



Universiteit  
Leiden  
The Netherlands

## The cultural importance of Florentine patricians

Goudriaan, E.J.

### Citation

Goudriaan, E. J. (2015, April 30). *The cultural importance of Florentine patricians*. Retrieved from <https://hdl.handle.net/1887/32883>

Version: Corrected Publisher's Version

License: [Licence agreement concerning inclusion of doctoral thesis in the Institutional Repository of the University of Leiden](#)

Downloaded from: <https://hdl.handle.net/1887/32883>

**Note:** To cite this publication please use the final published version (if applicable).

Cover Page



Universiteit Leiden



The handle <http://hdl.handle.net/1887/32883> holds various files of this Leiden University dissertation.

**Author:** Goudriaan, Elisa Johanna

**Title:** The cultural importance of Florentine patricians. Cultural exchange, brokerage networks, and social representation in early modern Florence and Rome (1600-1660)

**Issue Date:** 2015-04-30

# **The cultural importance of Florentine patricians**

*Cultural exchange, brokerage networks, and social  
representation in early modern Florence and Rome  
(1600-1660).*

**Elisa Goudriaan**

ISBN 978-94-6169-647-2

Op de omslag: Matteo Rosselli, *The jurists, the historians and the chroniclers*, 1636, Casa Buonarroti, Florence.

Omslagontwerp: Stephan de Prouw

Druk: Optima Grafische Communicatie, april 2015

De druk van dit proefschrift is financieel ondersteund door de J.E. Jurriaanse Stichting.

# **The cultural importance of Florentine patricians**

*Cultural exchange, brokerage networks, and social  
representation in early modern Florence and Rome  
(1600-1660).*

## **Proefschrift**

ter verkrijging van  
de graad van Doctor aan de Universiteit Leiden  
op gezag van Rector Magnificus prof.mr. C.J.J.M. Stolker,  
volgens besluit van het College voor Promoties  
te verdedigen op donderdag 30 april 2015  
klokke 11.15 uur  
door

**Elisa Johanna Goudriaan**

geboren te Amsterdam  
in 1981

**Promotiecommissie:**

Prof. dr. Gert Jan van der Sman (promotor)

Prof. dr. Henk van Veen (promotor) (Rijksuniversiteit Groningen)

Dr. Marika Keblusek (co-promotor)

Prof. dr. Hans Cools (Katholieke Universiteit Leuven)

Prof. dr. Jeroen Duindam

Dr. Louk Tilanus

*Voor Suzanne*





## TABLE OF CONTENTS

|  |     |
|--|-----|
| Abbreviations and Spelling   | 11  |
| Acknowledgements   | 13  |
| Introduction   | 19  |
| 1. Florentine patricians and their changing social and political position (1530-1670)  | 25  |
| 2. Florentine patricians in their role as ambassadors and chamberlains and their influence on the social and cultural representation of the Medici in Florence, Rome and at other courts | 55  |
| 3. Patricians as patrons and collectors during the reigns of Ferdinand I, Cosimo II, the regents and Ferdinand II de' Medici   | 109 |
| 4. The shared cultural world of the Medici princes and the Florentine patricians: musical performances, European networks, and cultural academies  | 173 |
| 5. The brokerage activities of Michelangelo Buonarroti the Younger and the exchange of cultural gifts  | 233 |
| 6. The patricians' contribution to cultural events the Medici organised for public ceremonies and in honour of visiting guests   | 295 |
| Conclusion   | 323 |
| Appendices   | 329 |
| Glossary   | 391 |
| Bibliography   | 395 |
| Samenvatting   | 435 |
| Index of historical persons  | 451 |
| Curriculum Vitae   | 464 |



‘Sommige brieven kunnen ons verrijken en veranderen. Het zijn zeldzame parels van onverwachte geschiedenis: geschiedenis in de tegenwoordige tijd, geschiedenis uit het dagelijks leven van hen die tezamen de geschiedenis maken.’

Simon Garfield

*Ode aan de brief*, 2013



# Abbreviations and Spelling

## Abbreviations

- AB **Archivio Buonarroti**, Casa Buonarroti, Florence.
- AC **Archivio Corsini**, Palazzo Corsini al Parione, Florence (the whole archive is relocated in 2014 to Villa Le Corti, San Casciano Val di Pesa).
- AG **Archivio Guicciardini**, Palazzo Guicciardini, Florence.
- AGM **Archivio Guadagni**, Masseto.
- ANCFi **Archivio Niccolini di Camugliano**, Palazzo Niccolini, Firenze.
- ASF **Archivio di Stato**, Florence.  
(AGCS = Fondo Guicciardini Corsi Salviati)  
(MP = Mediceo del Principato)
- BAV **Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana**, Vatican City.  
(Barb. Lat. = Barberini latino.)
- BMF **Biblioteca Moreniana**, Palazzo Medici-Riccardi, Florence.
- BNCF **Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale di Firenze**, Florence.  
(Magl. = Fondo Magliabechiano)
- BRF **Biblioteca Riccardiana**, Palazzo Medici Riccardi, Florence.

V.S. = Vostra Signoria

V.A. = Vostra Altezza

**A note on Spelling**

In the transcriptions of the archival documents, the spelling of the original early modern Italian has been retained, in particular the following elements: the etymological *h*; undoubled consonants and the conjunction *et*. For the sake of readability I have changed the *u* into the *v* and vice versa, where necessary. The missing letters of abbreviated words are written out in italics (*Ill.<sup>ma</sup> = Illustrissima*), except for the most common titles of address, such as V.S. and V.A.. Accents are added according to modern usage.

## Acknowledgements

Exactly ten years ago, while pursuing an art history minor (with a major in Romance languages and cultures) at the University of Groningen, Bernhard Ridderbos, lecturer in early Netherlandish and Italian art, encouraged me to also finish a major study in Art history. He might still not know what a favour he did me, for his suggestion gave my life the direction it has today. A few years later, Henk van Veen, at that time my research master's thesis supervisor and currently my second supervisor, urged me to do the research for my master's thesis in Florence at the Dutch University Institute for Art History (NIKI). With this he paved the way for a recurrent pattern in my life for the following years: every year I spent a few months in Florence, a city with which I developed a love-hate relationship. Many times I cursed the tourist groups with their umbrellas and the tourist-hating residents equally. Nevertheless, I made wonderful contacts with archivists and Florentine researchers, many of whom became my friends. Also, I discovered the hills and small Tuscan villages, where I could find some peace and digest my research while walking in the old streets and visiting centuries-old churches.

It is a great pleasure to write these acknowledgements and to remember everyone who contributed in the writing and completion of this thesis.

In the Dutch University Institute for Art History in Florence I met my first supervisor, Gert Jan van der Sman, with whom I had long conversations about

music, art, movies, newspaper articles, and books, even before I knew we would someday work closely together. This friendship, if I may call it that, has continuously defined the nature of our professional collaboration. Besides his critical observations, which were always spot-on and gave me new insights, he remained interested in my personal well-being, and we continued our conversations about the world outside the thesis. I am very grateful to Gert Jan for giving me the freedom to organize my research in my own way, and for trusting that eventually I would finish the work without ever chasing me up. His clear insights and great understanding of the subject I was dealing with, and his suggestions to help clarify my ideas, have inspired me to keep the work going and to shape everything into a harmonious whole.

After finishing my master's thesis in art history, with Henk van Veen I explored with great pleasure the world of the Florentine patricians, which we reinterpreted again and again. On his office couch at the university, in lunchrooms and in Florence we had many exciting conversations and he was always interested, too, in my world outside the thesis. In 2011, together with his other PhD students, we organized the first international congress about the Florentine patricians as patrons, collectors, and cultural brokers under Medici rule, something to look back on with joy.

In addition to my two supervisors, many other people played important roles in helping me complete my thesis. First of all, I thank my paranimf and soul mate Floris Meens, who always inspires me with his sparkling joy and refined attentiveness. With him I discussed in depth the cultural networks in our respective areas of research, but besides that he warmly supported me in everything I experienced over the past several years. We share a great love for culture and together we endlessly exchange thoughts to get a grip on all sorts of things in our varied world. Special thanks go to my other paranimf, Esfaindyar Daneshvar, who always cheers me up and inspires me with his bizarre spirit and eye for detail, and who showed me a warm friendship during the years that I worked on my thesis in Leiden.

In Florence, Rome, Paris, Louvain, and Leiden I conducted many interviews, many one-on-one, and some via e-mail, which led to inspiring conversations with researchers in disciplines from diplomatic and political history to music, theatre, and art history. For this I would like to thank: Jean Boutier, Caroline Callard, Janie Cole, Nicola Michelassi, Salomé Vuelta Garcia, Riccardo Spinelli, Hans Cools, Maria Pia Paoli, Lucia Meoni, Marco Calafati, Fabio Sottili, Dona-



tella Pegazzano, Mario Bevilacqua, Franco Angiolini, Pasquale Focarile, Sarah Bercusson, Irene Fosi, Carlo Corsato, Sara Mamone, Irene Baldriga, Anne Marie Dragosits, Kees Vlaardingerbroek, Michael Talbot, Arnaldo Morelli, and Matthijs Jonker.

At the NIKI in Florence, Rome's Royal Netherlands Institute (KNIR), as well as the Leiden University Centre for the Arts in Society (LUCAS), I received much support from staff members with whom I had interesting research interviews and who helped facilitate the practical aspects of my research. Therefore I would like to thank Tjarda Vermeijden, Michael Kwakkelstein, Korrie Korevaart, Lenie Witkam, Lia ten Brink, Viola Stoop, Ilaria Masi, Paola Squellati Brizio, Bert Meijer, Bert Treffers, Ivana Bolognese, Marieke van den Doel, Arthur Weststeijn, and Bernard Stolte.

I want to thank the employees and archivists of all the archives and libraries I visited in Rome and Florence, especially Rita Romanelli, Marquis Lorenzo Niccolini, Marcella Marongiu, Elena Lombardi, Pina Ragionieri, and Contessa Annamaria Guicciardini.

Various research institutes, workshops, master classes, symposia, and seminars have contributed to both broadening and focusing my view, for which I want to thank the coordinators of the Huizinga Institute, the Onderzoekschool Kunstgeschiedenis (OSK), Werkgroep Italië Studies (WIS), the Seminar LUICD (now LUCAS), and the Seminar Kolloquium Macht (Warburg-Haus, Hamburg), the yearly NIKI-symposium, and the yearly RSA-congress. In particular, I would like to thank Anne Hilde van Baal (Huizinga Institute) for her enthusiasm and dedication, which she unfortunately shared much too briefly with the many people who were privileged to enjoy her. Her characteristic signature, 'Dag, Anne Hilde,' became somewhat too literal, but we shall always cherish these words.

At the NIKI and KNIR in Florence and Rome I came to know many colleagues who eventually became personal friends, and who I would like to thank very much for their long conversations and wanderings through these cities. These are Klazina Botke, Martijn van Beek, Elsje van Kessel, Arvi Wattel, Tania De Nile, Bouk Wierda, Nina Lamal, Marije Osnabrugge, Joost Keizer, Femke Speelberg, Laura Overpelt, and Linde Luijnenburg.

I enjoyed many lunches and research conversations with my colleagues in Leiden, for which I like to thank Marrigje Rikken, Anna Grasskamp, David Louwrier, Larissa Mendoza Straffon, Hieke Huistra, Marieke Hendriksen, Linda Bleijenberg, Joris van Gastel, Itandehui Jansen, and Eelco Nagelsmit. Also, I would like to thank a number of colleagues from different universities for their valuable advice and suggestions: Marika Keblusek, Anna Tijsseling, Jeroen Duindam, Bram Kempers, Louk Tilanus, Nelke Bartelings, Arnold Witte, Lex Bosman, Jan de Jong, Bernhard Ridderbos, Caroline van Eck, Arnout Visser, Geert Janssen, Marion Boers-Goosens, Kitty Zijlmans, Philiep Bossier, Tazuko van Berkel, Arnold Lubbers, and Esther Pascual.

Many good friends and family members have always been involved in my research adventures and concerns. I cannot mention everybody by name, but I would like to thank Ellen Kraft, Paula van Strien, Pieter en Joke Boer, Jelske van der Hoek, Irthe Goudriaan, Maartje Bakker, Tamara Bergsma, Anne-Marie Reijnders, Koosje van der Weij, Aly van Houten, Nora Sinnema, Jeroen de Lange Boom, Neeltje Roerhorst, Umberto Selva, Karin Prent, and Margriet Weis.

During the last phase of my thesis I experienced a difficult time in my personal life. Fortunately things gradually improved, and someone that closely shared this whole process with me is my future husband, Stephan de Prouw. He cared for me with his warmth and support, and with him I share an enthusiasm for everything that can be discovered and a love for nature in all her guises. In a practical sense, he helped me think about the design of this thesis, and I used him as sounding board for many of the ideas that later took shape in these pages.

In the last stages of bringing this project to completion I received considerable enjoyment from my colleagues at the Wereldwinkel Leiden and at De Tuin van de Smid in Polderpark Cronesteyn, working as a volunteer in both. I also want to thank Gijsbert van der Wal for being a joyful new contact who opened wide my eyes to the work of many contemporary Dutch artists.

Three people that are no longer among us have been of great importance for me as a person, for my early motivation, and for the success of my thesis. They are Suzanne Forrer, my dear friend who I will always admire; my grandmother Anky Goudriaan, who read the summaries of my research studies with great interest and with whom I could discuss these with humor; and Jos Hermans,

who showed me the true treasures of Rome, and who had a warm heart for all his students.

Finally, I wholeheartedly thank my parents Jenke and Ruud Goudriaan. My father played an important role as proofreader, and we enjoyed long mornings together going over certain subtle language nuances. They both always showed up to wave me goodbye whenever I went to Italy by train, and they have continuously supported my plans and journeys enthusiastically.

Leiden, January 2015

