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في ذكرى
مارك لينز

The Mercantile Effect

*Art and Exchange in the Islamicate World
during the 17th and 18th Centuries*

Edited by
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FEDERICA GIGANTE



Figure 1. Woodcut of the Cospi Museum by Giuseppe Maria Mitelli, in Legati, *Museo Cospiano*, Bologna 1677.

Trading Islamic Artworks in Seventeenth-Century Italy: The Case of the Cospi Museum

FEDERICA GIGANTE

This essay will analyse the influence exerted by mercantile practices on the perception of Islamic artefacts in seventeenth-century Italy. It will demonstrate that merchants importing collectibles directly from the Islamic world to Italy also brought information concerning the objects themselves, their cultural backgrounds and the peoples from whom they originated. At the same time, it will establish that the acquisition of Islamic collectibles outside these Mediterranean trading networks severed the link between the objects and their origins, thus preventing any knowledge of the objects' cultural contexts reaching the Italian collector. Mediterranean mercantile networks therefore emerge as the primary actor in the processes which shaped the perception of Islamic artefacts in seventeenth-century Italy. In this way, 'the stories these objects told derived in no small part from the biographies they acquired moving from hand to hand. Their original contexts, uses, and narratives were filtered through the numerous people involved at each stage of their journey'.¹

THE COSPI MUSEUM

The role played by merchants in the building of an early-modern collection and their influence on the subsequent perception of the artefacts is generally very hard to detect. In marked contrast to the publicity afforded to donors, merchants are rarely acknowledged in the written sources and elude the historical record. In order to shed light on their activities, it is necessary to reconstruct acquisition histories for the artefacts by means of detailed and contextualised analysis of their entries in

contemporary museum catalogues and inventories. This essay will focus on the museum assembled in the seventeenth century by the Bolognese nobleman Ferdinando Cospi, which, with its wealth of Islamic artworks meticulously recorded across three catalogues, provides a particularly useful source for the present study (Figure 1). The first catalogue, printed in 1667 and entitled *Brief Description of the Museum of ... Ferdinando Cospi*, sketchily outlines the items which had been assembled by Cospi by the date of printing and also includes an appendix listing items added immediately thereafter;² the second and main catalogue, printed in 1677 and entitled *Museo Cospiano*, features thorough iconographic descriptions, lengthy explanations of provenance and a detailed woodcut illustration of the museum's main room as well as woodcuts of some of the items interspersed through the text;³ the third and final catalogue, printed in 1680 and entitled *Simple Inventory*, was produced as a brief list supplementing the previous catalogue with items added in the intervening years.⁴

TRADED OBJECTS

A distinct group of items in the Cospi Museum can be demonstrated to have had a direct provenance from the Islamic world and to have been directly imported to Italy through a network of merchants and agents. Among these are a 'Turkish copper vase, which opens into three pieces, for use as a box',⁵ a 'knife used by the Turks, called *ganger*',⁶ 'two Turkish spoons',⁷ 'another Turkish spoon of ivory',⁸ 'two Persian shoes',⁹ a 'tobacco box from the island of Chios',¹⁰ and a 'weighing-scale

for the coins used by the Turks'.¹¹ All of these items feature in the aforementioned appendix to the first catalogue of the Cospì Museum, which lists objects added to the collection subsequent to the printing of the catalogue in 1667 but within such a short period that the newly printed copies had not yet been distributed and could therefore be physically expanded. This allows us to pinpoint the objects' arrival and acquisition to a specific moment in time, that is, 1667–1668.

On 14 January 1668, the Grand Duke of Tuscany Ferdinando II de' Medici wrote from the port city of Livorno to his brother Cardinal Leopoldo de' Medici in Rome that 'from here I can but return your favour with those [news] of Celebi that have arrived at Livorno along with the ship *Jerusalem* ... the Marquis Cospì, knowing him ... I leave it to his prudence to solve the matter as best he sees fit'.¹² This letter refers to the arrival in Livorno of a ship called the *Jerusalem* belonging to the Ottoman Armenian merchant Antonio Bogos (commonly known as Celebi) and further concerns a matter to be dealt with by Ferdinando Cospì.¹³ No further correspondence illuminates the exact nature of Cospì's role, but the coincidence in time between the arrival of the ship and the addition of the group of Islamic artefacts to the Cospì Museum is suggestive of a direct link.

The ship *Jerusalem* is stated in the entry document logged at the port of Livorno on 14 January 1668 to have 'arrived from Smyrna'.¹⁴ The ship, moreover, is said to contain, among various bales of wool and cotton, 'five containers of various things'.¹⁵ These miscellaneous items are—as is usually the case with documents of this kind—unfortunately not further detailed.

The identification of the *Jerusalem* (or a similar vessel coming from the shores of the eastern Mediterranean) as the source of the items which near-simultaneously entered the Cospì Museum can be confirmed by close attention to the descriptions of the objects in the second catalogue of the museum, the *Museo Cospiano* of 1677. These reveal both the objects' direct importation from the Islamic world and contain traces of the

activities of merchants and agents. The 'Turkish copper vase' (Figure 2), for example, is described as a:

large Turkish copper vase, of square shape, wide and twice as high as it is deep. It opens lengthwise in three parts, one built within the other in the manner of the shoulder boxes used by merchants to carry the best part of their wares in thin foreign textiles, as well as other valuable goods. The Turks use these vases to store food for their travels.¹⁶

The information that the object was used by the Turks as a travelling food container—an accurate description of its function but not one that was readily apparent or deducible from the object itself—can only have been transmitted to the collector or cataloguer through a source with direct knowledge of the object's cultural background. The reference to merchants carrying similar boxes would appear, furthermore, to be an intriguing indication of first-hand knowledge of such merchants.

The second Islamic object featuring in the appendix to the 1667 catalogue is a 'knife used by the Turks, called *ganger*' whose description was later expanded in the *Museo Cospiano* into 'Arabic dagger, called *gangiar* by the Turks, the Arabs, and the Moors, by whom it is worn inside the sleeves of the vest, so as to be readily usable in case of need'.¹⁷ This indicates both a specific knowledge of the object's Arabic (*khanjar*) or Turkish (*hancar*) name and a familiarity with similar daggers carried by peoples as diverse as Turks, Arabs and Moors, an expertise which is not likely to have been gathered from secondary literature alone.

A further item is the 'tobacco box from the island of Chios', an Ottoman island off the coast of the port town of Smyrna. This object is further described in the *Museo Cospiano* as a:

tobacco box to store smoking tobacco, made from Chian ceramic, so-called from the island from which it was brought, which is one of the islands in the archipelago and not very distant from Samos ... It is particularly used in the lands of the Turk.¹⁸



Figure 2. Lunch-box, copper alloy and tin, Egypt or Syria, *circa* 1400–1500. Bologna, Museo Civico Medievale, 2119.

© Museo Civico Medievale. Bologna, Italy.

The assertive definition of this box as a tobacco box reveals, as with the previous two pieces, a precise knowledge of the item's function in its land of origin. The definition is, in this case, accompanied by a statement which confirms its direct, physical importation from the Islamic world—the box is said to have been 'brought' from Chios—which in turn suggests that the object may have travelled through a Mediterranean mercantile network.

Further invaluable information is also afforded by the following item of the group, a tiny weighing scale (Figure 3) which is described in the *Museo Cospiano* as a:

wooden weighing scale, used in the countries of the Turk to weigh the Medini, which are coins ... It was brought from Cairo. In the city of Jerusalem these are in all the shops.¹⁹

The object is said to have been 'brought from Cairo', while the further detail of its wide availability in Jerusalem reveals a type of information that could only have reached the collector through a first-hand witness, most likely the merchant who brought the object itself from the Middle East. The description also states that the wooden weighing scale derived 'from the generosity of the Most Serene Cardinal Leopoldo de' Medici',²⁰ a comment

that offers confirmation of the hypothesis, first suggested in the previously mentioned letter from the Grand Duke Ferdinando II to Leopoldo de' Medici, that these items reached the Cospi Museum with the assistance of the Medici.

The catalogue descriptions of this group of Islamic objects suggest a direct importation from the Islamic world, probably on board a ship such as the *Jerusalem* sailing from the eastern shores of the Mediterranean. The route from Smyrna to Livorno, as taken by the *Jerusalem*, was one of the most frequently travelled during the second half of the seventeenth century.²¹ Ships on this route would make several stopovers, including the ports of Chios²² and Alexandria, the latter being the sea port for Cairo.²³ It is no surprise, therefore, to find amongst the objects of this group some ancient Egyptian artefacts such as an 'idol

representing a cat'²⁴ and 'eight images of Isis'²⁵—such items testify to the everlasting European fascination with ancient Egypt that frequently opened a gateway into Islamic art in the early modern period.²⁶

The abundant information on the cultural background of the objects, which is indicated in the catalogue descriptions analysed above, cannot have been inferred from the objects themselves and can have been derived only from a source or sources with first-hand knowledge of the items in their lands of origin. This suggests a direct passage of information to the eventual Italian recipient via the Mediterranean mercantile network responsible for the import of the objects into Italy.

Confirmation of this hypothesis and of the trading routes the objects followed can be sought in other items belonging to this group. Although *naturalia* rather than artworks, these items provide important details about the role of merchants and mercantile networks in the transmission of knowledge from the Islamic world to Italy. Among these specimens are a 'crocodile ... taken in Arabia Petrea beneath Mount Sinai'²⁷ which was 'brought back under the name of *sand crocodile*'.²⁸ The verb 'to bring' reappears here in relation to the Middle East, while the provenance is again Egyptian. The unusual expression 'brought back under the name' points to information having been imparted by the vendor, who himself labelled or termed the specimen a 'sand crocodile', and reflects a practice that was already current in the sixteenth century, when naturalists commonly purchased specimens directly from tradespeople and acknowledged the marketplace as their source in order to absolve themselves from the charge of having reported false or misleading information.²⁹

Another specimen from this group, coming again from Egypt, is a fish from the Nile:

it was brought from Egypt and taken in one of the mouths of the Nile. In that area, if caught by chance among other fish, it is not admitted to the table, on account of being very tough



Figure 3. Weighing scale, wood, Egypt, Ottoman period, 1517–1667. Bologna, Museo Civico Medievale, 1548. Photograph by the author. © Museo Civico Medievale. Bologna, Italy.

and nauseating meat: but it is kept only in order to serve the curiosity of foreigners, who buy it.³⁰

The fact that a report of the capture of this very fish in a branch of the Nile delta reached Bologna reveals a direct passage of very precise information from Egypt to Italy. Moreover, the detail concerning the fish being ‘kept only in order to serve the curiosity of foreigners, who buy it’ indicates both local awareness of a foreign export market and the presence of agents or merchants able to collect and deliver such an item to foreign buyers. The practice of preserving unusual fish was already common in the sixteenth century, as attested in the correspondence of the Bolognese naturalist Ulisse Aldrovandi, who also relied on the services of a merchant to have dried fish sent from Egypt.³¹

A final confirmation that the presence of numerous details concerning the uses and functions of this group of Islamic items in their original cultural context is to be ascribed to mercantile networks delivering information along with the items is provided by another specimen which is recorded in the appendix to the *Brief Description*, a ‘Barbary scorpion’³² (Figure 4) which:

was brought alive from Tunisia to Tuscany in 1668 ... In its native land it is called *akrab* ... these surpass [ours] in the

malignity of their venomous stings, which are greatest in the hottest months. Every year this is the cause of the death of many men, as those who dwell in those areas relate.³³

This scorpion was ‘brought’ from Tunisia and can be identified as one of the scorpions sent to the great naturalist Francesco Redi, physician at the Medici court, by Giovanni Pagni, the physician chosen by Ferdinando II to serve the Bey of Tunis, Mohamet Apsi. In Tunis, beside his medical duties, Pagni meticulously interrogated the locals about the herbs and animals he came across and also procured local specimens, including scorpions, which he sent, together with detailed narratives, to Redi.³⁴ The scorpion arrived in Tuscany on a mercantile ship along with plenty of information related by ‘those who dwell in those areas’, information which eventually reached Cospi and was reported in the *Museo Cospiano*.³⁵ The scorpion also provides confirmation of the date of importation of this group of items—as it arrived in Livorno just two weeks before the ship *Jerusalem*—and of the involvement of the Medici in sending this group of items to Bologna.

MERCHANTS AND AGENTS

From this analysis it emerges that the wealth of detailed information displayed in the catalogue descriptions of this particular group of objects—the narratives accompanying them, their clearly explained uses and functions—is attributable to first-hand information travelling with the objects themselves directly from their lands of origin to the Italian collector through a Mediterranean mercantile network. Such biographies accompanying the objects may have been relayed in the form of a letter written by the European agent involved in the dispatch, as was the case with the scorpion. It may also, however, have been passed on by Arabs or Turks travelling on board the ships.

The presence of Arabs or Turks on board the ships is confirmed by Egyptian archival documents which reveal that Egyptian merchants employed enfranchised slaves to travel with their

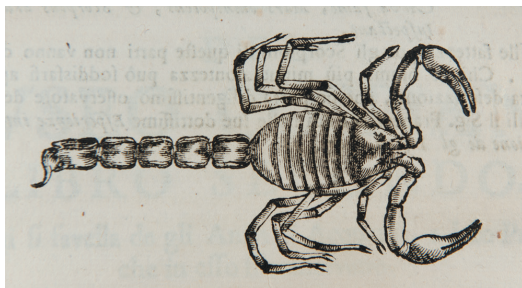


Figure 4. Woodcut of the Barbary scorpion by Veronica Fontana, in Legati, *Museo Cospiano*, Bologna 1677, p. 51.

goods to Italy, and by Italian documents recording the crews of ships arriving from the eastern Mediterranean which reveal the presence of Ottomans travelling along with the goods.³⁶ It is also possible that Ottoman galley-slaves took the opportunity to sell certain small personal effects, a common practice among the European oarsmen travelling to the Middle East.³⁷ By providing context and narratives for the items they were hoping to sell, the Ottoman slaves added value to objects that would otherwise have been of little worth, such as the tiny Turkish wooden weighing scale discussed earlier. Similar direct transfers of information about exotic specimens from slaves to collectors are known to have taken place in the sixteenth century, when herbalists described the properties of exotic plants on the authority of Arab slaves travelling on the ships.³⁸ By the mid-seventeenth century, moreover, Arab and Turkish slaves in Livorno were also allowed to sell food and other wares in stalls around their penal colony and in booths by the dock³⁹ and scientists, such as the physician Giovanni Pagni, relied on Turkish slaves and converts residing in Tuscany for information about the properties of exotic herbs.⁴⁰

LOSING THE CONNECTION

While mercantile networks allowed for the circulation of knowledge regarding Islamic artefacts imported into Italy, conversely, Islamic artefacts which reached the collector outside these networks did so without the transmission of any such knowledge. As a result, many of the Islamic artefacts in the Cospi Museum traceable to an acquisition within Italy—from other collections, for example—are described in the museum catalogues without any reference to the Islamic world and it is often only the physical description of the item which conveys its origin to the modern reader. This is particularly true of the *Museo Cospiano*, the second and main catalogue of the Cospi Museum, which offers detailed descriptions of objects that are patently Islamic in origin without drawing any association with the Islamic world. Their immediate provenance within Italy rather than within their land of origin broke the flow of

information facilitated by the Mediterranean trading networks and the result was ignorance of the objects' Islamic past.

'Three brass globes, all pierced ... each containing an oil lamp within many circles'⁴¹ are thoroughly described in two separate sections of the *Museo Cospiano* without a hint of their Islamic origin (Figure 5).⁴² These incense burners belong to the so-called Veneto-Saracenic group of metalwork, which was produced in the Middle East during a period dating from the end of the fourteenth century to the sixteenth century, specifically for the European—and, in particular, Italian—market.⁴³ They are likely to have reached Italy at least two hundred years before being catalogued and could only have been acquired by Cospi from within Italy itself, a provenance which almost certainly accounts for the loss of their association with the Islamic world.



Figure 5. Incense burner, copper alloy with silver inlay, Egypt or Syria, circa 1400–1500. Bologna, Museo Civico Medievale, 2115. Photograph by the author. © Museo Civico Medievale. Bologna, Italy.



Figure 6. Ewer, copper alloy with silver inlay, Egypt or Syria, reign of Sultan Qalawun (1279–1290).
Bologna, Museo Civico Medievale, 2093. © Museo Civico Medievale. Bologna, Italy.

The absence of information on the Islamic origin of a Mamluk inlaid ewer decorated with eleven bands of Arabic inscriptions is even more surprising (Figure 6).⁴⁴ One of the most important pieces in the collection, it was prominently displayed on a central shelf of the main room of the Cospi Museum (Figure 7) and captured among the few objects illustrated in the *Museo Cospiano* (Figure 8) but its presentation in the catalogue reveals a complete ignorance of its cultural background. The ewer is thoroughly described over two pages with numerous iconographic details and yet is identified only as ‘of a certain antiquity’⁴⁵ with no mention or even suggestion of its Islamic origin. The manner in which the ewer is assembled, with the handle mounted incorrectly to form a second spout, suggests that it was repaired by someone who was unfamiliar with this type of object. Given that the shape of this ewer was extremely common in the Middle East, it is likely that such a clumsy repair was performed outside the Islamic world where the ewer was also acquired by Cospi. Further, the statement that the ewer was ‘of a certain antiquity’ could derive only from the actual knowledge that the object had existed for some time, possibly as part of another Italian collection, rather than from a stylistic analysis. The long-term presence of the ewer in Europe, and the lack of a mercantile connection capable of transmitting relevant information, made the collector completely oblivious to its Islamic origins. This accords with its presentation in the highly instructive woodcut of the *Museo Cospiano* (Figure 8), where the ewer, with its Arabic inscriptions rendered as simple decorative lines, is depicted more as a European baroque vase than a thirteenth-century Syrian ewer.

The *Museo Cospiano* also features a ‘pair of Samian Vases ... whose type of work, being Greek, joins with their material to authenticate them as Samian Vases and prove that they were



Figure 7. Detail of the woodcut of the Cospi Museum by Giuseppe Maria Mitelli, in Legati, *Museo Cospiano*, Bologna 1677.

Figure 8. Woodcut of the Mamluk ewer by Veronica Fontana, in Legati, *Museo Cospiano*, Bologna 1677, p. 259.



Figure 9. Vase, lustre glazed earthenware, Spain, *circa* 1450. Bologna, Museo Civico Medievale, 2782. Photograph by the author. © Museo Civico Medievale. Bologna, Italy.



Figure 10. Vase, lustre glazed earthenware, Spain, *circa* 1450. Bologna, Museo Civico Medievale, 2783. © Museo Civico Medievale. Bologna, Italy.

brought from Greece' (Figures 9 and 10).⁴⁶ These are in fact lustre glazed vases made in Spain, dating from the second half of the fifteenth century, a type of Hispano-Moresque ware which was extremely popular for export to Italy.⁴⁷ It is likely that these lustreware vases were imported into Italy in that period, a hypothesis supported by the nineteenth-century archaeologist Giovanni Gozzadini, who states that the vases had belonged to the fifteenth-century Bolognese Giovanni II Bentivoglio.⁴⁸ However, as with the incense burners and Mamluk ewer, by the time that Cospi acquired the vases the connection with their original cultural milieu had been lost and, as a consequence, the collector failed to identify them as pieces of Islamic craftsmanship.

This essay has shown that seventeenth-century mercantile networks in the Mediterranean allowed for the transmission of knowledge of the origin and function of the Islamic wares they imported into Italy. In contrast, the acquisition of Islamic artefacts outside these Mediterranean mercantile networks obscured awareness of their Islamic past, severing any connection with their lands of origin. Collectors such as Cospi perceived such Islamic artefacts as interesting pieces of craftsmanship to be collected for their beauty rather than for any association with 'exotic' lands. The ewer, for instance, was considered 'so well represented, that it could be deemed a particular effort of the craftsman, to demonstrate the excellence of the skill, and the refinement of the art'⁴⁹ while the pair of

so-called Samian vases 'on account of their beauty would not be unworthy of the tables of the great; they would rather lend pomp to them'.⁵⁰

Aesthetic or technical appreciation, rather than 'exoticism', was therefore the only realistic motivation for collecting those items which had lost their original associations with the Islamic world. Conversely, objects imported directly by means of Mediterranean trading networks reached the collector with biographies which shaped his understanding of the artefacts. These thus gained a symbolic significance and were collected and valued for the insights into foreign lands they could provide.

NOTES

1. Mark A. Meadow, 'Merchants and Marvels: Hans Jacob Fugger and the Origin of the Wunderkammer', in Pamela H. Smith and Paula Findlen, *Merchants and Marvels: Commerce, Science and Art in Early Modern Europe*, London 2002, p. 183.
2. Lorenzo Legati, *Breve Descrizione del Museo Dell'Illustriss. Sig. Cau. Commend. dell'Ordine di S. Stefano, Ferdinando Cospi, Balì d'Arezzo, Marchese di Petriolo, e Senatore di Bologna, Donato dal Medesimo all'Illustriss. Senato, & ora annesso al famoso Cimeliarchio del Celebre Aldrouandi*, Bologna 1667, which includes an appendix entitled 'INDICE Delle cose rare aggiunte al Museo Cospiano dopo la dilui descrizione, in cui dovevano mentovarsi con l'ordine seguente', p. 49.
3. Legati, *Museo Cospiano Annesso a quello del Famoso Ulisse Aldrovandi e Donato alla sua Patria dall'Illustrissimo Signor Ferdinando Cospi, Patrizio di Bologna e Senatore, Cavaliere Commendatore di S. Stefano, Balì d'Arezzo, e March. di Petriolo ...*, Bologna 1677.
4. *Inventario Semplice di Tutte le Materie Esattamente Descritte che si Trovano Nel Museo Cospiano, Non solo le notate nel Libro già Stampato, e composto Dal Sig. Dottore Lorenzo Legati, Mâ ancora le aggiuntevi in copia dopo la Fabrica*, Bologna 1680.
5. 'Vaso di rame Turchesco, che s'apre in tre pezzi ad uso di scatola', in Legati, *Breve Descrizione*, p. 49. All translations are by the author.
6. 'Coltello usato da' Turchi, detto Ganger', in Legati, *Breve Descrizione*, p. 52 (italics in the original).
7. 'Due Cucchiari Turcheschi', in Legati, *Breve Descrizione*, p. 52.
8. 'Altro Cucchiario Turchesco d'avorio', in Legati, *Breve Descrizione*, p. 53.
9. 'Due scarpe Persiane', in Legati, *Breve Descrizione*, p. 53.
10. 'Tabacchiera dell'isola di Scio', in Legati, *Breve Descrizione*, p. 53.
11. 'Peso delle Monete usate da' Turchi', in Legati, *Breve Descrizione*, p. 53.
12. '... io di quà non posso ricambiarla, che con quelle venute à Livorno con la Nave Jerusalem del Celibij ... il Marchese Cospi conoscendolo ... quanto me lasso alla sua prudenza il risolvere quello hà di suo gusto', in the Archivio di Stato di Firenze (henceforth ASF), *Mediceo del Principato*, 5498 (Livorno, 14 September 1667), fol. 190r.
13. For the role of Antonio Bogos in Livorno see Daniele Pesciatini, 'Il "Çelebi" del Bagno Turco', in *Gli Armeni lungo le strade d'Italia*, Pisa and Rome 1998, pp. 73–101. I am grateful to Corey Tazzara for the suggested identification of Celebi as Antonio Bogos.
14. '... viene di Smirne', in ASF, *Ufficiali di Sanità*, 226 (14 January 1668), fol. 1470r.
15. '5 Colli robe diverse', in ASF, *Ufficiali di Sanità*, 226 (14 January 1668), fol. 1471r.
16. 'VASO grande, Turchesco, di rame, di figura quadrata, lungo, & alto il doppio della sua larghezza. S'apre pe'l lungo in trè parti, l'una nell'altra incassate a guisa delle Scatole da spalla, usate da Merciarì, che in esse portano in volta il meglio del loro capitale, in tele straniere sottilissime, & altre merci gentili. Usano questi Vasi i Turchi per conservarvi dentro le vivande per viaggio', in Legati, *Museo Cospiano*, p. 260.
17. 'PUGNALE ARABO, da' Turchi, & Arabi, Mori chiamato Gangiar, da' quali portasi nelle maniche della Veste, per poter valersene prontamente nell'occorrenze', in Legati, *Museo Cospiano*, p. 235 (italics in the original).
18. 'TABACCHIERA da pigliar Tabacco in fumo, fatta di TERRA CHIA, così detta dall'Isola, d'onde fù portata, ch'è una di quelle dell'Arcipelago, non molto distante da Samo ... Usasi particolarmente ne' Paesi del Turco', in Legati, *Museo Cospiano*, p. 269.
19. 'BILANCIA di legno, usata ne' Paesi del Turco, per pesare li Medini, che sono Monete ... Fu portata dal Cairo. Nella Città di Gierusalemme ve ne hà in tutte le botteghe', in Legati, *Museo Cospiano*, p. 289.
20. '... del Sereniss. Card. Leopoldo de' Medici, dalla cui liberalità', in Legati, *Museo Cospiano*, p. 289.
21. Renato Ghezzi, *Livorno e il mondo islamico nel XVII secolo*, Bari 2007, p. 115.
22. Ghezzi, *Livorno e il mondo islamico nel XVII secolo*, pp. 81, 115; Daniel Panzac, 'L'escale de Chio: un observatoire privilégié de l'activité

- maritime en mer Égée au XVIII^e siècle', in *Commerce et Navigation dans l'Empire Ottoman au XVIII^e Siècle*, Istanbul 1996, p. 1; James Mather, *Pashas: Traders and Travellers in the Islamic World*, New Haven and London 2009, p. 43; Elena Frangakis-Syrett, *The Commerce with Smyrna in the Eighteenth Century (1700–1820)*, Athens 1992, p. 33.
23. Ghezzi, *Livorno e il mondo islamico nel XVII secolo*, p. 15 (note 15), p. 160.
24. 'Idolo che figura un Gatto', in Legati, *Breve Descrizione*, p. 50.
25. 'Otto immagini di Iside', in Legati, *Breve Descrizione*, p. 50.
26. Julian Raby, 'Exotica from Islam', in *The Origins of Museums: The Cabinet of Curiosities in Sixteenth- and Seventeenth-Century Europe*, ed. Oliver Impey and Arthur MacGregor, Oxford 1985, p. 257.
27. 'Cocodrillo ... preso nell'Arabia Petrea sotto il Monte Sinai', in Legati, *Breve Descrizione*, p. 50.
28. '... portato sotto il nome di Cocodrillo d'arena', in Legati, *Museo Cospiano*, p. 35 (italics in the original).
29. Paula Findlen, *Possessing Nature: Museums, Collecting, and Scientific Culture in Early Modern Italy*, Berkeley 1994, p. 177.
30. 'Fù portato dall'Egitto, preso in una bocca del Nilo. Dove pescandosi a caso con altri Pesci, non s'ammette nelle mense, per essere di carne molto dura, e stomacosa: ma si serba solo per pascere la curiosità de' Forastieri, che lo comprano', in Legati, *Museo Cospiano*, p. 78. In the Museo Cospiano there are two fish brought from Egypt in which it is possible to recognise the 'fish of the Nile' featuring in the appendix to the *Breve Descrizione*. Here the description of only one of them is provided as they are described in very similar terms.
31. Achille Forti, 'Del drago che si trovava nella Raccolta Moscardo e di un probabile artefice di tali mistificazioni: Leone Tartaglini da Foiano', *Madonna Verona* 8 (1914), 32; Biblioteca Universitaria di Bologna (henceforth BUB), Aldrovandi Ms. 136, vol. 9, fol. 5v in Findlen, 'Inventing Nature. Commerce, Art, and Science in the Early Modern Cabinet of Curiosities', in *Merchants & Marvels*, p. 303.
32. 'Scorpione di Barberia', in Legati, *Breve Descrizione*, p. 51.
33. '... fù da Tunisi, portato vivo in Toscana del MDCLXVIII. ... Nel Paese natio chiamasi *Akrab* ... li sorpassano nella malignità de' velenosi aculei massime ne' mesi più fervidi. Il che ogni anno è cagione della morte di molti huomini per relazione di chi dimora in quelle parti', in Legati, *Museo Cospiano*, p. 51 (italics in the original).
34. Francesco Redi, *Esperienze intorno alla generazione degli insetti*, Rome 1885, pp. 43–5 (first published in Florence in 1668).
35. Giovanni Pagni, *Lettere di Giovanni Pagni medico, ed archeologo pisano a Francesco Redi in ragguaglio di quanto di quanto egli vidde, ed operò in Tunisi*, Florence 1829, p. 137 (Porto Farina, 26 October 1667) and p. 141 (Tunis, 28 December 1667).
36. Hanna Nelly, *Making Big Money in 1600. The Life and Times of Isma'il Abu Taqiyya, Egyptian Merchant*, New York 1998, p. 65; Lucia Frattarelli Fischer, 'Per la storia dell'insediamento degli armeni a Livorno nel seicento', in *Gli armeni lungo le strade d'Italia*, Pisa and Rome 1998, pp. 27, 33.
37. Deborah Howard, 'Venezia città "orientale"', in *Venezia e l'Islam, 828–1797*, ed. Stefano Carboni, Venezia 2007, p. 80.
38. BUB, *Aldrovandi*, Ms. 76 (Genoa, 20 November 1598), fol. 8v, in Findlen, *Possessing Nature*, p. 179.
39. Vittorio Salvadorini, 'Traffici con i paesi islamici e schiavi a Livorno nel XVII secolo: problemi e suggestioni', in *Atti del convegno Livorno e il Mediterraneo nell'età medicea*, Livorno 1978, pp. 234, 249.
40. Pagni, *Lettere*, pp. 203, 206.
41. 'Trè GLOBI d'ottone, tutti traforati ... contenenti ciascheduno una Lucerna da olio in tanti Circoli', in Legati, *Museo Cospiano*, Bologna 1677, p. 199.
42. Legati, *Museo Cospiano*, Bologna 1677, pp. 199 and 336.
43. Federica Gigante, 'Importing, trading, and collecting Islamic artworks in seventeenth-century Italy: the Cospi Museum', Ph.D. thesis, University of London 2017, vol. 2, Appendix III.
44. Cristina Tonghini, *Eredità dell'Islam, Arte islamica in Italia*, ed. Giovanni Curatola, Cinisello Balsamo 1993, no. 173, pp. 302–4.
45. '... di qualche antichità', in Legati, *Museo Cospiano*, p. 259.
46. 'Due VASI di TERRA SAMIA ... La qual sorte di lavoro, essendo Greca, cospira colla materia, ad autenticar questi per Vasi Samii. Tanto insieme prova l'essere questi stati portati dalla Grecia', in Legati, *Museo Cospiano*, pp. 266–67.
47. Marco Spallanzani, *Ceramiche orientali a Firenze nel rinascimento*, Florence 1978, pp. 49–55; Spallanzani, *Maioliche ispano-moresche a Firenze nel Rinascimento*, Florence 2006, pp. 9–14.
48. Giovanni Gozzadini, *Memorie per la vita di Giovanni II. Bentivoglio*, Bologna 1839, p. 240 (note 4); the only source mentioned by Gozzadini for this attribution is 'that it is tradition that they belonged to Giovanni the second'.
49. '... così ben'espreso, che può dirsi uno sforzo dell'Artefice, per dimostrare l'eccellenza dell'ingegno, e la finezza dell'Arte', in Legati, *Museo Cospiano*, pp. 259–60 (italics in the original).
50. '... per la bellezza non sarebbono indegni delle Mense d'un Grande; e reccherebbono anzi pompa', in Legati, *Museo Cospiano*, p. 268.