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Florentine ambassadors and their strategies to increase the decorum of the Medici family (1600-1650)*

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Abstract

In their role as ambassadors in service of the Medici court, Florentine patricians had different strategies to increase the decorum of their patrons, the grand dukes and regents of the Medici family. This article discusses five case studies focusing on five European courts, where Florentine patricians strived to uphold and increase the status of the Medici family in the first half of the seventeenth century. At the court of Emperor Rudolph II in Prague (1585-88), ambassador Orazio Urbani pays close attention to his outward appearance, to serve the Medici family with the utmost dignity. At the papal court in Rome (1611), ambassador Giovanni Niccolini gives advice to the Medici family about the entry of his successor Piero Guicciardini, because the Medici are very anxious not to make mistakes in the etiquette. When Giovanni Altoviti resides as ambassador at the court of the Emperor Ferdinand II in Vienna (1622), the regents Christine of Lorraine and Maria Maddalena of Austria ask him if he wants to hand over a gift to the daughter of Prince Hans Ulrich von Eggenberg (Eckembergh). Supposedly, there is a hidden political meaning behind this gift. In Venice (1642), the Medici ambassadors and secretaries strive to introduce an elegant style of writing in a treaty that describes the forming of an alliance during the War of Castro. Finally, in Paris (1643), extraordinary ambassador Lorenzo Corsi and his patrician comrades use all their contacts to secure the title by which they were addressed by the French Kings Louis XIII and Louis XIV and by the regent Anne of Austria. In all these cases the Florentine patricians judged for themselves what were the most intelligent moves to achieve the best possible image for their patrons.

Keywords

Florentine patricians, ambassadors, diplomats, Medici family, Early Modern Europe

Article

Not much is known about the structures behind the political and cultural success of the Medici family at different European courts in the seventeenth century.¹ The importance of the activities of several Florentine patricians in this field is underestimated. Therefore, in this article, I want to focus on some ceremonial aspects that determined the relations between the Medici family and other European princes. I concentrate on several Florentine patricians that represented the Medici family as ambassadors at different European courts and on their

strategies to increase the decorum of the Medici family in the first half of the seventeenth century. By doing so I want to shed light on the image the Medici wanted to convey to other European rulers and their representatives, and on the way in which the patricians contributed to achieve this image. The patricians' strategies to increase the decorum of the Medici varied from paying attention to their outward appearance and the titles by which they were addressed to the style of writing that was used in official treaties.

In historical research on early modern courts of the last fifteen years, there is an increasing attention to the social processes involving the exchange of gifts, as well as to the symbolic representation of princes and the ceremonial and ritual aspects that determine the relations between them.² These are topics that originate from anthropological, sociological and ethnological research, but that have taken a firm place in recent historical research, for example by the historians Maria Antonietta Visceglia, Jeroen Duindam, Daniela Frigo, Alexander Koller and Irene Fosi. Related to these topics is an increasing attention to the role of ambassadors, diplomats and agents at different European courts, and the hierarchy between them and the princes they represent.³ In the seventeenth century, it seldom occurred that European princes met each other in person, like they used to do in earlier centuries. Almost all their contacts were established using their diplomatic networks.⁴ Therefore, the roles of the different ambassadors were of the utmost importance, but we know little about their activities and their mutual relations. We are just beginning to understand their influence and networks of relations and I want to contribute to this research.

I will discuss five case studies focusing on five European courts: Prague, Rome, Vienna, Venice, and Paris. For some of the cases I combined the research of my highly respected colleagues, while the cases of Rome and Vienna are based on my own archival research.

The Medici and their ambassadors

During the reign of Cosimo I in the sixteenth century, Tuscany became increasingly involved in international politics. To help maintain the balance of power, from the third decade of the sixteenth century onward permanent ambassadors resided in the Holy Roman Empire, Rome, and France.⁵ From the late 1560s, ambassadors were also present in Spain. It was only under the reign of Cosimo's son Ferdinand I, at the end of the sixteenth and the beginning of the seventeenth century, that permanent Medici-ambassadors began to reside in many other Italian and European cities.⁶ This had to do with the fact that the Medici's title of Grand Duke was only recognized by the Holy Roman Emperor after 1576, and still after that date some Italian families remained reluctant to recognize the title, like the Farnese (Parma), the Gonzaga (Mantua), the Este (Modena/Ferrara) and the Savoy (Turin). In the seventeenth century, when recognition had been secured across Europe, the Medici court could install agents and ambassadors at the courts of all the important states of Italy (city states, duchies, kingdoms, and papal areas) and in the rest of Europe.⁷ In the seventeenth century, many Florentine patricians were appointed as ambassadors and diplomats in service of the Medici.

After the weak government of his brother Francesco de' Medici, Ferdinand I wanted to reinforce his political position in Europe, to provide a counterbalance to the growing influence of Spain. He did not want to be a mere onlooker on the European field, but he aspired to actively represent his power. To reach his goals, he sent ambassadors to all remote corners of Europe and even to the Levant, China and Brazil. All these ambassadors were controlled by his State Secretary Belisario Vinta.⁸ Ferdinand read a large part of all the dispatches of the ambassadors himself, to be able to anticipate the political decisions of Spain and other states. Ferdinand's successors, Cosimo II and Ferdinand II, profited from this elaborate network of ambassadors and agents, to express their own influence and status in the European field.

Prague: snow and ice in the streets

From the years 1585 until 1588, Orazio Urbani was resident (ambassador) at the court of the Habsburg Emperor Rudolph II in Prague. When he communicated the costs of his residency to the Medici secretary in Florence, at the beginning of his stay, he underscored that he absolutely needed a rather expensive carriage (carozza) drawn by four horses, instead of a car drawn by two horses (cocchio) which would be below the social standing of a Medici ambassador.⁹ Apart from the carriage, Urbani asked for two saddled horses for him and his secretary, because there was a lot of snow, dust and ice in the streets. If they would go on foot and get dirty, and present themselves in this way at the Prague palaces, the image of the Medici Grand Dukes would be severely damaged.¹⁰

We notice that the Florentine ambassadors were very aware of the status a Medici-ambassador had to express, to honour their patrons, the Medici Grand Dukes. We see this awareness in all the subsequent case studies.

Rome: Giovanni Niccolini and the entry of his successor Piero Guicciardini

Giovanni Niccolini (1544-1611) was ambassador for the Medici family in Rome from 1587 until 1611. He knew the customs at the Roman court better than the Medici family in Florence did. Therefore, they also ask him for advice in 1611, when his successor Piero Guicciardini (1569-1626) comes to Rome.¹¹ They ask Niccolini to guide the new ambassador during all his obligations in the first weeks. In the Florentine State Archive, I read the correspondence between Niccolini, Guicciardini and the secretary of the Medici court, Belisario Vinta.

In April 1611, Piero Guicciardini, who is still in Florence at that time, writes to Belisario Vinta to communicate all the things he needs in Rome, such as carriages for him and his wife, horses, plates, cups and saucers, beds, etc. He asks Belisario Vinta in the letter if he thinks his needs are appropriate or if he is asking too much. He also wants Vinta to advise him in this and eventually remove some things from the list. But at the same time, he stresses that he needs certain things to be able to serve Grand Duke Cosimo II with the appropriate clothing and decorum. He wants to serve the grand duke with dignity and writes that if he can get all the things he needs, he can be in service of the grand duke for a longer time.¹²

The secretary Belisario Vinta, in the meantime, is not so preoccupied with the apartment and its furnishings, but more with the etiquette in Rome, and that Guicciardini observes the proper forms at his arrival in Rome. He asks Niccolini if the new ambassador has to enter the city publicly, with an organised entry, or in secret by night and if his wife could join him or not. If Guicciardini could not take his wife with him during the entry, should she stay behind in Bracciano or in the garden of Santa Trinità, he asks. The Medici are very anxious not to make mistakes in the etiquette and they want Niccolini to tell them what the current customs are.¹³

Six days later Niccolini answers Vinta from Rome with a very clear letter. He writes that for ordinary ambassadors (in contrast to extraordinary ambassadors who came for temporary diplomatic missions and who were often higher in rank) it was not customary to have a public entry in Rome. For ordinary ambassadors it was the custom to enter privately at night, awaited by the old ambassador and the members of the Florentine community in Rome. It was also not customary that ordinary ambassadors went immediately to the palace of the Pope for a private visit to kiss his feet. Only royal ambassadors had this privilege. Nonetheless, in 1608, Marquis Salviati was allowed to visit the Pope immediately and Niccolini says he will negotiate to ask if this privilege could also be given to Guicciardini.¹⁴

About the question if Guicciardini could bring his wife, he writes that after some negotiations, Guicciardini can take his wife, but he has to let her arrive secretly at night, at the garden of Trinità (Villa Medici). He advises Guicciardini to wait with her arrival until ten

days after his own entrance, because during those days he will be very busy with the visits of the ambassadors of the other states. In the meantime she can wait in Bracciano.¹⁵

Now that everything was arranged for the departure of Guicciardini, the only thing he did not know yet, was if he had to visit the Pope immediately after his arrival or not. Niccolini was still negotiating about that. On his way to Rome, Guicciardini encounters the postal service to Florence and sees a letter from Niccolini to Vinta. Guicciardini decides to open it and seal it up again after reading, as he writes to Vinta. Niccolini had written that the Pope went to Frascati, to his villa, and would not be in Rome. Guicciardini therefore decides to write Niccolini himself, to ask if he has to slow down, to be sure that he will not arrive in Rome before the Pope is back. If there was a possibility that he could immediately kiss the feet of the Pope on the day of his arrival, the Pope at least had to be present in Rome.¹⁶

A few days later Guicciardini writes to Vinta to tell that he has arrived in Bracciano and that Niccolini let him know that he indeed had to delay his arrival, so that he would not arrive in Rome before the Pope.¹⁷ From a report written by Guicciardini, a kind of diary, appears that he indeed had the possibility to kiss the feet of the Pope directly after his arrival. This was a great honour for him, but also for the Medici court. On Tuesday 10 May 1611, he writes in his diary about his entry in Rome.¹⁸ At a distance of one mile from the city, he is received by Giovanni Niccolini, who was sitting in a carriage drawn by six horses. Niccolini stepped out of his carriage and gave Guicciardini his right hand to help him to get in, as he did in all the subsequent cases. Then they were met by twelve carriages, each pulled by six horses, and by another forty carriages drawn by two horses, out of which stepped all kinds of gentlemen to greet him, while Guicciardini remained in his carriage. With this whole retinue of fifty-two carriages he went to the palace of the Pope to kiss his feet and to Cardinal Scipione Borghese. Then he went home to the Palazzo di Firenze at Campo Marzio, where he was hosted by Niccolini, until the latter's departure from Rome. That night he was visited by twenty-three cardinals who bade him welcome, among them the Cardinals Ginnasio, Borghese, Capponi, Aldobrandini and Sauli.¹⁹ Apparently, this was the way a Medici-ambassador was received in Rome.²⁰

We can conclude that Giovanni Niccolini was very important in advising the Medici, so that they did not make any mistakes in the etiquette of the ceremonial at the Roman court. And Niccolini even negotiated for the extra honour that was given to Guicciardini and the Medici, that immediately after his arrival the new ordinary ambassador was received by the Pope to kiss his feet. This was possible because he had advised Guicciardini to delay his arrival. Guicciardini's entry was successful and he stayed as ambassador at the papal court until 1621, where he served the Medici with the dignity and decorum he spoke of in his letters.

Vienna: a special gift for prince Hans Ulrich von Eggenberg

From 1618 until 1627 Giovanni Altoviti was ambassador at the court of the Habsburg Emperor Ferdinand II in Vienna. In the Florentine State archive, I studied his correspondence to Florence and vice versa, and I discovered some letters in which was written that the Medici, in this case the regents Christine of Lorraine and Maria Maddalena of Austria, sent a present to Vienna in the year 1622, which was delivered by Giovanni Altoviti. The present was destined to Prince Hans Ulrich von Eggenberg (1568-1634), or Eckembergh in English, the President of the Privy Council and the Lord Chamberlain of the emperor, a kind of prime minister of Emperor Ferdinand II.

In the first letter, from the 6th of August 1622, from the secretary Curzio Picchena in Florence to Altoviti in Vienna, Picchena writes that they are looking for an appropriate present for Signor Eckembergh (*Ieri andarono vedendo et scegliendo qualche pezza da regalare il sig(n)ore di Ecchemberg*), that they want to send later that day to Venice and from

there to Vienna.²¹ Actually, the present was intended for the daughter of Prince Eckemberg, as will become clear later in the correspondence. Still on the same day Picchena writes that the regents will send a *cinta* or *cordone*, a belt or string or necklace to which could be attached a *Toson*, which is a sheep's fleece and in this case they mean the emblem of the Order of the Golden Fleece which is named the *Toson d'oro* in Italian. (...*si manda nelle sue mani una Cinta, ò vogliamo dir Cordone che si potrebbe adoperare ad attaccarvi il Tosone o cosa simile.*) In 1620, Hans Ulrich was named a Knight in the Order of the Golden Fleece by the king of Spain, so it is probable that the regents wanted to give a string or chain to the daughter of prince Eckembergh to which could be attached, as they suggest, a pendant, for example the emblem of the Golden Fleece.²²

Picchena writes that the persons who saw the present in Florence thought it was worth the receiver *and* the persons who gave the present (*Et a chi l'ha veduto, è parso una presente degno di chi la dona et di chi l'ha da ricevere*). So it was important that the present also reflected the social standing of the Medici. They call it a *piccola amorevolezza*, a small sign of affection, as a way of thanks for the goodwill the prince showed towards the Medici. They instruct Altoviti to present it like that and not negotiate about anything else.²³ Although they write it was only a small sign of affection, there was supposedly a hidden political meaning behind it.

On the 27th of August, so some twenty days after they sent it, Giovanni Altoviti writes to the regents that he received the box with the string or necklace in it and that he brought it (himself) to Signor Eckembergh, while he accompanied the gift with the best possible words he could think of (*le migliori parole ch'io seppi usare*). He had the impression that the receiver was very pleased with the present and that he was conscious of the value of it (*gli paressi cosa molto bella e di gran valore*) and he and his daughter had thanked the regents with many affectionate words. After that moment the prime minister's daughter showed the necklace to the emperor and during the dinner she showed it to everybody. He concludes from this that they did not want the present to stay a secret, but, on the contrary, show their contentment.²⁴

In September, the regents have received Altoviti's above cited letter and Picchena writes that the regents were very pleased to hear that Signor Eckembergh appreciated the present.²⁵ The fact that the present was destined to the young daughter of the minister, and not to the minister himself, was very exceptional.²⁶ Maybe this had to do with the fact that the Medici regents were women themselves.

By presenting gifts to important persons in the circle of European rulers, Florentine ambassadors could increase the status of the Medici, in this case when the daughter showed the gift to the whole family of the emperor. Supposedly, there was also a hidden political meaning behind this gift, so it seems a small thing, but could have great importance.

Venice: Florentine sophistication and style in treaties about the Castro-Wars

An interesting article by Caroline Callard about the difference between the scribal culture in Venice and Florence makes clear that the Medici, together with their secretaries and ambassadors, wanted to uphold the decorum of the Medici even in the texts of war treaties.²⁷

In the summer of 1642, during the first War of Castro, a conflict between the papacy and the Farnese Dukes of Parma in the years 1641-44, Venice, Tuscany and Modena wanted to form a league against the papal forces. While negotiating about the treaty that describes the alliance, it became clear, that for Grand Duke Ferdinand II, apart from the content of the treaty, the style of writing was of the same importance, because this also expressed the image of the state of Tuscany. The Tuscan ambassadors in Venice at that moment, Domenico Pandolfini and Francesco Maria Zati, negotiate for about two weeks with the Venetian authorities and the Medici-secretaries in Florence about this treaty. They continually

exchange new drafts of the treaty. First there is a *bozza*, a 'draft', then there is a *nota sopra la bozza*, 'comments about the draft' and then follows a *bozza riformata secondo il sendo del granduca*, 'a revised draft after the opinion of the grand duke' and so on.²⁸ For the Medici it was of the utmost importance how they presented themselves. The Venetians wanted to be as direct as possible, while the grand duke wanted the text much more eloquent and with well-considered words and sentences. After the first draft the Medici secretary Giovan Battista Gondi (1589-1664) in Florence writes that the treaty *in sostanza non dà difficoltà sebbene potrebbe essere molto più elegante*, 'in fact there are no real difficulties with the text, but it could be much more elegant'.²⁹ In the following weeks they try to change as much as is allowed by the Venetians.

In the first place, the Medici wanted Tuscany, Venice and Modena to be equally represented in the treaty. This was not the case in the first draft, in which Venice was presented as the leader of the league. In the second place, the Tuscans wanted that the league was presented as a way of preventing war in Italy and that the protagonists were presented as defenders of peace instead of as aggressors. They tried to eliminate all the words that were referring to an armed conflict, while in reality it was an armed conflict and military forces of the grand duke were participating. Still they wanted the treaty to be well thought-out and they changed for example the sentence about the *mossa imminente dell'Armi del Papa*, 'the imminent manoeuvre of the papal armies', into a sentence about the *differenze tra il duca di Parma ed il Pontefice*, the difference of opinion between Parma and the Pope. So, in this way, the sentence got a slightly different meaning. The Medici wanted to stress the image of Tuscany as a peace-loving state and of themselves as defenders of peace in Italy, whereas the Republic of Venice steered more towards an image of military force.

One year later, a second league was concluded, which was much more offensive and again there was a difference of opinion between the Tuscans and Venetians about how to present this league. The grand dukes wanted to make a manifest, to justify this war against the Church, which was a serious thing, whereas the Venetians just wanted to diffuse a circular letter. According to secretary Gondi, the Venetians wanted to express only the *solì nudi motivi*, 'the mere facts', while the grand dukes, again, wanted to embed the facts in a stylistic plea.³⁰ The grand dukes wanted rhetorical elegance, whereas the Venetians wanted theoretic minimalism. The Medici thought it was better to present the second league as if the interests of the Italian peninsula were being defended, instead of only the interests of certain princes. In fact, the Medici wanted something that resembled the Italic League of 1454 between Venice, Milan, Naples, the Papal States and Florence, that was subsequently supported by Lorenzo the Magnificent in the years after, and which had the aim to have a balance of power in the whole peninsula. For them, history and the golden period of Lorenzo the Magnificent played a large role in the negotiations on these new treaties. Unfortunately, Venice won much of the negotiations on the treaties, which frustrated the Florentine secretaries and grand dukes a lot, because they wanted their treaties to be elegant. It is not entirely clear why the Venetians won. It probably had to do with the fact that they just had more influence in Italy in this period.

Although they did not always succeed, the Medici and their secretaries and ambassadors strived to spread an image of themselves as a peace-loving state and a state that advocated elegancy in all circumstances, even when it handled about military questions.

Paris: ambassador Lorenzo Corsi travels from Florence to Paris to offer the Medici's condolences upon the death of Maria de' Medici, Queen of France.

In 1643, the Medici sent an extraordinary ambassador to Paris, to offer the condolences of the grand ducal couple to the King of France, Louis XIII (1601-1643), after the death of his mother, Queen Maria de' Medici (1575-1642). For this mission they chose Lorenzo Corsi

(1599-1656) as extraordinary ambassador. Lorenzo Corsi, until that moment, had been *protonotario apostolico* in Rome, a notary for the Roman Curia. He lived in Rome, first in the Palazzo Farnese and after that in the Palazzo del Bufalo (nowadays Collegio Nazareno). He had studied in Bologna, Parma and Perugia and had already travelled to the courts of France, Spain and Germany, before he started this new assignment.³¹ In Rome, Corsi patronized many painters, such as Giovanni Battista Laurenti, who got the commission to paint the walls in the Del Bufalo-palace, and Giovan Battista Vanni, who made paintings with Saints for him, as well as a work showing magicians, and a hunting-scene. His patronage is described by Donatella Pegazzano in a recent article.³²

Lorenzo Corsi lived in quite luxury in the Del Bufalo palace where he also kept songbirds. These were nightingales, which are called *usignoli* in Italian, or with an antique word also used by Petrarca, *rusignoli*. Donatella Pegazzano found a beautiful fragment in the correspondence of Lorenzo Corsi with his chamberlain (maestro di camera) Cesare Vallerani, from which results that when Corsi was away from Rome he was very interested in the health of his songbirds. His chamberlain writes that he sometimes placed their cages on the windowsill, so that passers-by could hear their beautiful singing. He writes “(...) *li rusignoli poi stanno benissimo et credetemi che si fanno sentire e li metto alle volte alla finestra della strada et signori et cardinali e tutti si fermano a sentirli.*”³³ (‘The nightingales are doing very fine and believe me that they do their best to express themselves and I place them sometimes near the window and gentlemen and cardinals all stand still to listen to them.’)

Donatella Pegazzano, in her recent articles about Corsi, also mentions a diary that was written during this trip.³⁴ By reading this diary entirely, it is possible to get an impression of a temporary mission of a Medici ambassador and the way he expressed the status and decorum of the Medici. The diary was written by Giovan Francesco Rucellai, who travelled with Corsi. In fact Lorenzo Corsi was not at all travelling alone. He took with him four other gentlemen as comrades, all patricians, and thirteen servants, including a cook, a cupbearer, a chaplain, a chamberlain, a quartermaster-sergeant, a page, an accountant and bodyguards. In total, they travelled with eighteen persons. The four patrician gentlemen that joined the trip were Luigi Antinori, Lorenzo Capponi (m.1654), Giovan Francesco Rucellai (1616-1674?), who wrote the diary, and Abbot Giovanni Rucellai (1608-1692).³⁵

They departed from Florence on 18 January 1643. The ambassador Lorenzo Corsi and his four patrician comrades had been given French clothes, mainly brown of colour. According to Rucellai, they were sent off by almost everyone in Florence. They got in a carriage drawn by six horses and went on their way to Bologna. There, Count Alessandro Bentivoglio had arranged that they could sleep in the Carthusian convent one mile from the city, all paid by Bentivoglio. Grand Duke Ferdinand II had ordered them not to enter the city. Instead they asked Bentivoglio for new horses and carriages that could bring them to Milan. They never officially entered any of the cities they passed, because all the formal visits would have taken them too much time. Sometimes, however, they did enter the cities incognito, on foot. In this way they could see the dome of the cathedral of Parma, with frescoes by Correggio, and the two bronze equestrian statues in Piacenza made by Francesco Mochi in 1612 and 1620-25, which still exist and represent Ranuccio I and Alessandro Farnese, dukes of Parma and Piacenza.

Rucellai describes their trip in detail, for example that their noses and beards were all covered by snow in the mountains, where they had to walk. Near Milan they were met by the Tuscan ambassador at that court, Pier Francesco Rinuccini, with a carriage drawn by six horses. They stayed in Milan for about a week, but remained nonetheless incognito. They only visited, or were visited by some friends of Giovanni Rucellai, who had many connections to important gentlemen in Milan, such as Visconti, Manfredi, Lunati and Marquis Sforza Brivio. They visited all the monuments of the city, including the Ambrosiana library, of which

Rucellai writes that the books were put in order in such a beautiful way as if it concerned the most beautiful pictures of Europe.³⁶ They also visited the palace of Signor Manfredi Settala where they admired paintings, telescopes, musical instruments, and the library.

In Turin their first official visit took place. During all their official visits the ambassador wore a long sacerdotal vestment. They had to offer their condolences to Madame Christine of France (1606-1663), for the death of her mother Maria de' Medici. She was the sister of King Louis XIII of France and the regent of the Duke of Savoy, her son Charles Emmanuel II (1634-1675).³⁷ The ambassador and the comrades gave Christine of France credential letters of the grand duke, his wife and Cardinal Carlo de' Medici. Ambassador Corsi had been instructed not to address the Savoy Duchess with a royal title, as the Savoy's wished. Instead of Real Altezza he had to address her with la Sua Real Persona. The next day they visited her son Prince Maurizio of Savoy, later cardinal, but then only 15 years old. According to Rucellai, Maurizio received them while sitting in a 'superbissimo' letto, a superb bed, and they were showed around in the palace and saw many paintings. He was very hospitable. The other days they were visited by gentlemen or visited them and they were treated as 'altri grandi', important gentlemen. At the end of their stay in Turin, they visited villa il Valentino owned by the Duchess of Savoy. They saw flower paintings, landscapes, a room with mirrors from Venice, and many ebony and ivory cabinets. The rooms were of a luxury they had never seen, not even in Rome.

Near Chambéry they were met by two carriages drawn by six horses to bring them to the city and to the Duke of Savoy, Charles Emmanuel II. The ambassador was given a bed with a baldachin made of velvet. In the palace of the Duke they were received by his tutor, Pallavicino. The ambassador had to bend down, Rucellai writes, because the Duke was only nine years old. The duke inquired after the health of the grand ducal couple and other things that were partly whispered in his ear. The Duke had arranged sleeping places for all the comrades. Both in Turin and Chambéry they were received with great respect, notwithstanding the fact that they refused to address the Duchess and Duke with the royal titles they preferred.

After almost two months they arrived in Paris. They were awaited in Longino by Count Ferdinando Bardi, the resident ambassador in Paris, by Giovan Battista Barducci, the new ambassador, and by Fra Pietro Corsini. Bardi had arranged a temporary house for them, all paid for by the grand duke. Lorenzo Corsi immediately started to buy horses and a carriage for his official entry in Paris and he ordered clothes for the pages and lackeys. For the comrades he ordered hats, swords, shoes, and blouses. They all were provided with one lackey. He hired even more servants and in total they were with a 'famiglia' of forty men.

All was prepared for their public entry and their first audience with the king now, but because the king was very ill, everything had to wait. Ultimately, they stayed for 4 ½ months in Paris. During their wait they visited the whole city. In the meantime there was one main concern to be settled: the title that was given to the Medici ambassador. Ambassador Lorenzo Corsi and his patrons, the Medici Grand Dukes, wanted the title of Eccellenza to be given to the ambassador, 'His Excellency' in English. Giovanni Rucellai, one of the comrades of the ambassador, thought it was best to discuss this with Cardinal Mazarin (1602-1661). He visited the Cardinal several times to negotiate about it. Mazarin was the Chief Minister of the French king from 1642. The French Royal family was used to give the title of Excellency only to prelates and refused to give it to the lay ambassador. Rucellai was received very well in the home of Cardinal Mazarin, because his chamberlain was Abbot Bentivoglio, a friend of his from Rome. Rucellai tried to win him over with many arguments, for example with occasions in which the ambassador was treated as Excellency during their trip to Paris. At first Mazarin kept saying it would be impossible, but at the end he promised to negotiate about it with others. The king still remained too ill for the audience, and they had to keep waiting. In the

meantime they presented gifts from Italy, such as gloves and perfumes, to Cardinal Mazarin and Bentivoglio.

The Duchess of Guisa arrived in Paris and the ambassador and his comrades frequently visited her palace, and she did address the ambassador as Excellency. In the meantime, Giovanni Rucellai frequented the palace of Mazarin and had dinner with gentlemen there, sitting around a round table. On the 14th of May, King Louis XIII died and they sent a messenger to Florence to ask for new instructions. Only one month later these new instructions arrived. They had to offer double condolences to the regent Anne of Austria (1601-1666) and her son, the new King Louis XIV. Rucellai asked again if Mazarin could negotiate about their public entry and the title of Excellency. Mazarin answered he would discuss it with Conte di Burlon, an important minister.

On the 18th of June they got the message that their request was granted and from then on they were addressed with the title of Excellency. The ambassador was indescribably happy, according to Rucellai. A date was also announced for their public entry. It could take place two days later, at a convent outside the city, so that they could be met by many carriages. Upon hearing this, the ambassador sent invitations for the entry to all the other ambassadors in Paris, with instructions on how they were to address him. This differed from ambassador to ambassador and depended on the status of their states or countries.³⁸

On Saturday the 20th of June the public entry took place. The ambassador wore a dark purple robe. With Signor Bardi and his four comrades he went in a carriage to the convent. At the convent he was met by many carriages of the ambassadors of Parma, England, Malta, and Mantua and the Countess of Suisson, Cardinal Mazarin, Cardinal Rosciafocò, the nuntio, etc. Finally, a dark purple carriage arrived with marshal François Bassompierre and other officials of the French king, as well as a brown carriage sent by the queen. The marshal treated him as Excellency. The ambassador entered the carriage of the king and was seated in front, with behind him the marshal and other officials. The comrades went in the carriage of the queen. Their carriages were followed by those of Prince Conde, Countess Suisson, Mazarin, the other cardinals, the Dukes of Guisa, and others. In total there were 28 carriages with six horses and twelve with four horses. Before the carriage of the king, six pages were walking and 25 of the ambassador's men on horses, all dressed in brown, and around the carriage were 25 lackeys with feathers in their hats. It was all beautiful to see, according to Rucellai. With all these carriages they rode to Paris, where Corsi was brought to his own house in the king's carriage, after which the marshal returned home.

A few days after, on Tuesday, they finally had their audience with the Queen mother and King Louis XIV. They were collected by carriages of the king and the queen, this time with another marshal in it, Marshal Guisha, who spoke Italian fluently. Ambassador Corsi again wore his dark purple robe, with a rochet. When they were received, the Queen mother was sitting in a bed, while King Louis XIV was standing on a chair, supported by her or others. The king said to the ambassador that he could put on his hat. The queen gave the ambassador a warm reception and said a lot of good things about the grand ducal couple. The ambassador spoke to her in Italian and gave her all the credential letters of the grand ducal couple and the Medici princes.

In the weeks after, the ambassador had some other audiences with the ministers of the French government and after that they returned home to Florence. The report about their stay in Paris made clear that the Florentine patricians used their own status to negotiate for the status and honour of the Medici family. With a lot of perseverance they finally reached their goal, that the ambassador was addressed with the title His Excellency by the Royal family and all the dukes and counts in Paris.

Conclusions

If we consider all five case studies I discussed we can say that the Medici wanted to answer to all the ceremonial standards set within Europe, but not only this, they also wanted to do this with style and decorum. The Florentine ambassadors assisted them to succeed in this, not because they blindly followed all the orders, but because they judged for themselves what were the most intelligent moves at certain instances. On top of that, they paid much attention to their outward appearance, as representatives of the Medici Grand Dukes. In Prague, Orazio Urbani ordered the right carriages to uphold the status of the Medici. In Rome, Piero Guicciardini served the Medici with dignity and decorum and had a successful entry thanks to the good advice of his predecessor, Giovanni Niccolini. He made sure that everything happened according to the customs in Rome, and arranged that the honour was given to the Medici-ambassador to be received by the Pope immediately after his arrival. In Vienna, Giovanni Altoviti helped the Medici to present a valuable gift to an influential person in the circle of the emperor, which increased their image at that court. In Venice, the Florentine ambassadors strived to support the Medici in their wish to be presented as a peace-loving state and did their best to introduce the elegant Florentine style in the War-treaties. In Paris, finally, Lorenzo Corsi and his comrades, especially Giovanni Rucellai, persevered in their negotiations for the title of His Excellency with which the Medici-ambassador was subsequently addressed by all the gentlemen in Paris.

Style and decorum were important requisites for the Medici, even in times of war and mourning. The patricians, as representatives not only of the Medici, but also of the Tuscan state with its humanist history, were very conscious of this fact and helped the Medici to uphold their decorum in all circumstances.

¹ On the structures behind the cultural and political success of the Medici court in Florence and Rome, see Elisa Goudriaan. *The cultural importance of Florentine patricians. Cultural exchange, brokerage networks, and social representation in early modern Florence and Rome (1600-1660)*. PhD Thesis, Leiden University, the Netherlands, 2015. All translations from Italian to English in this article are done by the author.

² See, for example, Marieke von Bernstorff and Susanne Kubersky-Piredda. Introduzione. In: Marieke von Bernstorff and Susanne Kubersky-Piredda (eds) *L'arte del dono. Scambi artistici e diplomazia tra Italia e Spagna, 1550-1650*. Cinisello Balsamo: Silvana Editoriale, 2013, pp. 7-11; Alexander Koller. *Imperator und Pontifex. Forschungen zum Verhältnis von Kaiserhof und römischer Kurie im Zeitalter der Konfessionalisierung (1555-1648)*. Münster: Aschendorff, 2012; M.A. Visceglia. L'ambasciatore spagnolo alla corte di Roma. Linee di lettura di una figura politica. *Roma moderna e contemporanea* 2007; XV 1-3: 3-27; Irene Fosi. La famiglia Savelli e la rappresentazione imperiale a Roma nella prima metà del Seicento. In: Richard Bösel, Grete Klingenstein and Alexander Koller (eds) *Kaiserhof – Papsthof (16.-18. Jahrhundert)*. Vienna: Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 2006, pp.67-76; Jeroen Frans Jozef Duindam. Ceremonial staffs and paperwork at two courts France and the Habsburg monarchy ca. 1550 – 1720. In: Klaus Malettke and Chantal Grell (eds) *Hofgesellschaft und Höflinge an europäischen Fürstenhöfen in der Frühen Neuzeit (15. - 18. Jh.)*. Münster: LIT, 2001, pp. 369-388; Daniela Frigo. Corte, onore e ragion di stato: il ruolo dell'ambasciatore in età moderna. In: Daniela Frigo (ed) *Ambasciatori e nunzi. Figure della diplomazia in età moderna*. Rome: Bulzoni, 1999, pp. 13-56.

³ See, for example, Jeroen Duindam. Royal courts. In: Hamish Scott (ed) *The Oxford Handbook of Early modern History, 1350-1750*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2015, pp. 440-477; Jeroen Frans Jozef Duindam. L'Europe des cours princières. Entre Renaissance et premier XVIIe siècle. In: Blaise Ducos (ed) *L'Europe de Rubens*. Paris: Hazan, 2013, pp. 73-111; Jeroen Frans Jozef Duindam, Ceremonial staffs and paperwork, op. cit.; Irene Fosi, La famiglia Savelli, op. cit.; Daniela Frigo, Corte, onore e ragion di stato, op. cit..

⁴ Jeroen Duindam. Royal courts, op cit., 461; Jeroen Frans Jozef Duindam, Ceremonial staffs and paperwork, op. cit., 380.

⁵ In the Holy Roman Empire from 1537, in Rome from 1539, and in France from 1544 onward.

⁶ Alessandra Contini. Dinastia, patriziato e politica estera: ambasciatori e segretari medicei nel Cinquecento. In: Daniela Frigo (ed) *Ambasciatori e nunzi*, op. cit., pp. 80 and 118.

⁷ Alessandra Contini. Aspects of Medicean diplomacy in the sixteenth century. In: Daniela Frigo (ed) *Politics and diplomacy in early modern Italy. The structure of diplomatic practice, 1450-1800*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000, pp. 63-64.

⁸ Ernest Giddey. *Agents et ambassadeurs toscans auprès des Suisses sous le règne du grand-duc Ferdinand Ier de Médicis (1587-1609)*. Zürich: Leemann, 1953, pp. 44-48.

⁹ Simone Bardazzi. Praga fiorentina. Diplomatici, artisti, viaggiatori e avventurieri presso la corte di Rodolfo II. *Medicea* 2010; 6: pp. 42-49.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 44.

¹¹ On Giovanni Niccolini and Piero Guicciardini as ambassadors, see Elisa Goudriaan, *The cultural importance of Florentine patricians*, op. cit., pp. 61-86.

¹² Archivio di Stato Firenze (ASF), Mediceo del Principato 3326: Lettere di Piero Guicciardini, 1610-1611. Letter from Piero Guicciardini (Florence) to Belisario Vinta (Florence), 12 april 1611: 'Molto *Illustre Signor mio*, Io ho rappresentato in questa inclusa carta a V.S. quello che ho ritratto, è mi è sovenuto circa li miei bisogni e affari spectanti la carica di chi si tratta, perche ella mi favorisca coreggermi et emendarmi dove li paia non si aggiusti quello che è conveniente, è perche ella sia mezzo che tutti o parti di essi, se cosi a lei pare sieno a notizia de' *Padroni Serenissimi* ad ogni minima cenno de quali io sarò sempre pronto obbedir in quelle forme che sarà lor voglia, è mi son disteso e per obbedir, e per la speranza, che in poco di testata [?] è determinazion sopra questo fatto, mi sia in questo genere un Instruzione, mezzo a non entrare ne nel poco, ne nel troppo, e le bacio le mani. (...) se io sarò soccorso e mantenuto talmente, ch'io possa contentare i Capitali potrò più lungamente continuare nel suo servizio, altrimenti io durerò quanto io potrò, è nel poco e breve tempo ch'io potrò farlo con dignità e decoro (...) come mi parebbe seguisse, se rappresentando e servendo Principe cosi grande in Città e Corte come è quella di Roma, questi luci dove risguardono gli occhi di ciascuno, io non lo facessi con quel decoro e dignità che si aspetta, e si deve, e che porta l'uso del tempo, e di quel luogo.'

¹³ ASF, Mediceo del Principato 3501: Lettere di diversi al Cardinale Giovan Carlo. Letter from Belisario Vinta (Florence) to Giovanni Niccolini (Rome), 22 April 1610: 'Si affretta tuttavia la partenza del nuovo Ambasciatore, che ha a scambiare V.S. Illustrissima per la licenza, che ella ha ottenuta, et per curiosità nostra si desidera d'intendere da V.S. Illustrissima, se detto ambasciatore nuovo, che viene a posta per risiedere, habbia a far l'entrata pubblica, et concertata, o, pare al tardi, et di notte entrar privatamente [...] et insomma, per levare ogni disputa ella scriverà a noi qualche si usi; il signor Piero disegna di menar seco la moglie, ma non sappiamo in caso, che si havesse a fare entrata pubblica, quando et come habbia ad entrar la moglie, ne qualche si costumi intorno a ciò, ò, di menarla, ò, di farla rimanere in qualche luogo, come sarebbe a Bracciano o al Giardino della Trinità et farla poi entrar da se. (...) mi si contenterà di dire il suo parere, di come l'Ambasciatore Guicciardini si habbia a governare anche in presto, perche in verità harebbe caro di menare seco sua moglie, almeno fino a Bracciano, et fino a Roma ancora, con mandarla al Giardino, se ella non habbia a fare l'entrata il medesimo dì, che entrerà egli, et a V.S. Illustrissima bacio di cuore le mani, [22 di Aprile 1610]. Di V.S. Illustrissima servitore affettissimo et obbligatissimo, Belisario Vinta. C'è l'esempio almeno delli signori ambasciatori di Savoia, che hanno condotto le moglie.' On 23 April 1611 Guicciardini writes to Vinta about the same subjects and asks if his wife could stay for a few days in the garden of Trinità. ASF Mediceo del Principato 3326: Lettere di Piero Guicciardini 1610-1611.

¹⁴ ASF, Mediceo del Principato 3325: Lettere di Giovanni Niccolini 1609-1611, 28 april 1611. Giovanni Niccolini (Rome) to Belisario Vinta (Florence): 'Siamo a giovedì mattina e non sendo ancora in ordine il Corriere di Lione per partire, se bene ho scritto tre altre lettere a V.S. in diversi tempi hiersera l'altra nondimeno havendo hiersera a notte ricevuto per il procaccio la di V.S. del 22 per la quale ella desiderava sapere, come s'habbia a governar il *Signor Piero Guicciardini* nuovo *Ambasciatore* nell'entrata in Roma, et anche poi nel trattare cosi esso come la *signora* sua moglie. Dirò prima, come hoggi qua non usano far entrata pubblica se non gli *Ambasciatori* che vengano a rendere obbedienza nelle sale dove sogliono essere ricevuti da Papa, e quelli che vengano per risedere entrano privatamente da sera in Carrozza, da sera incontrata dall'*Ambasciatore* vecchio, e da quelli delle Nationi, et Amici loro e condotti alla casa delle Abitationi destinata per detto *Ambasciatore* e solo gli *Ambasciatori* Regii vanno la medesima sera a baciare i Piedi a *Sua Santità* privatamente. Il *Signor Marchese Salviati*, se bene venne come per rendere obbedienza, non dimeno non feci entrata pubblica, et essendo andato egli dal Papa la medesima sera che arrivai fu cosa straordinaria per fargli quel favore, e fù procurata da noi, ma per gli Residenti come ho detto non si usa se non per quello del Re.'

¹⁵ (Still the same letter as in the previous note) 'Quando ella poi verra a Roma farà l'entrata privatamente da sera, ma sarà incontrata da tutte le Gentildonne Fiorentine et altri, che vorranno honorarla, che a questo non s'invita, ma si lascia fare a loro, che cosi intervenne alla mia moglie, che venne quattro mesi dopo di me.'

¹⁶ ASF, Mediceo del Principato 3326: Lettere di Piero Guicciardini 1610-1611. Piero Guicciardini to Belisario Vinta, 2 May 1611: 'Ho trovato al ricorso l'ordinario di Milano e aprendo il piego per Firenze indiritto al signor Bartolini (...) ho aperto solo la lettera dell'*Ambasciatore* Niccolini per V.S. e lettela, risigillata. Veggo per ella restare determinato quel punto di andar subito a presentarsi a *Sua Santità* il quale perche va hoggi, o domani a Frascati come dice il Niccolini: io li spediro anticipamente per sapere se egli se li pare ch'io mi vadi adagio trattenendo questi tre giorni che il Papa stare fuori per il cammino per arrivare in Roma, quando *Nostro Signore*

sia tornato per mantener o acquistar quello dell'andar subito nella forma che si arriva privatamente dal Papa e mi governerò secondo il parere di detto Niccolini.'

¹⁷ ASF, Mediceo del Principato 3326: Lettere di Piero Guicciardini 1610-1611. Piero Guicciardini (Bracciano) to Belisario Vinta (Florence), 6 May 1611: '...di Radicofani io spedi a posta al signor Ambasciatore Niccolini avvisandoli la mia andata, per a quelli hora è tempo, che egli havesse giudicato opportuno, egli mi rispedi indietro mandato espresso, che mi trovo andare a Viterbo, e mi avviso, che havendo come fermo con *Sua Santità* che arrivando io fossi condotto subito a piedi alla *Sua Santità* la quale era andata lunedì a Frascati, li pareva che io dovessi (?) con l'andando adagio è trattenermi far sì, che non arrivasse in Roma, se non quando il Papa sia tornato, e perciò la sera io non passai Ronciglione e hieri me ne sono venuto a Bracciano così che anco non solo approvato e consigliato il *Signor Ambasciatore* Niccolini per essere luogo fuori del cammino, e dove con più dignità altri si possa trattener quel poco di tempo che si crede occorrerà...'

¹⁸ Archivio Guicciardini (AG), Florence, Legazioni e commissarie dei Guicciardini XXVI. Letters and other documents concerning Piero Guicciardini: 'Diario complimenti e trattamenti conforme la corte di Roma 1621'.

¹⁹ Apart from the five cardinals mentioned, Guicciardini was visited by the Cardinals Deti, Rochefoucauld, Ascoli (Girolamo Bernerio), Nazzaret, Bandini, Zappata, Platta, Del Monte, Tosco, Sannesio, Pallotta, Montelbero, Bellarmi, Delfini, Mellino, S. Cesare, Bevilacqua, and Pinello Decimo.

²⁰ Niccolini also writes Belisario Vinta about Guicciardini's arrival, on 12 May 1611. From his letter to Vinta, it is important to note that his carriage was followed by the carriages of the signori Bandini, Barberini, and Capponi and that the consul of the Nazione fiorentina was present with many Florentine gentlemen. (ASF, Mediceo del Principato 3325: Lettere di Giovanni Niccolini 1609-1611.)

²¹ ASF, Mediceo del Principato 4486: Letters from Curzio Picchena to Giovanni Altoviti in Vienna, 1618-1627. 6 August 1622: 'Ieri andarono vedendo et scegliendo qualche pezza da regalare al *Signore* di Ecchemberg, et credo che vorranno mandarla oggi a Venezia col Procaccio, con ordine che di quivi sia mandata in mano di V.S. *Illustrissima* et insieme dovranno venire le lettere ringraziatorie.'

²² According to Koen Ottenheim, professor of architectural history, during official occasions only the official chain and emblem of the Order of the Golden Fleece could be used and never a chain that was given by the Medici family. So, the daughter of Eckemberg could use the chain given to her by the Medici only during more informal occasions related to the Order of the Golden Fleece, or otherwise she could attach a different emblem to the chain, which was not referring to the Order. Perhaps the Medici were not well-informed about the customs at the court of Vienna and wrongly thought that they could give a chain to which could be attached the emblem of the Golden Fleece. But it was only a suggestion of them and the girl could use the chain also for other purposes.

²³ ASF, Mediceo del Principato 4486: Letters from Curzio Picchena to Giovanni Altoviti in Vienna, 1618-1627. 6 August 1622: 'Loro Altezze hanno sentito questa sera le lettere di V.S. *Illustrissima*, et non hanno comandato di scriverle altro, se non che si manda nelle sue mani una Cinta, ò vogliamo dir Cordone che si potrebbe adoperare ad attaccarvi il Tosone o cosa simile. Et a chi l'ha veduto, è parso una presente degno di chi la dona et di chi l'ha da ricevere. La lettera che si scrive al *Signore* di Ecchemberg non contiene altro che un ringraziamento in nome di Madama Arciduchessa et di Madama come tutrici, et non parla punto del regalo, ma vogliono lor Altezze che V.S. *Illustrissima* o nel medesimo tempo ch'ella gli presenterà la lettera, o poi gliene porti, dicendo che l'Altezze loro gli donano questa piccola amorevolezza per la signora sua figliuola et solamente per un segno di aggradire l'affezionata volontà che egli mostra del continuo verso questa Casa...'

²⁴ ASF, Mediceo del Principato 4374: Letters from Giovanni Altoviti 1622. Giovanni Altoviti (Vienna) to Picchena (Florence), 27 August 1622: 'Con lettere di V.S. *Illustrissima* de 6 hebbi anche la cassetina con la cinta la quale con la lettera della *Serenissima* Arciduchessa io stesso portai al signor d'Ecchembergh e con accompagnatura delle migliori parole ch'io seppi usare a nome di S.A. gliela presentai per la signora sua figliuola. Ricevettela molto volentiera e mi parve che gli paressi cosa molto bella e di gran valore havendola commendata per tale e mi disse che egli stesso e la sua figliuola medesima n'harebbe rese grazie a S.A. con aggiunta d'altre affettuose parole et offerte. Credo che l'abbia poi mostrata a *Sua Maestà* essendo così il suo costume e la sera medesima havendo cenato seco una mano di suoi parenti la mostrò a tutti, sicche ha volsuto che questo regalo non sia segreto.'

²⁵ ASF, Mediceo del Principato 4486: Letters from Curzio Picchena to Giovanni Altoviti in Vienna, 1618-1627. 10 September 1622: 'Lor'Altezze sentirono hieri tutte le lettere di V.S. *Illustrissima* de 27 d'Agosto, et hanno havuto piacere d'intendere che il *signore* d'Ecchenberg havesse mostrata di aggradire quel regalo che gli mandò la *Serenissima* Arciduchessa.

²⁶ This was made clear by Koen Ottenheim, professor of architectural history, who attended my presentation at the University of Groningen (8 January 2016), during which I presented this particular case.

²⁷ Caroline Callard. Diplomacy and scribal culture: Venice and Florence, two cultures of political writings. *Italian studies* 2011; 66 (number 2): 249-262. The following paragraphs are based on the article of Callard.

²⁸ ASF, Mediceo del Principato, 2652: Bozza mandata di Venetia, 19 August 1642; Nota sopra la bozza di Venezia, 24 August 1642; Bozza riformata secondo il sendo del granduca, 24 August 1642. (Cited by Caroline Callard, *Diplomacy and scribal culture*, op. cit., p. 253)

²⁹ ASF, Mediceo del Principato, 2652. (Cited by Callard, p. 254)

³⁰ ASF, Mediceo del Principato, 2651. (Cited by Callard, p. 257)

³¹ In 1637, Lorenzo Corsi became maggiordomo maggiore of Prince Carlo de' Medici. (The maggiordomo maggiore managed the whole staff of the court, such as the secretaries, chamberlains, pages, head grooms, and the cloakroom.) Two years after Corsi's trip to France, in 1545, Innocentius X appointed him vicelegato (vice-legate) in Avignon, for eight years.

³² Donatella Pegazzano. I 'Cardinali guereggianti'. *Dipinti inediti di Giovan Battista Vanni per monsignor Lorenzo Corsi. Prospettiva* 2014; 153-154: 74-94. In 2016, another article on Lorenzo Corsi's patronage by Pegazzano will appear in the second volume of *Quadriere e committenza nobiliare a Firenze nel Seicento e nel Settecento* (Pisa: Pacini Editore), edited by Cristina De Benedictis, Donatella Pegazzano and Riccardo Spinelli.

³³ Pegazzano 2015, I 'Cardinali guereggianti', op. cit., p. 76: fragment from a letter dated 6 July 1630 from Cesare Vallerani (chamberlain) to Lorenzo Corsi, ASF CGS II parte, versamento 1992, R/17 (Carteggio di Lorenzo Corsi 1630-45), c. 216r.

³⁴ Pegazzano 2015, I 'Cardinali guereggianti', op. cit., p.75. The diary remained unpublished and was kept in the Archivio Rucellai. It was published for the first time by G. Temple-Leader and G. Marcotti in Florence (1884), entitled: *Un'imbasciata: diario dell'abate Giovan Francesco Rucellai*. The following paragraphs are based on this travel diary of Giovan Francesco Rucellai.

³⁵ Abbot Giovanni Rucellai at that moment was 35 years old, had studied law and mathematics in Pisa, with Galileo as his Master. He knew many languages, including Greek, Latin, French, English, Arab, and Slavic. He was a member of the Consiglio di Duecento and of the Senato in 1663. Giovan Francesco Rucellai, the author of the diary, was a distant family member of Giovanni. Eight years after this trip, he became resident ambassador in Venice for three years. After his stay in Venice, he dedicated a book to Leopoldo de' Medici, *Discorso intorno alle cause che mantengono la libetà della Repubblica di Venezia*. (G. Temple-Leader and G. Marcotti, *Un'imbasciata*, op. cit., pp. XVII-XVIII)

³⁶ G. Temple-Leader and G. Marcotti, *Un'imbasciata*, op. cit., p. 19.

³⁷ Carlo Emanuele II (Charles Emmanuel II) was Duke of Savoy since 1638. His mother Christine of France was his regent until 1648.

³⁸ Princes and dukes had to address him as Altezza (Your Highness), the nuntio as Illustrissimo (Most Illustrious), and the Savoy ambassador as His Excellency, which he did. The Venetian ambassador had to address him as His Excellency and answered therefore in the third person. This was also done by the ambassadors of Malta and Holland. The residents of Parma and Mantua were to address him as Illustrissimo, but instead, the resident of Mantua addressed him as His Excellency. All the French dukes and counts had to address him as His Excellency, which they did.