University of Pisa, and Carlo Strozzi (1587-1670).

Because of the great difficulties Gronovius encountered in gaining permission to the Florentine libraries, he was left with a lasting impression of Italy as an intellectual backwater. However, his opinion was not altogether consistent, since even the University Library of Leiden was closed to foreigners in Gronovius’ time. Moreover, the eminent scholar Daniel Heinsius (1580-1655), head of the University Library of Leiden from 1606 until 1653, appeared to have made the access to the library difficult for his enemies in the intellectual field. Claude Saumaise (1588-1653), for example, had to write letters of application and sign receipts of every book he wanted to consult. Heinsius, however, was not in a hurry to accept his competitor’s applications, with the result that Saumaise complained of having to live in a country where all libraries were inaccessible. Besides Leiden, the Amsterdam municipal library was badly stocked and catalogued and, like many other local book collections, therefore hardly accessible. This was a common problem in early modern Europe, argued Ann Blair, for the overload of books hampered access to library holdings. Most libraries “did not list all the copies of a work that the library owned and did not give any indication of how to locate a book in the library—actual access would have required consulting the librarian”. Once access was granted, the book would be usually chained to a reading table (as was the case in the Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana), which often led to crowding when several readers had to stand side by side, at times reading from the same book.

Those who followed Johannes Fredericus Gronovius to Florence had relatively less difficulty in gaining access to the Florentine libraries. Two years after Gronovius’ visit in Florence, Isaac Vossius (1618-1689) visited the city. He arrived in Florence on the 21st of March 1642, after he had travelled extensively in England and France. During his travels, he did exactly what Gronovius had done before him: collating manuscripts. Though Vossius’ entrance to the Laurenziana was nonetheless effortless, it was easier than it had been for Gronovius. Vossius was allowed to stay in the library for two hours a day during which he was permitted to take notes and make collations. Vossius also visited the library of San Marco and bought manuscripts there. During his stay in Florence, Vossius became acquainted with Giovan Battista Doni, Carlo Dati and Paganino Gaudenzi, both of whom, as we saw, had also befriended

345 Frans Felix Blok, Nicolaas Heinsius in Dienst van Christina van Zweden (Delft: Ursulapers, 1949), 156.
346 Ibidem.
347 Dibon and Waquet, Johannes Fredericus Gronovius, pêlerin de la république des lettres, 163.
348 Ibidem, 33-36.
349 Van Veen and McCormich, cit. 28.
352 Ann Blair, Too Much to know. Managing Scholarly Information before the Modern Age (New Haven/London: Yale University Press, 2010), 16-17.
356 Van Veen and McCormich, Tuscany and the Low Countries, 71.
In addition, new contacts were added to the network during this period, including, amongst all, Agostino Coltellini (1613-1693), founder of the Accademia degli Apatisti, one of Florence’s dominant literary academies of the seventeenth century.

In 1646, it was the turn of the philologist Nicolaas Heinsius. After arriving by boat in Livorno in July, he travelled to Pisa with a letter of introduction from Johannes Fredericus Gronovius to Paganino Gaudenzi, who had remained in contact with Gronovius’ after his return to the Dutch Republic. The recommendation secured Heinsius admission to the Biblioteca Laurenziana, where he consulted important manuscripts of, amongst others, Flaccus, Virgil, Claudian and Ovid, which appear to have been implicitly used in his later revised editions. Moreover, Heinsius was also admitted to the San Marco Library thanks to Doni. During the summer of 1652, Heinsius returned to Italy, this time in the service of Queen Christina of Sweden (1626-1689), to find and buy rare manuscripts for Christina’s private library. It was Carlo Roberto Dati who assisted Heinsius during his second stay, granting him an audience by Prince Leopoldo de Medici and helping him to locate manuscripts for the Queen’s library. During his second stay in Florence, Heinsius became member of the Accademia della Crucca and was elected president of the Accademia degli Apatisti. This brought him in contact with a large portion of the intellectual life of the city, exponentially expanding the network his two predecessors had established. He became acquainted with, amongst all, Andrea Cavalcanti (1610-1672), Agostino Coltellini, Michele Ermini, Giovanni Filippo Marucelli (1628-1680), Jacopo Salvati, Valerio Chimentelli (1620-1668), Ferdinando del Maestro (1630-1665), Ottavio Falconieri (1636-1675) and Paolo Falconieri (1638-1704). After his visits, Heinsius continued to correspond with most of the learned men he had met, becoming, in Gregorio Leti’s (1630-1701) words, “Uno de’ maggiori letterati dell’Universo”.

While in Florence, Heinsius could thus profit from the experience and network of Gronovius and Vossius. It was Gronovius who had advised him to spend more time in Florence because of the greater number of manuscripts there. The many Florentine contacts Heinsius inherited from Gronovius and Vossius made his stay in Florence easier, especially as compared to Rome where he had just been. For example, in 1652, Isaac Vossius wrote a letter to Nicolaas Heinsius to inform him that there were several important manuscripts in the collections of the Biblioteca Altempsiana in Rome. Yet, concluded Vossius, “this is all to no avail, for I fear you will not have access to that library”. Heinsius, in fact, encountered great difficulties in gaining permission to enter this library, mostly because he did not trust anyone in Rome that could introduce him to the duke of Altemps. Initially, the Italian Latinist Vincenzo Noghera, .

357 Van Veen and McCormick, 28.
358 The Accademia degli Apatisti was founded in 1631, see Alessandro Lazzeri, Intelletuali e consenso nella Toscana del Seicento. L’accademia degli Apatisti (Milan: Giuffrè, 1983).
360 On Heinsius role as book scout for Queen Christina of Sweden, see Frans F. Blok, Nicolaas Heinsius in dienst van Christina van Zweden (Delft: Ursulapers, 1949): 127-184. Remarkably, however, apart from this study, no other major study has so far been devoted to his varied scholarly and cultural activities.
361 Van Veen and McCormick, Tuscany and the Low Countries, 29-30.
362 Blok, Nicolaas Heinsius in Dienst van Christina van Zweden, 150-156.
363 Gregorio Leti to Nicolaas Heinsius, n.d., UBL, BUR F 7, “one of the major scholars of the Universe”.
364 Gronovius wrote a letter to Nicolaas Heinsius to advise him about which Italian libraries he had to visit, see Dibon and Waquet, Johannes Fredericus Gronovius, pèlerin de la république des lettres, 148.
365 In Rome, permissions to enter a library remained problematic throughout the 18th century.
a friend and correspondent of Vossius, would introduce Heinsius, but this plan failed because Noghera ended up in prison.\footnote{367} Moreover, Heinsius’ other confidant, the Roman antiquarian Cassiano dal Pozzo (1588-1657), had no connections with the duke.\footnote{368} Eventually, Heinsius managed to get access to the Biblioteca Altempsiana, yet almost all the manuscripts he needed were stuffed in boxes, in which he was not allowed to take a look.\footnote{369} In Florence, on the other hand, Heinsius spoke of the “amici propemodum innumeris” he had there, who consequently secured him admission to the collections of many Florentine libraries.\footnote{370}

\section*{3. The 1660s: Pieter Blaeu and the Tuscan Atlas Project}

There is another traveler that needs to be mentioned in discussing the links between the Grand Duchy of Tuscany and the Dutch Republic: the Amsterdam bookseller and publisher Pieter Blaeu. In the 1660s, Pieter made various journeys throughout Italy which were directly connected to his father’s project of the production of a series of “theatre” or books on the principal towns of Italian states.\footnote{371} His father, the cartographer Joan Blaeu (1596-1673), had commissioned Pieter to create a series of new potential markets and clients and to collect material to include in the town atlases of Italy. The trip marked the beginning of a long-standing relationship between Blaeu and the Tuscan court. After his return to Amsterdam, he remained in contact with Magliabechi, the Florentine bookseller Giovanni Guiberto Borghigiani, Carlo Dati, Michele Ermini and several members of the Medici family, including Leopoldo de’ Medici and Cosimo III.\footnote{372}

Pieter had first travelled to southern Italy, where he visited Naples, and in the summer of 1660 he went to Rome and then to Florence.\footnote{373} He arrived in Florence with a letter of recommendation to Magliabechi from a fellow Amsterdam bookseller, Andries Fries (1630-1675), who was the Dutch agent of the Venetian publishers Sebastian Combi and Giovanni La Noù.\footnote{374} The friendship bond between Magliabechi and the Combi-La Noù family was quite a solid one, and dated back to the beginning of

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\begin{itemize}
\item \textsuperscript{367} Heinsius to Vossius, Rome, 30 June 1652, UBL, BUR F 11, f. 314, partly transcribed in Blok, Nicolaas Heinsius in Dienst van Christina van Zouden, 308 "Vincentium Nogheram in carere detineri proxime monui, sine cuius opera in Altempsiano negotio nihil agi potest, cum aliis in hac urbe viris literatis minime fidam, qui videntur indignari in ultimum septemtrionem haec eruditionis instrumenta ablegari, ut illorum verbis utar”.
\item \textsuperscript{368} Many letters between Heinsius and Dal Pozzo have survived in the collections of the University Library in Leiden and in the Biblioteca Corsiniana in Rome: UBL, Bur Q 16, nos. 1-106 (1649 to 1652); Rome, Biblioteca Corsiniana, Archivio dal Pozzo, ms XX, nos. 3-109 and ms. XXIX (26), Daniëlij Heinsij et Nicolai eii filij Epistolae Equiti Comendatario atque Abbati Cassiano à Puteo, fol. 1-335 (1647-1656).
\item \textsuperscript{369} Blok, 150.
\item \textsuperscript{370} Heinsius to J. Gronovius, 16 November 1673, BUR Q 14, f. 264, partly transcribed in Blok, Nicolaas Heinsius in Dienst van Christina van Zouden, 311.
\item \textsuperscript{371} See Moorman, ‘Publishers at the Intersection of Cultures: The Significance of Italo-Dutch Contacts in the Creation Process of Joan Blaeu’s Theatrum Italicae (1663)’, cit. 73. The Теatrum civitatum et admirandorum Italiae is treated extensively in the work of Moorman. According to her, Joan Blaeu’s project, the Theatrum civitatum et admirandorum Italiae, would treat the towns and monuments of Italy. It would consist of two parts, each consisting of five volumes. Blaeu envisaged that the first part would include the books on the towns “ruled by King Philip IV of Spain (1605-1665), king of Naples and Sicily, and Duke of Milan, on the Grand Duchy of Tuscany, on the Duchies of Mantua, Modena and Reggio, Parma and Piacenza, on the Republics of Venice, Genoa and Lucca, and lastly, on the Duchy of Piedmont and Savoy.” The second part, Admiranda Urbis Romae, would be entirely dedicated to the city of Rome. Eventually, only three volumes were published in 1663. The first was dedicated to the Papal State, the second, though incomplete, to the cities of Naples and Sicily and the third to the city of Rome, consisting of one volume on the circuses, theatres and obelisks of Ancient Rome (Ibidem, 72).
\item \textsuperscript{372} For the correspondence between Blaeu and Florence, see Mirto and van Veen, Pieter Blaeu: Lettere Ai Fiorentini: Antonio Magliabechi, Leopoldo e Cosimo III de’ Medici, e Altri, 1660-1705.
\item \textsuperscript{373} Moorman, ‘Publishers at the Intersection of Cultures: The Significance of Italo-Dutch Contacts in the Creation Process of Joan Blaeu’s Theatrum Italicae (1663)’, 73.
\end{itemize}
After the introduction, Magliabechi ensured that Blaeu obtained an entrée to the Medici court. Here, Blaeu was able to make arrangements with Grand Duke Ferdinando II, his brother Leopoldo, and his son Cosimo, to plan the publication of the town atlas of the Grand Duchy of Tuscany. Although this plan was never finalized, preparations were carried out by prince Cosimo to gather accurate drawings and descriptions of the towns in Tuscany.

A document published by Van Veen sheds light on the approach adopted by the Blaeus to gather material for the Tuscan town atlas. According to Van Veen, the document concerns a draft memorandum for the Medici court which "was written shortly after Pieter's visit to Florence in connection with his urgent requests for drawings and descriptions of Tuscan cities." The memorandum provides guidelines as to how to gather the material orderly and methodically, showing that the production of the Tuscan town atlas was well thought out and organized. This also seems the case: the first drawings arrived in Amsterdam in the winter of 1665, when Blaeu informed Magliabechi that he was eagerly awaiting for the first drawings "della Città de' quali il Serenissimo Principe di Toscana per mezzo suo si è compiaciuto favorirmi". In addition, the project was in full swing by May 1666, when Magliabechi informed Pieter that about twenty or thirty drawings of Tuscan cities were ready to be shipped to Amsterdam. Nevertheless, it soon appeared that the completion of the project of the Tuscan town atlas was too much for the Blaeu firm. 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 volumes on Savoy and Piedmont. Since then, according to Van Veen, "nothing more was ever heard of the Tuscan volume".

Yet, a newly discovered source sheds light on the, though short-lived, revival of the project. A year later, on the 12th of July 1667, Prince Cosimo de' Medici wrote to Bernardino de' Vecchi, a nobleman from Siena, that he desired to resume the gathering of descriptions and drawings of the town of Siena because the atlas of the Ecclesiastical State and the one of the Duchy of Piedmont were published:

"Essendo già usciti da’ Torchi di Olanda i volumi che mostrano le Città, e luoghi dello Stato Ecclico, come pur del Piemonte, 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." While the Civitates Status Ecclesiastici, the first part of the Theatrum civitatum et admirandorum Italiae was published by the Blaeu family in 1663, the volume on the Duchy of Piedmont would only be published
in 1682 by the next generation of Blaeu publishers. This atlas, entitled *Theatrum statuum regiae celsitudinis Sabaudiae ducis*, included both the dominions of Savoy and Piedmont. If the atlas was only published in 1682, why did Cosimo refer to the Piedmont atlas as being published already in 1667? Did the Blaeus manage to complete an earlier copy of the Piedmont atlas? What precisely happened here is not entirely clear. A possible explanation is that the copies, together with the other drawings from 1665, were destroyed in the fire of 1672, which burned the entire shop of the Blaeu family to the ground. In any case, however, Cosimo desired to resume the project and he contacted Bernardino de’ Vecchi to provide him with drawings of Siena. Importantly, added Cosimo, the drawings needed to include the “edifizij e cose più riguardevoli alla venustà detta, come sarebbe la Piazza, il Duomo e quel di più che secondo il discernimento di V.S. meriti esser esposto alla pubblica cognizione”. From following letters, it appears that Bernardino de’ Vecchi had dispatched the draughtsman and painter Antonio Ruggieri to depict the town of Siena as accurately as possible on the spot. Yet, the drawing that was produced by Ruggieri was not particularly liked by Cosimo, as he made very clear in a letter to De Vecchi from the 30th of August 1667:

“Non mi piace il disegno trasmessami da V.S. 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 V.S. reflette nel fine della sua lettera, di non abbracciar tanto paese in un foglio, ma segnare gli edifizij notabili più distinti, e più grandi”

To help Ruggieri adjust his drawings, Cosimo sent de’ Vecchi the *Civitates Status Ecclesiastici*, which he had obtained from Pieter Blaeu, which included a city map from Bologna, that could serve him as a model:

“E perché V.S. 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 contrasegnate col foglio stesso del Ruggieri, parendomi che in quella forma dovessero delineate anche le nostre.”

4. THE 1670S: THE RISE OF DUTCH TRAVELERS TO TUSCANY

Magliabechi believed that foreign scholarship was to promote the Florentine collections, certainly more so than some local Florentines – the “ignoranti malignissimi” – were capable of. For instance, when the

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383 Van Veen already argued that the chances are high that the Tuscan drawings, if they ever had arrived in Amsterdam, were destroyed in the fire of 1672. See, Veen, ‘Pieter Blaeu and Antonio Magliabechi’, 136.

384 Cosimo to Bernardino de’ Vecchi, 12 July 1667, ASF, MdP, 1562, f. 60, “buildings and things more relevant to the beauty of that city, as would be the Piazza, the Duomo and more, which Your Illustrious Lordship finds worthwhile to be exposed to public knowledge”.

385 Cosimo to Bernardino de’ Vecchi, 30 August 1667, ASF, MdP, 1562, f. 80, “I do not like the drawing Your Illustrious Lordship send to me which is made by Ruggieri, of a view of the buildings of Siena, which seems to me to be too defiled and small, whereby I agree to what Your Illustrious Lordship said at the end of your letter, that it is better not to embrace a lot of land in one sheet, but to indicate the most distinct and largest buildings”. On the 21st of August 1667, De Vecchi asked in fact whether Ruggieri had to “proseguire l’altro [disegno] in questa forma, o pure con non includere tanto spazio di Paese in una istessa veduta, far dette fabbriche più grandi, e più distinte.” B. de’ Vecchi to Cosimo, Siena, 21 August 1667, ASF, MdP, 1562, f. 76, “continue the other drawings in this way, or not to include much land in the same view, making the building bigger and more distinct.”

386 Cosimo to Bernardino de’ Vecchi, 30 August 1667, ASF, MdP, 1562, f. 80, “So that Your Illustrious Lordship can see, how they are included in Holland I send you the first volume of the cities of Italy which was brought to light ultimately, in which you will observe in particular that one of Bologna with all its buildings, which I have marked with the same sheet of Ruggieri, which seems to me that in that form ours have to be laid out as well.”
Dutch philologist Jacob Gronovius sent Magliabechi a draft of his *Origenis Philosophumenôn fragmentum* in 1674, product of his studies in the Laurentian library in Florence. Magliabechi immediately forwarded the work to Cosimo III in order to show him the value of the Dutch presence in his reign:

“No le potrei poi ne meno con cento bocce, e mille penne, esprimere il contento, e l’allegrezza, che mi ha apportato quel suo dottissimo, eruditissimo e giudiziosissimo foglio. Domattina lo mostrerò al Padron Serenissimo, perché vegga tanto più chiaramente, che non questi ignoranti malignissimi ma i Forestieri dotti son quelli che fanno onore alla Biblioteca Laurenziana.”

In the following paragraphs, six Dutch scholars who travelled to Florence during Cosimo’s reign will be discussed. The itineraries of the travelers are primarily constructed by means of Magliabechi’s letters to his Dutch correspondents. These letters cover a period from 1672 until 1712, which coincides with the most active period of Magliabechi’s correspondence with the United Provinces. We will thus follow the whereabouts of these travelers through the eyes of Magliabechi, whilst discussing the most important contents of his communication with the Dutch Republic.

### 4.1. The Travels of Jacob Gronovius (1645-1716)

In the spring of 1672, Jacob Gronovius embarked on a *peregrinatio academica* travelling through France to Spain and Italy to visit historical sites and to collate ancient manuscripts in the most prominent library collections. Jacob was born on the 10th of October 1645 in Deventer, the son of Johann Friedrich Gronovius, who, as shown before, was the first philologist to travel to Florence in 1641. He studied classical languages and law at the University of Leiden. In 1655, when the plague struck, his father sent Jacob to an uncle in Hamburg. He then continued his studies in England, visiting there the Universities of Oxford and Cambridge, where he remained until he returned to the Dutch Republic in 1671. The next year, Jacob left for France, Paris and Italy on his grand tour. During his travels in Spain and Italy, he kept a two-volume personal diary in which he daily recorded his activities, occupations and thoughts.

In addition, he carefully kept track of the persons he met during his travels and with whom he exchanged letters. He corresponded, for example, with his brother Laurens about the events surrounding the brutal murder on Grand Pensionary Johan de Witt (1625-1672) in the Hague. As noted in the second chapter, considerable historical attention has been paid to the first volume of Jacob’s diary, not merely for the account of his travels, but, as noted earlier, for a fragment that concerns the radical philosopher Baruch Spinoza, whose request to meet with Cosimo during his stay in the Dutch Republic was dismissed. In this paragraph, the focus will be on the second, rather neglected, volume of his diary, which concerns Jacob’s stay in the Grand Duchy of Tuscany.

His diary begins in October 1672, when he arrived in Florence. Armed with a letter of recommendation of the Parisian scholar Jean Chapelain (1595-1674), Jacob presented himself to Magliabechi as a reputable scholar, vouched for by an illustrious learned man who stood also in contact

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387 Magliabechi to J. Gronovius, 16 March 1674, LMU, Cod 4° Cod. Msc 777, f. 147, “I consequently could not express with hundred mouths and thousands pens my happiness, and joyfulness for receiving your very learned, erudite and sensible leaflet. Tomorrow morning I will show it to the Grand Duke so that he can clearly see that it are not those evil and ignorant [Florentines] who honor the Biblioteca Laurenziana but foreign scholars.”

388 The two volumes, named “Dagverhaal eener reis naar Spanje en Italiën (1672 en 1673)” and “Journaal eener reis door Italië”, are preserved in the collections of Leiden University Library (UBL), LTK 859 and LTK 860. Both volumes are digitized in 2017, and available at http://hdl.handle.net/1887.1/item:358090 and http://hdl.handle.net/1887.1/item:358148 [Last accessed 16 April 2018].
with the librarian. According to the scholarly ethos of reciprocity in the Republic of Letters, Magliabechi was now obliged to Jacob and assisted him throughout his stay in Florence.\footnote{Magliabechi to Heinsius, 15 February 1674, UBL, BUR F 7, f. 3: “Stimo che assolutamente V.S.Ill.ma abbia inteso, che capitò quà il Signor Iacopo Gronovio nel principio del mese di Ottobre, e mi portò una Lettera in sua raccomandazione del Signor Giovanni Cappellano, amico anche di V.S.Ill.ma. Io l’ho servito in tutto quello che ho potuto, ed anche raccomandatolo caldamente a questi Serenissimi Padroni.”} Magliabechi helped Gronovius by introducing him to the learned circles in Florence as well as arranging full access to the most prominent libraries, cloisters and churches. On his first days in Florence, Gronovius met, amongst many others, Carlo Dati, Lorenzo Bellini (1643-1704), professor of anatomy at the University of Pisa, Ferrante Capponi (1611-1689), general auditor of the universities of Pisa and Florence, the theologian Henry Noris (1631-1704), the literary critic Angelico Aprosio (1607-1681) and the physician Francesco Redi (1626-1697). Gronovius also made the acquaintance of the inquisitor of Florence, Francesco Antonio Triveri (1631-1697), who, notwithstanding his tarnished reputation, received Jacob in a very polite manner:

“Heb met mr. Maliab. wesen wandelen door de fiera (comme le foire de St. Laurens a Parijs) en besoght el Padre Inquisitidore, Prior van het St. Croes clooster, die maght heft om te doen branden, op de galey smeyten, onthoofden, gevangen nemen, sonder iemant daer van te spreecken. Heeft mij bejegent met bysondere civilityt, praten prompt Latijn en met groot soetigheyt”\footnote{Travel diary of J. Gronovius, UBL, LTK 860, f. 3r. “I made a walk with mr. Magliabechi over the course of the fiera (like le foire of the St. Laurens in Paris) and visited father inquisitore, prior of the cloister of St. Croce, who has the power to burn, tow in the prison gallery, decapitate and capture, without needing somebody’s consent. He had treated me with proper civility, promptly speaking latin, and with great sweetness.”}.

Throughout his diary, Gronovius enthusiastically reports about the friendliness of the Florentines, who took an eager interest in his philological and classical knowledge, often inviting him over for dinner to discuss his work. Yet, it would not be long before Gronovius realized that his presence in the Grand Duchy of Tuscany posed a significant threat to many of them.

Magliabechi also arranged an audience with Cosimo III. The Grand Duke had already met his father during his Grand Tour in the Dutch Republic in 1667, where he paid a visit to the University of Leiden. On the occasion of Cosimo’s visit, Johann Friedrich gave a solemn speech about the virtues of the Medici house, which was highly praised afterwards by prince Cosimo who gave him a precious ring in return. Johann Friedrich would have certainly had the occasion to introduce his two sons, Jacob and Laurens, to the Grand Duke. When Magliabechi introduced Jacob Gronovius to the Grand Duke, he was flattered by the attention he received, reporting that the Grand Duke was someone who “seer suet met mij praete” during their meeting.\footnote{Travel diary of J. Gronovius, UBL, LTK 860, f. 2v, “who used sweet words”}\footnote{Ibidem, f. 6r. “I am certain that I cannot have in this world more satisfaction than this, to have near me, a virtuous man of his condition, and besides that, of such an Angelic nature”}. Cosimo III’s interest in Jacob Gronovius was such that he offered him, at the insistence of Magliabechi, a chair in Greek and rhetoric at the University of Pisa, which had remained vacant after the death of Valerio Chimentelli in 1668.\footnote{Ibidem, f. 2r.} Gronovius gladly accepted the professorship in Pisa, much to the delight of Cosimo III, as shown by a letter that Cosimo wrote to Magliabechi, which is transcribed by Jacob in his diary:

> “Io [Cosimo III] mi posso assicurare, che non potrei in questo mondo avere cosa di maggiore sodisfazione quanto questa, di avere appresso di me, un virtuoso della sua condizione, ed oltre a questo di un naturale così Angelico.”\footnote{Ibidem, f. 6r.}
Gronovius held the appointment for only one year, after he felt forced to return to the Dutch Republic because of the vindictive harassments of those who were jealous of Cosimo’s favors towards him. According to Magliabechi, the bullies wrote to the Roman Inquisition to inform them that it was out of the question that a Protestant scholar was lecturing at a Catholic university. Cosimo was subsequently summoned by the Vatican and informed Gronovius that he had to leave Tuscany if he was not willing to convert to Catholicism. This episode will be described in more detail in the fifth chapter of this study.

Jacob’s meeting with Magliabechi was the beginning of a lasting friendship. Jacob stayed in touch with Magliabechi after leaving Tuscany, writing hundreds of letters until 1710. When he returned to the Dutch Republic, and became professor at the University of Leiden, Jacob spread word of Magliabechi in the Dutch academic circles. Consequently, it was through Jacob that Magliabechi’s network of Dutch contacts continued to expand over the decades to come. Gronovius, for example, made sure that scholars such as Gisbert Cuper, Johannes Georgius Graevius and Anthonie van Leeuwenhoek began exchanging letters with Magliabechi.

4.2. THE TRAVELS OF COENRAAD RUYSCH (1650-1731)

Shortly after Jacob Gronovius was forced to resign from his position at the University of Pisa, the Dutch burgomaster Coenraad Ruysch arrived in Florence. In May 1674, Ruysch set off from Leiden for Hamburg in the company of his cousin Dirk van Hoogeveen. He crossed the northern regions of the Dutch Republic, journeyed into Germany, and travelled south to Italy.\(^{394}\) Once he entered Italy, he made multiple-day stops in Turin, Milan, Bologna and Livorno to ultimately arrive in Florence in November 1674. Not long after Ruysch reached Florence, he met the legendary Magliabechi who “onthaelde ons met extraordinare groote civiliteijt”.\(^{395}\) On the 13th of December, Ruysch visited Magliabechi at his house in Via della Scala, where he found him “tot sijne ooren toe in de boeken” of which the number was incredible. His house was crammed with books, which were “confus op en door malkandere” stacked up to the ceiling.\(^{396}\) This apparent confusion, however, did not hinder Magliabechi from blindly finding the books one desired.\(^{397}\) In the following days, Magliabechi showed Ruysch the Medici’s Palatine library in the Pitti palace – of which he was recently appointed custodian – and the apartment of Cardinal Francesco Nerli (1636-1708).\(^{398}\)

Coenraad Ruysch had arrived in Florence with letters of recommendation from Nicolaas Heinsius to the most prominent men in Florence, including Carlo Dati and Lorenzo Panciatichi (1635-1676). Thanks to Carlo Dati, Ruysch was introduced to Cosimo III, who was more than willing to welcome the Dutchman in Tuscany, telling him that “hij een particuliere genegenheid voor ons lant ende natie hadde, spruytendede excessive beleeftheden dewelke hy aldaer genooten hadde”.\(^{399}\) Ruysch also engaged in a polite conversation with the Grand Duke, discussing a wide variety of topics including “de inondatie van


\(^{395}\) Ruysch, “Joumael van een reis naar Geneve, Italië en Frankrijk van Coenraad Ruysch met zijn neef Dirk van Hoogeveen [called hereafter travel diary Ruysch]”, 30r, “received us with extraordinary great civility”.

\(^{396}\) Travel diary Ruysch, f. 30v, “to his ears in books”; “disordely mixed up”.

\(^{397}\) Ibidem, “Hij leeft als de oude philosophen en sit tot sijne ooren toe in de boeken, dewelke met een ongeloofelijke quantiteit syn gansche huys door seer confus op en door malkandere leggen, doch hij weet niet te min in een moment en gelijck als blindelinch te vinden t’ geen iemand desireert te zien”. Descriptions of the eccentric life of Magliabechi are very common in travel accounts of that time, see also the account of Joannes Kool in this chapter and Isaac D’Israeli, Curiosities of Literature: First Series (W. Pearson & Company, 1835), 395–97.

\(^{398}\) Travel diary Ruysch, f. 32v.

\(^{399}\) Travel diary Ruysch, 31v., “he had a particular affection towards our country and nation, praising the excessive courtesies he received there”
een groot gedeelte van Holland tot bescherminge van de Republiek” and the “veele particuliere personenen die syn hoocheid gekent hadden”. Here, once again, Cosimo’s interest and curiosity towards the Dutch Republic prevails.

Besides the recommendations to Panciatichi and Dati, Heinsius had also given Ruysch instructions as to which persons he needed to meet during his travels to Italy, mentioning more than “dugento persone” worthy of a visit in Florence. Among all these recommendations, Heinsius did not once mention Magliabechi. The relationship between Heinsius and Magliabechi began to sour after Jacob Gronovius was forced to leave from the University of Tuscany. The conflict between Gronovius and the University of Pisa had caused serious concerns and disquiet by Gronovius’ compatriot Nicolaas Heinsius, who was afraid that the conflict would negatively affect the relationship between the Dutch Republic and the Grand Duchy of Tuscany, putting at risk a long-standing rapport he had curated for almost three decades. Heinsius blamed Magliabechi for the emergence of the conflict, and broke off all contact with the librarian, with whom he maintained an epistolary relationship as early as 1671. The fact that Heinsius ignored Magliabechi in his recommendations to Ruysch, suggests that Heinsius had not intention of seeking peace with Magliabechi. As a result, Magliabechi did not want to get involved with Ruysch as much as he desired to, blaming Heinsius as “la cagione che io non vada mai dal detto signore”.

When Magliabechi confronted Heinsius with his behaviour, asking him straight out why he was left out from all his recommendations, Heinsius answered that he did not barely have the time to compile any letter, blaming the uncle of Ruysch for the fact that he had notified Ruysch’ grand tour on such a short notice. Evidentially, Heinsius was making up an excuse, and Magliabechi knew that. Magliabechi, in fact, had other clues that convinced him about Heinsius’ hostility towards him, as he wrote in his letter to Jacob Gronovius:

“Il fratello del signore Falconieri, il quale è qua in Corte, come V.S. Ill.ma sa, è stato a visitare il signore Ruyschio, in riguardo delle raccomandazzioni del signore Einsio. A me appena mi guarda in viso, il che tanto maggiormente mi fa credere, che il signore Einsio non abbia scritto benissimo a Monsignore suo Fratello, di V.S. Ill.ma, e di me.”

When Ruysch returned in Florence in April 1675, after a four-month long stay in Rome, Magliabechi, at Cosimo’s request, showed Ruysch the famous Pandects manuscripts in the Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana – the Littera Florentina. Though Ruysch was fascinated by the manuscript, he was unable

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400 Ibidem, “the inundation of a large part of Holland to protect the Republic” and the “many individuals the Grand Duke has gotten to know [in the Dutch Republic]”

401 Magliabechi to J. Gronovius, 11 December 1674, LMU, Cod 4° Cod.Msc 777, f. 155, “Il signore Einsio gli aveva dato Lettere pel S. Dati, e pel S. Panciatichi, ma di me ne anche gliene aveva scritta una sola parola, in una lunga Lettera, dove gli nominava dugento persone, o poco meno, che in Italia poteva cercar di vedere, e conoscere” [Sir Heinsius had given him letters for Dati, Panciatichi. About me he did not write one single word, in a long letter in which he mentioned two hundred persons, or a bit less, he could see and know in Italy].

402 Magliabechi to J. Gronovius, 13 November 1675, LMU, Cod 4° Cod.Msc 778, f. 180.

403 N. Heinsius to Magliabechi, 28 February 1675, in Targioni Tozzetti, Clarorum Belgarum (…) Tomus Primus, 191: “Erant complura, de quibus in rem meam actum oportebat, quale illud, quod sine meis ad Te litteris Conradus Ruyschius venit, quodque in iis, quas ad ipsum illum dederam, nulla Tui mentio occurrebat. Quippe cum ille in procingu me ex Allobrogibus admonuisset promissi super commendatitiis litteris, in summa festinatione, vix binas exarare licuit mihi Epistolos, praesertim ab avunculo eius Viro Ampl. Theod. Levio edoctus, transitum illi brevem per Civitatem vestram nunc fore.”

404 Magliabechi to J. Gronovius, 6 May 1675, LMU, Cod 4° Cod.Msc 777, f. 171, “The brother of sir Falconieri, who is at the court, as Your Illustrious Lordship knows, came to visit Ruysch, because of the recommendations made by Heinsius. He barely looks me in the face, which makes me believe that Heinsius did not write anything good about me and you to the brother of Falconieris”.

405 Magliabechi to J. Gronovius, undated, LMU, Cod 4° Cod.Msc 777, f. 129, “Ieri tornò di Roma il Signore Ruijsck e subito venne a favorirmi. Oggi ad esso, al Fratello del Signore Fontano, ed al Signore Vandain ho fatto vedere le Pandette e gli ho offerto di servirlo con sincerità di cuore”. The Pandectae Florentinae or Littera Florentina (still today extent in the Biblioteca Medicea
to decipher it. On the 4th of May, Magliabechi and Ruysch met each other on another occasion. During this meeting, Magliabechi lamented the indifference of Heinsius towards him. Ruysch remarks upon this in a passage of his diary:

“Saeterdach den 4-o ginch ick kort aen den eeten de heer Malliabechi besoeken, die mij veel in defensie van Gronovius seijde tegens alle sijne benijders, soo hier als in Hollandt. Hij toonde zich gans niet satisfait over de heer Heinsius omtrent dese seak, seggende hij niet kost begrijpen hoe een wije man sich soodaenich kost laten abuseeren”

4.3. THE TRAVELS OF LAURENS THEODOR GRONOVIUS (1648-1724)

Laurens was born in Deventer in 1648 and studied History at the University of Leiden in 1666. When his father, Johann Friedrich died in 1671, he decided to switch to law, which he finished in 1675, taking his doctorate in Franeker. In May 1679, at the age of 31, he went on an academic voyage to the foremost universities, universities and academies of France and Italy, continuing a family tradition by following the footsteps of his father and brother Jacob. During his travel, Laurens remained in touch with the home front, keeping Jacob informed about his activities along the way. In Florence, Laurens planned to resume the study of the famous Littera Florentina, which, as noted before, was left unexplored after the visit of Ruysch in 1674. Gronovius first travelled to Paris, remaining there for four months, where he visited the Royal Library, the private library of Jean-Baptist Colbert and the library of Saint-Germain to collate manuscripts. In September 1679, Laurens left Paris for Italy. He first arrived in Turin and from there he went to Milan, where he visited the Biblioteca Ambrosiana. Continuing his journey to Bologna, he arrived in Florence in November, where he spent more than two years living and working at his collations. Although Florence remained his place of residence, he left for several excursions across Italy, including Rome, Naples, Venice, Padua, Mantua, Genoa, Siena, Pisa and many more locations.


Ruysch, “Journaal van een reis naar Geneve, Italië en Frankrijk van Coenraad Ruysch met zijn neef Dirck van Hoogeveen”, f. 72r, “On saturday the 4th, before dinnertime, I paid a short visit to Magliabechi, who spoke to me in defense of Gronovius against all his enemies in Tuscany and Holland. He was not entirely satisfied with Heinsius regarding this case, saying that he could not understand how such as wise man could let himself mislead like that”.


L. Gronovius to J. Gronovius, 9 June 1679 – 21 August 1681 (Rhenen, Private archives Van Asch van Wijck, 1272). Besides the letters from Laurens to Jacob, the private archives of the noble family Van Asch van Wijck contain also two undiscussed letters from Magliabechi to Jacobus Gronovius, dated 15 June and 2 September 1681. I would like to thank Alan Moss for drawing my attention to these letters, as well as Vincent Klooster, archivist of the Van Asch van Wijck and Mrs. Van Asch van Wijck for their collaboration.


Wallinga, ‘Laurentius Theodorus Gronovius (1648-1724) as a Traveller’, 251-255.
The excellent relations of his family with the Medici family ever since Cosimo’s visit to Leiden in 1668 guaranteed Laurens the goodwill of the Grand Duke.\textsuperscript{413} In addition, the good relations between his brother Jacob and Magliabechi, helped Laurens on his way in Florence. Four years prior to his travels, Laurens had already written a letter to Magliabechi to inform him about his plans to come to Florence to collate manuscripts. Magliabechi answered Laurens on the 8\textsuperscript{th} of June 1675, expressing his excitement on the news – “oh che contento!” – ensuring him that the Grand Duke is open to his arrival in the Grand Duchy, because of the high esteem he held for his brother, which remained unchanged after the Gronovius-affair at the University of Pisa four years earlier.\textsuperscript{414}

Magliabechi was right. When Laurens arrived in Florence in the winter of 1679, he had the privilege of having his own room in \textit{Palazzo Vecchio} for most of his stay in Florence. In addition, Gronovius was warmly welcomed at the Medici court. Soon after he arrived, on the 3\textsuperscript{rd} of December 1679, Magliabechi made sure that Gronovius had been given an audience by Cosimo. Instead of having to wait for his turn, Laurens was gladly welcomed by the Grand Duke, enthusiastically informing his brother Jacob that “d’ander Heerre mosten wagen en mij voor haer laten passeren”.\textsuperscript{415} During the meeting, Laurens offered the Grand Duke his father’s and brother’s edition of Livy.\textsuperscript{416} The Grand Duke browsed through the Livy and when he saw the \textit{Dedicatorium et Magliabecqui nomen}, he smiled and said: “patrono nostro”.\textsuperscript{417}

Not only his stay in Florence, but also his access to the Florentine libraries was greatly facilitated by these relations.\textsuperscript{418} In the winter of 1679, Laurens spent several months working in the \textit{Biblioteca Laurenziana} under Magliabechi’s guidance, who watched over Laurens day and night, making sure that he “would have no contact with any scoundrels”.\textsuperscript{419} Magliabechi showed him the treasures of the library collections, including the famous \textit{Littera Florentina}, of which Gronovius was allowed to make a collation.\textsuperscript{420} Laurens decided to return to the Dutch Republic on the 13\textsuperscript{th} of February 1682. A few years after his return to the Netherlands, in 1685, Laurens published his \textit{Emendationes Pandectarum}.\textsuperscript{421} Magliabechi and Gronovius briefly met on another occasion when Gronovius was making a tour of Italy with several of his students, including Andries Bicker van Swieten, a descendant from an Amsterdam family of magistrates. In November 1693, the company left Leiden to Cologne, Neurenberg, and Augsburg. They then crossed the Brenner Pass to Venice, where they enjoyed the carnival. In March 1694, they travelled along the Adriatic coast to Ferrara, Ravenna, Rimini and Loreto and headed to Rome. After a brief stop in Naples, they continued their journey north, to Pisa, Livorno and Florence where they arrived on the 21\textsuperscript{st} of June 1694. Although they only stayed in Florence for a few days, Magliabechi managed to set up

\begin{enumerate}
\item Wallinga, ‘Laurentius Theodorus Gronovius’, 466.
\item Magliabechi to L. Gronovius, 8 July 1675, , LMU, Cod 4° Cod. Msc 777, f. 251, “la stima grandissima, che S.A.S. ha per esso, e per consequenza per V.S. Ill.ma, e per tutta la lor Casa”.
\item L. Gronovius to J. Gronovius, 5 December 1679, Rhenen, Family Archive van Asch van Wijck, 1272, c. 8, “the other gentlemen had to wait and let me pass in front of them”.
\item L. Gronovius to J. Gronovius, 5 December 1679, Rhenen, Family Archive van Asch van Wijck, 1272, c. 8, “(…) in de Livius eenigins bladende, en siende Dedicatorium et Magliabecqui nomen lagte S.G. en szijde de Patrono nostro”.
\item Wallinga, ‘Laurentius Theodorus Gronovius ’, 466.
\item Wallinga, ‘Laurentius Theodorus Gronovius (1648-1724) as a ‘Traveller’’, 252.
\item These have been preserved in UBL, GRO 134, “L Th. Gronovii Excerpta ex libris manuscriptis, quibus inter alia collationes codicum iuridicorum, glossarium iuridicum tractantur”.
\item Laurentii Theodori Io. Fr. F. Gronovi Emendationes Pandectarum, iuxta florentinum exemplar examinatae ad virum illustriSIMUM Antonium Magliabequiu (Lugd. Batavor: Apud Danielem a Gaesbeeck, 1685).  
\end{enumerate}
a meeting with the Grand Duke. During the meeting, Gronovius offered Cosimo a copy of his brother’s edition of Cicero.\textsuperscript{422}

Gronovius’ second stay in the Grand Duchy of Tuscany went flawless until the moment of his departure. They left Florence without thanking Cosimo III and asking for his permission to leave, something which was considered an enormous breach of protocol. Magliabechi, in his next letters to Laurens, added a separate leaflet to condemn his discourtesy.\textsuperscript{423} On the 30\textsuperscript{th} of June 1694, Laurens immediately wrote back and apologized for his behaviour, blaming his travel companions Andries Bicker van Swieten and Van der Vinck, who had convinced him that there was no need to ask for permission to leave.\textsuperscript{424} Somehow, Magliabechi managed to restore the peace in Florence, and the Gronovius family and the Grand Duke were on good terms again. On the 25\textsuperscript{th} of September 1694, in fact, Magliabechi acknowledged the receipt of a box of books, which he offered to Cosimo III, who happily received the gift and “ha parlato con somme lodi, sì di V.S. Ill.ma, come anche del Celeberrimo suo signor Fratello, e dell’Ill.mo signore Bicker van Zwierten”.\textsuperscript{425} Once again, the Grand Duke never lost confidence in the Dutch. After Lauren’s return to the Dutch Republic, Magliabechi remained in touch with him until 1707. They kept each other informed about the latest developments in the scholarly world, exchanging books and bibliographical information.

4.4. THE TRAVELS OF JACOB TOLLIUS (1633-1696)

In 1688, between Laurens’ Gronovius first and second visits, the Utrecht scholar Jacob Tollius came to Florence. Yet, his story in Italy is, to put it mildly, rather inglorious when compared to that of the other travelers we have just discussed. After having studied letters and medicine in Harderwijk in 1654, Tollius held several offices in the Dutch Republic, including head of the Latin school in Gouda and rector in Leiden.\textsuperscript{426} He later moved to Germany, where he became professor at the University of Duisburg, but he resigned after converting to the Catholic faith.\textsuperscript{427} He then wandered through Europe, mostly in Germany and in Italy, spending his entire life searching for patronage. At present, very little is known about the wanderings of Tollius in Italy, but the correspondence of Magliabechi helps us to reconstruct fragments of his itinerary.

Magliabechi was well-known with the rather peculiar life of Tollius. In 1679, Pieter Blaeu informed Magliabechi that Tollius “nella Patria per certi avversarij o inimici suoi non ha potuto mai ottenere carica proportionata alla sua erudizione”.\textsuperscript{428} Blaeu probably referred here to Tollius’ quarrels with the Vossius family, who had accused him of theft while he was living in their home in the 1650s. These accusations had harmed Tollius’ reputation to such an extent that Nicolaas Heinsius even refused to hire Tollius as his secretary.\textsuperscript{429} Blaeu was therefore very pleased to hear that Cosimo had commissioned

\textsuperscript{422} Jacob Gronovius, \textit{M. Tullii Ciceronis Opera quae exstant omnia, denuo rec.}, 4 vols (Leyden: Elzevier, 1692).
\textsuperscript{423} Magliabechi to L. Gronovius, 26 June 1694, LMU, Cod 4\textsuperscript{o} Cod. Msc 777, f. 270, “Sono restato ammiratissimo, ed il simile anno fatto universalmente tutti coloro che l’anno saputo, che V.S. Ill.ma si sia partita di Firenze, senza prima essere da S.A.R. per licenziarsi, e ringraziarla. A me non tocca ad entrare, e ben lo so, nelle risoluzioni di V.S.Ill.ma, onde la prego a perdonarmi il troppo ardire.”
\textsuperscript{424} L. Gronovius to Magliabechi, 30 June 1694, BNCF, Magl. VIII, 552, f. 16.
\textsuperscript{425} Magliabechi to L. Gronovius, 25 September 1694, LMU, Cod 4\textsuperscript{o} Cod. Msc 777, f. 273, “has spoken highly of Your Illustrious Lordship, and also of your distinguished brother, and of the Illustrious sir Bicker van Zwierten.”
\textsuperscript{427} Ibidem.
\textsuperscript{428} P. Blaeu to Magliabechi, 1 November 1679, transcribed in Mirto and Van Veen, \textit{Pieter Blaeu : Lettere Ai Fiorentini} : \textit{Antonio Magliabechi, Leopoldo e Cosimo III de’ Medici, e Altri}, 1660-1705, 229 “in his homeland, because of his adversaries and enemies, he was never able to obtain an office proportionate to his erudition”.
\textsuperscript{429} Blok, \textit{Nicolaas Heinsius in Dienst van Christina van Zuiden}, 102.
Tollius to “comprar per tutta l’Italia e Germania tutte le medaglie che mancano al cabinetto”. At least, this is what is written in Blaeu’s letters to Magliabechi. Whether the story is true or not, it does show that Tollius could rely on the support of Blaeu. As a matter of fact, Blaeu recommended Tollius to Magliabechi, hoping that he was willing to meet the Utrecht professor in Florence, and “di goder della sua amabilissima conversazione nel tempo che passará a Firenze” just like he himself “hebbi quel contento e quel piacere, del che il ricordarmi anche mi dà gusto e gioia”.

Magliabechi followed the advice of Blaeu and met Tollius during his stay in Florence. Yet, it did not take long before Tollius was forced to leave the Grand Duchy of Tuscany. There are several sources that inform us about the reason why Tollius suddenly had to leave, each telling us a different story about his unfortunate stay in Florence. According to the custodian of the *Laurenziana*, Francesco Ducci, Tollius had stolen the oldest Cicero manuscript in the library’s collections, upon which he immediately had to leave Tuscany. That Tollius was able to steal a valuable manuscript from the collection is quite surprising considering the fact that the books in the *Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana* were chained to the desk to protect a book from being taken surreptitiously. The same story is confirmed by the Dutch scholar Joannes Kool, of whom more in the next paragraph, who lamented the malevolence of the Florentine custodians of the Medici library as derived from the thefts committed by Tollius:

> "quaataardighijt heeft de Italianen ten meesten deeze gegeeven Tollius, die te Milaen, en hier te Florence Mss: uijt de Biblioteeq gestoolen heeft, waarom andere eerlijke nogh ten deeezen daage leijden moeten”

Without mentioning the name of the accused in his letters, even Magliabechi referred to the difficulties foreign scholars had to encounter in the *Laurenziana* arising from the theft. He considered Kool very lucky that Cosimo III was willing to grant him permission to enter the library “che fa a pocchissimi, in riguardo di un Libro, che questi Preti dicono che fosse rubato.”

Whether Tollius stole a manuscript or not, Magliabechi comes up with another reason why Tollius was forced to leave Florence. Secretly he informed Jacob Gronovius about what exactly happened, asking him to “stracciare questa carta subito” after he had read it “perché mai in tempo alcuno possa esser veduta da anima vivente”. That Tollius had to leave, he entirely brought on himself:

> “Il signore T… con per dire così cento Lettere che scrisse, con tante raccomandazioni, ebbe finalmente se non erro, cento piasters. Mostrava esso grandissima inclinazione a farsi nostro Cattolico Romano, e questa fu la cagion principale che gli fece avere ‘l detto danaro. Doppo, che con mille pregi, Lettere, come ho detto, ebbe il detto danaro, pensò se gli poteva riescire l’averne anche dal Serenissimo Principe di Toscana. Considerò che col signore Principe non si poteva andare con cabale di aver intenzione di farsi nostro Cattolico, e simili cose, onde...”

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430 P. Blaeu to Magliabechi, 4 October 1686, in Mirto and Van Veen, *Pieter Blaeu: Lettere Ai Fiorentini: Antonio Magliabechi, Leopoldo e Cosimo III de’ Medici, e Aldri*, 1660-1705, 240, "to buy throughout Italy and Europe, medals that are missing in his cabinet".

431 *Ibidem* "to enjoy his very lovely conversations while he stays in Florence"; "had this joy and that pleasure [of his conversation], just recalling it relishing and happiness".

432 Niccolò Anziani and Luigi Crisostomo Ferrucci, *Della Biblioteca Mediceo-Laurenziana di Firenze* (Florence: Typografia Tofani, 1872), 17: Francesco M. Ducci, custode per più anni della Biblioteca sulla fine del 600, lasciò scritto che l’olandese Iacopo Tollio portò via il codice più antico di Cicerone in caratteri capitali simili al Virgilio”.

433 All passages of Koolius’ diary reported in this study (“Journal van een rijse gedaan door Italien & en den Jaare Anno 1698”, Rome, Bibliotheca di Archeologia e Storia dell’Arte, Mss. 34) are transcribed in the forthcoming article: Koen Scholten and Asker Pelgrom, ‘Scholarly Identity and Memory on a Grand Tour: The Travels of Joannes Kool and his Travel Journal (1698–1699) to Italy’. *LASS: Journal of Early Modern Intellectual Culture and its Sources* (forthcoming). I would like to thank Dirk van Miert for bringing this manuscript to my attention, as well as Koen Scholten who generously provided me with transcriptions from the diary. “The malice of the Italians is primarily caused by Tollius, who, in Milan and here in Florence, has stolen manuscripts from the library, something from which every other honest man has to suffer to this very day”.

434 Magliabechi to J. Gronovius, 8 September 1698, LMU, Cod 4° Cod. Msc 777, f. 147.
From this letter it appears that Tollius converted to Catholicism in exchange for “cento piastre”, thereby also confirming his reputation as described by Henry Desbordes in 1689. Desbordes, a Huguenot printer in Amsterdam, wrote about Tollius to Magliabechi, describing him as someone who is “capable de vendre sa religion pour de l’argent”. After having written hundreds of letters to Cosimo III, showing his inclination towards the Catholic faith, the Grand Duke had finally given Tollius what he wanted. Consequently, Tollius thought that the same strategy would also work with Cosimo’s oldest son, prince Ferdinando III de’ Medici (1663-1713). Yet, the Tuscan prince was not impressed by his “cabale di aver intenzione di farsi nostro Cattolico” and Tollius needed to come up with another plan. He then pretended to have secret knowledge in alchemy, which aroused the interest of Ferdinando, who was willing to compensate him most liberally if he would carry his research successfully. Tollius, however, did not accomplish anything, with the result that the prince “non gli fecero dare mortificazione alcuna, ma solo ordinò che fosse licenziato”.

Not willing to accept his resignation, Tollius went to the hairdresser (monsù Francesco) of Cosimo III, with whom he had discussed his “secrets”, and demanded that the prince would give him a good amount of money. Upon hearing this, Cosimo’s parruchiere was ready to attack him, even murder him, but was held back by Magliabechi:

“Così andando di parola in parola, Monsù Francesco, se non ero io che lo tenessi, lo percuoterebbe omni pegori modi, e forse l’avrebbe ammazzato. Quando Monsù Francesco vedeva di non poter dare al T…, perché io lo tenevo, disse ad un suo Garzù: Andate per i Sbirri, ma gli fu detto che S.A.S. non lo voleva né sentire, né vedere, e che però si partisse.”

435 Magliabechi to J. Gronovius, undated, LMU, Cod 4° Cod. Msc 778, f. 37, “Sir T….. wrote, so to say hundreds of letters, with many recommendations, that he was finally able to, if I am not mistaken, obtain 100 piastre. He showed a real propensity towards becoming a Catholic, and that was the main reason why he was given that money. After thousands of prayers, letters, as I have said, he received the money, and he thought that he could manage to have the same also from the Serene Prince of Tuscany. He considered that he could not use the same fanfare of showing his intentions to becoming a Catholic to the Prince, and other things, that he invented something else, saying that he had admiring secrets in chemical matters. The Serene Prince said to him, if he would perform any experiment, that he would, as he normally does, reward him generously”.

436 H. Desbordes to Magliabechi, 20 September 1689, BNCF, Magl. VIII 1163, “capable of selling his religion for money.” Carlo Ginzburg underlined that people dissimulated their confession and faith not only to fall into the hands of the persecuting institutions, but also for purposes of political and economic prosperity, see Carlo Ginzburg, Il Nicodemismo: Simulazione e Dissimulazione Religiosa Nell’Europa Del ’500. (Turin: Giulio Einaudi Editore, 1970).

437 Magliabechi to J. Gronovius, undated, Florence, LMU, Cod 4° Cod. Msc 778, f. 37, “Considerò che col signore Principe venne ad avere intenzione di farsi nostro Cattolico, e simili cose, onde seco prese una altra invenzione, dicendo che aveva segreti ammirandi in materia Chimica. Il Serenissimo Principe gli disse, che facesse non so che esperienza, che esso l’avrebbe ella sua usanza ricompensato generosamente.”

438 Ibidem, “did not give him any mortification, and only ordered that he would be dismissed”.

439 Ibidem, “Thus, going word-for-word, sir Francesco, if I would not have held him back, would have slapped him in the worst way possible, and maybe he would have murdered him. When sir Francesco saw that the could not give to Tollius [what he deserved], because I held him, he said to his busboy: Go the the police, who will take him, and bring him in prison, for he is a fraud, etc., that he is a… Upon hearing this, Sir Tollius left, and continuously turned around to see if the police was after him. After that he went to the quarters of the Serene Prince, for an audience, lamenting about the hairdresser, but he was told that the Royal Higness did not want to hear or see him, and that he should leave.”
After the confrontation, Tollius found shelter at the house of Magliabechi, who advised him to leave immediately and go to Rome, where he could rely on the help of Emmanuel Schelstrate (1649-1692), the Flemish librarian of the Vatican library. Magliabechi did thus everything that he reasonably could do for Tollius, yet, as he wrote to Gronovius, “questo chiedere, e voler per forza danari così vilmente, è una baroneria troppo grande”.

Tollius did not go to Rome, as can be deduced from Magliabechi’s letters to Gisbert Cuper. On the 8th of October, Magliabechi wrote to Cuper to inform him about the whereabouts of Tollius. After leaving Tuscany, Tollius started to wander throughout Italy and went to Padova, where he was employed by Cardinal Gregorio Barbarigo (1625-1697). Tollius left Padova shortly after his appointment, without saying goodbye or letting the Cardinal know, writing to Magliabechi that he “fu costretto a partirsi in quella maniera, per le persecussioni d’alunci, che proccuravano il suo precipizio”. Cuper was grateful for the information, especially because he was convinced that Tollius was in England. Now, for the first time, he heard that Tollius was in Italy, and even in the service of Cardinal “Barbarino”. Clearly Cuper had here mistaken the name of the Cardinal, yet the real mistake was committed by Tollius, who, according to Cuper, should not have left Padova without at least saying goodbye.

In the months that follow, Magliabechi informed Cuper that he does not know “dove si trova ora” until in February 1691, when he received a letter from Tollius from Vienna, where he was busy to collate manuscripts in the Royal Library. After leaving Vienna, it appears that Tollius started to wander again. In the next year, Magliabechi reports that Tollius travelled to Rome (where he was unable to find any employment), Naples, Livorno, Parma and Milan. On the 26th of June 1692, Cuper informed Magliabechi that Tollius finally returned in the Dutch Republic, where he settled himself in Utrecht to work on his edition of the Greek text of ‘Longinus’ and his travel itinerary. Magliabechi responded Cuper on the 28th of October 1692, being relieved that Tollius was back in his own country. Although he had done everything to keep Tollius in Tuscany, and even tried to make him professor at the University of Pisa, to his great regret all his efforts were in vain “in riguardo della malignità di alcuni, che seminarono varie calunnie contro di esso”.

Well-aware of the friendship between Tollius and Cuper, Magliabechi deliberately concealed the real reasons why Tollius had to leave Tuscany, which he had entrusted to his friend Gronovius, and ordered him to keep that a secret. Tollius died in utterly misery in Utrecht in 1696.

4.5. THE TRAVELS OF JOANNES KOOL (1672-1712)

In 1698, not long after Jacob Tollius left Italy, the Utrecht-born lawyer Joannes Kool embarked on a grand tour together with his friend Lucas van Voorst (1670–1738). Travelling through France, they made major stops in Lyon and Genève. From France, they went to Italy, visiting Turin, Genoa, Milan,
Bologna, to ultimately arrive in Florence in August 1698. On his first day in Florence, Kool directly went to the house of Magliabechi, carrying with him several books, including the *Manethonis Apotelesmaticorum* (1698) and the *Pomponii Melae* (1696) of Jacob Gronovius, which he presented to the librarian. The books which were “infinitamente desiderati” by Magliabechi opened the doors – literally and figuratively – for them:

“Als wij aan de deur geklopt hadden, zoo gebruikten wij de voorsichtighijd van de boeken bloot te houden, dat Magliabechi die zien konde, om des te lichter acces te krijgen. Magliabechi zag aan de rechterhand van zijn deur door een vierkant gaas, dat in de muur is, om te zien, of de menschen, die voor de deur zijn hem ook aanstaan, dogh wij waaren welkom en riep van boove Adesso Signori, naa een wijnigh gewacht te hebben voor de deur, quam Magliabechi de deur opdoen.”

The moment they entered the house, they found Magliabechi amongst his books. All rooms were crowded with them, piled in heaps on the floor. At the entrance, Kool saw “een groote stapel met boeken, die aan Magliabechi gedediceert waaren”. This was not all: the staircase from the top to the bottom was lined with books, so that it was difficult to walk upstairs. Reaching the second story, Kool saw with astonishment the other rooms, with which were equally crowded with books and that also his bed was crammed with them. Magliabechi said to Kool that he therefore had no choice but to sleep on his books. During his visit, Kool also got an impression of the strange habits of Magliabechi, who explained to him that he only ate four eggs a day and went to sleep with his clothes on. When Kool offered Magliabechi some tobacco, he took a large amount of it, and stashed it under a book because “den groot Hartogh heeft het hem verboden”.

At the end of this rather strange visit, the two young men had earned the respect of the librarian. The following days, Magliabechi ensured that they were introduced to the Grand Duke, who warmly welcomed them at the Medici court and treated them with great deference. Like Laurens Gronovius, they did not have to wait in line:

“Arrivarono quà felicemente, i Nobilissimi, ed Eruditissimi Signori, Signore Kool, e signore Vorstio. Ebbi l’onore di condurgli dal Serenissimo Gran Duca, che ordinò che fossero introdotti alla sua Audienza subito che arrivaron, e prima di tutti gli altri, non ostante che vi

449 Scholten and Pelgrom, 5 (forthcoming).
450 Magliabechi to J. Gronovius, Florence, 8 September 1698, LMU, Cod 4° Cod. Msc 777, ff. 51-52.
451 The importance of books as gifts as a social tie will be further featured in chapter 6 of his study.
452 Travel diary Kool, vol. 2, ff. 344-345, 26 June 1692, “When we had knocked the door, we carefully hold the book in the open, so that Magliabechi could see them, to gain easier access. Magliabechi peered through a square of gauze, located in the wall on the right side of his door, to see whether the visitors, who were standing in front of his door, did please him. After we have waited little in front of his door, we were welcomed and from above he called “Adesso Signori” and he came to open the door”, cited in Scholten and Pelgrom, forthcoming.
453 Ibidem, f. 346, 26 June 1692, “a big pile of books, which were dedicated to Magliabechi”.
454 Ibidem, f. 347, “Aan de linkerhand van de deur als men inkomt lagh een groote stapel met boeken, die aan Magliabechi gedediceert waaren. Aan de rechterhand leijden eenige ongebonde boeken. Ten eerste verhaalde mij Magliabechi zijn manier van leeven. Hoe dat hij zigh noijt outkleede, maar altijd in zijn kleeren sliep, daar hij maar vier eijers daags aat, daarvan hij mij twee toonde, in een laaij van een oud vermolmede kast, boove op de kast stond een rond mandtje, daar zijn geld in leijde, als eenige testons en eenige gratien, daar neemt hij geld af als hij het van nooden heeft, hij slaep boove op de boeken, want hij heeft wel een ledikant, maar dat leght vol boeken, want hij heft wel een ledikant, maar dat leght vol boeken, zoo dat hij wel genootzaakt is op de boeken te slaapen. In dit huijs woont hij alleen zonder meijd of kneght, en zeijde dat hij geen dienstbooden wilde hebben, om dat die zijne boeken stollen. Hij leijde ons benede door eenige kamers, die zoo vol boeken leijden, dat men geen voeten kan zetten, telkens moet men over de boeken stappen, men ziet klijne heuvels met boeken, als men de trappen opgaat, zoo leggen de trappen zoo vol boeken dat men ter nauwer not naa boove kan gaan, daar zijn wederom eenige kamers alle vol boeken.”
455 Ibidem, “the Grand Duke had forbidden him [to take tobacco]”.
456 Ibidem, f. 348, “which with cloths fell out of his nose”.

95
During the audience, the Grand Duke informed Kool and Van Voorst that they could collate and copy in the Biblioteca Laurenziana any manuscript they wanted. Yet, the Grand Duke’s permission to let Kool and Van Voorst in the library, was not much appreciated by the custodians of the Laurenziana, who subsequently went to the Grand Duke to alter his mind, giving him the advice that it was better that a ‘reformist’ as Kool would not enter the library. In addition, as observed by Kool in his diary, this was not the only reason:

“Deeze suspicie vermenght met quaataardighijt heeft de Italianen ten meesten deeze gegeeven Tollius, die te Milianen, en hier te Florence Mss: uijt de Biblioteeq gestoelen heeft, waarom andere eerlijke nogh ten deezen daage leijden moeten. Maar ik geloof dat zelve de Heer Gronovius hier vaart gemaakt heeft, om dat hij met de geestelijke niet konde accordeeren.”

Their efforts had come to nothing. The same evening, Magliabechi received a letter from the Grand Duke, in which he gave his full consent to opening-up the Biblioteca Laurenziana for the two Dutchmen. As noted earlier, the Grand Duke showed here thus an extraordinary generosity towards the Dutchmen in light of the recent theft committed by Jacob Tollius. The next day, on the 30th of August 1698, Magliabechi accompanied Kool and Van Voorst to the library. Although the custodian of the library was ordered to open up the library, he did everything to give the scholars a hard time. According to Kools, he was locked up like a prisoner, being in a room so dark that he could barely see anything.

Magliabechi might have felt hopeless and angry about the malice of the Florentine custodians and scholars. From his letters to Jacob Gronovius, it appears that he tried to protect Kool and Van Voorst with an almost fatherly concern, ensuring that they did not put their faith in the wrong people. For example, on the 8th of September 1698, Magliabechi wrote to Jacob that he was protecting Kool and Van Voorst against the dangers which had also affected Gronovius in the past. A certain Florentine scholar – Magliabechi does not disclose his identity, but the person in question might be the Danish Nicolas Stensen – had approached Kool and offered his help and support. Knowing the malevolence of the scholar, Magliabechi had advised Kool to “praticarlo il meno che gli sia possibile” because sooner or later his intentions were to ruin him. This information, Magliabechi stressed, was not supposed to go public, urging Gronovius to destroy the letter after reading it. To facilitate this, Magliabechi had attached the secret message in a separate sheet, so that, had Gronovius decided to destroy it, the content of the main letter (which contained lists of bibliographical information) would not have gone lost.

457 Magliabechi to J. Gronovius, 8 September 1698, LMU, Cod 4° Cod. Msc 777, ff. 51-52, “arrive here happily, the very noble and learned men, sir Kool, and sir Voorst. I had the honor to introduce them to the Serene Grand Duke, who ordered them to enter his audience as soon as they arrived, and before everyone else, despite the fact that there were men, and religious men of not little importance, who were waiting, and had arrived before them.”

458 Travel diary Kool, vol. 2, f. 381, “raatzam was mij op de Biblioteeq te laaten door dien ik een gereformeerde was.”

459 Ibidem, “this suspicision, mixed with the malice, was mainly caused by Tollius, who, in Milan, and here in Florence, had stolen manuscripts from the library, which is the reason why a honest man still has the suffer these days. However, I also believe that Sir Gronovius has accelerated this, because he could not agree with the clergy”. This is probably Jacob Gronovius.

460 Ibidem, 30 August 1698, f. 383, “Deezen ochtent ben ik in de Biblioteeq geweest. ik wierd opgeslooten en het was zoo donker, dat ik niet konde zien, en vorderde zeer wijnigh in het copieren van de Carmina Maximi poetee”.

461 Magliabechi to J. Gronovius, 8 September 1698, LMU, Cod 4° Cod. Msc 777, f. 52. “Un altro similissimo al suddetto Pedagogo [Benedetto Menzini], e per ciò suo amicissimo, aveva cominciato ad andare attorno al nobilissimo, ed eruditissimo signore Kool, ma io che per molte esperienze sono consapevole della sua malignità, l’ho avvisato, che se ne guardi, e procuri di praticarlo il meno che gli sia possibile, perché non può far di meno, che o in un modo, o in un altro, non gli nuoca. Sono sciol, de’ quali non potrei mai esprimere la malignità contro de’ dotti Forestieri, a’ quali apparentemente mostrano ogni ossequio, per doppo lacerargli omni pejori modo.”

96
Laurens Gronovius’ study of the *Littera Florentina* was continued by the Rotterdam jurist Henrik Brenkman (1681-1736), who planned to make a critical edition of the manuscript. Brenkman was born in Rotterdam in 1681 and studied law at the University of Leiden. In 1705, he obtained his doctorate and settled himself as a lawyer in The Hague. In 1709, Brenkman was determined to properly study the Pandects of Justinian and started to plan a trip to Florence where he would consult the closest survival to the official versions of the Pandects.

Brenkman’s intentions caused anxiety by Jacob Gronovius, who was afraid that Brenkman was about to publish it. He feared that Brenkman would get to work on the manuscript. If the Grand Duke was willing to grant his permission, they would have sent someone over to work on the manuscript as soon as possible. Initially, as Magliabechi wrote to Jacob, the Grand Duke appeared to be very reluctant to grant the permission because he had first given the honor to Laurens, who had toiled night after night in the Biblioteca Laurenziana to finish his transcriptions. To convince the Grand Duke, Newton replied that the work of Laurens “era stata affatto inutile, perché in tanti, e tanti anni, non l’aveva mai fata in luce, ne si vedeva speranza alcuna, che fosse per pubblicarla.” Magliabechi believed that Newton – a “buonissimo signore” – had said this because he desired to do “un gran servizio, a tutta la Repubblica Letteraria”, unaware of the fact that he was deceived by the enemies of Gronovius, who had told him “bugie, e calunnie” about the progress of Laurens’ work. The plot against the Gronovius’ brother, however, was successful: worried over the prospect of Gronovius’ unfinished project, the Grand Duke gave his permission to open up the doors of the Medici library. Magliabechi was completely left out in Cosimo’s decision, as can be deduced from the following passage:

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464 Magliabechi to J. Gronovius, 1703, LMU, Cod 4° Cod. Msc 778, f. 30, “Per le viscere del signore Dio, e per tutte la sante leggi dell’amicizia, prego V.S.III.ma a stracciare questo fogliaccio, subito che l’avrà letto, scrivendolelo io in estrema segretezza, e confidenza, perche mai in tempo alcuno possa esser veduto o letto da chi che sia.”

465 For more information about Henry Newton, and more general information about the English correspondence network of Antonio Magliabechi, I would like to refer to Simonutti, ‘Prima osservazioni sulle curiositates magliabechiane d’Oltremanica’, 417.

466 *Ibidem*, “Qua in Firenze, il signore Inviato di Inghilterra, ha commercio di lettere, con diversi Letterati, e con altri Signori, di codeste parti. Da non so chi di essi, gli è stato scritto, ed insieme pregato, che voglia supplicare S.A. Reale, che voglia degnarsi, di concedere, a chi manderanno di costà, che possa collazionare accuratissimamente il manoscritto delle Pandette”.

467 *Ibidem*, “was nothing than useless, because in many, may years, he never brought something to light, and there was no hope that he was about the publish it”.

“Se S.A. Reale, me ne avesse parlato, io con più evidenti ragioni, l'avrei distolta, dal dare questa licenza, di fare tal collazione, ma non ne ha parlato che sappia io, se non col il signore Inviato d'Inghilterra”

At the time, Magliabechi did not seem too concerned about someone actually coming to Florence and reassured Jacob Gronovius that the Codex Florentinus remained untouched. "Mandino pur chi si pare, che niuno avrà pazzienza, di usarei la diligenzia, che ci usò il suo Signore Fratello", he wrote to Jacob Gronovius in 1703. He could not be more wrong. In 1709, the news broke that Brenkman was about to leave for Florence with the prospect of consulting the manuscript. Upon hearing this, Jacob Gronovius immediately wrote a letter of objection to Magliabechi to defend the rights of his brother, insinuating that it was better that Brenkman would immediately abandon the project. Above all, as Gronovius communicated to Magliabechi, Brenkmen was an ignorant of Greek, whose work would only bring discredit to the collections of the Grand Duke. Yet, Gronovius’ efforts to impede Brenkman in his studies were in vain.

Brenkman arrived in Florence in October 1709. With the help of letters of recommendation from Domenico Silvio Passionei (1682-1761), Jean Le Clerc and Gisbert Cuper, and through the efforts of the British ambassador Henry Newton, Brenkman managed to see the Littera Florentina in the Biblioteca Laurenziana. In addition, Cosimo III decided that the Florentine Hellnist Anton Maria Salvini (1653-1729), who was given a sabbatical leave of three years, assisted Brenkmen in collating the text. Salvini helped Brenkman generously, and they succeeded to collate the entire text within three years. During that time, Magliabechi was kept at a distance, accusing Salvini of deception through falsely spreading rumors about him:

"Adesso, io più non lo veggo, si perche dee essere occupato in quella collazione, come ancora, perché Dio sa qual che il Salvini gli avrà detto di me, essendo poco mio amico, benché si finga

469 Magliabechi to J. Gronovius, 16 February 1703, LMU, Cod 4° Cod. Msc 777, f. 119, “if His Royal Highness has talked to me about it, I, with the clearest resons, would have kept him from giving the permission to make that collations, but he did not talk about it, as far as I knows, to someone other than with Henry Newton”.

470 Ibidem, “Per quanto dice il signore Inviato, a Primavera, manderanno di costà uno, che faccia questa fatica, di collazzionare quel manoscritto. Io per me, non credo, che tal cosa sia per succedere, ma in caso che succedesse, avviserò di mano in mano il tutto, a V.S.Ill.ma”.

471 Magliabechi to J. Gronovius, 1703, LMU, Cod 4° Cod. Msc 778, f. 16, “They can send whoever they like, but no one would have the patience and diligence as your brother”.


473 Ibidem, “Nunc igitur ut aperte loquar, iste iuvenis nulla amoenitate studiorum imbutus est, Graecis plane non experire, & deprehendes.

474 It is most likely that Brenkmen became acquainted with Domenico Silvio Passionei, future cardinal and librarian of the Vatican Library, during the latter’s stay in the Netherlands, where he participated as official representative of the Holy See at the peace conferences of The Hague (1708) and later in Utrecht (1712), see Charles Herbermann, ed., ‘Domenico Passionei’, Catholic Encyclopedia (New York: Robert Appleton Company, 1913). See also, Alberto Caracciolo, Domenico Passionei, tra Roma e la repubblica delle lettere (Rome: Ed. di Storia e Letteratura, 1968).


tale. Io non ho dubbio, che come tornerà costà, come il Copes, si riderà di me, ma questo poco, o nulla mi importo, potendo ogni sciolo ridersi di chi che sia.”

Magliabechi refers in this letter to the historian Henrik Copes (1650-1708) who travelled extensively in Italy in 1695-1696 to look at antiquities and study manuscripts. Magliabechi became acquainted with Copes during his stay in Florence and assisted him throughout his further stay in Italy by writing him letters of introduction to facilitate his research in the various cities he visited. In Milan, for instance, Magliabechi introduced Copes to the librarian of the Biblioteca Ambrosiana, Andrea Pusterla, asking him to “non tanto di vedere le mura della Città dove passa, quanto gli Uomini dotti che in esse si trovano, de’ quali è codesta nobilissima Città abbondantissima.” Magliabechi underlines here the fact that travel, more than anything, was a crucial means to establish a network abroad. As shown by this letter, Magliabechi was convinced that Copes, like Brenkman, was turned against him while travelling in Italy. As a result, the two did not remain in contact after Copes return in the Dutch Republic.

477 Magliabechi to G. Gronovius, 16 February 1709, LMU, Cod 4° Cod. Msc 777, f. 119, “Now, I do not see Brenkman anymore, both because he is busy to collate that manuscript, and, because of God knows what Salvini would have said him about me, being hardly my friend, even if he pretends to be one. I do not doubt, when he returns in the Dutch Republic, like Copes, he will make fun of me, but I do not care about that for every smartass can make fun of any man.”

478 Magliabechi informed Jacob Gronovius about the arrival of Copes in Italy with a letter dated the 20th of August 1695, writing that he is working on a biography of Giuseppe Ekrono (LMU, Cod 4° Cod. Msc 777, f. 34). Then, on the 30th of December 1695, Magliabechi informs Jacob Gronovius that Copes “è fatto stimare, ed amare, per tutte le Città di Italia” during his travels (LMU, Cod 4° Cod.Msc 777, f. 38, “has made him appraised and loved in every city of Italy”). Copes’ stay in Italy is also discussed by Magliabechi in a letter to Johannes Georgius Graevius of the 4th of August 1695 (KB, KW 72 C.16, f. 79). In this letter, Magliabechi reports about Copes’ visit to the Biblioteca Ambrosiana in Milan and his meeting there with Antonio Ludovico Muratori. In addition, Magliabechi mentions that he gave Copes the book De vita et victu populi Romani of Francesco Robortello, which Copes would hand over to Graevius once he returned to the Dutch Republic.

479 13 letters of Copes to Magliabechi are extant in the National Central Library Florence (BNCF, Magl. VIII 551), while 19 copies of Copes letters to Magliabechi can be found in the collections of the University Library of Leiden (UBL, LTK 1300). In the latter library, 1 letter from Magliabechi to Copes has survived, dated the 30th of August 1695 (LTK 1003). In addition, two introduction letters written by Magliabechi to Copes have survived in LTK 1300, dated the 30th of September 1695, and LKT 1003, dated the 28th of May 1696. The introduction letter extent in LTK 1003 is written to a unknown scholar in Pisa: “Presenterà a V.S.Ill.ma questa mia, l'Illustrissimo Signore Enrico Copes, Senatore di Bolduc, che alla Nobiltà della Nascita, ha congiunta una somma Dottrina, ed erudizione, ed una infinita cortesia. Oltre al suo gran merito, ho ad esso cento; e dalle Letterati Italiani, che anno avuto fortuna di conoscerlo, e di riverirli, ed il mio più di quello di alcuno altro, benche per...” The second introduction letter is written to Andrea Pusterla in Milan (see note 480).

480 Magliabechi to Andrea Pusterla, 30 September 1695, UBL, LTK 1003, “Presenterà a V.S. questa mia, l'Illustrissimo Signore Senatore Enrico Copes, che alla nobiltà della Nascita, ha congiunta una somma cortesia, ed una infinita erudizione. Già mi era noto il suo infinito merito, e da' Libri dell'ereditissimo Signore Cupero, che più volte in essi ne fà menzi...” Then, on the 30th of August 1695 (LTK 1003). In addition, 13 letters of Copes to Magliabechi are extent in the National Central Library Florence (BNCF, Magl. VIII 551), while 19 copies of Copes letters to Magliabechi can be found in the collections of the University Library of Leiden (UBL, LTK 1300). In the latter library, 1 letter from Magliabechi to Copes has survived, dated the 30th of August 1695 (LTK 1003). In addition, two introduction letters written by Magliabechi to Copes have survived in LTK 1300, dated the 30th of September 1695, and LKT 1003, dated the 28th of May 1696. The introduction letter extent in LTK 1003 is written to a unknown scholar in Pisa: “Presenterà a V.S.Ill.ma questa mia, l'Illustrissimo Signore Enrico Copes, Senatore di Bolduc, che alla Nobiltà della Nascita, ha congiunta una somma Dottrina, ed erudizione, ed una infinita cortesia. Oltre al suo gran merito, ho ad esso cento; e dalle Letterati Italiani, che anno avuto fortuna di conoscerlo, e di riverirli, ed il mio più di quello di alcuno altro, benche per...” The second introduction letter is written to Andrea Pusterla in Milan (see note 480).

481 Magliabechi to Cuper, 28 July 1696, KB, KW 72 D 10, f. 118-119,”Il signore Senator Copes, del quale V.S.Ill.ma mi scrive, nel suo ritorno di Roma, si trattenne qua in Firenze solamente circa a due giorni, onde con mio infinito dolore, non essi fortuna di servirlo...” Prima però che esso andasse a Roma, stetti in Firenze alcuni giorni, ed allora ebbe fortuna di godere della sua soavissima ed eruditissima conversazione. Mi crede, che nel tornarsene alla Patria ha portato seco il Cuore di tutti i Letterati Italiani, che anno avuto fortuna di conoscerlo, e di riverirlo, ed il mio più di quello di alcuno altro, benche per la mia
Magliabechi even asked Cuper to pass his greetings on to Copes, but a correspondence did not ever got off the ground.\footnote{Magliabechi to J. Le Clerc, 26 December 1709, UBA, Special Collections, hs. C 87.}

Notwithstanding the tensions between Salvini and Magliabechi, Brenkman presented his letter of recommendation from Le Clerc also to Magliabechi. Magliabechi thanked Le Clerc on the 26th of December 1709, promising him that he “non mancherò di servire” Brenkman “in tutto quello che si degnerà di comandarmi”.\footnote{Magliabechi to J. Le Clerc, 26 December 1709, UBA, Special Collections, hs. C 87.} While Brenkman was more than satisfied with his contact with Magliabechi, who provided him with the books he needed to carry out his research, he might not have known that Magliabechi had his own agenda. Under the guise of helping Brenkman out, Magliabechi managed to stay on top of his endeavors. This allowed him to carry on a secret, far more candid correspondence with Jacob Gronovius, to whom he forwarded any information that could be relevant to him. It was in these secret letters that, for example, Magliabechi informed Gronovius about the whereabouts of Brenkmen during his travels in Rome and Naples in 1711. Brenkman went here for a period of ten months in search of more Digest manuscripts. During his stay, he remained in touch with Magliabechi, informing him about the progress of his work and the scholars he had met. From these letters it appears that, like other Dutch scholars, Brenkman found it more difficult to gain access to libraries in those cities that he had in Florence.\footnote{Magliabechi to J. Gronovius, 16 February 1709, LMU, Cod 4° Cod. Msc 778, f. 119, “Stimo che sarà una fatica qua assai lunga, e se vuole dopo stare due anni a Roma, in questo tempo, il suo dottissimo signore Senatoro Copes. Mi creda, che mi è stato più grato di qualsivoglia tesoro l'avero nuove di quel dottissimo signore, e di sentirle che goda buona sanità. Io ho per esso una infinita bontà.” News about the death of Copes reached Magliabechi also through Cuper: “Non potrò esprimere a V.S.III.ma il dolore che mi ha apportato, la morte del signore senatore Copes. Oltre a dotto, ed erudito, era l’istessa bontà, e la medesima cortesia. De’ suoi manoscritti, de’ quali V.S.III.ma mi scrivero, me ne aveva data notizia esso medesimo. Se il Catalogo de’ suoi libri fosse stampato, e fosse cosa piccola, di soli quattro, o cinque fogli, supplicherò V.S.III.ma a farmi grazzie, di mandarmelo in una lettera (Magliabechi to Cuper, 2 June 1708, KB, KW 72 D 12, f. 222).”}

Knowing that Brenkman was planning to remain for two years in Rome, Magliabechi reported to Gronovius that his brother Laurens would have enough time to “stampare ciò che vuole, e di prevenirlo”.\footnote{Magliabechi to J. Gronovius, undated, LMU, Cod 4° Cod. Msc 778, f. 17, “Per le viscere del signore Dio, e per tutte le sante leggi dell’amicizia, prego V.S.III.ma a stracciare questo fogliaccio, subito che l’avrà letto, perché mai in tempo alcuno, possa essere veduto da anima vivente, scrivendolelo io, in estrema segretezza, e confidenza. Seguirono qua costoro, a collaccionare il manoscritto delle Pandette, e per quello che dicono sono vicini alla fine, avendo fatto, circa a tre quarti, della statica. Stimo necessario l’avvisare a V.S.III.ma come collazionano anche Erodoto, con i manoscritti della Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana. Anche questa fatica la fanno i medesimi, cioè quel giovane Olandese, e il Salvini. La fà ad essi fare, il medesimo signore Inviato d’Inghilterra, al quale ne è stato scritto di costà.”} On other occasions, Magliabechi informed Gronovius that Henry Newton, besides the collections of the Lettera Florentina, had advised Brenkman and Salvini to work on the manuscripts of the Greek historian Herodotus (c. 484 BC – c. 425 BC).\footnote{Newton probably referred here to Herodotus’ historia on the origins of the Greco-Persian wars, which was written in 440 BC. Various manuscripts of the historia are extant in the Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana (e.g. Plut.67.2 contains a Latin translation of the historia by Lorenzo Valla (1407-1547)).} The only reason Newton ordered the collation of Herodotus is because someone – Magliabechi did not know who this might be – from the Dutch Republic had ordered him to do so.\footnote{H. Brenkman to Magliabechi, Rome, 1 June 1712, BNCF, Magl. VIII.S.III.T.VI. Four letters in total, written by Brenkman to Magliabechi between 1712 and 1714, are extant in the collections of the National Library of Florence.}

Magliabechi informed Gronovius that Newton had commissioned Salvini to transcribe the letters of Newton probably refered here to Herodotus’ historia on the origins of the Greco-Persian wars, which was written in 440 BC. Various manuscripts of the historia are extant in the Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana (e.g. Plut.67.2 contains a Latin translation of the historia by Lorenzo Valla (1407-1547)). Magliabechi did not know who this might be – from the Dutch Republic had ordered him to do so.\footnote{Magliabechi to J. Gronovius, 12 October 1703, KB, KW 72 D 12, ff. 31-32. “Non potrei esprimere il contento che mi ha apportato, l’umanissima, ed al solito elegantissima e eruditissima Lettera di V.S.III.ma, vedendo da essa, che ha goduto del dottissimo conversazzione, del nobilissima, e cortessissimo, sincerissimo, e l’istessa bontà.” News about the death of Copes reached Magliabechi also through Cuper: “Non potrei esprimere il dolore che mi ha apportato, la morte del signore senatore Copes. Oltre a dotto, ed erudito, era l’istessa bontà, e la medesima cortesia. De’ suoi manoscritti, de’ quali V.S.III.ma mi scrivero, me ne aveva data notizia esso medesimo. Se il Catalogo de’ suoi libri fosse stampato, e fosse cosa piccola, di soli quattro, o cinque fogli, supplicherò V.S.III.ma a farmi grazzie, di mandarmelo in una lettera (Magliabechi to Cuper, 2 June 1708, KB, KW 72 D 12, f. 222).”} Moreover, Newton had commissioned Salvini to transcribe the letters of Magliabechi even asked Cuper to pass his greetings on to Copes, but a correspondence did not ever got off the ground.\footnote{Magliabechi to J. Le Clerc, 26 December 1709, UBA, Special Collections, hs. C 87.}

The only reason Newton ordered the collation of Herodotus is because someone – Magliabechi did not know who this might be – from the Dutch Republic had ordered him to do so.\footnote{Magliabechi to J. Le Clerc, 26 December 1709, UBA, Special Collections, hs. C 87.}

\footnote{Magliabechi to J. Le Clerc, 26 December 1709, UBA, Special Collections, hs. C 87.}
bishops Ignatius Theophorus (c. 35-107). Remarkably, as noted Magliabechi, all these authors were already transcribed by Jacob and Laurens Gronovius during their stay in Florence:

“Par che abbian preso di mira, di volere dare in luce tutte le fatiche fatte da V.S.III.ma, sopra di diversi Autori, prima che le faccia stampare ella. Stimo però, che a suo tempo, se ne abbian a pentire, e che V.S.III.ma dopo che avranno stampato, abbia a far vedere al Mondo, la lor poca perizia, e poca deligenza, nel maneggiare i manoscritti. Ad essi, mi presuppongo che basti, il dare a V.S.III.ma questo disgusto. Mi creda, che qua, a tutti i buoni, tal cosa non poco dispiacere. Avendo V.S.III.ma dedicati qua, tanti suoi insigni, ed eruditissimi Libri, ed avendo fatto un così gran onore, a questo Biblioteca, non era dovere, il permettere, che altri, entrasse nelle sue fatiche, ed in quelle del suo signore Fratello.”

In October 1712, Brenkman returned to Florence to study the Littera Florentina once more. After this he went to Turin and Venice in order to inspect more manuscripts, and on his way back to Holland he stopped in Paris. After he had returned to Holland, he started working on his Digest edition on the basis of the Florentine manuscript. Afflicted by poor health, he was unable to publish his Historia Pandectarum before 1722, the first of six parts originally planned as merely an introduction to the edition. Because of Brenkman’s unexpected death in 1736, this was also the only part ever to appear in print. The publication of the Historia caused an uproar in Tuscany because the book claimed that the Pisans had plundered the manuscript in Amalfi in 1135, and done nothing with it afterwards. Scholars from Pisa took this as an insult, and the Pisan professor Guido Grandi published a counteroffensive in 1726 in which he denies the Amalfitan origins of the manuscript. Brenkman responded to Grandi only in 1735 when tempers had already cooled down.

5. The Dangers of Travelling to Florence: Religious Conversions

Traveling was thought to present numerous trials to someone’s faith, from distractions and temptations from all sorts to the possible influence of foreign religious opinions and practices. This concern was particularly strong when Dutch travelers visited Italy. Conversions, in fact, were not uncommon during the mid-seventeenth century, and especially the Grand Duchy of Tuscany pursued an active policy

488 Ibidem, “il medesimo signore Inviato, fece anche collazionare al Salvini, le Lettere del suddetto S. Ignazio, che aveva già collazionate V.S.III.ma.” The letters of Ignatius Theopseus are extent in Plut.57.7 of the Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana.
489 In 1674, for instance, Jacob Gronovius has copied the manuscript of Herodotus’ historia by Lorenzo Valla in the Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana which appears to have been used in his later revised edition of 1715, three years after Brenkman’s stay in Florence (Jacob Gronovius, Herodoti Halicarnassaei Historiarum libri IX Musarum nominibus inscripti (Leiden: Samuuelum Luchtmans, 1715). Ibidem, “it seems that they have targeted to bring to light every endeavors made by Your Illustrious Lordship, on various authors, before you are going to publish it. I believe, however, in due course, that they will regret that [because] Your Illustrious Lordship will show to the world their little expertise and diligence in handling the manuscripts after they publish these works. I assume that they are satisfied enough to bring you that disgust. Believe me, all the good men here are more than a little displeased about it. Because Your Illustrious Lordship has dedicated here, many of your eminent and learned books, and brought honor to this library, one should non have permitted that someone else would enter the business of you and your brother.”
492 Guido Grandi, Epistola de Pandectis Ad CL. Virum Josephum Averianum in Eadem Academia Juris Interpretum Celebririinum (Florentiae, Apus Tartinium & Franchium, 1727).
destined to win over Protestants to the Catholic faith.⁴⁹⁵ For example, earlier we have seen that Jacob Tollius received a compensation for giving up his Protestant faith from Cosimo III. In this context, the role of Nicolaas Stensen (1638-1686) is also pivotal.

Born in Copenhagen to a Lutheran family in 1638, Stensen studied anatomy in Amsterdam under the Dutch physician Gerard Blasius (1627-1682) and then moved to Leiden where he enrolled in the faculty of medicine. While studying in Leiden (1660-1663), Steno had embraced not just Cartesianism but also radical tensions and become a friend of Spinoza. As pointed out by Eric Jorink, Stensen was thus actively involved in a circle of rather unorthodox scholars who all tended to value the quest for knowledge higher than religious ideals.⁴⁹⁶ On settling in Florence in 1667, though, Stensen converted from Lutheranism to Catholicism and soon also discarded his Cartesianism. Stensen’s conversion was “enthusiastically hailed as a success non only for the glory of the Medici dynasty, but also for the importance it had regarding the relationship between science and faith”, as Stefano Miniati has underlined.⁴⁹⁷ In these years, he still closely followed philosophical developments and forged ahead with his scientific work. A few years later, after having travelled extensively in Europe, Stensen underwent a second conversion, and abandoned philosophy and science completely, distancing himself from his friends at Leiden University and their ideas. From that moment on, Stensen devoted himself to the task of converting as many people he could to Catholicism.⁴⁹⁸ On the 26th of March 1675, Magliabechi informed Gronovius that he was ordained priest, and Stensen rose to become one of the most influential ecclesiastics in the intellectual sphere in Catholic Europe.⁴⁹⁹ He is best remembered for his collaboration to condemn of Spinoza by the Church of Rome and the placing of his publications on the Index librorum prohibitorum.

Stensen’s activities at the grand ducal court were closely followed by Magliabechi, who appears to be particularly critic about the Danish scholar. In his letters to his trusted friend Jacob Gronovius, he lamented the fact that Cosimo gave Stensen a warm welcome in Florence, while Gronovius “mai potette avere una miserabile stanza, non ostante che l’abbiano mille barone, e mille ignoranti” during his professorship at the University of Pisa.⁵⁰⁰ Moreover, he informed Jacob about the difficulties protestant scholars encountered while they stayed in Florence. In 1676, Magliabechi reports that the German mathematician Gerhard Meier came to Florence with the prospect of collating manuscripts in the Biblioteca Laurenziana. Upon his arrival, Magliabechi made sure that Meier was granted an audience by the Grand Duke, who gave his consent that the German scholar could “copiare quel che volesse.”⁵⁰¹ When Magliabechi casually bumped into Stensen in the halls of the grand ducal palace and shared with him the good news, Stensen immediately went to Cosimo III and told him that “non bisognava dar licenzia a Protestanti di copiar manoscritti in quella Libreria”.⁵⁰² After this, Magliabechi had the hardest time to persuade Cosimo to keep his word, convincing that Meijer needed to work at the library.⁵⁰³

⁴⁹⁵ Mazur, Conversion to Catholicism in Early Modern Italy, 55-56.
⁴⁹⁸ Miniati, 205.
⁴⁹⁹ Magliabechi to J. Gronovius, 26 March 1675, LMU, Cod 4° Cod. Msc 777, f. 149, “Lo Stenone qua si è fatto Prete”. Israel, Radical Enlightenment, cit. 43.
⁵⁰⁰ Magliabechi to J. Gronovius, 30 May 1675, LMU, Cod 4° Cod. Msc 777, ff. 169-171, “Could never have one miserable room, despite the fact that thousands of rascals, and thousands of ignorant men have one”. Magliabechi to J. Gronovius, January 1676, LMU, Cod 4° Cod. Msc 777, f. 157, “copy whatever he wants”.
⁵⁰¹ Ibidem, “Pregai il Padrone Serenissimo a conceder Licenzia al signore Meijero che potesse in Libreria di S. Lorenzo copiare quel che volesse, ed esso subito al solito me ne fece la grazia. Avendo detto questo allo Stenone, che a caso incontrai, andò subito a dire a S.A.S. che non bisognava dar Lincezia a Protestanti di copiar Manoscritti in quella Libreria, perchè ecc. [he should not give permissions to Protestants to copy manuscripts in that library].”
⁵⁰² Ibidem, “Mi bisognò per tanto riparlar di nuovo a S.A.S., ed ho durato fatica a spuntare che possa copiare come fà a dispetto di tutta l’invidia.”
Another episode happened in 1682, when Magliabechi secretly informed Jacob Gronovius about the Polish engraver Teodor Lubieniecki (1654-1706), who had left Amsterdam for Florence to work at the Medici court. In Florence, Lubieniecki was “messo in Casa lo Stenone” so that he could indoctrinate the foreigner.  

A few days later, after he had tried everything he could possibly think of, Stensen became aware that it was impossible to convince Lubieniecki to become a Catholic. Consequently, “per mandarlo via di qua, l’anno accusato all’Inquisitore” and Lubieniecki, having received some money from the Grand Duke for his return journey, soon realized that it was better to leave.  

Magliabechi confessed that “essi si fosse fatto nostro Cattolico Romano”, but he nonetheless protested strongly to the behaviour of Stensen, who had used “mezzi così indecenti per farlo partire, perché non voleva mutar Religione”.  

After the debacle with Lubieniecki, Magliabechi wrote to Jacob Gronovius that no foreigner in Florence could avoid the indefatigable efforts that Stensen lavished on his anti-Protestantism campaign. He asserts that Protestant scholars can stay only a short time in Florence. Very soon after their arrival, they will be visited by Stensen, and anyone who had defied his attempts at conversion are forced to leave Tuscany:

“Adesso niun Protestante potrà trattenersi qua se non per brevissimo tempo, poiché se lo Stenone che va subito a trovargli, riferirà che non si vogliono far nostri Cattolici Romani, certo che o in un modo, o nell’altro, bisognerà che se ne vadano omni pejori modo.”

Aware of these dangers, Magliabechi appeared to have shielded the Dutch scholars from his religious influence, warning them about the dangers delineated by Stensen. When Laurens Gronovius was about to leave for Florence, Magliabechi wrote to his brother Jacob to advise him that, if Laurens was still willing to come to Florence, “se gli fingerò visceratissimo”. In addition, when Magliabechi heard that Stensen was in the Dutch Republic in the 1670s, he recommended Jacob “di parlargli il meno che sia mai possibile”.

There are several occasions in which Stensen succeeded in converting Protestants. He managed to convert Albert Burgh, the son of the treasurer of the United Provinces, to Catholicism. Burgh was, like Stensen, a former acquaintance of Spinoza during his studies at the University of Leiden. At the time, he developed such an aversion to the Catholic faith that, during his travels to Italy, his fellow travel companions feared that he could not hide his anti-Catholic sympathies. The contrary happened: Burgh completely changed his perspective on Catholicism and when he reached Florence, in 1675, Stensen’s influence on him was conclusive for his definite conversion. After his conversion, Albert Burgh went to Rome as a consultant to the court of the Holy Office with the name of Franciscus de Hollandia and

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504 Magliabechi to J. Gronovius, undated (1682), LMU, Cod 4° Cod. Msc 777, f. 199, “placed in the house of Stensen”. Magliabechi urged Gronovius to tear up this letter immediately after reading: “Mi onori di stracciar subito questo foglietto, che le scrivo in estrema segretezza, e confidenza”.

505 Ibidem, “to send him way from here, they accused him by the Inquisitor”; “avendogli il Padron Serenissimo dati alcuni danari pel viaggio, gli è convenuto per i caldi eccessivo partirsi per costà”.

506 Ibidem, “he would have become a Roman Catholic”, “means so indecent to make him leave, only because he did not want to change religion”.

507 Ibidem, “now no Protestant can remain here if not for a very short amount of time, because, when Stensen, who immediately visits them, refers that they do not want to became Roman Catholics, it is certain that, one way or another, they are forced to leave in the worst possible way”.

508 Magliabechi to J. Gronovius, undated, LMU, Cod 4° Cod. Msc 778, f. 8, “will pretend to be very genuine to him”.

509 Magliabechi to J. Gronovius, 1707, LMU, Cod 4° Cod. Msc 777, f. 130, “to speak to him less as possible”.


511 Kardel and Maquet, 334.

512 Ibidem, 335.
continued to cooperate with Stensen in his evangelization activities. According to Magliabechi, Cosimo III was planning to offer Burgh a chair at the University of Pisa, upon which he wrote a letter to Gronovius, exclaiming “è verissimo quel che cento volte le ho scritto cioè che non ci vogliono alcuno che sappia leggere”.

Together, Burgh and Stensen tried to convert Conrad Ruysch, who, as we have seen before, travelled to Florence in 1675. On the 24th of June 1675, Burgh visited Ruysch and his friend Bruno van der Dussen to persuade them to the Catholic faith. He started to tell his whole life story: how he had doubted his faith for more than a year, until Stensen “de leatste handt aen dit werck geleijt heeft” and convinced him to devote his life to the Roman Church, which was “de rechte kerk”. In the following days, Ruysch regularly received visits from both Burgh and Stensen who told him the same stories over and over again. Then, on the 30th of June, the Dutch consul Abraham de la Fontaine informed Ruysch and Van der Dussen that he had heard that not only Burgh was about to convert to Catholicism, but that they themselves too were determined to convert. Upon hearing this, Ruysch and Van der Dussen went straight to Magliabechi for “hem niet alleen van deze opinie te disabuseren, maer oock te versoeken dat hij den hartoch en ider een die hem daer van mocht spreekten het contrarie bekent soude gelieven te maeken”. Magliabechi answered with courtesy, saying that he would do everything to remedy the situation. He also told them that Stensen “wiens vrient hij gans niet is, veel minder van sijn pijlaer bysterij”. Burgh and Stensen, however, were not planning to give up. When Ruysch became gravely ill in August, they visited him at his bedside almost every day. Yet, their efforts where in vain, upon which Ruysch wrote that “doch alle discoursen by mij gecoupeert werden die daer naer toe mochten gaen, hebben sij geoordeelt aen mij niet te toornen was”.

6. CORRESPONDING SCHOLARS

Travelling established the personal credit upon which international exchange could take place. During visits abroad, scholar not only traded knowledge, but primarily judged the scholar they met, deciding whether to trust one another or not. For instance, the Dutch scholar Coenraad Ruysch changed his opinion about Magliabechi after he had met him personally in Florence. Before his grand tour, Nicolaas Heinsius, who was not on good terms with the librarian after the conflict over the forced departure of Jacob Gronovius from Pisa in 1674, had cast a negative light on the librarian:

“Il signore Corrado Ruysc si trova presentemente in Genievera, di dove mi ha scritta una gentilissima, e cortesissima Lettera. Se ’l signore Einsio domanderà di me al detto signore

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514 Magliabechi to J. Gronovius, 14 October 1675, LMU, Cod 4° Cod. Msc 777, f. 199, “it is so true what I have written you hundreds of times that they do not want someone who is able to lecture”.
515 Magliabechi to J. Gronovius, 13 August 1675, LMU, Cod 4° Cod.Msc 777, f. 180, “Lo Stenone, e Monsù Giovanni, son dietro insieme col signore Burg a vedere, che il signore Ruysk e Brunone si facciano de’ nostri, e stimano che gli sia per riuscire”.
516 Travel diary Ruysch, 81v, “put the finishing touched to the job”, “the right church”.
517 Ibidem, 83r, “to disabuse him from that opinion, but also to request that he would speak to the Grand Duke about that the contrary was true”.
518 Ibidem, 88r, “whose friend he is not, and especially not from his hypocrisy”.
519 Travel diary Ruysch, 83r-84v, “[because] I cut off every discourse that was headed in that way [conversion], they judged that they could not undermine me”.
520 Lux and Cook, ‘Closed Circles or Open Networks?: Communicating at a Distance during the Scientific Revolution’, cit. 183.
521 Ibidem, 183.
Likewise, the Dutch merchant Daniel Cousson, who visited Florence in the same year, vouched for Magliabechi after he had met him in person, as is shown by the following letter from the librarian to Jacob Gronovius:

“L’Einso, e gl’altri che mi stimano un ignorantissimo come io sono, ne scrivono qua ad esso signore Cousson, che per qualche tempo mi ha praticato assai familiarmente, ed è in parte è informata della mia Vita, de’ miei studi, ecc, e sentiranno che io non sono un casi cattivi uomo come che essi mi credono.”

Trust and credibility were thus best build on personal visits. Consequently, as pointed out by David S. Lux and Harold J. Cook, these personal meetings “established the weak ties upon which future correspondence could be established”. The visitors to Florence discussed in this chapter, including the brothers Gronovius, Jacob Tollius, Coenraad Ruysch, Joannes Kool and Henrik Brenkman all remained in touch with Magliabechi after leaving the city, and in some cases frequently.

Was trust between correspondents established on the basis of these face-to-face meetings, or could someone be added to a communication chain on the basis of a recommendation? In the next chapter, we will see that, upon their return in the Dutch Republic, scholars like the Gronovius brothers became a channel through which Magliabechi could establish contact with other members of the Dutch scholarly community. As such, scholars who never met Magliabechi, like Gisbert Cuper, Johannes Georgius Graevius, Jacob Perizonius and Pierre Bayle undoubtedly began corresponding with Magliabechi through them. How could they trust each other? A long line of research in social network research has shown that there is an increased chance that if A trusts B, and B trust C, A will have the basis to trust C as well. This premise is based on the notion of triadic closure, which is a concept that will be discussed in more detail in the next chapter. Here, it is sufficient to know that people create networks of trust through mutual friends. This insight is fundamental to model why someone could be added to the communication chain on the basis of an introduction made by someone already present in the network. Triadic closure underlines thus the importance of introductions in the early modern scholarly community, and can focus our attention to these unique moments in a large set of data.

In the next chapter, we will observe in more detail how Dutch and Italian scholars managed their epistolary relationships and to what end. We will see that they self-consciously enacted their networks, moving between dense and open networks and struggled to find a balance between these two. On the one hand, they needed a network of densely connected contacts to establish and sustain a secure network abroad. As we have seen throughout this chapter, Dutch scholars brought with them many letters of introduction and book-gifts to come into contact with leading scholars abroad. These letters and books often emphasized their connections to mutual contacts who vouched for their scholarly merit and credibility. The sharing of mutual contacts was certainly reassuring, providing benefactors a reason to trust a foreigner, which was especially needed in times of religious disunity, when scholars needed to

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522 Magliabechi to J. Gronovius, 28 April 1676, LMU, Cod 4° Cod.Msc 777, f. 189, “Sir Conrad Ruysch presently resides in Genève, from where he has written me a very nice and polite letter. If sir Heinsius will ask Ruysch about me, I am sure that he will hear that I am different from what is represented by those despicable and evil men”.

523 Magliabechi to J. Gronovius, 30 May 1675, LMU, Cod 4° Cod.Msc 777, f. 169, “Heinsius, and all the others who think of me as very ignorant as I am, write about this to sir Cousson, who stayed with me quite often, and is informed by my life and studies, etc, will hear that I am not such a mean man as they think I am”.

524 Lux and Cook, ‘Closed Circles or Open Networks?’, cit. 183.
present themselves as credible and trustworthy scholars. Consequently, this reputation for being trustworthy made it possible to build bridges that would otherwise be too risky. These bridges allowed them to move outside their own circle of trust in order to collect innovative information from around the world, becoming a broker in the scholarly exchange between the Dutch Republic and the Grand Duchy of Tuscany. The key then to creating a secure cross-cultural network is combine closure with valuable bridge relations.