

Shaping the Space and Places of Portuguese and Dutch Global Trade: The Carte di Castello of Cosimo III de' Medici¹

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ABSTRACT

During a visit to the Netherlands between 1667 and 1668, Prince Cosimo III de' Medici purchased a conspicuous collection of "plans of various ports, cities, fortresses and coasts of both the East and West Indies" from the Dutch India Companies. Two years later, during a second European journey, having arrived in Lisbon, Cosimo purchased copies of large-scale nautical charts of the coasts of Africa, Arabia and Persia and the Indian subcontinent. Through the lenses of Dutch and Iberian maps and landscape painting, these documents, known as *Carte di Castello*, display the global mercantile world of the mid-17th century. This article considers Prince Cosimo's interest in long-distance trade and sea routes, within the overlapping frameworks of the Portuguese empire and Dutch trade companies, by following him on his first journey to the Netherlands. In Amsterdam he had the opportunity of becoming acquainted with the activities of the Dutch East and West India Companies, experiencing firsthand their wealth and at the same time learning about the places that structured the Dutch global trade networks. One specific context, particularly highlighted by the documentation acquired by Prince Cosimo, will be analyzed: the vast maritime region of the so-called "Spice Islands" in the Maluku Archipelago. This analysis will allow us to highlight two specific, structural aspects of trades developed by the Dutch companies and by the Portuguese, in the framework of the *Estado da Índia*, with respect to the spatiality of their trade networks: the reticular and insular dimension of global

¹ Abbreviations: ASFi, Archivio di Stato di Firenze; BML, Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana; CdC, *Carte di Castello*; VOC, Vereenigde Oostindische Compagnie (East India Company); WIC, West-Indische Compagnie (West India Company).

maritime commercial spaces and networks combined with the attempt of construction of Mediterranean maritime spaces, on a global scale. These two interconnected dimensions prove crucial to the economic and political management of long-distance networks during the sixteenth and seventeenth century.

Prince Cosimo III's journeys in Europe (1667-1669)

Between October 1667 and November 1669, in the two years immediately preceding his ascent to the Tuscan throne, Prince Cosimo III de' Medici (1642-1723), the eldest son of the Grand Duke of Tuscany, Ferdinand II (1610-1670), while married to Marguerite-Louise d'Orléans (1645-1721, niece of King Louis XIV of France), embarked on two consecutive long journeys to Europe. The first voyage, which began in October 1667 and ended in May 1668, had as its main destination the United Provinces, passing through the Tyrol and the German courts and cities along the Rhine. The second, far more extensive voyage, began in September 1668 and took in Spain, Portugal, Ireland, England, the Netherlands again and France, before ending in Florence on November 1, 1669, seven months before Prince Cosimo was crowned Grand Duke of Tuscany on May 23, 1670.

Various detailed accounts of the two journeys were written by the gentlemen in the prince's entourage: the most important are those authored by Marquis Filippo Corsini and Count Lorenzo Magalotti, followed by other shorter reports by Giovan Battista Gornia, who was the prince's doctor and also a reader of Medicine in Pisa from 1660 to 1670 and by the "house composer" Filippo Marchetti.² The *Relazione ufficiale* (Official Report), enriched by hundreds of large manuscript vistas of the European cities visited by Prince Cosimo (ranging from about 80 to almost 300 cm in length), in their majority drawn by architect and painter Pier Maria Baldi (c. 1630-1686), who

² For their codicological review and description, with extensive bibliography: Villani (2004) and Neira Cruz (2018).

accompanied Cosimo on his trips, seems to be based on the accounts given by Corsini and Magalotti, who may have been the mastermind behind the official report.³ In this context, we will mainly refer to the report authored by Marquis Filippo Corsini, preserved in manuscript form at the State Archive in Florence.⁴

Prince Cosimo's journeys had multifarious purposes: no doubt, they were meant to be formative journeys, to introduce the future heir to the throne of Tuscany to the main European courts as well as political and cultural realities, but were also a way to distancing the prince from the conflicts that undermined his unhappy marriage to Marguerite-Louise d'Orléans.⁵ In this article I will consider a specific documentary aspect of Cosimo's journeys, related to the Prince's interest in long-distance trade and sea routes, at least during his formative years, within the overlapping frameworks of the Iberian empires and Dutch trade companies. Cosimo concretized this interest in (spice and slave) trade and European empires by purchasing 82 manuscript visual documents of relevant historical value in Amsterdam, in December 1667 and then in Lisbon, in February 1669. These include maps of coastal and island regions, vistas and detailed city plans, particularly of port cities, and landscape paintings spread across four continents: Africa, North and South America, Asia and Oceania as well as four unique ethnographic depictions of the Khoekhoe (literally "true men"), an ethnic group from south-western Africa, based near the Cape of Good Hope, called "Hottentots"

³ Florence, BML, *Mediceo Palatino 123/1 and Mediceo Palatino 123/2: Relazione ufficiale del viaggio del principe Cosimo de' Medici negli anni 1668-1669*, ms. on paper, late 17th century, vol. 1: fols. I, 162; vol. 2 fols. I, 274, I'. See Crino (1968) and Taín Guzmán (2014).

⁴ Florence, ASFi, *Mediceo del Principato 6387*, ms on paper, ff. 337, c. 1670: *Viaggi di Alemagna, Paesi Bassi del 1667 e di Spagna, Francia, Inghilterra e Olanda del 1668 e 1669 fatti dal Serenissimo Principe Cosimo di Toscana di poi Gran Duca Terzo di quel nome, scritti dal Marchese Filippo Corsini Coppiero di S.A.S. e figliolo del Marchese Bartolommeo Corsini* (other copy: *Carte Stroziane*, series I, 57, c. 1670, ms on paper, fols. 250). The parts referring to the Netherlands were transcribed and collated with the other available reports of Cosimo's journeys, by Godefridus Johannes Hoogewerff (1884-1963) in 1919. See Hoogewerff (1919).

⁵ Corbellini (2019), pp. 11-18. On Marguerite-Louise d'Orléans, see Lagioia (2015).

by the Dutch. Taken together, these documents – some of them unique, as is the case of the famously detailed map of Amsterdam in the New Netherlands, today’s New York – describe the major hubs of global trade in the mid-seventeenth century.⁶

We will analyze these interests of Cosimo, by following him on his first journey to the Netherlands, during which he had the opportunity to visit and become acquainted with the Dutch East and West India Companies, while experiencing firsthand their wealth and at the same time learning about the places that structured Dutch, Spanish, Portuguese and British overlapping and conflictual global trade networks. We will then focus on one specific context, particularly highlighted by the documentation acquired by Prince Cosimo: the vast maritime region of the so-called “Spice Islands” (Amboin, the Banda Islands, Tidore and Ternate) in the Maluku Archipelago.

The analysis of these contexts allows us to focus on two specific, structural aspects of trades developed by the Dutch trading companies and by the Portuguese, in the framework of the *Estado da Índia*, particularly with reference to the spatiality of their trade networks: the reticular and insular dimension of global maritime commercial spaces and networks combined with the attempt of construction of Mediterranean maritime spaces, on a global scale. These two interconnected dimensions prove crucial to the economic and political management of long-distance networks during the sixteenth and seventeenth century.

⁶ After being taken back to Florence, all documented traces of them were lost for over a century. Nevertheless, during the Lorraine era (1737-1801 and 1814-1860), the inventories of the Villa di Castello show that the maps were part of the library of Grand Duke Peter Leopold from at least 1785. They were framed and displayed on the walls in the Villa Medicea di Castello, one of the Medici family’s oldest suburban residences, where they remained until around 1920. When the Savoy family left the home, the maps were taken to the Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana and have been identified as the *Carte di Castello* since then. See Giannotti (2019) and Fantoni (2019).

Observing mid-seventeenth century global trade from the Netherlands

Prince Cosimo and his travel companions arrived in the United Provinces on December 15th, 1667 having set off from Florence on October 22nd, on a journey that took them to Innsbruck, Augsburg and Mainz and, following a long tour up the Rhine, to Wesel, Emmerich and Arnhem. He was accompanied by a relatively large entourage including the marquis Filippo Corsini (1647-1706), his secretary Apollonio Bassetti (1631-99), the master of the house Filippo Marchetti, his treasurer Cosimo Prié and his doctor Giovanni Andrea Moniglia (1624-1700).

After a brief stay in Arnhem, Cosimo and his travel companions continued to Vreeswijk, Utrecht and Amsterdam, where he arrived on December 19th, 1667. Accompanied by the humanist and scholar Nicolaas Heinsius (1620-1681), Cosimo also visited Leiden, the home of the first university in the Northern Netherlands, founded by William of Orange in 1575, after the liberation of the city from the Spanish siege.⁷ He was welcomed and received by the entire academic board, the university's curators and the burgomasters of Leiden. When he visited The Hague, he was received by Prince of Orange, the future William III, and Prince Johan Maurits van Nassau-Siegen (1604-1679), who had been governor of Dutch Brazil. While in Delft, Cosimo visited the funerary monument of the "founding father" of the House of Orange, William I, followed by the tribute to the grave of the Admiral Maarten Harpertzoon Tromp (1598-1653), famous for having defeated the Spanish fleet during the Battle of the Downs in 1639, a key event for both the consolidation of the Republic of the Seven United Provinces (the Dutch Republic) as a maritime and military power and the decline of Spain as a maritime power in the strategic area around the English Channel.⁸ In Delft, Cosimo had a direct experience of the wealth of the premises

⁷ Hoogewerff (1919), pp. 337-339.

⁸ Hoogewerff (1919), p. 114; Corbellini (2019), p. 16.

of the Dutch East India Company as well as of the celebrated Delft porcelain shops, which were reported with emphasis by Filippo Corsini.⁹

In Amsterdam Prince Cosimo was welcomed by Francesco Feroni (1614-1696), a Tuscan merchant, banker and financial broker who specialized in wheat, slaves and artworks and had found success in the Netherlands, before returning to Florence upon Cosimo's invitation. Prince Cosimo and his entourage stayed in Feroni's palace on the Keizersgracht canal in the centre of Amsterdam, a "comfortable and respectable lodging", according to Marquis Corsini's travelogue.¹⁰ Already on his first day in Amsterdam, Prince Cosimo, guided by Pieter Blaeu (1636–1706), heir of the famous family of printers and cartographers, with well-established relationship with Florentine erudites¹¹ and Francesco Feroni, visited the *Landts Zeemagazijn*, the Arsenal of the Republic, where a fleet of forty war ships was anchored. Led by Admiral Michiel de Ruyter (1606-1676), that fleet had recently won the second naval war against the English (1665-1667), which ended on July 31st, 1667 with the signing of the Peace of Breda.¹² Cosimo expressed "great satisfaction" at having had the opportunity to go on board and visit three ships, observing the sails and armaments at first hand.¹³ Afterwards, they reached the headquarters of the East India Company, the *Oost-Indisch Huis*, which was the main objective of the entire journey. The visit to the

⁹ Corsini emphasized the "large quantities of spices and other goods from those areas [and porcelain shops] of which there are a great number" (*gran quantita di droghe et altre merci di quelle parti ... [e negozi di porcellane] delle quali in grand'abbondanza si provvede*), Hoogewerff (1919), p. 117.

¹⁰ Hoogewerff (1919), p. 40; Corbellini (2019), p. 11.

¹¹ Between 1661 and 1705, Pieter Blaeu exchanged, in Italian, several letters with Florentine erudites (especially with Antonio Magliabechi), known as "*lettere ai fiorentini*". Among them, a few were also addressed to Prince Cosimo, who had personally ordered, through Blaeu, a copy of Athanasius Kircher's *China illustrata*, published in Amsterdam in 1667, just before the Prince's departure to the Netherlands. See Corbellini (2019), p. 12-13. For the edition of Blaeu's *Lettere ai fiorentini*, see Mirto, Van Veen (1993), who accompanied him for almost his entire stay in the United Provinces.

¹² Hoogewerff (1919), p. 274.

¹³ Hoogewerff (1919), p. 41.

warehouses, in which – in Corsini’s words – were stored “hundreds of casks full of nutmeg, thousands of casks of pepper, an infinite number of bales of cinnamon [and] enormous mountains of mace,” of inestimable value, according to Corsini, left Cosimo deeply astonished.¹⁴ Over the next few days, the prince returned several times to the Oost-Indisch Huis in the company of Blaeu in order to visit it more comfortably and to speak personally with some of the directors of the Company.

Pieter Blaeu played a key role in establishing a privileged relationship with the two Dutch Trade Companies, the East India Company (VOC – Vereenigde Oostindische Compagnie, founded in 1602 and operating in the Indian Ocean and the seas of Southeast Asia) and WIC (West-Indische Compagnie, or West India Company, founded in 1621, operating in the Atlantic Ocean, between the Western African coasts, and South, Central and North America). Prince Cosimo was given access to confidential documents, in particular the conspicuous manuscript cartographic, pictorial, and ethnographic production managed by the Companies, through the direction of the Blaeu family. Thanks to the mediation of Pieter Blaeu, Prince Cosimo managed to acquire a valuable selection of manuscript maps and views of cities of the West and East Indies. They represented the places where the wealth generated by maritime trade in the framework of the complex trading networks of VOC and WIC transited and came from. In this regard, a passage in the travel diary written by Marquis Filippo Corsini, reports that on the evening of December 21st, 1667 after visiting the Blaeu family print shop during the day:

“At 24 hours [6 pm] His Highness returned home and spent the evening with Blaeu, looking at some geographical maps, drawn and illustrated with exceptional taste, which he had bought from him, and which featured the plans of various ports, cities, fortresses and coasts of both the East and West Indies; and from

¹⁴ “Centinaia di botti piene di noce moscade, migliaia di botti di pepe, un infinito numero di balle di cannella, monti grandissimi di macis”, Hoogewerff (1919), p. 43.

the merchant he had visited that same day [Cosimo had also] bought various small artefacts [*galanterie*] from the Indies, such as pictures, vases, utensils, objects and spices.”¹⁵

A few days later, on January 2nd, 1668, Prince Cosimo visited the remarkable collections of the lawyer Laurens van der Hem (1621-1678) who had commissioned and assembled a personal edition of the *Atlas maior*. In addition to the printed maps edited by Joan Blaeu, van der Hem’s collection included hundreds of manuscript maps, drawings and watercolor views of cities connected to the Dutch India Companies, totaling more than 2,400 documents, bound in forty-six volumes, currently housed in the Österreichische Nationalbibliothek in Vienna.¹⁶

Cosimo was intrigued and captivated by the vast collections of maps and exotica (*galanterie* in 17th-century Tuscan dialect) in the residences of the wealthy bourgeois he visited with Blaeu, especially in Amsterdam. These collections not only reflected the global outlook of the Netherlands, pursued through its trading companies, but also highlighted the widespread wealth this was generating. Cosimo and his father were aware that the economic and financial power

¹⁵ “Alle 24 [6:00 pm] tornò S[ua]. A[ltezza]. a casa e passato la veglia col Blaeu vedendo alcune carte di geografia disegnate e miniate con isquisitezza non ordinaria, che da esso gl’erano state fatte comprare, e dimostravano le piante di diversi porti, città, fortezze e coste dell’Indie tanto orientali che occidentali, e dal mercante dove s’era il giorno tratenuto varie galanterie pur dell’Indie, come figure, vasi, istrumenti, robe e droghe di quelle parti”, Hoogewerff (1919), p. 46.

¹⁶ “[2 gennaio 1668] venuto il Blaeu volle andare a vedere in casa dell’avvocato Wandren [Laurens Van der Hem] un gabinetto con grand’apparato di disegni di varie città, coste e luoghi dell’Indie, eccellentemente minati et altre carte di geografia, universali e particolari, fatte a mano con ogni sorte di squisitezza imaginabile”, Hoogewerff (1919), p. 76 ([On 2 January 1668], once Blaeu had arrived, he decided to go to the house of the lawyer Wandren [Laurens Van der Hem] to see an office with a large display of drawings of various cities, coasts and places from the Indies, brilliantly illustrated, and other universal and specific geographical maps, drawn by hand with every form of refinement imaginable). For information on Van der Hem’s map collection, see the eight volumes of the *Atlas Blaeu*, edited by Peter van der Krogt and published between 1996 and 2008. In particular, for the so-called “Secret atlas of the VOC”, containing maps very similar to those purchased by Cosimo III, see Van der Krogt (2005). For a cultural biography of Van der Hem, see in the same collection Groot (2006).

had shifted towards northern Europe and the Iberian empires, leading to a switch also in tastes and in collecting practices.¹⁷ The Prince had grown up in palaces where his ancestors had created exemplary, renowned spaces for collecting and displaying *naturalia* and *artificialia* from all over the world, organized through cosmography: for example, the so-called *Sala delle Carte Geografiche*, the *Guardaroba Medicea* in Palazzo Vecchio, fitted out for Grand Duke Cosimo I by Giorgio Vasari and court cosmographer Egnazio Danti.¹⁸ While in Amsterdam, Cosimo had the opportunity and was even keen to admire the collections and the new collecting habits of wealthy bourgeois that incorporated collectables from places that had become inaccessible from Florence, drawing inspiration from them.

Cosimo's interest in the Indies, in the activities of the Dutch trading companies and in the *naturalia* (particularly stones, shells, and spices) and *artificialia* that came from distant continents is a recurring theme, extensively discussed and commented on in Corsini's diary of the voyage. The purchase of the "plans of various ports, cities, fortresses and coasts of the Indies both East and West" was integrated in this interest and in the (unfulfilled) ambitions that were already of his ancestors, from Cosimo II (fourth Grand Duke of Tuscany from 1609 to 1621) to Ferdinand II, his father (Grand Duke from 1621 to 1670), to undertake commercial projects involving the Grand Duchy of Tuscany in global Portuguese and, in the case of Cosimo III, Dutch merchant networks.¹⁹

Mapping Global Trade

VOC and WIC were equipped with centers for producing and reproducing maps, city views, landscape painting in Amsterdam and in Batavia, which until 1706 remained under the supervision of the

¹⁷ Markey (2016); Brege (2021).

¹⁸ Fiorani (2007); Cattaneo (2010); Rosen (2015).

¹⁹ Horodowich, Markey (2017); Brege (2017).

Blaeu family.²⁰ At the time when Cosimo visited VOC, a significant proportion of the reproduction of the maps, and particularly the painted vistas of Dutch, Portuguese and Spanish colonial coasts and cities, carried out entirely by hand, was entrusted to Johannes Vingboons (c. 1616-1670) and his workshop in Amsterdam, which he ran with his brothers, the architects, draughtsmen and painters Philips Vingboons (1607-1678) and Justus Vingboons (c. 1620-1698). These were confidential cartographic materials which, in contrast to those destined for the profitable European and global printed map market, managed by the Blaeu and other printers in the Netherlands, circulated in just a few hand-drawn copies, often painted with watercolors.

With exquisite and instantly recognizable graphic and stylistic features, combined with a technique and taste for miniaturist painting, Johannes Vingboons copied images and cartographic materials that arrived in Amsterdam from all over the colonial world: the Antilles, the coasts of North, Central and South America (including *Nueva España* and Portuguese Brazil), Atlantic North and Sub-Saharan Africa and the Cape of Good Hope, the Arabic Peninsula and Persia, India, Ceylon (present-day Sri Lanka), *Ilha Formosa* (present-day Taiwan), Malacca, the Maluku Islands and the Banda Islands, and other seaports in Indonesia, the Philippines and Japan.²¹

These maps, landscape paintings and city views, extremely diverse in terms of their original authorship, contents, cartographic and graphical symbols, origin and function, were all reproduced by Vingboons, often in their original languages, by using the same layout and set of graphic symbols, thus creating collections of aesthetically refined maps and paintings that immediately revealed his authorship, a true “brand of manufacture.”²²

²⁰ On the production and highly profitable trade in cartographic materials at a global scale in the Dutch Republic, see Zandvliet (1998). On the main centers of production and trade in maps in the Netherlands, see Koeman *et al.* (2007).

²¹ For the complex system of routes taken by the fleets of the VOC and WIC, see Parthesius (2010), pp. 31-123.

²² For a detailed overview of the conspicuous manuscript production of maps and vistas

The spatiality and typologies of the Carte di Castello

In geographical terms, the 65 documents acquired in Amsterdam by Cosimo can be divided in four main maritime areas, as follows:

- 25 concern port cities, fortresses and coastal regions in Asia, from Japan to Yemen, with the following distribution: Japan (coastal profile from Nagasaki to Edo and castle of Osaka): 3; Formosa Island (Taiwan and its fortresses): 2; China (Macao): 1; Philippines (Manila): 1; Maluku Islands (Ambon, Banda Islands and Ternate): 6; Java (Bantam): 1; Malaysia (Malacca and Aceh): 2; Ceylon (Galle, Batticaloa and Columbus): 3; India (Surat and Bharuch, Dabhol, Pulicat and Cananor), 5; Yemen (Mokha): 1.
 - 14 concern islands, port cities, forts and coastal profiles in Africa, with this distribution: Cape of Good Hope and Tafel Bay: 6; Equatorial and Sub-Saharan Africa (Island of Gorée, Arguin, Cabo Corso, São Jorge da Mina, Fort Nassau, and São Tomé): 8.
 - 24 concern cities and coastal profiles on the American continent, with this distribution: North America (New Amsterdam and the Manatus Bay): 2; Caribbean (Española - Haiti, Santiago Bay in Cuba, Santa Marta, Cartagena, Puerto Rico, Portobelo, Baya Hondo, Maracaibo, Isla Margarita, Island of Tobago): 13; Brasil (Salvador, Espirito Santo, São Vicente, Rio de Janeiro): 4; New Spain (Mexico City and Veracruz): 3.
 - Finally, two maps concern the representation of the coastal profiles and local boats of southern Tasmania and of the Tongo Islands.
- These maps, vistas and iconographic material, covering four con-

authored by Johannes Vingboons on the basis of original documents provided to him by VOC and WIC, see ad vocem the web portal *Atlas of Mutual Heritage* (<http://www.atlasofmutualheritage.nl>), the result of a partnership between the Rijksmuseum in Amsterdam, the Rijksdienst voor het Cultureel Erfgoed in Amersfoort, the Koninklijke Bibliotheek and the Nationaal Archief in The Hague. For the reproduction and analysis of the 82 maps and vistas acquired by Prince Cosimo III in Amsterdam (authored by or attributed to Vingboons and his workshop) and Lisbon, see the web portal *The Global Eye: Dutch, Spanish and Portuguese Maps in the Collections of the Grand Duke Cosimo III de' Medici* (<https://theglobaleye.org/>), edited by Angelo Cattaneo and Sabrina Corbellini (2019). See also Van der Krogt (2005), Gosselink (2007) and Wieder (1925-1933).

tinents, can be divided into five main typologies. The first presents detailed coastal profiles of port cities, observed from a bird's eye view from a high point in the middle of the sea, generally accompanied by very detailed explanatory legends explaining the location and functions of the buildings or areas depicted: the vista of Ambon,²³ in the Maluku Islands, Indonesia (the first hub of the Dutch trading empire in Asia, before the foundation of Batavia in 1619), the view of Malacca,²⁴ in Malaysia, portrayed during a sea battle between the Portuguese and Dutch fleets that occurred in 1624, a view of Manila,²⁵ and a view of Surat (Sovratte), in the western Indian state of Gujarat, among others, are memorable examples of this type.

A second typology includes detailed plans of cities with an urbanistic, administrative or military function. As already highlighted for the first typology, detailed explanatory legends describe the town plans. The layout of Mexico City,²⁶ originally drawn in 1629 after a disastrous flood, the unique and first plan of "Amsterdam in the New Netherlands",²⁷ nowadays New York, drawn around 1667, just a few years before the British acquired the city, the detailed plan of

²³ Florence, BML, *Carte di Castello 1: Amboina* (Ambon), Maluku Islands, Indonesia. *The Global Eye* (2019), pp. 54-55. Attributed to Johannes Vingboons and his workshop, Amsterdam, c. 1665-1668. Line-and-wash drawing on canvas-backed paper, 143.6 x 50.8 cm. Ownership stamp of Peter Leopold, Grand Duke of Tuscany. *The Global Eye* (2019), pp. 54-55.

²⁴ Florence, BML, *Carte di Castello 46: MALACCA Soo als dat van de Reede afgesien wordt* (Malacca as seen from the mooring point), Malaysia. Attributed to Johannes Vingboons and his workshop, Amsterdam, c. 1665-1668. Line-and-wash drawing on canvas-backed paper, 66.8 x 47.2 cm. Ownership stamp of Peter Leopold, Grand Duke of Tuscany. *The Global Eye* (2019), pp. 144-145.

²⁵ Florence, BML, *Carte di Castello 22: [Baya de Manilha]*, Bay of Manila, Philippines. Attributed to Johannes Vingboons and his workshop, Amsterdam, c. 1665. Line-and-wash drawing on canvas-backed paper, 70.6 x 50.5 cm. Ownership stamp of Peter Leopold, Grand Duke of Tuscany. *The Global Eye* (2019), pp. 96-97.

²⁶ Florence, BML, *Carte di Castello 43: Planta y sitio dela Ciudad Mexico* (Map and site of Mexico City). Attributed to Johannes Vingboons and his workshop (after Juan Gómez de Trasmonte, 1628), Amsterdam, c. 1640-68. Line-and-wash drawing on canvas-backed paper, 60.2 x 47.5 cm. Ownership stamp of Peter Leopold, Grand Duke of Tuscany. *The Global Eye* (2019), pp. 138-139.

²⁷ Florence, BML, *Carte di Castello 18: Afbeeldinge van de Stadt Amsterdam in Nieuw Nederlandt* (Map of the city of Amsterdam in the New Netherlands), New York, United

Bantam,²⁸ the main city in the Island of Java, in Indonesia, and Pulicat,²⁹ in Coromandel, in south-eastern India, are remarkable examples of this typology.

A third group comprises painted vistas and plans of fortresses, representing the principal hubs of Portuguese, Dutch and Spanish commercial global networks. Fort Nassau,³⁰ on the coast of Guinea, and Elmina Castle³¹ on the “Gold Coast” in what is now southern Ghana – both prisons built to hold African slaves before trading them to Dutch, Portuguese and Spanish colonies in the American continent—as well Fort Zeelandia³² on the Island of Formosa, are remarkable examples of this third type.

States of America. Attributed to Johannes Vingboons and his workshop, after Jacques Courtelyou, Amsterdam, after 1660. Line-and-wash drawing on canvas-backed paper, 66.5 x 52.1 cm. Ownership stamp of Peter Leopold, Grand Duke of Tuscany. *The Global Eye* (2019), pp. 88-89.

²⁸ Florence, BML, *Carte di Castello 3*: [Bantam], Java, Indonesia. Attributed to Johannes Vingboons and his workshop, Amsterdam, c. 1665-68. *The Global Eye* (2019), pp. 58-59. For detail description and analysis of this document, see below the paragraph “Bantam”, pp. 37-38.

²⁹ Florence, BML, *Carte di Castello 11*: *De stadt Pelliaccatte* (City of Pulicat), Coromandel, India. Attributed to Johannes Vingboons and his workshop, Amsterdam, c. 1665-68. *The Global Eye* (2019), 74-75. For detail description and analysis of this document, see below the paragraph “Pulicat”, pp. 38-39.

³⁰ Florence, BML, *Carte di Castello 19*: *'t Fort Nassau Gelegen op de Cust van Guinea* (Fort Nassau on the Guinea coast), Ghana. Attributed to Johannes Vingboons and his workshop, Amsterdam, before 1667. Line-and-wash drawing on canvas-backed paper, 72.4 x 50 cm. Ownership stamp of Peter Leopold, Grand Duke of Tuscany. *The Global Eye* (2019), pp. 90-91.

³¹ Florence, BML, *Carte di Castello 57*: *ALDUS VERTHOONT 'T CASTEEL DE MINA VANDEN BERCH ST. IAGO* (View of Elmina Castle from St Iago Hill), nowadays Ghana. Attributed to Johannes Vingboons and his workshop, Amsterdam, c. 1665. Line-and-wash drawing on canvas-backed paper, 58.4 x 46 cm. Ownership stamp of Peter Leopold, Grand Duke of Tuscany. *The Global Eye* (2019), pp. 102-103.

³² Florence, BML, *Carte di Castello 33*: *Afteijckening van 't fort Zeelandia Gelegen in Tayouwan op een zandt Plaets aen 't Eylandt Formosa Begrepen door Ordere van de E: Heer Pieter de Carpentier inde Jare 1624 inde in deeser forme voltrocken bij de Heer Gouver [neur] Hans Putmans* (Drawing of Fort Zeelandia in Taiwan on a sandbar in the island of Formosa conquered by order of the eminent Mr Pieter de Carpentier in the year 1624 and in this form completed by the Governor Hans Putmans), nowadays Taiwan. Attributed to Johannes Vingboons and his workshop, Amsterdam, c. 1665. Line-and-wash drawing on canvas-backed paper, 65.4 x 47.4 cm. Ownership stamp of Peter Leopold, Grand Duke of Tuscany. *The Global Eye* (2019), pp. 118-119.

The maps of the coasts of Japan, from Nagasaki to Edo,³³ present-day Tokyo, exemplify a fourth group, comprising nautical maps of continental coastline, islands and archipelagos like the Banda Islands,³⁴ involved in the global trading networks of the Dutch East India Company, in the seas of south-east Asia.

Finally, four unique images displaying the manner of dancing of the Hottentotts, a Hottentott mother with her child, a hunter and a warrior, form a fifth group, representing the Khoekhoe tribe who inhabited the Cape of Good Hope region. The Dutch called them Hottentots, a derogatory term probably inspired by the sounds that characterize their spoken language.³⁵

Beside these documents acquired in Amsterdam, while in Lisbon in February 1669, Prince Cosimo acquired 16 large scale nautical and topographical maps, of Portuguese origin. The group of Portuguese maps combines three types of documents: highly detailed large-scale nautical and topographical maps of stretches of African coastline, from the Cape of Good Hope up towards the Horn of Africa, as well as the Strait of Malacca to the east; two medium-scale geographical maps, the first of the northern coasts of the western basin of the Indian Ocean, near the Red Sea and the Persian Gulf, and the second of the Bay of Bengal; and finally two plans of the cities of Malacca and Kollam, the latter in the state of Kerala, in India. These documents were brokered to Prince Cosimo by the mathematician, architect and cosmographer Luís Serrão Pimentel (1613-1679), *Cosmógrafo*

³³ Florence, BML, *Carte di Castello 4: Een Landt Reijse van de Stadt Osacca, Tot de Stadt Jedo, in 't Rijcke van Japan | IAPAN* (Overland route from the city of Osaka to the city of Edo [Tokyo] in the Kingdom of Japan | JAPAN). Attributed to Johannes Vingboons and his workshop, Amsterdam, c. 1660-1668. Line-and-wash drawing on canvas-backed paper, 81.8 x 34 cm. Ownership stamp of Peter Leopold, Grand Duke of Tuscany. BML, *Carte di Castello 5: De water Reijse van Naggasacqui tot de Stadt Iacca, in Iapan* (Sea route from Nagasaki to the city of Osaka, in Japan). Attributed to Johannes Vingboons and his workshop, Amsterdam, c. 1660-1668. Line-and-wash drawing on canvas-backed paper, 82.8 x 36.2 cm. Ownership stamp of Peter Leopold, Grand Duke of Tuscany. *The Global Eye* (2019), pp. 60-63.

³⁴ Florence, BML, *Carte di Castello 15. The Global Eye* (2019), pp. 82-83. For detail description and analysis of this map, see below the paragraph "The Banda Islands", pp. 33-34.

³⁵ Florence, BML, *Carte di Castello 79, 80, 81, 82. The Global Eye* (2019), pp. 200-217.

Mor and Engenheiro Mor de Portugal (head cosmographer and engineer of Portugal), between 10 and 17 February 1669, during Cosimo's visit to Lisbon, in the framework of his second, longer journey around Europe.³⁶

The source of the maps acquired by Cosimo can be identified in a corpus of mid-17th-century illustrated manuscripts describing all of Portugal's colonial cities, outposts, fortresses and possessions in the *Estado da Índia* (Portuguese State of India), a commercial and political space that included both territories under the direct jurisdiction of the Portuguese crown as well as a system of trade routes run by the Portuguese merchants and officers, which comprised a multiplicity of local Asian maritime networks, from the Cape of Good Hope, in Africa, to the Maluku Islands, in Southeast Asia.³⁷ In 1632, António Bocarro (1594-c.1642) was commissioned by Miguel de Noronha, IV Count of Linhares and "Viceroy of India" (1585-1647), to write a detailed textual description of the territories and numerous coastal cities of Portuguese India for King Philip III of Portugal. Pedro Barreto de Resende († 1651), the viceroy's secretary, illustrated the codex with 48 images of forts, city plans, various types of ships and examples of Asian flora. Their work, known under the title of *Livro das plantas de todas as fortalezas, cidades e povoações do Estado da Índia Oriental* (Plan book of all forts, towns and settlements in the eastern *Estado da Índia*), currently held in the Biblioteca Pública de Évora, is one of the prototypes of the Portuguese historical, narrative

³⁶ One of the diaries describing prince Cosimo's travels, attributed to Count Lorenzo Magalotti, reports that on 10 February 1669, while in Lisbon, "[His Highness], having returned home, spent the evening with a Portuguese mathematician, who took him to see a rather large book containing a report of things from the Indies, with maps of the fortresses built in those parts by a Viceroy" ("[Cosimo] tornato a casa, passo la veglia con un mattematico [sic] portoghese [Luís Serrão Pimentel] che lo portò a far vedere un libro assai grande contenente relazione delle cose dell'Indie con le piante di quelle fortezze fatto fare in quelle parti da un Viceré"). See Sanchez Rivero, Mariutti de Sanchez Rivero (1933), p. 280 (transcription of MS Mediceo Palatino 123, vol 1). On the reasons for the identification of the "mattematico portoghese" with Luís Serrão Pimentel, see Cattaneo (2019), pp. 19-20. On the identification of this codex, see below note 39.

³⁷ On the *Estado da India*, see Boxer (1969), pp. 39-40; Thomaz (1994), pp. 207-240; Bethencourt, Curto (2007) (in particular the entire Part II. Politics and Institutions).

and cartographic genre of the *Livros das fortalezas*.³⁸ This manuscript was later copied and expanded multiple times and was used as a model also for an enlarged redaction that belonged to the Bragança family, currently held in the Library of the Paço Ducal (Ducal Palace) in Vila Viçosa (District of Évora, Alentejo, Portugal), from which the sixteen *Carte di Castello* that Cosimo III acquired were taken.³⁹

Altogether, these six groups display the multi-faceted mercantile world of European empires in early modernity. Despite the clear difference in both the cartographic and stylistic features between the maps of Dutch origin, in Vingboons' style, and the Portuguese maps from the *Livro das plantas de todas as fortalezas*, the structure of the colonial maritime mercantile world the two sets describe is very similar, if not identical.

The reticular and insular shape of mercantile maritime spaces

When, in around 1630, the royal administration of the Portuguese *Estado da Índia* and the management of the Dutch East India Company and Dutch West India Company, with their own mutually conflicting initiatives, started to systematically map the colonies for administrative, military or tax purposes or for the symbolic appro-

³⁸ Évora, Biblioteca Pública de Évora, BPE CXV / 2-1, c. 1635, with 48 watercolor maps and drawings. A high-resolution digitalized copy can be browsed on the website of the Biblioteca Nacional de Portugal: <http://purl.pt/27184>. See also the facsimile edition edited by Isabel Cid (Lisbon, Imprensa Nacional-Casa da Moeda, 1992). On the archaeology of the historical, narrative and cartographic genre of the "*Livros das fortalezas*" within the framework of the history of the *Estado da Índia* and Portuguese culture in the second half of the 16th century, with a comprehensive review of the manuscript documentation, see Garcia (2009), pp. 9-40, 221-223. Specifically, on the maps and city plans of the *Livros das fortalezas*, see Cortesão, Teixeira da Mota (1960): vol. V; Garcia (2009), pp. 43-218.

³⁹ Vila Viçosa, Paço Ducal, Biblioteca, Res. 21: *Livro das plantas das fortalezas cidades e povoações [sic] do Estado da Índia Oriental...*, with 104 watercolor maps and drawings, c. 1650-1660. This copy of the *Livro das plantas das fortalezas* is probably the same codex that the mathematician, architect and cosmographer Luís Serrão Pimentel showed to prince Cosimo in the course of their meeting in Lisbon in February 1669. See Cortesão, Teixeira da Mota (1960), vol. V, pp. 73-78; Cattaneo (2019), pp. 24-26.

priation of their overseas territories, they set in motion a gradual process of reducing the world to image form for the purpose of controlling it intellectually. This involved numerous intellectual approaches and techniques – cartography, landscape painting, imaging of exotic peoples, animals and plants, as well as collecting and exhibiting of naturalia and artificialia – all seeking to describe, visualize, measure and organize the world intellectually and encyclopedically.⁴⁰ Images played a key and progressively growing role in these processes.⁴¹ Their analysis through the so-called “secret maps” of VOC and WIC – secret, as stated above, in the sense that they were not destined for printing – and the administrative surveys of Portuguese *Estado da Índia*, brings to light that port cities, outposts and fortresses, even those not located on islands, were thought of, depicted and experienced as insular spaces. The port cities and forts that were conquered or founded and inserted into trading networks were imagined, and indeed depicted, as islands. On the paths traced by the research by Luís Adão da Fonseca, the spatial organization and colonization of the “ocean sea” from the 15th century onwards, beginning in the Mediterranean, was based on bringing together insular spaces along the coastlines of Africa and then in the Indian Ocean. These dynamics also applied to Western navigations, from Columbus to Vespucci, onwards.⁴² The *Carte di Castello* show that between the 16th and 18th century the Portuguese, and later the Dutch, expansion in Africa and Asia rested on a reticular maritime space, with almost no territorial development inland. This space was formed by a series of overlapping commercial networks, interconnected through nodes and intersections: port cities, fortified storehouses and slave prisons, fortresses and mooring points, spread among the conquered or partially occupied islands and archipelagos. The maritime routes that met at these points connected local

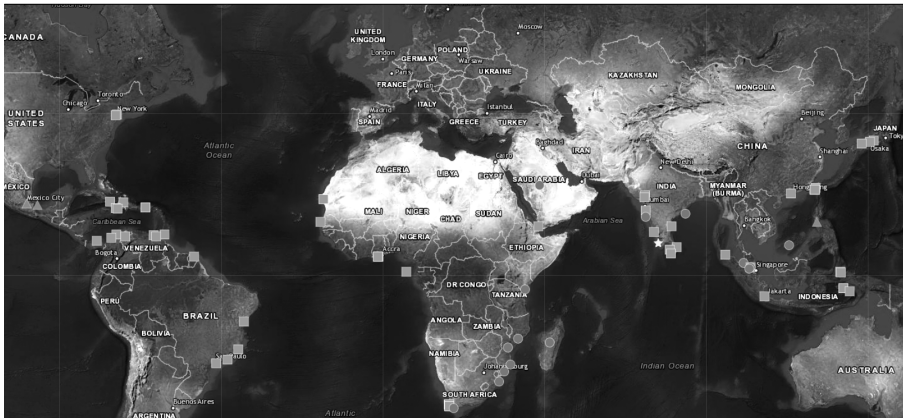
⁴⁰ Gruzinski (2018) (French edition, Fayard, 2017), pp. 9-11, 277-282.

⁴¹ On the role of images in science in the early modern age, see Lefevre, Renn, Schoepflin (2003) and Kusukawa (2011).

⁴² Fonseca (2018).

trade with regional, continental and, in some cases, oceanic and transcontinental commerce, thus laying the foundations for the long-term processes of globalization. Taking Malacca (*CdC* 46, 63, 72, 74)⁴³ and Macao (*CdC* 16)⁴⁴ as an example, these two colonial port cities were connected with the corresponding nearby coastal and inland regions, Indonesia, Java and China; with many ports on the Spice Islands, i.e. the Maluku Islands, and the Indian subcontinent, the Philippines and Japan; and finally, through Goa and Manila, with Europe and the New World. On the American continent, where inland areas were instead conquered, the mesh-like division of space, based on major hubs such as Hispaniola, Veracruz, Santa Marta, Cartagena de Indias, Recife, Salvador, Rio de Janeiro and Espírito Santo – to just refer some of the locations represented in the *Carte di Castello* collection – was used to connect transoceanic trade with inland cities and territories.

FIGURE 1
Dutch, Spanish, and Portuguese Maps in the Collections
of the Grand Duke Cosimo III de' Medici



World spatialization of the places represented in the *Carte di Castello*, according to the provenance of the documents (squares, the Netherlands; circles, Portugal; triangles, Spain). Derived from the digital repository *The Global Eye*, <https://theglobaleyeye.org/>. © Angelo Cattaneo.

⁴³ *The Global Eye* (2019), pp. 144-145; 178-179,

⁴⁴ *The Global Eye* (2019), pp. 84-85.

The *Carte di Castello's* representation of the world implicitly uses the cartographic and pictorial semiosis of the *isolarii* (collections or atlases of islands) a type of mapping and publication with ancient and mediaeval roots that developed and became popular in the early Renaissance, covering at first the Aegean sea basin, then the Mediterranean sea basin and from circa 1500 onward encompassing the entire planet, progressively.⁴⁵ First examples of this editorial and mapping genre include works focusing on the Aegean Sea by the Florentine priest Cristoforo Buondelmonte (made public between c. 1420-1430), followed by the *Insularium illustratum* by Henricus Martellus Germanus (c. 1490) and the *Isolario di tutte l'isole del mondo* by the Venetian miniaturist, engraver and cartographer Benedetto Bordone (1528, 1534).⁴⁶ These paradigmatic works reveal a way of thinking about and structuring space based on a very specific mosaic technique that developed in direct opposition to and concurrently with the synoptic and all-encompassing planispheres, like those printed and sold by the Blaeu printing works at the time the *Carte di Castello* were being produced. Planispheres, and the *mappae mundi* that preceded them, convey a universal perception of the *oikoumene* – that is the inhabited, inhabitable, known and knowable part of the earth⁴⁷ – and the globe, in which the general engenders the specific. On the contrary, from the insular viewpoint, the world is built and emerges from the juxtaposition of numerous specific and individual loci – the islands, either real or places considered and depicted as such, like many of the fortified storehouses or fortresses of the Portuguese Empire, the Dutch VOC and WIC in Africa, Asia and America. These insular tiles, spread out across the seas, form a mosaic of the global maritime world, connected by trade. In this case, the underlying compositional and geographical logic is the opposite of the planispheres: the specific generates the world in its totality, through

⁴⁵ For a comprehensive history of the editorial and mapping genre of the *isolarii*, see Toliaas (2007).

⁴⁶ Bordone (1534).

⁴⁷ On the concept of *oikoumene*, see Sommer (2014).

pairing, juxtaposition and integration.⁴⁸

This is a very selective and intrinsically violent way of conceptualizing, experiencing and representing the world: everything not connected to trade and colonial interests – including civilizations and cultures dating back to millennia – is excluded, and does not count. The colonial viewpoint develops, and is therefore founded on a paradox that generates violence: the universal ambition (supposedly encyclopedic) in cartographic representation, like in the *Carte di Castello*, but also in the depiction of botany, zoology and landscapes, reflects, and indeed mostly includes, what is within the scope and interests of the colonial power, something grasped and explained by Edward W. Said in his much-debated concept of orientalism.⁴⁹

Understanding the dominant insular dimension of the European empires in the early modern age is fundamental if we are to fight the rigid and simplistic historical analysis that interprets the European empires on a continental scale – for instance using “Europe-Asia” or “Europe-Africa” as the point of historical observation and analysis – and thereby anachronistically imposes categories and spaces of analysis that only came into operation at the end of the 18th century, with the sole exception, significant but not generalizable, of the American continent.

Analyzing the *Carte di Castello* and the larger Dutch and Portuguese corpora, from which the maps were derived, highlights the strategic importance of insular places that, while located in seas and regions with huge distances between them, shared the fundamental characteristic of being interconnected. In some cases, these places, which the *Carte di Castello* often depict at the moment they were founded or claimed, have turned into the main global cities of the

⁴⁸ For a study of the philosophy and phenomenology of islands and insularity as tools and ways of conceiving and acting in the world, see Besse, Monsaigneon (2019).

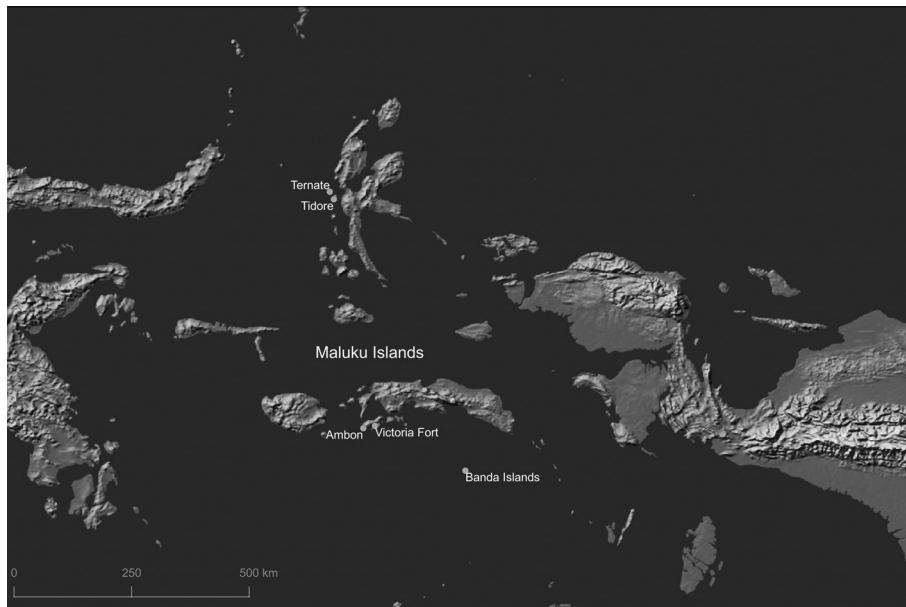
⁴⁹ This is a reference to the large, fertile debate on orientalism, started by Edward W. Said in 1978: Said (1978) and the numerous subsequent reprints, translations and discussions that followed. For a recent critical debate, see Keller, Irigoyen-García (2018).

contemporary global world (New York, Rio de Janeiro, Cape Town, Osaka, Tokyo, Taiwan, Mexico City and Manila, for example); many other places, so crucial in transcontinental shipping in the early modern age (such as Malacca, Macao, the Caribbean ports and the fortresses/prisons for slaves of sub-Saharan Africa) have lost their centrality, and indeed are disconnected from the trade networks that led to the construction of today's globalized world. In some cases, violent colonial dynamics caused them to go from places of central importance for the global economy to places marked by extreme poverty (such as Hispaniola, present-day Haiti). Overall, on the one hand, the analysis of the *Carte di Castello* is instrumental in capturing the crucial role of modern history as the moment of the foundation and development of expanding forms of connected histories and, on the other hand, it highlights the importance of visuality, though cartography and landscape painting, as powerful forms of European global colonial and intellectual appropriation of the world.

The construction of monopolistic space of trade: VOC in the Spice Islands

In the last part of the essay, I will undertake a detailed study of a combination of cartographic, planimetric and landscape painting documents concerning specific locations of VOC settlements in the Maluku Archipelago, in order to take a closer look at the strategies of territorial occupation and spatialization of trades operated by the Dutch East India Company as described, in great detail, in the representations of some of the hubs through which the production and trade of spices from the islands of Southeast Asia was structured, primarily towards the Philippines and the Indian subcontinent and, only as a last resort, towards Europe. The focus will be on the representations of Ambon (*CdC* 1), Fort Victoria (*CdC* 13), the Banda Islands (*CdC* 15), especially highlighting the subdivision of land for the cultivation of nutmeg shrubs; the islands of Tidore (*CdC* 21) and Ternate (*CdC* 27), fundamental for the production of cloves and pep-

FIGURE 2
 Map of the locations – towns, fortified outposts or islands
 – occupied by VOC in the Maluku Archipelago, in Ambon,
 the Banda Islands, Ternate and Tidore



© Angelo Cattaneo, Giulia Maggiore.

per, in counterpoint with Bantam on Java Island to the west, and in relation, to the east, with Manila and, to the west, with Pulicat (*CdC* 11), on the coast of Coromandel, India.

Ambon and Fort Victoria (Maluku Archipelago)

The city of Ambon, on the eponymous island in the Maluku archipelago in the Banda Sea, depicted on the *Carte di Castello 1*, the largest representation of Cosimo's collection, was one of the most important places for cultivating and trading spices, particularly nutmeg and cloves. Portuguese merchants and soldiers, led by António de Abreu (c. 1480-c. 1514) arrived there already in 1512 and built the *Forte de Nossa Senhora da Anunciada de Amboíno* (Fort of Our Lady of Annunciation of Amboin) in an attempt to control the Banda Sea and

take on the local Muslim merchants.⁵⁰ In 1605, Captain Steven van der Hagen (1563-1621) conquered Ambon in the name of the Dutch East India Company and it went on to become a Dutch governorate, competing mostly with merchants from the British East India Company in the area. The map by Vingboons, acquired by Prince Cosimo, provides detailed images of the main colonial buildings and quarters of the city, marked by letters A to N and explained in the key written in Dutch in the top right margin of the representation. The biggest structures include the colonial buildings, the hospital (E), the church and the court (C and H), surrounded by the equatorial forest. The key also explains that the city was made up of different quarters, divided by ethnicity and religion, including the “Chinese quarter” (N), the “native quarter” (K) and the “Christian quarter,” home to ancient descendants of African slaves transported to Ambon by the Portuguese (L).⁵¹

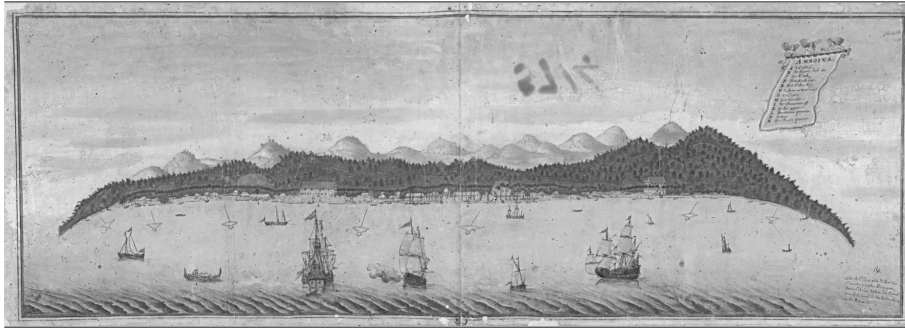
Another document, *Carta di Castello 13*, displays a second major city on the Island of Ambon: Fort Victoria, the Dutch East India Company’s first permanent military settlement in Asia.⁵² Originally founded in 1521 by the Portuguese with the name *Forte de Nossa Sen-*

⁵⁰ António de Abreu (c. 1480-c. 1514) was a 16th-century Portuguese navigator and soldier. Under the command of Afonso de Albuquerque, Abreu took part in the conquest of Ormus (1507) and Malacca (1511) playing a key role in Albuquerque’s strategy to transform the Indian Ocean into a *mare clausum* ruled by the Portuguese. Departing from Malacca in November 1511 with four ships, in an exploratory voyage, Abreu led the first European expedition to reach Ambon, Timor and the Banda Islands, in 1512.

⁵¹ Florence, BML, *Carte di Castello 1: Amboina* (Ambon), Maluku Islands, Indonesia. Attributed to Johannes Vingboons and his workshop, Amsterdam, c. 1665-1668. Line-and-wash drawing on canvas-backed paper, 143.6 x 50.8 cm. Ownership stamp of Peter Leopold, Grand Duke of Tuscany. Wieder (1925-1933), I, p. 13, IV, p. 132, no. 50; Van der Krogt (2005), pp. 345-347; Gosselink (2007), pp. 129, 149, no. 200; *Atlas of Mutual Heritage*, s.v.; *The Global Eye* (2019), pp. 54-55.

⁵² Florence, BML, *Carte di Castello 13: Fortres Vict[or]ia met de Negery ende 't Geberchte van Laytimor in Ambon* (Fort Victoria with the villages and mountains of Laytimor on the island of Ambon), Maluku Islands, Indonesia. Attributed to Johannes Vingboons and his workshop, Amsterdam, c. 1665-68. Line-and-wash drawing on canvas-backed paper, 73.4 x 51.9 cm. Ownership stamp of Peter Leopold, Grand Duke of Tuscany. Wieder (1925-1933), IV, p. 133, no. 51; Gosselink (2007), p. 149, no. 202; *Atlas of Mutual Heritage*, s.v.; *The Global Eye* (2019), pp. 78-79.

FIGURE 3
Landscape view of Ambon, in the Maluku Archipelago



Florence, BML, *Carte di Castello 1*. © MIBAC, Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana (*The Atlas of Mutual Heritage*, <https://www.atlasofmutualheritage.nl/en/View-Amboina.10582>).

hora da Anunciada (Fortress of Our Lady of Annunciation), and known as Kota Laha in the local language, the Dutch called it Fort Victoria after seizing it in 1606 without a fight. Fort Victoria and the city of Ambon were the main Dutch East India Company's operative headquarters in the seas of South East Asia until 1619, when the governor general of the East Indies, Jan Pieterszoon Coen (1587-1629), decided to found Batavia, nowadays Jakarta, on the more strategic island of Java, around 2700 kilometers west of the Maluku Islands, much better positioned with respect to the Indian subcontinent.⁵³ Nevertheless, Ambon, Fort Victoria and the nearby Banda Islands continued to play an important role within the company's trading network because of their cultivation and production of spices, particularly nutmeg. The VOC plan of Fort Victoria is a clear example of the Dutch colonial urbanization: in the center of the city and the depiction we see the imposing structures of the fort, the arsenal, a

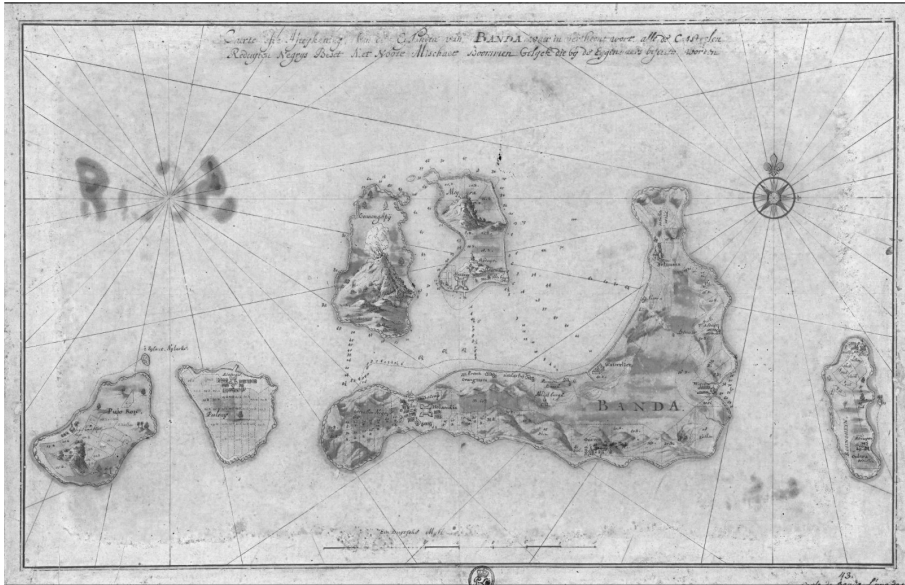
⁵³ On the conquest of Batavia and administrative structure of the VOC and the circulation of data on political, economic, cultural, religious, and social conditions spread over the enormous maritime area administered by the VOC through the administrative centre of the trade in Batavia in constant relationships and the Board of Directors in the Netherlands, see Blak, Van Dijk, Kortlang (2007). The records of fifteen archives of VOC institutions, held in the National Archives of Indonesia in Jakarta and the Netherlands are included in UNESCO's Memory of the World Register.

fleet of fluyt (literally “flute”, the East and West India Companies’ cargo ships generally armed with fifteen guns) and the plantations of spice and palm trees. Another striking element is the orderliness: both the city and the rural landscape are clearly defined, organized, almost itemized: the luxuriant equatorial nature is divided into geometrically aligned plots.

The Banda Islands (Maluku Archipelago)

Located in the Maluku archipelago circa 120 nautical miles Southeast of Ambon, the Banda Islands were the only place in the world where nutmeg trees grew until the 19th century. Originally reached by the Portuguese in the 1512 expedition, the Dutch East India Company began to build fortifications there a century later in 1609. Jan Pieterzoon Coen (1587-1629), fourth governor general of the Dutch East Indies, founder of Batavia and strategist behind the Dutch trading empire, built a chain of forts with the objective of establishing a world monopoly in the nutmeg production and trade, in the first place with Indian regions – the largest consumers of nutmeg and mace at the world scale –, the Philippines and Europe. The *Carta di Castello 15* paints an accurate picture of the progressive colonization and control of the Maluku Islands. It combines the highly detailed nautical chart of the coastal profiles with a pictorial bird’s eye view of the island territories and a meticulous cadastral map of the land planted with nutmeg trees. There are also around one hundred measurements of the depths of the seabed and landing places. These four characteristics combined make this map – based on accurate measurements made *in situ*, then copied at Johannes Vingboons’ workshop in Amsterdam – one of the finest examples of mid-17th century colonial projectual cartography. It exemplifies the use of cartography as a navigational aid, as a chorographic representation of territories and seas – note the Gunung Api volcano erupting – and of the cadastral, administrative and economic division of the land for colonial and trading purposes. The territory is divided into one hundred

FIGURE 4
Map of the Banda Islands, in the Maluku Archipelago



Florence, BML, *Carte di Castello 15*. © MIBAC, Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana (*The Atlas of Mutual Heritage*, <https://www.atlasofmutualheritage.nl/en/Map-Banda-Islands.10596>).

numbered plots. We can also see the fortifications that protect the landing places.⁵⁴

Tidore and Ternate (Maluku Archipelago)

About 200 nautical miles north of Ambon, in the northern part of the Maluku Archipelago, *Carte di Castello 21* and *27* represent the

⁵⁴ Florence, BML, *Carte di Castello 15*: *Carte ofte Afteijkeninge van de Eijlanden van BANDA waer in verthoont wort alle de Cassteelen Reduijten Negrijs Beset Met Noote Mischaet Bommen Gilijck die bij de Eijgenaers bisil[...] wordene* (Map of the Banda Islands showing all the castles, fortifications and villages covered with nutmeg trees as they are [...] by the landowners), Banda Islands, Indonesia. Attributed to Johannes Vingboons and his workshop, Amsterdam, c. 1660. Line-and-wash drawing on canvas-backed paper, 72.8 x 47.5 cm. Wieder (1925-1933), IV, p. 133, no. 52; Van der Krogt (2005), pp. 352-354; Goselink 2007, pp. 149-150, no. 203; *Atlas of Mutual Heritage*, s.v.; *The Global Eye* (2019), pp. 82-83.

small volcanic islands of Tidore and Ternate. From the point of view of trade organization, the function of Ternate and Tidore was broadly similar to that of Ambon and the Banda Islands: while these latter islands were strategic for the production and trade of nutmeg, Tidore and Ternate were cardinal for the production and trade of cloves. Nevertheless, from the point of view of political and military relations, the Sultanates of Ternate and Tidore show different modes of relations and balances of power from those established by VOC in Ambon and the Banda Islands. The latter, as already pointed out, had been occupied militarily by the Dutch, to the detriment of the Portuguese, almost without a fight, acquiring a dominant position through which the Dutch established a global monopoly, especially in the lucrative trade of nutmeg and mace. More complex, or at least less linear, were the military and political dynamics established by the Dutch with the Sultanates of Tidore and Ternate.

The small sultanate of Tidore, on the volcanic island of the same name, south of the larger island of Ternate, was one of the principal kingdoms in the Maluku Islands. From the mid-16th century onwards, the Portuguese, Spanish and Dutch succeeded one another in Tidore, building warehouses and military outposts for the clove trade. However, the sultanate kept its independence and actually used the profits obtained from trading with European merchants to expand its influence in the Maluku archipelago, competing with the nearby sultanate of Ternate. The Dutch East India Company reached Tidore in 1605, taking over from their Portuguese competitors. However, the sultan asked for support from the Spanish, who travelled regularly to Tidore from Manila. The Spanish established a fortified warehouse there and occupied it until 1663, albeit not consistently. The composition of *Carta di Castello 21*, based on an original document currently held at the Badische Landesbibliothek in Karlsruhe, which is much more legible and dates to 1601, highlights these both military and commercial dynamics. The imposing profile of Tidore volcano stands out, its slopes covered with luxuriant equatorial vegetation, while a number of ships are at anchor in the bay, given the lack of a natural harbor. The legible key in the Karlsruhe document

explains that these are Spanish ships from the Philippines, as well as Portuguese and Dutch ships. In addition to the Dutch ships, which include a *fluyt*, the *Carta di Castello 21* also includes legible images of two *karakoa*, large native warships from the Philippines, powered by oars and sails, which could carry hundreds of rowers and warriors.⁵⁵

Like the island and rival sultanate of Tidore, the depiction of the Island and sultanate of Ternate is dominated by a volcano, the Gamalama in this case, with a luxuriant tropical forest covering its slopes. Ternate, like Tidore, was one of the main places for growing and trading cloves in South East Asia and the Indian Ocean. In order to benefit from this spice trade, the Portuguese obtained the sultan's permission to build a fortified warehouse there in 1522. In 1535 they conquered Ternate and deposed the sultan, sending him to Goa. In 1570, the violent conduct of the Portuguese, who had beheaded the sultan Hairun, led to a revolt among the local population and the colonists were confined, almost seized, to their fort for five years. The Portuguese left Ternate for Ambon in 1575 and the sultanate became one of the main opponents to the Portuguese presence in South East Asia. Within the context of the conflicts that took place in the Indian Ocean between the Islamic sultanates and the Portuguese, Ternate attracted the attention of the Ottoman admiral Kurtog'lu Hızır Reis, who intended to travel to South East Asia, Java and Borneo as part of the Ottoman expedition to Sumatra between 1568 and 1569, after conquering Aceh.⁵⁶ His venture was not a success and he was stopped by the Portuguese near Sumatra. Ternate afterwards became one of the places fought over between the Spanish, based

⁵⁵ *Carte di Castello 21: De Noord zijd van 't Eijlandt TYDORE* (Northern part of the island of Tidore), Maluku Islands, Indonesia. Attributed to Johannes Vingboons and his workshop, Amsterdam, before 1667. Line-and-wash drawing on canvas-backed paper, 66 x 51.1 cm. Ownership stamp of Peter Leopold, Grand Duke of Tuscany. Wieder (1925-1933), IV, p. 133, no. 54; Gosselink (2007), p. 149, no. 205; *Atlas of Mutual Heritage*, s.v.; *The Global Eye* (2019), pp. 94-95.

⁵⁶ On Admiral Kurtog'lu Hızır Reis's expedition as well as Ottoman expansion in South-east Asia and their documentary sources, see Casale (2005) and Casale (2021).

primarily in Tidore, who settled on the southern side of the island, in the Ciudad del Rosario, and the Dutch. The Dutch East India Company built a fort in Ternate in 1607. The sultans took advantage of their presence and the profits deriving from the trading concessions to fight the Spanish, who ended up leaving Ternate and Tidore in 1663, seeking refuge in the Philippines. From then on, until the 18th century, the Dutch East India Company was the main European company operating in the Maluku Islands.⁵⁷

Bantam (Java)

A further, very detailed depiction, the *Carta di Castello 3*, dealing with the city of Bantam (also known as Banten, Bantham, Sourousouangh or Soeroesowan) is fundamental to grasp the European military, commercial and colonial dynamics in the seas and islands of Southeast Asia and to define their geography and spatial dynamics. Bantam, capital of the eponymous sultanate, was an important and populous fully fortified port town. It was situated at the mouth of the navigable river of the same name, at the western tip of the island of Java, in a bay facing Sumatra, from which it was divided by the Sunda Strait. Since the second decade of the 16th century, Portuguese merchants were attracted by its considerable production of spices, particularly pepper, and its strategic position offering access to both the western Indian Ocean and the Java Sea. They were later followed by merchants from both the British and Dutch East India Companies in the early 17th century. From 1618 onwards, the conflict with the British forced the Dutch to leave Bantam and found Batavia, present-day Jakarta, around 150 miles away on Java's north-east coast. This re-

⁵⁷ Florence, BML, *Carte di Castello 27: De Stadt MALAYA Ende Tolouco gelegen aen de oost sijde vandt eilandt Ternate* (The cities of Malaya and Tolouco on the east coast of the island of Ternate), Maluku Islands, Indonesia. Attributed to Johannes Vingboons and his workshop, Amsterdam, before 1667. Line-and-wash drawing on canvas-backed paper, 66 x 51.4 cm. Ownership stamp of Peter Leopold, Grand Duke of Tuscany. Wieder (1925-1933), IV, p. 133, no. 53, V, p. 172; Van der Krogt (2005), pp. 339, 342-343; Gosselink (2007), p. 149, no. 204; *Atlas of Mutual Heritage*, s.v.; *The Global Eye* (2019), pp. 106-107.

sulted in the progressive decline of the port of Bantam. Accompanied by an extensive Dutch key with forty-four entries, the highly detailed *Carta di Castello 3* describes the city and the surrounding land with great precision due to their perceived strategic importance at the time. Some of the most evident structures are the sultan's palace (A, 's *Conings Hoff*) and the imposing central mosque (B) next to it. There was also a Chinese quarter (P). Furthermore, Bantam's Dutch past and British presence are recalled by the Dutch and British wash houses (in the box on the right). The meticulous measurement of the depths of the river, its mouth and the sea near the natural harbor (X) are particularly important to understand Dutch approaches to space and places as well as of the functions of colonial mapping.⁵⁸

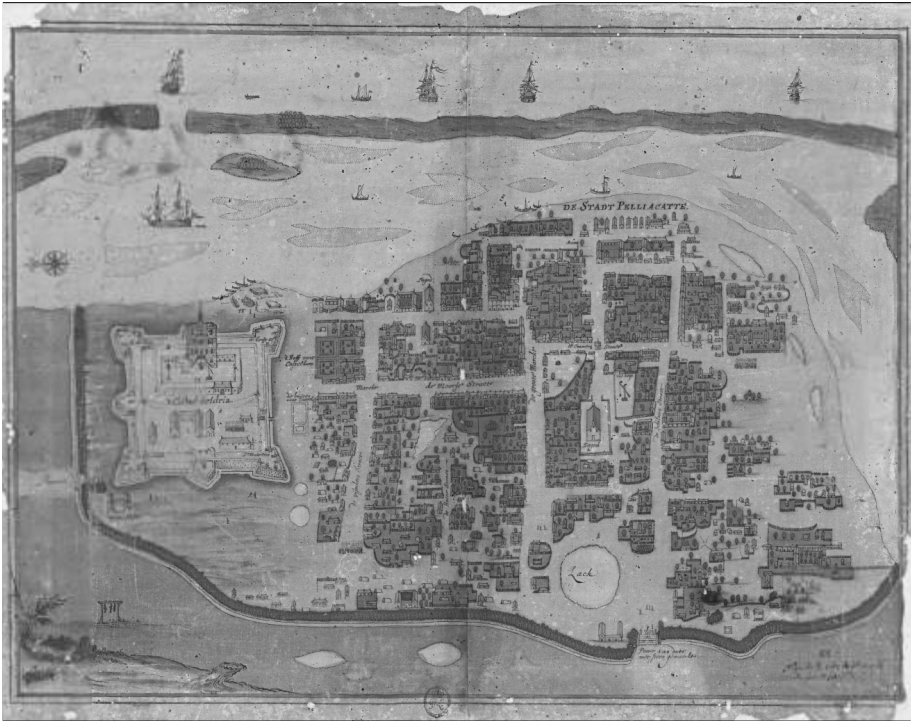
Pulicat (Coromandel)

The Dutch East India Company established commercial links with the Coromandel, on India's south-east coast, just a few years after it started trading, taking over from the Portuguese which had established themselves there since the first decades of the 16th century. The company opened an outpost in Pulicat in 1610 that almost immediately became its most important trading centre in India, particularly for the cotton sold to the Maluku islands, exchanged with nutmeg and cloves. Pulicat also had its own mint (with gold from India, Malaysia, Sumatra and Japan) and a gunpowder factory run by VOC, which supplied numerous other Dutch outposts built by VOC in Southeast Asia. The *Carta di Castello* features a detailed plan of the city: it displays its imposing fort, built between 1610 and 1613. The name of the fort, 't *Casteel Geldria*, refers to the birthplace of the governor Wemmer van Berchem (c. 1580-1653), while the bastions are named after the *stadhouders* of the House of Orange, Willem,

⁵⁸ Florence, BML, *Carte di Castello 3*: [Bantam], Java, Indonesia. Attributed to Johannes Vingboons and his workshop, Amsterdam, c. 1665-68. Line-and-wash drawing on canvas-backed paper, 103.4 x 73.7 cm. Ownership stamp of Peter Leopold, Grand Duke of Tuscany. Wieder (1925-1933), IV, p. 132, V, p. 168; Van der Krogt (2005), pp. 309-311; Gosselink (2007), pp. 127, 149, no. 196; *The Global Eye* (2019), pp. 58-59.

Ernst, Hendrick and Mauritius. Constructed on the shores of Pulicat lagoon, the fort stood in a strategic position, offering access and control over the Coromandel Coast and the Bay of Bengal.⁵⁹ This particularly detailed map features the names of the main streets in the city and also Indian holy sites named “Pagod”.⁶⁰

FIGURE 5
Plan of the city of Pulicat, Coromandel Coast, India



Florence, BML, *Carte di Castello 11*. © MIBAC, Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana (*The Atlas of Mutual Heritage*, <https://www.atlasofmutualheritage.nl/en/Map-Pulicat.10592>).

⁵⁹ On the role played by the Dutch East India Company, in connection with Coromandel and Bengal traders in India in the seventeenth and the early eighteenth century and the resulting integration of India into the world economy, see Prakash (2014).

⁶⁰ Florence, BML, *Carte di Castello 11: De stadt Pelliacatte* (City of Pulicat), Coromandel, India. Attributed to Johannes Vingboons and his workshop, Amsterdam, c. 1665-1668. Line-and-wash drawing on canvas-backed paper, 71.9 x 55.6 cm. Ownership stamp of Peter Leopold, Grand Duke of Tuscany. Wieder (1925-1933), IV, p. 131, no. 47; Gosselink (2007), pp. 112-13, 149, no. 192; *Atlas of Mutual Heritage*, s.v.; *The Global Eye* (2019), pp. 74-75.

Conclusions

There are three main elements that emerge from the analysis of the documents considered in this essay in relation to the formative travels, in Europe, and mainly in the Netherlands, of Prince Cosimo III de' Medici between 1667 and 1669. First, the synoptic analysis of the geographic distribution of the ensemble of the 82 documents that make up the *Carte di Castello*, acquired in Amsterdam and Lisbon, highlights the reticular and insular dimension of the places that structured the global trades run by Dutch trading companies and within the framework of the *Estado da Índia*.

Second, the close analysis of a specific group of representations referring to locations in the Maluku Archipelago allows us to visualize the strategies of the Dutch East India Company to build a monopoly for the production and trade of spices in the islands of Southeast Asia; they created a sort of fortified "Mediterranean" maritime space, in strenuous competition with and opposition to earlier Portuguese and Spanish settlements and the British India Company's first attempts at settlement, in relation to the political strategies of the powerful sultanates of the Maluku Islands and the maritime expansion strategies of the Ottoman Empire.

Finally, Cosimo's journeys and the *Carte di Castello*, "which – in Corsini's words – featured the plans of various ports, cities, fortresses and coasts of both the East and West Indies",⁶¹ acquired in the Netherlands, and those purchased in Lisbon, reminded the prince and his court that global economic and financial power no longer flowed through Florence, and hadn't for some time. Until the end of the 17th century, and perhaps even a few decades later, if we think of Francesco Carletti's journeys⁶², Florence's banks, merchants

⁶¹ See the quotation from Corsini's report in note 15 above.

⁶² Between 1594 and 1602, the Florentine Francesco Carletti (1573-1636), in part together with his father Antonio, as a simple merchant, circumnavigated the whole world, journeying and trading in West Africa, the Spanish Americas, the Philippines, Japan, China, Malacca, Ceylon and Portuguese India. After being captured in the Atlantic Ocean by the Dutch in 1602, on his way back to Europe, he managed to return to Florence in 1606. He authored a manuscript account of his voyage, *Ragionamenti sopra le cose da lui vedute*

and commercial and financial institutions, active across Europe, had continued to invest in and launch commercial ventures in Asia and the New World.⁶³ Fifty years later, Cosimo III was well aware of the cultural and economic cleavages between the Grand Duchy of Tuscany and the other European kingdoms and powers and the global colonial economic networks they had woven. To understand the mid-17th-century global economic world, from Florence, one had to look at it through Dutch, Portuguese or Spanish lenses: this is one of the underlying meanings of the Carte di Castello and their spatiality.

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⁶³ Guidi Bruscoli 2017 and 2018; Brege 2021.

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