

Venetian Humanism in the Mediterranean World:
Writing Empire from the Margins

by

Erin Maglaque

Thesis presented for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy
History Faculty
University of Oxford
Trinity Term, 2014

Abstract

My dissertation examines the cultural history of the Renaissance Venetian maritime empire. In this project I bring into conversation two historiographical subfields, the intellectual history of Venetian Renaissance humanism and the colonial history of the early modern Mediterranean, which have previously developed separately. In doing so, I examine the relationship between power and knowledge as it unfolded in the early modern Mediterranean. The ways in which Venetian Renaissance intellectual culture was shaped by its imperial engagements - and, conversely, how Venetian approaches to governance were inflected by humanist practices - are the central axes of my dissertation.

In the first part of the dissertation, I examine the ways in which writing and textual collecting were used by elite Venetian readers to represent the geopolitical dimensions of their empire. I consider a group of manuscripts and printed books which contain technical, navigational, and cartographic writing and images about Venetian mercantile and imperial activity in the Mediterranean. In the second part, I undertake two case-studies of Venetian patrician governors who were trained in the humanist schools of Venice, before being posted to colonial offices in Dalmatia and the Aegean, respectively. I examine how their education in Venice as humanists influenced their experience and practice of governance in the *stato da mar*. Their personal texts offer an alternative intellectual history of empire, one which demonstrates the formation of political thought amongst the men actually practicing and experiencing imperial governance. Overall, I aim to build a picture of the ways in which literary culture, the physical world of the *stato da mar*, and political thought came to be entwined in the Venetian Renaissance; and then to describe how these dense relationships worked for the Venetian administrators who experienced them in the Mediterranean.

Acknowledgements

It is a pleasure to acknowledge the many people and organisations who have made my research possible over the last three years. I am firstly very grateful to the Clarendon Fund, who funded my degree.

My research in Italy was generously supported by ERASMUS, the Isaiah Berlin Fund, the Fondazione Giorgio Cini, the Bibliographical Society, and the Old Members' Trust of University College. I am particularly grateful to Piero Falchetta for introducing me to the cartographic collections at the Biblioteca Marciana. I am thankful as well as to Massimo Busetto, Lucia Sardo, and Erica and Caterina at the Fondazione Cini. Richard Scholar, Ita Mac Carthy, Rachel Gibson, Natalie Lussey, and Renard Gluzman were wonderful archive (and spritz) companions in Venice.

Karen-edis Barzman, Tony Campbell, Catherine Delano-Smith, Cristina Dondi, Patricia Fortini Brown, Caroline Elam, Claire Judde de Larivière, Tom Harper, Mary Laven, Nick Millea, Marianne O'Doherty, Ian Forrest, Lyndal Roper, Helena Szépe, and Bronwen Wilson have offered their guidance and support at various stages of this project, and I am very grateful for their assistance.

I would particularly like to thank the archivists and librarians at the Archivio di Stato in Venice, the Biblioteca Marciana, the Biblioteca Estense, the Biblioteca Museo Correr, the Biblioteca Trivulziana, Smith College, the British Library, the Bodleian Library, and the National Maritime Museum for their help (and patience!).

I have been fortunate enough to have benefitted from the guidance of two supervisors. Nick Davidson has been a wonderfully supportive guide to Renaissance Venice. I am so grateful for his encouragement and expertise as I have tried to become a Venetianist over the past three years. Catherine Holmes has been a wonderful supervisor and teacher since I first arrived in Oxford. It would be difficult to overstate my appreciation for her patience, erudition, critique, and generosity.

Tom has been a wonderful partner, cheerleader, critic, reader, and friend throughout the past four years. It is a pleasure to thank him here. I would also like to sincerely thank the Johnsons for welcoming me into their family.

Finally, I owe the greatest thanks to my family for their love, support, and encouragement. I would like to dedicate my thesis to them.

Table of Contents

Introduction: Writing Empire from the Margins	1
I. Introduction	
II. Historiographical outlines and methodology	13
a. Humanism	13
b. Colonialism	24
c. Methodologies	31
III. Outline	42
 Part I: Compiling the Venetian Mediterranean	
Chapter I: Shipbuilding manuals and navigational compilations	46
I. Introduction	46
II. Navigational books	49
a. Written culture and terminology	49
b. The corpus and genre	54
c. Provenance	63
d. Codicology	72
e. Summary	76
III. Ships and shipbuilding in Venetian humanism: a case study	77
IV. Conclusion	104
Chapter II: Encountering the Venetian Mediterranean	110
I. Introduction	110

II. The book of islands	111
III. Writing and collecting books of islands	115
IV. The production of knowledge in books of islands	133
V. Cyriac d'Ancona: <i>inter antiquos antiquissimus</i>	141
VI. A humanist Mediterranean	153
VII. Conclusion	162

Part II: Space and governance in the *stato da mar*

Chapter III: Humanism and Colonial Governance in the Venetian Aegean	166
I. Introduction	166
II. Giovanni Bembo	170
III. Humanism and local intellectual society in Venice	174
IV. Composition and the Aegean world of the <i>Isolario</i>	182
a. Skiathos and Skopelos	182
b. The post of <i>rettore</i> in the Aegean islands	186
c. Annotating the <i>Isolario</i> : compiling the Aegean	188
d. Governance and intertextuality: the construction of autobiography	191
V. A fragmented Archipelago	193
VI. Crisis and governance on Skiathos	199
VII. Constructing autobiography: allusion and genre	206
VIII. Conclusion	216

Chapter IV: Humanism and the boundaries of Venetian empire in the ‘ultima region de Italia’	219
I. Introduction	219
II. Pietro Coppo and Venetian governance in Istria	221
III. Coppo, Sabellico, and Veneto-Dalmatian intellectual society	230
IV. <i>Romanità</i> in the Venetian Adriatic: ruins in chorographic writing	238
V. Coppo’s <i>De Situ de Listria</i>	252
VI. The borderlands of Venetian empire	257
a. Language	257
b. Space	261
VII. Conclusion	267
Conclusion	273
I. The literary culture of empire	273
II. A changing world	277
Back matter	
Appendix	
I. Manuscripts and printed books discussed in Chapter I	1
II. Generic contents of navigational composite manuscripts	4
III. Venetian vernacular and modern island toponymy	8
IV. Printing variants in copies of Bartolommeo dalli Sonetti’s <i>Isolario</i>	10
Va. Bembo’s account of his traveling <i>Fama</i>	11
Vb. <i>Aeneid</i> , Book IV: 173-197	12

Index of images

Images

Bibliography

Introduction: Writing Empire from the Margins

I. *Introduction*

In 1525, on a piazza on the Aegean island of Skiathos, the Venetian patrician Giovanni Bembo ordered his scribe to be publicly castrated. Giovanni Bembo was the *rettore* (or colonial administrator) appointed to Skiathos and its neighbouring island, Skopelos, by the Venetian Maggior Consiglio. As *rettore*, Bembo was responsible for the administration of justice, financial matters, and for maintaining peace amongst the islands' inhabitants, on behalf of the Venetian state. The scribe had had an illicit affair with Bembo's daughter, Urania; but in the eyes of the Venetian central government, this rather unremarkable sexual offence paled in comparison to Bembo's egregious public violation of the conventions of colonial governance in the Venetian Aegean. Because it was a public retribution which disrupted the peace of the island, Bembo's decision to have the scribe castrated upset the delicate balance between his allegiances to his family and to the state, between his private and public interests, and between his local and imperial identities, equilibriums which the Venetian Republic went to great legislative lengths to maintain throughout the *stato da mar*.¹ After his disastrous tenure on Skiathos, Bembo spent the rest of his life at home in Venice with his Corfiote wife Chiara, immersed in study and in family life. In this bloody act of violence, Bembo's conflicted, stratified allegiances - to his Greek-speaking islander wife, to his daughter and her honour, to the Venetian state, to the Skiathan islanders under his administration - were suddenly irreconcilable. It was in an autobiographical

¹ See M. O'Connell's chapter on "Syndics, Prosecutions, and Scandal," in *Men of Empire: Power and Negotiation in Venice's Maritime State* (Baltimore, 2009).

letter, drafted ten years later in a composite manuscript filled with antique inscriptions and lists of school friends from his youth, that Bembo attempted to account for his actions.²

Steeped in the classical tradition of the humanist schools of Venice, Bembo may have been familiar with the Greek myth that told how Gaia, goddess of the earth, decided out of spite to ask her sons to castrate her partner Uranus, god of the sky. Cronus, the youngest of Gaia and Uranus' Titan offspring, agreed to do it. Gaia made a giant flint sickle and armed him with it; Cronus castrated his father. Bembo may have also known the legend that the giant sickle was buried on Corfu; and indeed it was believed that the inhabitants had sprung up from the blood of Uranus' castration.³ This bloody scene was popular in the Renaissance, and was depicted in a painting by Giorgio Vasari and Cristofano Gherardi in 1560 for the Palazzo della Signoria in Florence (fig. 1). Two parallels emerge between the myth and Bembo's autobiographical account of his castration of the scribe: first, that Chiara, Bembo's wife, was from Corfu; and secondly, that his daughter at the centre of the scandal was named Urania (the name of a muse, granddaughter of Uranus, and the feminized version of the name). It was the violation of Urania, the daughter who shared a name with the emasculated Greek god, daughter of a woman who was herself a mythological descendent of Uranus' blood, that led Bembo to violate his social and political contract with the Venetian state as its representative in the colonies.

If the myth of Uranus' castration flickers beneath the surface of Bembo's autobiography, the language of classical literature structures its narrative. Out of many possible examples, perhaps the most telling is Bembo's imitation of Virgil's description of the way in which the

² Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, CLM 10801.

³ Told in Apollonius of Rhodes, *Argonautica* IV.II: 982-984. 'Fronting the Ionian gulf there lies an island in the Ceraunian sea, rich in soil, with a harbour on both sides, beneath which lies the sickle...wherewith Cronos pitilessly mutilated his father [...] and thus the Phaeacians themselves are by birth of the blood of Uranus.'

fama of Dido and Aeneas' affair first spread.⁴ Virgil personified *fama* as a winged woman speeding over the landscape of Libya, salaciously gossiping that Dido and Aeneas were joined in 'obscene desire'.⁵ One of the greatest transgressions of classical literature became the model for the way in which Bembo conceived of his own, as Bembo imitated Virgil's personification of *fama* to describe the way in which the rumour of his castration of the scribe spread across the Venetian empire. Indeed, 'scandal and murmuring' was central to political communication within the Venetian state: it was both a potentially dangerous form of resistance amongst Venetian colonial subjects, and an important conduit of political information within the city itself.⁶ In Bembo's retelling of his castration of the scribe, then, two temporal and spatial worlds collided: the first, the Mediterranean of Greek myth and Latin literature, a world which provided a set of literary possibilities for autobiographical writing and reflection; and the second, the world of the contemporary Greek islanders, knitted into the fabric of Bembo's family, and to whom he was accountable through the realities of colonial administration and allegiances to the Venetian state.

Myth and violence, the classical and the colonial Greek islands, the rarefied world of humanist literary criticism and the perception of governance: these are inseparable in Bembo's autobiographical retelling of the events on Skiathos in 1525. His narrative speaks vividly of the complex relationship between the intellectual culture of humanism and the dynamics of the Renaissance city-state at the helm of an extensive maritime empire: it is this relationship which is the focus of the following chapters. In the course of this dissertation, I describe and analyse the

⁴ *Aeneid* IV: 173-197. See Appendix V.

⁵ R. Fagles, trans. *The Aeneid* (New York, 2006), p. 134 (line 243).

⁶ M. O'Connell, *Men of Empire* (Baltimore, 2009), p. 120. For scandal and gossip in the political culture of Venice, see E. Horodowich, "The gossiping tongue: oral networks, public life and political culture in early modern Venice," *Renaissance Studies* 19/1 (2005): 23-45; and F. de Vivo, *Information and Communication in Venice: Rethinking Early Modern Politics* (Oxford, 2007).

nature of this relationship between Venetian intellectual and colonial cultures, especially as they were formed on its Aegean islands, down the coast of the eastern Adriatic, and in the metropole itself.

Bembo, like many other patrician men who administered the Venetian *stato da mar*, or the maritime empire that stretched from the eastern coast of the Adriatic across the Mediterranean to the Aegean islands, was also educated in the humanist schools of grammar, rhetoric, and philosophy at the Venetian schools at San Marco and Rialto. Posted to the islands and coastal towns of the empire, these men studied the Greek and Roman inscriptions and crumbling monuments that they had learned about in the classroom as adolescents. They read and wrote geographical verse and drew maps about the places where they temporarily made their homes; sent their writings and maps back to Venice to be published; maintained friendships formed in the humanist schools of Venice, through dedicatory letters, bequests, and literary references, conveyed via a network of Venetian towns and the metropole itself. They collected the technical writings and maps - sailing directions, shipbuilding manuals, naval regulations, portolan charts - that were resonant with the governance of and trade within their maritime empire, bound them in fine stamped leather and preserved them in the chests of their studies. They learned classical Greek from textbooks at San Marco, and then met Greek scholars and colonial subjects during their terms as administrators in the *stato da mar*. They commissioned finely illustrated collections of maps and technical texts, atlases that unfolded the Venetian maritime world of trade and expansion within their solitary studies in the city. These documents - technical texts, maps, geographical encyclopaedias and dictionaries, *laudationes* to colonial cities, manuscript atlases - are implicated in the history of the governance of the Venetian

colonial empire: because they represented the space of the empire in word and in image, because their collectors often administered that empire, and because the larger intellectual culture of which they were a part - humanism - was a deeply political practice in Venice.

The histories of Venetian humanism and Venetian colonialism have been written many times over, although they are rarely brought into conversation in contemporary scholarship in a way that can effectively capture the historical experience of men like Bembo. The history of the relationship between Venetian intellectual and colonial cultures needs to be written in order to describe and examine the nature of that experience; as I will discuss throughout, analysing this relationship will also lead to a reassessment of Venetian intellectual culture, in the metropole as well as across the *stato da mar*.⁷ As I describe in greater detail below, the social history of Venetian humanism, in particular, has not been subject to critical attention since the analyses of class-bounded uses of classical knowledge in governance described by Margaret King in the late 1980s; an assessment she recently revisited, but the conclusions of which she did not substantially revise.⁸ Venetian colonial historiography has fared better, due to recent interest in cross-cultural identities and experiences of empire, for which the archival records of the early

⁷ Some methodological parameters for colonial intellectual history were put forward early by Louis B. Wright, writing on the colonial American South: "Intellectual History and the Colonial South," *The William and Mary Quarterly*, 3rd ser., 16/2 (1959): 214-227. More recently, André Du Toit has explored broad theoretical questions about writing intellectual history of modern colonial societies: "The problem of intellectual history in (post)colonial societies: the case of South Africa," *Politikon* 18/2 (1991): 5-25. More important, however, for my thinking have been histories of the relationship between metropole and colony in the modern British empire, as examined through the lens of cultural history. For a summary of this expanding field, see the collected essays in C. Hall and S.O. Rose, eds., *At Home with the Empire: Metropolitan Culture and the Imperial World* (Cambridge, 2006). L. Patrizio Gunning's *The British Consular Service in the Aegean and the Collection of Antiquities for the British Museum* (Farnham, 2009) deals with the role of antiquities and material culture in colonial/metropolitan relations, something I explore in Chapter II. Mary Beard's "Officers and Gentlemen? Roman Britain and the British Empire" is a close parallel to my study of the role of a classical education in forming aristocratic governors' attitudes towards the history of their empire (in A. Swenson and P. Mandler, *From Plunder to Preservation: Britain and the Heritage of the Roman Empire, c. 1800-1940* (Oxford, 2013): 49-62).

⁸ M. King, *Venetian Humanism in an Age of Patrician Dominance* (Princeton, 1986); and eadem, "The Venetian Intellectual World," in *A Companion to Venetian History, 1400-1797*, E.R. Dursteler, ed. (Leiden and Boston, 2013): 571-614.

modern *stato da mar* provide a rich record.⁹ But both Venetian humanism and colonialism have been limited by their boundaries as historical sub-fields. Just as the patricians who governed Venice did not govern only by principles of their humanist education but also from their experience as colonists and merchants, the histories of the early modern Adriatic and Aegean are not reducible to ethnic and religious exchanges, but also must account for local intellectual cultures. Margaret King's conclusions, which have dominated the historiography of Venetian humanism, along with the close focus of colonial historians on imperial identities, have created inward-looking subfields within Venetian historiography. It is my intention to bring a history of Venetian intellectual culture into conversation with a history of Venetian colonial culture, in order to gain a richer and more complex understanding of the relationship between knowledge and power as it was experienced in the early modern Mediterranean.

I examine the ways in which humanist reading, collecting, and writing practices were used by Venetian colonial administrators to reflect on their experience of governance and their role within the colonial state, and how Venetian intellectual culture was reproduced and transformed in local colonial contexts. The navigational charts, atlases, island encyclopaedias, and geographical descriptions which Venetians used to imagine and reflect upon the colonial world emerged from a meeting of humanist literary culture and personal experience of the traces of the classical world, from a convergence between the mercantile Quattrocento Mediterranean, and the ruins of its ancient Greek and Roman empires. I trace the histories of these cartographic sources, from their production in Venice in the mid-fifteenth century and the ways in which they

⁹ For example, E.R. Dursteler, *Venetians in Constantinople: Nation, Identity, and Coexistence in the Early Modern Mediterranean* (Baltimore, 2006); S. McKee, *Uncommon Dominion: Venetian Crete and the Myth of Ethnic Purity* (Philadelphia, 2000); M. Balard and A. Ducellier, *Le partage du monde: échanges et colonisation dans la Méditerranée médiévale* (Paris, 1998); and N.E. Rothman, *Brokering Empire: Trans-Imperial Subjects between Venice and Istanbul* (Ithaca, 2011). I discuss this historiography at greater length later in the Introduction.

were collected in Venice (Part I), to their use in the Aegean and Dalmatia (Part II). Like the study of humanism, cartography - and the history of medieval and early modern technology, more generally - has been subject to interpretations which have privileged the use of maps as instruments of power and governance, a historiographical tradition which I will examine below.¹⁰ In this dissertation, I examine the ways in which cartography and geography were used not directly to administer a colonial empire as if they somehow stood outside and apart from the empire itself, but as documents caught in the networks of trade, publishing, exchange, and mobility of the early modern empire. These texts, books, and images not only reflect upon the nature of the imperial network and on its governance, but changed form, shape, language, and use as they reverberated against different local intellectual cultures and the local governmental roles of their owners. At the crux of power and knowledge in the early modern Venetian empire is not a history of cartography and geographic writing as remote tools of governance, but rather as enmeshed in colonial history.

The nature of the relationship between humanism and colonialism as it was documented in the nautical charts, atlases, chorographies, island encyclopaedias, and geographical descriptions of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries is the central question which animates this dissertation. Within this wider framework, I am interested in pursuing three related lines of inquiry, each of which are contained in Bembo's autobiographical narrative. The first is concerned with the ways in which the antique Mediterranean world of the Greeks and Romans, as well as the historical Venetian maritime world, were activated in the geographical texts and

¹⁰ The role of cartography in the colonisation of the New World has been examined by W. Mignolo, *The Darker Side of the Renaissance: Literacy, Territoriality, and Colonisation* (Ann Arbor, 1995); and R. Padron, *The Spacious Word: Cartography, Literature, and Empire in Early Modern Spain* (Chicago, 2004).

maps of the Mediterranean of the Renaissance. The fifteenth- and sixteenth-century cartographic documents which I analyse in the following chapters each represent and describe maritime worlds which belonged to more than one temporal period at once: the Aegean islands and Adriatic littoral of Homer, of Ovid, of Petrarch, of ‘antique’ Venetian sailors, as well as of the contemporary Venetians, shaped by their own timely geo-political concerns, and literary and cartographic modes of description.

The Venetian artistic and literary interest in antiquity during the Renaissance has been well documented by Patricia Fortini Brown.¹¹ However, I am particularly interested throughout the dissertation in the ways in which Renaissance Venetians’ perceptions of their past - and particularly, of their imperial history - were formulated in response to spatial perceptions of the *stato da mar*. Venetian colonialism was important not only for providing the source materials for Venetian humanist criticism - lists of inscriptions, descriptions of ruins, and geographies - but for shaping how Venetian patricians perceived the role of intellectual culture in Venetian governance and political life. In the maps and texts annotated by Giovanni Bembo, I find that his sense of colonial responsibility for the Aegean islands was founded upon a sense of continuity between the Venetian empire and its classical antecedents (Chapter III). By contrast, in Chapter IV, I argue that the Roman ruined built environment of Istria as documented by the Venetian administrator Pietro Coppo provided an alternative geo-political identity for the peninsula than that offered by the Venetian maritime state. The nature of this relationship, and the pivotal role which the interaction between the ancient and modern worlds had to play within that relationship, is a thread of analysis which runs throughout my dissertation.

¹¹ P. Fortini Brown, *Venice and Antiquity: The Venetian Sense of the Past* (New Haven, 1996).

The second line of inquiry examines the role that the history of technology played in the relationship between humanism and colonialism; and is a focus particularly in Chapter I. As I described briefly above, cartographic and navigational technology in early modern Venice were part of the colonial political culture of the Venetian governing class, rather than simply documents of administration. Several scholars have been interested in this relationship between histories of technology and the history of colonialism, under the umbrella of a recent interest in the materiality of governance.¹² Miles Ogborn's impressive study of the paper, parchment, and ink which were the 'political technologies' of the English East India Company has been important in forming my approach to the manuscript and early printed materials of the Venetian colonial world.¹³ Unlike the East India Company's papers, though, the manuscripts and maps under consideration here were not used directly to govern, but were subject to a range of different purposes and contexts: they were intended for collections, for reading, sometimes for display; for preservation in study chests; for annotation; for dedicating to friends across the Adriatic. That these texts were not used as instruments of government, but were part of the literary and material cultures of the governing class, allows us to perceive the ways in which technological writing and imagery could be read and collected as 'literary' objects; and, most importantly, to investigate the kinds of readerly and representational interpretations to which they were put.

¹² For example, see the essays collected in T. Bennett and P. Joyce, eds., *Material Powers: Cultural Studies, History, and the Material Turn* (London and New York, 2010), especially on colonial documentary technologies (P. Joyce, "Filing the Raj: Political Technologies of the Imperial British State", pp. 144-84).

¹³ M. Ogborn, *Indian Ink: Script and Print in the Making of the English East India Company* (Chicago, 2007). Brinkley Messick's study of the relationship between political culture and textuality has also been important for forming my approach: B. Messick, *The Calligraphic State: Textual Domination and History in a Muslim Society* (Berkeley, 1993).

My interest in the history of Venetian technology, then, is primarily focused on the ways in which particular genres of technological writing and mapping became important modes by which Renaissance Venetians described their history in the Mediterranean. Throughout my dissertation, I focus on the role of technology in the writing of Venetian history, both through composite manuscripts which collected together technical texts and maps, and through the textual criticism and geographical writing of the humanists. Particularly in Part II, I address more specifically the formations of intellectual networks across the Venetian colonial world by comparing the social network and mobility of two Venetian colonial administrators alongside the histories of their geographical books. By tracing their printing, purchase, annotation, dedications, and bibliographical bequests, I find that the movement, communication, and sharing of geographical information were crucial threads which held far-flung Venetian governors and administrators in alliance with their peers across the Mediterranean and to their home in Venice. Using the history of the book and of collecting, as well as textual analysis, I am interested throughout the dissertation in the ways in which the ordering and sharing of technical knowledge emerged from and shaped the ordering of social life, from class boundaries to professional and geographical ones.¹⁴

The notion of compositeness is the third line of inquiry which links each of the following chapters, and presents the most challenging set of concepts to define and analyse. Each of the texts under consideration here are composite books, although the precise nature of their heterogeneity differs: I consider atlases and encyclopaedias, *taccuini* and scratch books, printed

¹⁴ The analysis of the ordering of social life through the production of knowledge is the central contribution of S. Shapin and S. Schaffer, *Leviathan and the Air-Pump: Hobbes, Boyle, and the Experimental Life* (Princeton and Oxford, 2011), p. xlix: 'Wherever and whenever groups of people come to agree about what knowledge is, they have practically and provisionally solved the problem of how to array and order themselves. To have knowledge is to belong to some sort of ordered life; to have some sort of ordered life is to have shared knowledge.'

commonplace books and collections of lists. The categorisation of Renaissance composite books into genres or types has proven a difficult task; there is little consensus, beyond a few basic definitions which I will elaborate below. My investigations into these manuscripts and printed books has demonstrated that the boundaries of even the most basic definitions are sometimes permeable. I am thus less interested in maintaining hard-and-fast generic distinctions, than with exploring the idea of compositeness as a foundational premise for the creation of literature in early modern Venice.

Throughout the thesis, I examine the ways in which compositeness - most broadly defined as the collection, arranging, copying, and sometimes printing of heterogeneous materials within a single binding structure - expressed social and political values. I argue that the composite nature of the books under consideration here came to represent a set of ideas about Venetian intellectual culture in the Mediterranean, from the ways in which information travelled through the diverse spaces of the empire, to the relationship between the different island spaces of the Venetian Archipelago. The ordering of texts and maps - much like the genre of technological writing - became a mode of reflecting upon the ordering of the Venetian social and geo-political world. As I explore in Chapter I, texts cataloguing the composite parts of a ship were exercises in ingenious composition for their readers, and ingenuity - as Venetian humanists wrote in their letters about shipbuilding - was itself a central virtue that patrician intellectuals could offer in service of the state. In Chapter III, I argue that Bembo's composite lists of schoolmates, islands, and ancient Greek toponyms - bearing little relation to each other but compiled within the same manuscript - became a way of organising his social and political affiliations in the expanse between Venice and the Aegean. Tracing the genealogies of texts

compiled in heterogeneous manuscripts, comparing their collecting histories, and undertaking a close formal examination of the ways in which they were copied, I aim in each chapter to uncover how an idea of compositeness in literature was used to reflect upon the social and political order of Venetian humanism and colonialism.

These three linked questions about the role of antiquity and space, technology, and compositeness in the dynamic between colonial power and knowledge in Renaissance Venice are central to each chapter that follows. By answering these questions, I offer a reassessment of the nature of Venetian humanism from the perspective of the Mediterranean world. This study begins in the second half of the fifteenth century because it is in this period that humanist intellectual culture becomes most diffuse amongst Venetian patricians, practiced beyond the relatively circumscribed circles of the earliest generations of Venetian humanists.¹⁵ I end in the 1530s, when the Venetian and wider Italian political world underwent a series of major transitions, from the progressive *renovatio urbis* instigated by Doge Andrea Gritti at home, to the deepening Spanish influence in the Italian peninsula, and the coronation of Charles V as Holy Roman Emperor in Bologna.¹⁶ The Venetian humanist governors I study here responded to these changes, as I explore in Chapter IV and in the Conclusion; but they also introduce a series of different kinds of imperial concerns, related to Charles V's unprecedented agglomeration of

¹⁵ Margaret King has written that the first generation of humanists in Venice were born by 1370 but before 1400, the second by 1400 but before 1430; and the third by 1430 but before 1460. By this criteria, my dissertation examines the third generation of humanists, as well as a fourth generation born near the end of the Quattrocento. M. King, *Venetian Humanism*, pp. 262-3. In her most recent article, King found that it was this fourth generation, whose main corpus of work was undertaken in the early years of the sixteenth century, was marked by a greater vibrance and diversity than that of the Quattrocento. King, "The Venetian Intellectual World," p. 571.

¹⁶ On these transitions, see R. Finlay, "Fabius Maximus in Venice: Doge Andrea Gritti, the War of Cambrai, and the Rise of the Habsburg Hegemony, 1509-1530," in *Venice Besieged: Politics and Diplomacy in the Italian Wars, 149-1534* (Aldershot, 2008): 988-1031.

territories in the Mediterranean, northern Europe, and the Americas, that are beyond the scope of this thesis.

As I outline in the following section, our understanding of Venetian humanism and the politics of Venetian intellectual culture shifts when our perspective on its sources shifts from the metropole to the wider Mediterranean. It is this shift in our understanding of the role of intellectual culture within colonial politics - in both literary and visual representations of the colonies collected in the metropole, as in Part I, and in the uses of humanism in colonial administration, as in Part II - that can lead to wider challenges to our history of early modern European empires. As Edward Said wrote, having an empire is contingent upon having an idea of empire.¹⁷ It is the ways in which the multiple Venetian ideas of empire formed and changed throughout the central decades of the Renaissance that is the focus of the following chapters.

II. Historiographical outlines and methodology

a. Humanism

Historiographical accounts of Venetian humanism often begin inauspiciously by quoting one of Petrarch's Venetian students, Paolo de Bernardo: 'In my own city - I say it unwillingly - nothing

¹⁷ 'The idea of having an empire is very important, and that is the central feature that I am interested in. All kinds of preparations are made for this idea within a culture and then, in turn and in time, imperialism acquires a kind of coherence, a set of experiences and a presence of ruler and ruled alike within the culture.' E. Said, "Culture and Imperialism," lecture delivered at York University, Toronto, 10 February, 1993. Archived online: [http://engres.ied.edu.hk/literature/E-lecture\(Mat\)/Week3\(RudyardKipling\)/Culture%20and%20Imperialism.pdf](http://engres.ied.edu.hk/literature/E-lecture(Mat)/Week3(RudyardKipling)/Culture%20and%20Imperialism.pdf) (last accessed 03/07/2014).

is less appreciated than the study of literature.’¹⁸ Jacob Burckhardt did not find much to disagree with in Paolo’s sentiment. Burckhardt found Venetian humanism wanting in comparison to the glories of Florentine Renaissance culture: where Florence had individual geniuses to create brilliant works of art and literature, Venice was hampered by its near obsession with collectivity in government and in cultural production.¹⁹ Rather than an age of genius, humanism in Venice was sometimes viewed as a utilitarian practice of the chancellery, where it was subordinated to the political agenda of the state, or as being antithetical to the merchant ‘mentality’ of the patrician class.²⁰ Even those who have seen Venetian humanism as a site of bureaucratic resistance amongst the *cittadini* notaries of the chancellery have had to admit that Venice simply did not have a ‘luminoso movimento letterario’.²¹ This historiography was revised by the literary scholar Vittore Branca, who demonstrated (primarily through studies of Ermolao Barbaro, his circle, and his influence) that Venetian humanism was characterised by its focus on a *societatis dignitas*, on creating an intellectually dynamic urban society that was unified by its interest in humanistic scholarship; and that this concept of *societatis dignitas* had a wide-ranging impact

¹⁸ P.H. Labalme, *Bernardo Guistiniani: A Venetian of the Quattrocento* (Rome, 1969), p. 11; and in F. Gilbert, “Humanism in Venice,” in *Florence and Venice: Comparisons and Relations*, vol. I: Quattrocento, eds. S. Bertelli, N. Rubinstein, and C.H. Smith (Florence, 1979), p. 13. For further bibliography on Venetian humanism, see M.P. Stocchi, “Scuola e cultura umanistica fra due secoli,” in *Storia della cultura veneta*, III: 1, eds. idem and G. Arnaldi (Venice, 1980): 93-121; and C. Griffante, “L’Umanesimo a Venezia. Note critiche per un aggiornamento bibliografico del capitolo,” in V. Branca, ed., *La Sapienza Civile: studi sull’umanesimo a Venezia* (Florence, 1998): 197-216.

¹⁹ J. Burckhardt, *The Civilization of the Renaissance in Italy*, trans. S.G.C. Middlemore (Kitchener, Ont.: 2001), pp. 62-4: ‘If Venice, by this spirit of calculation, and by the practical turn which she gave it, was the first fully to represent one important side of modern political life, in that culture...which Italy prized most highly she did not stand in the front rank. The literary impulse, in general, was here wanting, and especially that enthusiasm for classical antiquity which prevailed elsewhere.’

²⁰ F. Gilbert, “Humanism in Venice,” p. 16-17.

²¹ L. Lazzarini, *Paulo de Bernardo e i Primordi dell’Umanesimo in Venezia* (Geneva, 1930), p. 156.

across Italy and northern Europe.²² Branca was also interested in the doubled role of the Venetian patrician as merchant and collector, and focused on the complementary roles of book collecting and mercantile activity both in a single Venetian humanist, Lauro Quirini, and amongst Florentine ‘mercanti scrittori’.²³ Dedicated to Christian Bec, this latter monograph is part of a wider interest in the ‘mentalité’ of merchant-scholars in Florence and in Venice, and particularly in their contribution to both humanism and the development of a capitalist economy.²⁴ Ugo Tucci also revised Venetian humanist historiography by stressing the compatibility of mercantile and humanist intellectual activity for the Venetian patrician.²⁵

Although published in the same year as Branca’s book on the merchant writers of Florence, Margaret King’s *Venetian Humanism in the Age of Patrician Dominance* was the first to reorient seriously scholarly approaches to the study of humanism in Venice, away from Branca’s focus on its cosmopolitan dimensions, to study the way that ‘humanist education... [became] the agent of inherited power, the vehicle by which patrician culture can reproduce itself’.²⁶ Influenced by Italian Marxist Antonio Gramsci’s theorisation of the role of the intellectual in political culture, King’s work was itself situated in a wider historiographical turn of the late 1970s and 1980s to the role of social history and class dynamics in humanism, and

²² V. Branca, “Introduzione,” in *La Sapienza Civile*, p. X: ‘Dominante, cioè, era non la emblematica, nel resto d’Italia, *hominis dignitas* ma le *reipublicae* o *societas dignitas*: di uno stato e di una società che erano, in certo senso, il bene principe di quei signori della Repubblica e della società civile veneziane che avevano imposto sulla laguna la nuova cultura.’ See also his edited collaborative volume, *Umanesimo europeo e umanesimo veneziano* (Venice, 1963).

²³ V. Branca, *Mercanti scrittori: ricordi nella Firenze tra Medioevo e Rinascimento* (Milan, 1986); idem, *Lauro Quirini Umanista* (Florence, 1977); and idem, “Lauro Quirini e il commercio librario a Venezia e Firenze,” in *Venezia: centro di mediazione tra Oriente e Occidente (secoli XV-XVI): aspetti e problemi*, H.-G. Beck, M. Manoussacas, and A. Pertusi, eds. (1977): 371-373.

²⁴ C. Bec, *Les marchands écrivains: affaires et humanisme à Florence 1375-1434* (Paris, 1967).

²⁵ U. Tucci, “Il patrizio mercante e umanista,” in *Venezia: centro di mediazione tra Oriente e Occidente*: 335-358.

²⁶ M. King, *Venetian Humanism*, p. 25.

within intellectual culture more broadly.²⁷ Although King did not write on the role of the Venetian presence in the Mediterranean in the development of Venetian humanism, she posited that Venetian humanism was a relatively socially homogeneous practice that was subordinated to the ideological concerns of the patriciate. Published in the same year, Anthony Grafton and Lisa Jardine's *From Humanism to the Humanities* argued in the same vein for a humanist pedagogy which was primarily concerned with training identically-thinking and uncritical state bureaucrats.²⁸ Gilbert expressed a similar perspective on Venetian humanism, writing that it was 'somewhat artificially implanted' in Venice due to Florentine influence; and that the Venetian proximity to Greek culture created a 'consciousness of continuing an unbroken tradition [which] may also be a reason why the establishment of the *studia humanitatis* in Venice represented no break with the intellectual world of the past and no new order of values, but rather the cultivation of those aspects of humanism which could be adjusted to the traditions of the past and be used in the present'.²⁹ Venetian humanism, and humanist pedagogy more generally, were thought by these historians to be strictly utilitarian, to have served a specific political function within the oligarchy of the Republic.

The potential of humanist thought to liberate man - a central tenet of many Renaissance humanist writers themselves - was deeply appealing to some historians of the earlier twentieth century, especially to those who wrote the history of humanism in regions like Istria which had

²⁷ M. King, "The Social Role of Intellectuals: Antonio Gramsci and the Italian Renaissance," *Soundings* LXI/1 (1978): 23-46. For another example, see G. Cassimatis, "L'Humanisme dans la société Venitienne au XVe siècle," in *Venezia: centro di mediazione*, I: 359-368.

²⁸ A. Grafton and L. Jardine, *From Humanism to Humanities: Education and the Liberal Arts in 15th and 16th-century Europe* (London, 1986).

²⁹ F. Gilbert, "Humanism in Venice," p. 23 and 25.

lengthy histories of occupation, by Venice and later by the Austrian Empire.³⁰ In the postwar period and again during the 1980s - the latter period coinciding with the translation into English of Gramsci's writings on cultural history, shaped by his experience of Italian fascism - this historiographical perspective came to look naive and even pernicious. Gramsci posited that Renaissance humanists intellectually suppressed the critical bourgeois of the late medieval city-state - the very class who, Gramsci argued, could have produced a strong centralised state like that of England, Spain, and France. Instead, Italy was only weakly unified in the nineteenth century and fell prey to fascism in the twentieth.³¹ Although King herself writes that Gramsci's interpretations speak more to an experience of twentieth-century fascism than to that of Renaissance intellectuals, Gramsci's argument that humanism was suppressive, reactionary, and congruent with elite interests was compelling for the social historians of the 1980s.³² Jardine and Grafton's work on humanist pedagogy similarly must be seen in the context of their interest in mounting a criticism of the humanities and of the literary canon which, they argued, modern universities adapted from Guarino and his Renaissance contemporaries.

Five years after the publication of Jardine and Grafton's pedagogical history, Robert Black stressed the continuities between medieval scholasticism and Renaissance humanism, finding that in both modes of education, there was a wide gap between the moral aims of the teacher and the rote grammar lessons actually practised in the classroom; this gap might not be

³⁰ F. Semi, "Umanesimo e libertà degli istriani," in V. Branca and S. Graciotto, eds., *L'Umanesimo in Istria* (Florence, 1983), p. 5.

³¹ See A. Gramsci's collected writings on humanism and the Renaissance in *Selections from Cultural Writings*, eds. D. Forgacs and G. Nowell-Smith (London, 1985), pp. 361-386.

³² M. King, "The Social Role of Intellectuals," p. 38. For a criticism of Grafton and Jardine's monograph, see J. Tracy, "From Humanism to the Humanities: A Critique of Grafton and Jardine," *Modern Language Quarterly* 51 (1990): 122-143.

evidence, then, according to Black, of an ideological suppression of individuality and critical thinking useful for the smooth operation of the Renaissance state, but rather a standard and perhaps even unremarkable feature of the history of education.³³ This more moderate approach to the debate concerning the ways in which humanist practice did or did not serve the ends of the state is important for Venetian studies, as the history of the gap between political discourse and political practice is central to understanding the relationship between the humanist education of the patriciate, their governance in Venice, and their administration of the *terraferma* and the maritime empire. But Black's article is also evidence of the ways in which the historiographical debates about humanist pedagogy and Venetian humanism have been constrained by polarities: humanism as an organically developed and liberating movement has been posited against the idea of humanism as an ideological tool of a strictly-bounded political oligarchy.³⁴ Even those, like Black, who criticise these polarities, have often ended up working within the possibilities fixed by them.

The historiographical debate about humanist pedagogy, and the degree of complicity between humanism and governance in Venice, has also been shaped equally by the source material and primary texts studied by intellectual historians. The intellectual history of Renaissance pedagogy has been dominated by figures like Guarino, and that of Venice by studies of the most elite and most prolific patrician men, such as Francesco and Ermolao Barbaro, Lauro

³³ R. Black, "Italian Renaissance Education: Changing Perspectives and Continuing Controversies," *Journal of the History of Ideas* 52/2 (1991): 315-334. For an in-depth analysis of the historiography of Italian Renaissance education, see idem, "Italian Renaissance education: an historiographical perspective," in *Humanism and Education in Medieval and Renaissance Italy* (Cambridge, 2002), pp. 12-33.

³⁴ M. Jurdjevic, "Hedgehogs and Foxes: The Present and Future of Italian Renaissance Intellectual History," *Past and Present* 195 (May, 2007), p. 248.

Quirini, Giovanni Battista Egnazio, and Bernardo Guistiniani.³⁵ Petrarch's attack on the Aristotelianism of Venetian humanism in *De sui ipsius et multorum ignorantia* (1367), George of Trebizond's (1395-1472/3) conversation with Francesco Barbaro (1390-1454) about his translation of Plato's *De legibus* and its potential points of correspondence with Venetian republicanism, or Ermolao Barbaro's immense project of annotating Pliny's *Naturalis historia* (published in Rome, 1492) are historical moments and texts which give a particular, and in some ways very limited, glimpse of the character of Venetian humanism and of its role in political life.³⁶ And yet it has been these texts and authors, and others like them, which have formed the core of the sources used by intellectual historians of Venice. Humanism was an elite practice in Venice, but the definition of the social boundaries of the elite is much wider than simply those few very prolific scholars; and the uses of humanism were more varied than the immense scholarly-political projects of those most elite men. Margaret King's prosopography of Venetian humanists demonstrated the wider boundaries of this group beyond those few who have been the subject of monograph studies. But King's study aimed to elaborate a very specific picture of Venetian humanism: that which took place in Venice, was limited to a specific set of genres, and undertaken by a still relatively small group of men.³⁷ My study of Venetian humanism is written

³⁵ On Francesco Barbaro, P. Gothein, *Francesco Barbaro: Früh-Humanismus und Staatskunst in Venedig* (Berlin, 1932). On Ermolao Barbaro, V. Branca, "Ermolao Barbaro and the Late Quattrocento Venetian Humanism," in *Renaissance Venice*, ed. J.R. Hale (London, 1973): 218-243; and his collected essays in *La Sapienza Civile*. On Quirini, idem, ed., *Lauro Quirini Umanista* (Florence, 1977). On Egnazio, J.B. Ross, "Venetian Schools and Teachers Fourteenth to Early Sixteenth Century: A Survey and a Study of Giovanni Battista Egnazio," *Renaissance Quarterly* 29/4 (1976): 521-566. On Guistiniani, P.H. Labalme, *Bernardo Guistiniani* (Rome, 1969).

³⁶ On the conversation between Barbaro and George of Trebizond, M. King, *Venetian Humanism*, p. 44-45. On Petrarch's treatise, *ibid.*, p. 213; and P.O. Kristeller, "Petrarch's 'Averroists': A note on the history of Aristotelianism in Venice, Padua, and Bologna," *Bibliothèque d'Humanisme et Renaissance* 14/1 (1952): 59-65. On Barbaro's *Natural History*, V. Branca, "Ermolao Barbaro," p. 223.

³⁷ M. King, *Venetian Humanism*. For instance, fifty-two of the sixty-four humanists she considers wrote typical humanist texts, such as orations and treatises on political institutions (p. 259).

from a different perspective, from that of the Mediterranean world, in which humanism was the dominant intellectual culture of the section of society involved in colonisation. Documents like commonplace books, atlases, and geographical dictionaries were created or collected by men who were educated in the humanist schools of Venice, but who were minor patricians: men who received the least desirable administrative posts, from the impoverished minor branches of important families, those who spent whole lifetimes in the backwaters of the Venetian empire. I expand the parameters of 'significance' and 'residence' elaborated by King, including sources that were not necessarily 'substantial' and men whose intellectual activity in the *stato da mar* was as significant for Venetian metropolitan intellectual and political culture as that of the men who were life-long residents of the city.³⁸ By examining the literary and material cultures of Venetian bureaucrats and administrators produced and read both inside and outside of Venice itself, I aim to provide a reassessment of the politics of Venetian humanism, a subject not treated comprehensively since *Venetian Humanism in an Age of Patrician Dominance* was published in 1986.

These texts and maps are humanistic documents in the sense that Paul Oskar Kristeller outlined, in his well known definition of humanism as a mode of literary criticism that was focused on the rhetorical imitation of particular modes and styles of composition.³⁹ Genres as

³⁸ For King's selection criteria, see *Venetian Humanism*, pp. 257-66. These include 'activity,' 'significance,' 'residence,' and 'generation.' Of these, 'significance' is perhaps the most opaque: King writes that she includes humanists who wrote 'substantial' works as well as those who wrote 'minor' works but who were engaged in intellectual correspondence and conversation with others, or who were renowned as teachers and scholars. The parameters of a particular work's significance, however, are not elaborated.

³⁹ Kristeller outlines his definition of humanism in *Renaissance Thought and its Sources*, ed. M. Mooney (New York, 1979), pp. 21-30. He expands on his definition in "The Humanist Movement," in *Renaissance Thought: The Classic, Scholastic, and Humanistic Strains* (New York, 1961), especially p. 10. The legacy of Kristeller's definition is outlined in C. Nauert, "Renaissance Humanism: An Emergent Consensus and its Critics," *Indiana Social Studies Quarterly* 33 (1980): 5-20. Also see Augusto Campana's investigation of the history of the word 'humanist', which he undertook at the same time as Kristeller's study of the topic: A. Campana, "The Origin of the Word 'Humanist'," *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* 9 (1946): 60-73.

diverse as chorography, autobiography, and vernacular sonnet poetry were filled with classical allusion, in language modelled on the classical sources from which the geographical information was drawn. Sometimes this chain of imitation had several links, as in the Venetian Pietro Coppo's chorography of his adopted homeland of Istria, modelled after Marcantonio Sabellico's geographical writing in *De Venetae situ urbis et vetustate* (1492) and *Historiae rerum Venetiarum* (1487), which imitated the geographical humanist history of Flavio Biondo's *Italia illustrata*, patterned on a number of classical histories, primarily that of Livy.⁴⁰ Coppo's geographies equally drew from the local intellectual culture of Dalmatia, which had a rich tradition of grammar schools and humanist literary production - particularly in the genre of the *laudatio*, or a geographically-inflected praise of a city.⁴¹ Often Venetian nautical cartography was compiled alongside maps drawn from coordinates given by Ptolemy in his *Geographia*; or a geographical encyclopaedia paired a nautical chart of an island with a sonnet describing its antique ruins and ancient Greek toponymy. The commonplace books and miscellanies which Bembo used to compile his autobiography were pedagogical tools central to his education in Benedetto Brugnoli's humanist school in Venice; they were filled not only with passages from Thucydides, but also with lists of Venetian military reserves in the Aegean.

Although Kristeller's definition is usually taken to refer to the polished neo-Latin texts of famous scholars and teachers, Kristeller's own *Iter Italicum* reveals the huge range of commonplace books, encyclopaedic texts, miscellanies, poetry, and historical writing that were important features of the rhetorical, imitative literary criticism and composition that was

⁴⁰ P. Coppo, *Del Sito de Istria* (Venice, 1540). On Flavio Biondo, see *Italy Illuminated*, ed. and trans. J.A. White (Cambridge, M.A., 2005), p. xvii. See Chapter IV of this thesis.

⁴¹ N. Jovanović, "Dubrovnik in the Corpus of Eastern Adriatic Humanist *Laudationes Urbium*," *Dubrovnik Annals* 16 (2012): 23-36.

Renaissance humanism.⁴² Equally important to consider are the imitative traditions outside of those modelled on Cicero and Livy: those humanists who modelled their composition after their contemporaries, after minor classical writers, and especially after humanist literature that emerged from non-Italian centres, such as Dalmatia or Crete.⁴³ Finally, Thomas Dandeleet has recently drawn attention to the enormous political importance of a strain of imperial humanism - as distinct from the republican civic humanism usually associated with Florence and Venice - in early modern empire-building from Spain to Britain.⁴⁴ Recent studies of the civic humanism of the Renaissance Italian republics has called into doubt its coherence and significance as a movement within Renaissance political thought.⁴⁵ My thesis builds on this recent interest in expanding the kinds of political configurations with which Renaissance humanism has typically been affiliated. Indeed, in arguing for a particularly imperial strain of humanism which emerged from one of the traditional examples of a quintessential Italian republic, I hope to demonstrate the ways in which several different kinds of humanisms coexisted within the schools, literary exchanges, and writings of a single social group in Venice and the Venetian Mediterranean.

⁴² P.O. Kristeller, *Iter Italicum: a finding list of uncatalogued or incompletely catalogued humanistic manuscripts of the Renaissance*, 6 vols. (Leiden, 1963-1992).

⁴³ See J. DellaNeva, "Reflecting Lesser Lights: The Imitation of Minor Writers in the Renaissance," *Renaissance Quarterly* 42/3 (1989): 449-479. For more on humanism outside of Italy, see D. Rundle, ed., *Humanism in Fifteenth-Century Europe* (Oxford, 2012). My dissertation aims to answer Christopher Celenza's call of a decade ago for a more inclusive analysis of Latin literature by Renaissance intellectual historians in *The Lost Italian Renaissance: Humanists, Historians, and Latin's Legacy* (Baltimore, 2004).

⁴⁴ T. Dandeleet, *The Renaissance of Empire in Early Modern Europe* (Cambridge, 2014). Also see C.J. Nederman, "Humanism and Empire: Aeneas Sylvius Piccolomini, Cicero and the Imperial Ideal," *The Historical Journal* 36/3 (1993): 499-515. I return to consider 'imperial humanism' as a label for particular kinds of Venetian intellectual culture later in the thesis, and particularly in Chapter IV.

⁴⁵ See the collected essays in J. Hankins, ed., *Renaissance Civic Humanism: Reappraisals and Reflections* (Cambridge, 2000). Also see idem, "The 'Baron Thesis' after Forty Years and Some Recent Studies of Leonardo Bruni," *Journal of the History of Ideas* 56/2 (1995): 309-338.

The graphic documents, vernacular or composite literature, or literature modelled after non-Italian exemplars are not the most commonly studied documentation of Italian humanism, but they were quantitatively and qualitatively significant. Indeed, I argue that it is from these variously ‘minor’ documents of humanist intellectual culture that we might be able to understand the complex sociology of that intellectual culture, and its relationship to colonial governance. This analysis can be achieved through studying the material history of these documents: their printing or copying, collection, and mobility. Comparing a more traditional source and literary analysis of these documents alongside their histories as collectible, transportable objects, I argue that these ‘secondary’ technical, cartographic, and geographical composite books made up the literary culture of Venetian colonisation. Unlike the theories of constitutional politics or civic ethics usually taken as the subjects of humanist thought, the prosaic biographies of the composite books under consideration here reveal their multiple uses by the humanist administrators, merchants, and expatriates who actively shaped the Venetian *stato da mar*.

A second important element of Venetian humanism which I consider in my dissertation was the ‘discovery,’ copying, circulation, and imitation of antique texts and visual culture. Patricia Fortini Brown has found that this humanistic interest in the ruins and texts of antiquity was one stage in a continuous history of Venetian invention or redefinition of their civic history.⁴⁶ Indeed, in all of the books and maps which I examine here, their authors disclose a desire to create a history for their city: whether in the ancient rules determining behaviour on galleys, or in a more complex grounding of their colonial present in the colonial Greek and

⁴⁶ P. Fortini Brown, *Venice and Antiquity*, p. 11: ‘The Venetian sense of time and space would be dominated by the necessity to invent a civic past. This demand engendered strategies both textual and monumental, infiltrating chronicles and histories of the city and influencing the articulation of the urban environment.’

Roman past of the classical Mediterranean. Borrowing from Christopher Wood and Alexander Nagel's theorisation of Renaissance art objects as sites in which multiple conceptions of temporality adhere, and from Leonard Barkan's writing on Renaissance archaeology and the creation of historical origin narratives from historical absences, I understand these texts and maps as the products of an exchange between the techniques of humanist literary criticism learned in adolescence, the mercantile and colonial experience of the contemporary multi-ethnic, multi-lingual Mediterranean, and the first-hand witnessing of the ruins, inscriptions, geography, and landscapes of classical literature.⁴⁷ Rather than abstract exercises in rhetoric aimed at oratorical persuasion, these books are the primary sources available to us that reflect the negotiation between ancient and modern temporal and spatial worlds that was so suggestive to early modern Venetians. As both quotidian objects and as first-hand documentation of the experience of temporal and spatial negotiation in the Mediterranean, the composite books which I explore in the following chapters offer an important corrective to and elaboration of the history of Venetian humanism, and its interventions into colonial governance.

b. *Colonialism*

The history of Venice's constantly expanding and contracting holdings of islands, trading communities, and coastal cities has been irresistible for generations of historians, from Leopold van Ranke's habit of collecting *relazioni*, or Venetian ambassadorial reports, through Ferdinand Braudel's classic history of the sixteenth-century Mediterranean, to the prolific scholarship of

⁴⁷ As I explore in detail in Chapter II, my thinking on the doubled temporality of the Mediterranean was crucially shaped by A. Nagel and C. Wood, *Anachronic Renaissance* (New York, 2010) and L. Barkan, *Unearthing the Past: Archaeology and Aesthetics in the Making of Renaissance Culture* (New Haven 1999).

one of Venice's greatest American historians, Frederick Lane, who postulated that modern capitalism and imperialism could be traced back to Venetian colonial practices in the Mediterranean.⁴⁸ Interest in this relationship between Venetian colonialism and state formation has guided much of the scholarship on the *stato da mar*. French historians Michel Balard and Alain Ducellier have been interested in writing and editing collections of microhistories of individual islands or regions under Venetian domination, in order to explore the interactions between Venetian colonisation and the birth of the early modern state.⁴⁹ The Italian scholar Ugo Tucci found that there was a close relationship between the solidarity felt by patrician merchants and administrators living in the *stato da mar*, their commercial alliances, and the collective governance of the Venetian state.⁵⁰ But these narratives of imperial governance and state formation have yielded more recently to questions concerning the formation of ethnic, religious, and class-based identities in the Venetian colonial sphere. Historians such as Sally McKee, writing on the lived experience of Greek Cretans under Venetian domination and the consequences of Cretan colonisation for the Venetian metropole, Eric Dursteler on the relationship between identity and co-existence amongst Venetian and Ottoman merchants in Constantinople, Monique O'Connell's social and administrative history of the class of Venetian colonial administrators, Natalie Rothman on the 'trans-imperial' identities of intermediaries like

⁴⁸ On Ranke: U. Tucci, "Ranke and the Venetian Document Market," *The Courier* 22/1 (1987): 27-38. F. Braudel, *The Mediterranean and the Mediterranean World in the Age of Phillip II* (Berkeley, C.A., 1995), second edition. On Lane, see E. Cochrane and J. Kirschner, "Deconstructing Lane's Venice," *Journal of Early Modern History* 47/2 (1975), p. 333; and J.S. Grubb, "When Myths Lose Power: Four Decades of Venetian Historiography," *The Journal of Early Modern History* 58/1 (1986), p. 50, pp. 60-62.

⁴⁹ M. Balard, ed., *État et colonisation au Moyen Âge et à la Renaissance* (Lyon, 1989); and M. Balard and A. Ducellier, eds., *Le Partage du Monde* (Paris, 1998). Karl Appuhn has come to a similar conclusion about the fragmentation of historical analysis of the *stato da mar* and *terraferma* into studies of one island or city: *A Forest on the Sea: Environmental Expertise in Renaissance Venice* (Baltimore, 2009), p. 14.

⁵⁰ U. Tucci, "Il patrizio mercante e umanista," in *Venezia: centro di mediazione tra Oriente e Occidente*, ed. H.-G. Beck, M. Manoussacas, and A. Pertusi (1977): 335-358.

commercial brokers, translators, and religious converts, or Benjamin Arbel's collection of articles on the social and ethnic contact on Venetian Cyprus, have shifted focus to the implications of Venetian colonialism for the formation of identity in the early modern Mediterranean.⁵¹

A second area of research amongst historians of the early modern Venetian *stato da mar* has been in its cultural history.⁵² Margaret King considered the role of the Venetian expansion into the *terraferma* in the development of humanism in the metropole.⁵³ Patricia Fortini Brown demonstrated that the classical inscriptions, ruins, and Greek culture of the Aegean world - often encountered during mercantile activity in the islands - made a deep impression on artistic and literary production in Venice during the Renaissance, an argument I build upon in Chapter II.⁵⁴ Similarly, Deno Geanakoplos explored the hellenistic dimensions of the Venetian Renaissance, writing about the patricians who pursued the study of Greek to serve the interests of the state, as well as researching the role of dispersed Greek intellectuals - especially those from Crete - throughout the Mediterranean world.⁵⁵ Maria Georgopoulou has investigated the built environment of Crete to determine the ways in which Venice legitimated its colonial rule through monumental architecture.⁵⁶ Two collections of essays look at the role of Renaissance culture on

⁵¹ S. McKee, *Uncommon Dominion* (Philadelphia, 2000); E.R. Dursteler, *Venetians in Constantinople* (Baltimore, 2006); M. O'Connell, *Men of Empire* (Baltimore, 2009); N.E. Rothman, *Brokering Empire* (Ithaca, 2011); B. Arbel, *Cyprus, The Franks, and Venice, 13th - 16th Centuries* (Aldershot, 2000).

⁵² An overview of Venice's cultural relations with cities of the *stato da mar* and *terraferma* is provided by N. Davidson, "The Cultural Relations of Venice and its Dependent Cities," in A. Cowan, ed., *Mediterranean Urban Culture, 1400-1700* (Exeter, 2000): 197-214.

⁵³ M. King, *Venetian Humanism*, p. 219 and 244.

⁵⁴ P. Fortini Brown, *Venice and Antiquity*, especially Part IV: The Historical Restitution: Acquiring an Ancient Past, pp. 145-180.

⁵⁵ D.J. Geanakoplos, *Greek Scholars in Venice: Studies in the Dissemination of Greek Learning from Byzantium to Western Europe* (Cambridge, M.A., 1962).

⁵⁶ M. Georgopoulou, *Venice's Mediterranean Colonies: Architecture and Urbanism* (Cambridge, 2001).

Crete and Cyprus, respectively, the largest and most economically important of the Venetian island colonies.⁵⁷ In a 1985 volume edited by Vittore Branca, contributors were particularly interested in the ways in which a Venetian colonial presence in Istria and Dalmatia was formed, or responded to, indigenous intellectual movements.⁵⁸ Finally, and within the recent turn in Venetian scholarship toward questions of identity, several studies have looked to the ways in which writing and illustrating volumes about ‘others’ - and particularly Ottoman Turks - provided ‘a crucial moment of cultural self-definition,’ a way for humanists and artists to ‘craft a compelling notion of Western society’.⁵⁹ Nancy Bisaha, Kate Fleet, and Margaret Meserve have written about humanistic and textual representations of Ottoman ‘others’, whilst Bronwen Wilson has turned to Venetian print culture - including maps and costume books - to discover the ways in which Venetian metropolitan identities were formed in response to images of the city and its other.⁶⁰

Scholarship on the identities, negotiations, co-existence, and representations of and between the many ethnic groups sharing the space of the early modern Mediterranean has informed my research, as it has opened up the field of Venetian colonial history to perspectives beyond that of the city of Venice itself and emphasised the processual and dynamic nature of co-

⁵⁷ D. Holton, ed., *Literature and Society in Renaissance Crete* (Cambridge, 1991); and B. Arbel, E. Chayes, and H. Hendrix, eds., *Cyprus and the Renaissance (1450-1650)* (Turnhout, 2013). For Cretan humanism in a slightly later period: P.M. Kitromilides, “Law and Humanism in Cretan Culture: The Evidence of an Early Seventeenth-Century Library Catalogue,” in *Pepragmena tou 5 diethnous kretologiou synedriou* (Iraklion, 1985), vol. II: 182-96. Also see A. Embiricos, *La renaissance Crétoise* (Paris, 1960-1967), vol. I: La littérature.

⁵⁸ F. Semi, “Umanesimo e libertà degli istriani” and D. Robey, “Aspetti dell’Umanesimo vergeriano,” in V. Branca and S. Graciotto, eds., *L’Umanesimo in Istria* (Florence, 1983), pp. 1-6, pp. 7-18.

⁵⁹ N. Bisaha, *Creating East and West: Renaissance Humanists and the Ottoman Turks* (Philadelphia, 2004), p. 7.

⁶⁰ N. Bisaha, *Creating East and West* (Philadelphia, 2004); K. Fleet, “Italian Perceptions of the Turks in the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Centuries,” *Journal of Mediterranean Studies* 5/2 (1995): 159-72; M. Meserve, “News from Negroponte: Politics, Popular Opinion, and Information Exchange in the First Decade of the Italian Press,” *Renaissance Quarterly* 59/2 (2006): 440-80; and B. Wilson, *The World in Venice: Print, the City, and Early Modern Identity* (Toronto, 2005).

existence. However, rather than a history of early modern Mediterranean identities, I hope to contribute here to a history of Mediterranean culture, and specifically to a history of the colonial intellectual culture of the Venetian polity. Although cultural histories like those of Bronwen Wilson and Nancy Bisaha are important for understanding the perspectives of Venetians living in the metropole, the history of Venetian intellectual culture as it was produced, transmitted, and reshaped outside of Venice is one that has yet to be written. This project intersects with the histories of identity, ethnicity, and coexistence on the colonial islands, and the intellectual and cultural histories of Venice itself, but it requires its own specific parameters and methodologies.

One parameter is that of the social history of the patriciate. Monique O’Connell’s social history of the *rettori* is foundational in this regard and essential to the research I undertake here, as she elaborates the responsibilities, patterns of office-holding, and legislative processes which supported and controlled the patrician colonial administrators.⁶¹ A large group of studies on the social history of the patriciate has been published in the last thirty years, including Donald Queller’s analysis of the ideologies and office-holding of the patriciate, Dennis Romano’s history of the social networks of patricians within Venice and the *terraferma*, Guido Ruggiero’s book on patrician violence, several articles by Stanley Chojnacki, as well as Alexander Cowan’s work on patrician marriage.⁶² Bridging Monique O’Connell’s work on the *rettori* and earlier social

⁶¹ M. O’Connell, *Men of Empire* (Baltimore, 2009). For a Florentine parallel, see W.J. Connell, “The humanist citizen as provincial governor,” in idem and A. Zorzi, eds. *Florentine Tuscany: Structures and Practices of Power* (Cambridge, 2000): 144-164.

⁶² Like Monique O’Connell’s work, I regard these social histories of the Venetian patriciate as foundational for the analysis I undertake here. Amongst the works I referred to most frequently throughout my research were D. Queller, *The Venetian Patriciate: Reality versus Myth* (Urbana and Chicago, 1986); D. Romano, *Patricians and Popolani* (Baltimore and London, 1987); G. Ruggiero, *Violence in Early Renaissance Venice* (New Brunswick, 1980); Chojnacki, “Kinship Ties and Young Patricians in Fifteenth-Century Venice,” and “Political Adulthood,” in *Women and Men in Renaissance Venice: Twelve Essays on Patrician Society* (Baltimore and London, 2000), pp. 206-226, and pp. 227-243; and A. Cowan, *Marriage, Manners, and Mobility in Early Modern Venice* (Aldershot, 2007). Also see D. Raines, *L’Invention di Mythe Aristocratique: L’image de soi du patriciat vénitien au temps de la Sérénissime* (Venice, 2006).

histories of the patriciate in a methodological sense is Yuen-Gen Liang's recent *Family and Empire*. Concerned with a very different imperial history of late-medieval and early modern Spain, although taking the Mediterranean as its setting, Liang demonstrates the central position of the history of the family to a social and administrative history of empire.⁶³ Whilst O'Connell's book and earlier studies of the Venetian patriciate are essential for the research which follows here, I am also interested also in incorporating Liang's approach to studying the multiterritoriality of empire through tracing the history of individuals in the colonial Mediterranean; and what these microhistories can reveal about their negotiations of the different social, administrative, and cultural worlds in which they took part (Part II). By focusing on the less important and well-known merchants and administrators involved in shaping the colonial world, and on the books and texts with which they reflected upon their colonial experience, I hope to weave together a history of the intellectual and political society of empire, with a cultural history of the *stato da mar*.

The second parameter which shapes my history of Venetian intellectual culture outside of Venice is an understanding of the local intellectual cultures with which the Venetian administrators and expatriates interacted. The Aegean islands (Chapter III) and Istria (Chapter IV) are the two primary regions which I consider in my dissertation, and each has its own historiographical tradition (although the histories of the different local intellectual cultures of the Mediterranean are not often considered in a single study). The scholarship on Greek humanism and its relationship with Italian schools and writers is the more extensive.⁶⁴ Topics range from

⁶³ Y.-G. Liang, *Family and Empire: The Fernández de Córdoba and the Spanish Realm* (Philadelphia, 2011).

⁶⁴ For an overview, see A. Pertusi, "L'umanesimo greco della fine del secolo XIV agli inizi del secolo XVI," in *Storia della cultura veneta*, III, 1, pp. 177-264. Also see N. Wilson, *From Byzantium to Italy: Greek Studies in the Italian Renaissance* (London, 1992), which takes a Venetian focus.

studies of individual Venetians on Crete and Cyprus, to the role of Greek scholars in Europe during the Venetian wars against the Ottomans throughout the second half of the fifteenth century and into the sixteenth, to Greek translation and editing work performed both in Venice at the press of Aldus Manutius and on Crete.⁶⁵ Figures like Cardinal Bessarion, whose library formed the core of the Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana, or Francesco Filelfo who went to Constantinople as a Venetian diplomatic agent and married the scholar John Chrysoloras' daughter there, are examples of the high-profile intellectual exchange and mobility between Venice and the Greek world.⁶⁶ Geanakoplos profiled some of the more minor Greek figures who taught in Venetian schools, demonstrating the ways in which they fluidly moved between the major Italian centres of scholarship (Rome, Florence, Milan), Venice itself, and the Greek islands, primarily Crete.⁶⁷

Several scholars have written the social and institutional histories of Dalmatian grammar schools, whilst the online database *Croatiae auctores Latini* offers digitised and encoded Latin texts produced by Dalmatian humanists, each providing an important foundation from which my dissertation builds.⁶⁸ An important subset of this database for the purposes of my dissertation has been the *Laudationes urbium Dalmaticarum*, a collection of sixty-nine Latin 'praise of cities' texts which take eastern Adriatic cities as their theme; Neven Jovanović investigated questions of

⁶⁵ V. Branca, *Lauro Quirini Umanista* (Florence, 1977); N. Bisaha, *Creating East and West*, especially pp. 60-69; D.J. Geanakoplos, *Greek Scholars in Venice*, p. 39.

⁶⁶ N. Bisaha, *Creating East and West*, p. 113 and p. 103.

⁶⁷ See in particular his chapter, "Arsenios Apostolis: Cretan Cleric and Philologist in Venice, Florence, and Rome," pp. 167-200. Apostolis was Giovanni Bembo's Greek teacher.

⁶⁸ See S. Ivović, "Humanism in schools: Italian humanists as teachers in the 15th-century Ragusa and Dalmatian communes"; published online as part of the *Croatiae auctores Latini* project, and accessible at: <http://www.ffzg.unizg.hr/klafile/dokuwiki/doku.php/z:humanism-eastern-adriatic>. The digitised texts can be accessed at: <http://www.ffzg.unizg.hr/klafile/dokuwiki/doku.php/z:croala-qui-quid#english>. (Both last accessed 24 Sept. 2013).

authorship, generic classification, and completed a quantitative analysis of topography in the group of texts.⁶⁹ The collection of essays edited by Vittore Branca in *L'Umanesimo in Istria* also offers an important analysis of the relationship between Venice and the Dalmatian region of Istria, interpreting native Istrian humanist schools and writers as an instrument 'd'approfondimento, d'elevazione, di liberazione' for colonised Istrians.⁷⁰ In the chapters that follow, I integrate the histories of Greek and Dalmatian intellectual cultures with that of Venice, in an intellectual history which is informed by recent social histories of identity: in which the formation of intellectual culture is approached as a dynamic process of accretion, adaptation, and co-existence.

Thus while my study of Venetian colonialism is informed by the state of recent histories on the subject, it attempts to accomplish something quite different. I navigate between the social history of the *stato da mar* and the history of humanism within Venice in order to uncover the dynamics of intellectual culture in the early modern Mediterranean. At the intersection between humanist production and collecting practices in the Mediterranean and colonial governance is a corpus of technical navigational texts, geographical writings, and maps which form the central evidence for my dissertation. The composite and cartographic nature of these documents require their own methodologies and present their own sets of questions, which I discuss below.

c. Methodologies

⁶⁹ N. Jovanović, "Dubrovnik in the Corpus of Eastern Adriatic Humanist *Laudationes Urbium*," *Dubrovnik Annals* 16 (2012): 23-36.

⁷⁰ F. Semi, "Umanesimo e libertà degli istriani," p. 5.

My dissertation is informed by methodologies borrowed from the disciplines of the history of the book and the history of cartography. Questions central to bibliographic historians about the production and compiling of the books, readerly interventions into their content and form, and their peripatetic histories, are each important components of the following chapters. Similarly, the technical aspects of the history of cartography - how maps are compiled and copied both in manuscript and print, and how they are read - are important parameters by which I analyse the nautical charts, atlases, and chorographies which form the core of my evidence. In both the composite books and maps, I focus on the relationship between media, materiality, and meaning, looking specifically to the technical ways in which authors and readers ordered knowledge on the page. This includes, for example, analysing the ways in which composite texts were arranged in navigational miscellanies (Chapter I), comparing readers' manuscript annotations across several copies of a printed *Isolario* (Chapter II), and exploring the intertextual reading practices of a collector of both manuscript commonplace books and printed encyclopaedias (Chapter III). In this section, I will first set out the ways in which the history of the book has informed my research, and particularly the history of Renaissance composite books, before turning to discuss the historiography of cartographic scholarship. I suggest that the technical disciplines of cartographic and bibliographic history are especially useful to historians interested in the relationship between knowledge and power, as close formal and material analysis can yield valuable insights into conceptions of governance.

An important idea from bibliographic history is the history of the book as a material object, in which the 'lifespan' of the book - from its initial compilation, through its copying or printing, to its binding, purchase, integration into a collection, and reading - is studied as a copy-

specific phenomenon. This is usually accomplished by completing a copy census, a bibliographic method in which surviving copies of an edition of a particular book are analysed in order to create a wide foundation of evidence for the patterns of ownership, circulation, binding, and reading of the book.⁷¹ Recently, copy censuses have come to focus on ‘the social impact of the book’⁷² rather than simply collecting bibliographic data: such studies have been completed on Phillip Sidney’s *Arcadia* and sixteenth- and seventeenth-century editions of Chaucer;⁷³ an informal kind of copy census has been completed for manuscript books, too, by Eamon Duffy in his book *Marking the Hours*.⁷⁴ Owen Gingerich has completed a census of all first- and second-edition copies of Copernicus’ *De Revolutionibus orbium coelestium*, from which he built up a picture of the relationship between annotation patterns and networks of early modern scientists reading Copernicus’ text.⁷⁵ With the exception of Eamon Duffy’s book, copy census research has traditionally been focused on canonical texts: the Gutenberg Bible, Shakespeare’s First Folio, Audubon’s *Birds of America*,⁷⁶ and as mentioned above, Sidney and Chaucer. In the chapters that follow, I similarly trace the lifespans not only of individual copies of early printed editions, but

⁷¹ D. Pearson, “The Importance of the Copy Census as a Methodology in Book History,” in *Early Printed Books as Material Objects*, ed. B. Wagner and M. Reed (The Hague, 2010), p. 322.

⁷² Ibid, p. 322.

⁷³ H. Brayman Hackel, *Reading Material in Early Modern England* (Cambridge, 2005), and A. Wiggins, “What did Renaissance readers write in their printed copies of Chaucer?” *The Library*, 7th ser. (2008): 3-36.

⁷⁴ E. Duffy, *Marking the Hours: English People and their Prayers, 1240-1570* (New Haven, 2006).

⁷⁵ O. Gingerich, *An Annotated Census of Copernicus’ De Revolutionibus* (Leiden, 2002).

⁷⁶ For the Gutenberg Bible, see S. de Ricci, *Catalogue raisonné des premières impressions de Mayence* (Mainz, 1911), G. Powitz, *Die Frankfurter Gutenbergs Bibel* (Frankfurt, 1990), and R. Folter, ‘The Gutenberg Bible in the Antiquarian Book Trade,’ in *Incunabula: Studies in Fifteenth-century Books*, ed. M. Davies (London, 1999). For the First Folio, see Sir S. Lee, *The First Folio Shakespeare* (New York, 1901), and A.J. West, *The Shakespeare First Folio: the History of Books* (Oxford, 2001). For *Birds of America*, see W.H. Fries, *The Double Elephant Folio: The story of Audubon’s Birds of America* (Chicago, 1973).

also of texts which circulated in unique manuscript witnesses.⁷⁷ Like Gingerich, I am interested in reconstructing networks of texts and readers, and comparing these networks with an analysis of bindings, collection histories, annotations, and other interventions, in order to discover the ways in which specific books and texts were used and understood by their readers. Because the books under consideration here were widely geographically dispersed throughout the *stato da mar*, their material histories offer an unusual perspective into colonial intellectual history through patterns of collecting and reading. Rather than studying the history of the reception of a single canonical text, then, I have used the principles of the copy census to accumulate information about local uses of multiple texts and maps across the Venetian colonial world.

I also build upon a second body of scholarship concerning the Renaissance composite book. For the purposes of this dissertation, I define a composite book as any which includes heterogeneous material within a single binding, in both manuscript and print. Within this category, scholars have attempted to define various sub-genres. Randall Anderson writes of Renaissance English composite books that ‘the miscellany is essentially a private, idiosyncratic collection, whereas the carefully indexed or headed commonplace book, for instance, introduces a support structure that by its nature suggests a readership with a common goal’.⁷⁸ Harold Love similarly suggests that a personal miscellany is an idiosyncratic collection, although ‘there is usually a strong family likeness between books which emerge from the same institutional or

⁷⁷ I do not attempt, however, complete copy censuses of the early printed editions under consideration here. I am interested primarily in their Venetian readership, and so concentrate on those copies which were owned by readers in Venice, the Venetian Mediterranean, or in some cases, the Veneto.

⁷⁸ R.L. Anderson, “Metaphors of the Book as Garden in the English Renaissance,” *The Yearbook of English Studies* 33 (2003), p. 252.

regional sub-culture'.⁷⁹ It is this premise which is foundational to Lisa Kaborycha's study of Florentine personal vernacular miscellanies, or *zibaldoni*.⁸⁰ Love also distinguishes between these personal miscellanies and professionally produced anthologies, which he defines as including texts that are 'generally less "sincere" than those of the private copies, and often heavily sophisticated'.⁸¹ Finally, there is a consensus amongst Renaissance literature scholars that a commonplace book must refer specifically to a book in which passages are copied under particular relevant headings, usually from classical sources; this was an important part of the pedagogic tradition of Italian humanist schools.⁸²

These definitions are useful to an extent. It is not really surprising that there would be a 'family likeness' between miscellanies which have emerged from the same cultural context. Although perhaps evident in later English composite manuscripts, I have not found a strict distinction in the works I consider here between 'sincere' personal compilations and 'sophisticated' professional, scribal ones. In Renaissance Venice, at least, professionally produced quires were often bound with personal ones, and readers scribbled in the margins of scribed folios. The Latin, humanistic commonplace book is a genre which I have found to stand up to its definition, both in manuscript and print, although its format was exported to serve a

⁷⁹ H. Love, "How personal is a personal miscellany? Sarah Cowper, Martin Clifford and the 'Buckingham Commonplace Book,'" in R.C. Alston, ed., *Order and Connexion: Studies in Bibliography and Book History* (Cambridge, 1997), p. 112.

⁸⁰ L. Kaborycha, *Copying Culture: Fifteenth-Century Florentines and their Zibaldoni*. Unpublished doctoral dissertation, University of California, Berkeley, 2006.

⁸¹ H. Love, "How personal is a personal miscellany?," p. 112.

⁸² Ibid; and A. Moss, *Printed Commonplace-Books and the Structuring of Renaissance Thought* (Oxford, 1996), definition on p. viii, and discussion of pedagogical tradition, pp. 53-57.

range of purposes, from natural philosophy, to history writing, to autobiography.⁸³ Equally, specific professional modes of organising information - especially those relating to accounting and to archival organisation - were used within the realm of the study, for use in personal notebooks and compilations.⁸⁴ Questions of definition, approached through the format of the book and through its use, are primarily of interest here for the ways in which generic boundaries were traversed, and the reasons why a cultural association between a specific format and a specific use were transgressed and adapted. For example, the humanist method of Latin commonplacing, the genre of composite literature that was most strictly defined within a Renaissance institutional context, was used by one Venetian reader in a geographical encyclopaedia so that maps served as *loci communes*, an interesting case study of this kind of genre-bending within composite literature (Chapter III).⁸⁵ Finally, beyond these adaptive re-uses of different kinds of composite genres, I aim to expand our understanding of literary genre and the process of written composition in Renaissance Venice by including encyclopaedias, atlases, and geographical dictionaries within the broadest conception of composite literature.

⁸³ On natural philosophy and the commonplace book: A. Blair, "Humanist Methods in Natural Philosophy: The Commonplace Book," *Journal of the History of Ideas* 53/4 (1992): 541-551; A. Vine, "Commercial Commonplacing: Francis Bacon, the Waste-Book, and the Ledger," in *English Manuscript Studies 1100-1700*, vol. 16, eds. R. Beadle and C. Burrow (London, 2011): 197-218; R. Yeo, "A Solution to the Multitude of Books: Ephraim Chambers' 'Cyclopaedia' (1782) as 'The Best Book in the Universe,'" *Journal of the History of Ideas* 64/1 (2003), 61-72. On history writing and the commonplace book: D.R. Woolf, *Reading History in Early Modern England* (Cambridge, 2000), pp. 104-5, 113-131. On the commonplace book as a source for autobiography: A. Smyth, *Autobiography in Early Modern England* (Cambridge, 2010), pp. 124-156.

⁸⁴ On accounting, see J.A. Aho, "Rhetoric and the Invention of Double Entry Bookkeeping," *Rhetorica* 3/1 (1985): 21-43. On the archive, see K. Eichhorn, "Archival Genres: Gathering Texts and Reading Spaces," *Invisible Culture* 12 (2008), available online : http://www.rochester.edu/in_visible_culture/Issue_12/eichhorn/eichhorn.pdf (last accessed 24 Sept. 2013).

⁸⁵ Giovanni Bembo's copy of the *Isolario*: Modena, Biblioteca Estense, Alfa E 5. 15. For more on use of *loci communes* as a common system of the classification of knowledge, see Z.S. Schiffman, "Montaigne and the Rise of Skepticism in Early Modern Europe: A Reappraisal," *Journal of the History of Ideas* 45/4 (1984), p. 500; and R. Yeo, "Notebooks as memory aids: precepts and practices in early modern England," *Memory Studies* 1/1 (2008), p. 120.

It is not the generic categorisation of composite literature, though, so much as the centrality of the idea of compositeness in the books under consideration here, that is the focus of the following chapters. Compositeness, the compilation of heterogeneous material into a single volume or within the boundaries of a single text, carried several possible literary, social, and political meanings for their Renaissance authors and readers. As discussed above, the ‘function’ of miscellaneous composition and commonplacing has been explored by several early modern scholars of literature, who have discussed the ways in which ordering and classifying knowledge have had important implications for scientific discourse, for developing notions of imperialism, for sociability and social mobility, and for systems of ‘information technology’.⁸⁶ Because of the vast number of miscellaneous books which survive from early modern Europe, all of these uses are plausible within their specific contexts. However, in the Venetian composite literature under consideration here, I explore two central literary and political uses of the concept of compositeness.

The first is compositeness as a metaphor for governance. This idea has been explored in Lisa Kaborycha’s doctoral thesis on Florentine *zibaldoni*, in which she persuasively argues that texts relating to friendship, courtship, and family relations were compiled in these vernacular manuscripts in order to elaborate an idea of correct behaviour within the ‘crowded, ultracompetitive urban world’ of Renaissance Florence. These texts established a correlative

⁸⁶ On science, see note 75 above, especially A. Blair, “Humanist Methods in Natural Philosophy”; on imperialism, L.B. Cormack, “Britannia Rules the Waves? Images of Empire in Elizabethan England,” *Early Modern Literary Studies* 4.2/Special Issue 3 (1998): 1-20; on sociability, D.R. Woolf, *Reading History in Early Modern England*, p. 131; on social mobility, M.T. Crane, *Framing Authority: Sayings, Self, and Society in Sixteenth-Century England*, p. 6; on Renaissance literary methods as ‘information technology,’ N. Rhodes and J. Sawday, “Paperworlds: Imagining the Renaissance Computer,” in *The Renaissance Computer: Knowledge Technology in the First Age of Print* (London and New York, 2000).

between the ‘stable, well-ordered household’ and political success.⁸⁷ Although Kaborycha does not cite Foucault’s essay on governmentality, her analysis parallels his discussion of the early modern idea of ‘the art of government’, which he describes as ‘essentially concerned with answering the question of how to introduce economy - that is to say, the correct manner of managing individuals, goods, and wealth within the family...and of making family fortunes prosper - how to introduce this meticulous attention of the father towards his family into the management of the state’.⁸⁸ I argue that, as the notion of economy in governance can be seen in the household and courtesy texts of Florentine *zibaldoni*, so too is a parallel concept - that of ingenuity - found in the texts relating the composite process of shipbuilding in Venetian navigational miscellanies. Indeed, Foucault uses the example of governing a ship - including its men, cargo, and navigation, all of which are accounted for and catalogued in Venetian navigational miscellanies - as a synecdoche of ‘this complex of men and things’ at the core of the exercise of early modern governance.⁸⁹ Miles Ogborn has similarly investigated the conceptualisation of East India Company ships, as material, accounting, and political spaces. For Ogborn, navigational techniques, accounting of the ship’s cargo, and its internal social organisation established the ship as a ‘viable vessel for carrying royal letters to their destination’, part of the ‘geography of power’ of the East India Company.⁹⁰ Drawing links between these arguments by Kaborycha, Foucault, and Ogborn, in Chapter I, I suggest that Venetian patrician

⁸⁷ L. Kaborycha, *Copying Culture*, p. 199.

⁸⁸ M. Foucault, “Governmentality,” in *The Foucault Effect: Studies in Governmentality*, eds. G. Burchell, C. Gordon, and P. Miller (Chicago, 1991), p. 92.

⁸⁹ Ibid, p. 93-4.

⁹⁰ M. Ogborn, “Writing Travels: Power, Knowledge, and Ritual on the English East India Company’s Early Voyages,” *Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers*, New Series 27/2 (2002), p. 161 and 165.

humanists saw in their navigational miscellanies a language and imagery that could be used to discuss the role of the patrician intellectual in political life and governance.

The second political metaphor at work in the literary concept of compositeness in early modern Venice is that of the heterogeneous colonial empire. Lesley B. Cormack has explored the use of commonplace books by John Dee and Richard Hakluyt, and their published composite collections of navigational writings, as ways in which these men developed an idea of sixteenth- and seventeenth-century England as a 'separate and self-sufficient country...and [began] to think of ways to increase the possibility of England's foray into outward imperialism'.⁹¹ Composite geographical literature created England as its own geo-political entity, whilst historical navigation texts in English 'lent authority' to the idea of a mercantile English empire.⁹² In his history of the Spanish Mediterranean empire, Liang explores the ways in which the 'composite' nature of the imperial polity - its 'simultaneous and conjoined development' across space - was valued by early modern Spanish monarchs; this 'multiterritoriality and simultaneity of empire' can be captured through a family history of empire, which allows us 'to reconstruct the expansion of empire on multiple fronts'.⁹³ Similarly, I argue that compositeness in Venetian geographical literature and mapping represented the mosaic-like spatial ordering of the *stato da mar*. Especially when understood in the context of a confrontation between ancient and modern worlds, the Venetian colonial encounter with the individual islands of the Aegean - each a separate entity, but part of the Venetian political space of the *Arcipelago*, or the Venetian maritime state in the Aegean - can be seen as a process of attempting to assimilate spaces that

⁹¹ L.B. Cormack, "Britannia Rules the Waves?," p. 19.

⁹² Ibid, p. 9.

⁹³ Y.-G. Liang, *Family and Empire*, p. 19.

may exist on more than one temporal plane into a complete polity. This is a particular feature of the *Cornaro Atlas*, a late Quattrocento compilation of nautical charts, in which each map represents the Aegean islands as differently-shaped, jewel-coloured ‘jigsaw puzzle’ pieces (Chapters I and III). In each chapter, I look to cartographic representations of Venetian colonial space to examine the ways in which the multi-territoriality and multi-temporality of the Venetian empire were perceived.

The ways in which geographic and political knowledge were ordered on historical maps has been the subject of the past thirty years of Anglo-American cartographic scholarship. Though Alfred Korzybski coined the expression, ‘the map is not the territory’ as early as 1931,⁹⁴ it was not until J.B. Harley’s series of contentious articles in the late 1980s and early 1990s that this was argued to be an essential concept for understanding cartography. In these articles, Harley argued that historians of cartography should no longer interpret maps as if they scientifically mirrored territory, topography, or landscape. Rather, maps should be interpreted as symbolic representations of the political and social institutions responsible for their production.⁹⁵ Harley’s work has been subject to criticism on a number of grounds, from those who think he was too concerned with suppressed messages of power and concealed ideologies, to those who think he was not properly poststructuralist, in the first place.⁹⁶

⁹⁴ A. Korzybski, “A Non-Aristotelian System and its Necessity for Rigour in Mathematics and Physics,” in *Science and Sanity* (5th ed., New York, 2000), p. 750.

⁹⁵ J.B. Harley, “Maps, Knowledge, and Power,” in *The Iconography of the Landscape*, ed. D. Cosgrove and S. Daniels (Cambridge, 1988): 277-312; idem, “Deconstructing the Map,” *Cartographica* 26/2 (1989): 1-20; and idem, “Silences and Secrecy,” *Imago Mundi* 40 (1988): 57-76.

⁹⁶ For the former: J.H. Andrews, “Meaning, Knowledge, and Power in the Map Philosophy of J.B. Harley,” in *The New Nature of Maps* ed. Laxton (Baltimore, 2001): 1-32. For the latter: B. Belyea, “Images of Power: Derrida/Foucault/Harley,” *Cartographica* 29/2 (1992): 1-9. For an overview of Harley’s career and reception, see M. Edney, “Brian Harley’s Career and Intellectual Legacy,” *Cartographica Monograph* 54, vol. 40 (2005).

More recently, though, historians of cartography have turned from representative theorisations of historical maps to a processual model of interpretation. The landscape architect and theorist James Corner argued that mapping's meaning was produced in each individual reading or encounter with the map: mapping has the ability to 'unfold potential; it remakes territory over and over again, each time with new and diverse consequences.'⁹⁷ This performance-driven interpretation of the history of cartography has been especially useful for understanding the ways in which historical atlases were read. Building on the cartographer Denis Wood's investigation into the possibilities of a narrative, gestural interaction with the atlas,⁹⁸ Veronica della Dora integrates the art-historical turn toward materiality with processual cartography to argue for a model of continually remade meaning that emerges from interaction with the atlas. She sees parallels between this theory and Actor-Network Theory, often affiliated with the work of Bruno Latour,⁹⁹ in which 'material-semiotic networks of humans and non-humans come together to act as whole. These networks exist in a constant making and remaking; performance gives them life.'¹⁰⁰

The result of the processual model has been the introduction of reader-driven meaning, gesture, and practice into the history of cartography, as opposed to a model which relied only on represented, symbolic meaning.¹⁰¹ These have been important additions to the critical toolkit for

⁹⁷ J. Corner, "The Agency of Mapping: Speculation, Critique and Invention," in *The Map Reader*, ed. Dodge, Kitchin and Perkins (Chichester, 2011), p. 89.

⁹⁸ D. Wood, "Pleasure in the Idea: The Atlas as Narrative Form," *Cartographica* 24/1 (1987): 24-45.

⁹⁹ B. Latour, *Reassembling the Social* (Oxford, 2005).

¹⁰⁰ V. della Dora, "Performative Atlases: Memory, Materiality, and (Co-)Authorship," *Cartographica* 44/4 (2009): p. 241.

¹⁰¹ In focusing exclusively on mapping within non-textual cultures, R.A. Rundstrom in his article "Mapping, Postmodernism, Indigenous People" puts a particular emphasis on action, practice, and performance in understanding the history of cartography (*Cartographica* 28/2 (1991): 1-12).

cartographic historians, because they raise interesting questions about the relationship between thought and action, representation and practice. This issue has been considered by geographers Vincent Del Casino and Stephen P. Hanna in their article ‘Beyond the Binaries’, in which they aim to unite representation and practice. They introduce the term ‘map spaces’ to indicate that the map is co-constitutive of representation and performance: the ways in which the map represents space and the ‘material practices’ of the reader are ‘intertextually constructed through the daily actions of various social actors’,¹⁰² an idea that is borrowed directly from Actor-Network Theory. They illustrate this by describing how maps mediate the reader’s experience of space (the map helps the reader find his way around a city) while at the same time, space mediates the reader’s experience of the map (a memory of a building or monument may surface and suffuse its representation on the map with an emotional resonance).¹⁰³

I argue that the Renaissance Venetian maps under consideration here navigate between representation and performance: I find that their contemporary readers saw in their maps representations of their city and their empire, and that these maps helped them to both physically and mentally navigate that empire. I explore this idea particularly in a discussion of spatial perspectives of maps, a recurring theme throughout the following chapters. For example, in Bartolomeo dalli Sonetti’s *Isolario* (Venice, c. 1480), the narrator alternates between the first-person, present-tense narrative of traveling between the islands in ‘la mia piccola barcheta’, and an abstracted, bird’s-eye view of the island from a ‘cartographic’ perspective (Chapter II). These alternating viewpoints allow the reader to feel immersed in the experience of navigating the

¹⁰² V. Del Casino and S.P. Hanna, “‘Beyond the Binaries’: A Methodological Intervention for Interrogating Maps as Representational Practices,” *ACME: An International E-Journal for Critical Geographies* 4/1 (2006), p. 104.

¹⁰³ Ibid, p. 105.

maritime world of the Venetian islands in ‘real time’, while simultaneously studying them from the distant spatial and atemporal perspective of a scholar in his study. I suggest that this contrast between the dynamic navigational narrative and the stillness of the bird’s-eye view of the classical ruins in delli Sonetti’s *Isolario* described the complex and unstable temporality of the *Arcipelago*; and that this instability reflected the grounding of the Venetian colonial presence in the Aegean in a historical narrative of continuity between antique empires and the contemporary Venetian one. When Giovanni Bembo then annotated the *Isolario*’s pages with lists of ‘homini da facti’, or Venetian military recruits, on each island, he was using these representations of temporality of the Aegean archipelago space in the *Isolario* to formulate his own responsibility within an administrative role.¹⁰⁴ Throughout, I approach Venetian maps as both representational and performative: they both created a particular idea of the *stato da mar*, and shaped the ways in which the individual reader acted within that space.

III. *Outline*

The dissertation is divided into two parts, each part containing two chapters. Part I examines the representations of the Venetian maritime empire in composite technical, geographical, and epigraphical books, collected by Venetian humanists who often were governors and administrators of the Venetian empire. Chapter I investigates a corpus of composite manuscripts and printed books which include navigational, technical, and mercantile texts, as well as collections of nautical charts and shipbuilding texts. I examine their internal structure, compilation, and provenance history, before turning to examine their shipbuilding texts and

¹⁰⁴ B. Arbel discusses the ‘homini da facti’ in his chapter, “Colonie d’oltremare,” in *Storia di Venezia*, vol. V: Il Rinascimento Società ed Economia, ed. A. Tenenti and U. Tucci (Rome, 1996), p. 968.

diagrams in detail. Comparing these shipbuilding texts with letters by prominent Venetian humanists about the art of shipbuilding in their city, I find that these humanist readers used the concept of ingenuity in shipbuilding to reflect upon the role of the intellectual within the political life of the metropole. Thus representations of navigational and mercantile activity which took place in the *stato da mar* shaped intellectual debates happening at home in the metropole, while concomitantly creating the idea of Venice as the metropolitan centre of a maritime Mediterranean empire.

In Chapter II, I investigate a group of geographical and epigraphical compilations that represent the spaces and physical environment of the *stato da mar*. By studying the relationship between text and image in these books, their readers' annotations, and contemporary letters, I aim to discover how the temporality and spatiality of the Venetian Mediterranean were understood to be related. I argue that the Mediterranean was made over into a humanist space for Renaissance Venetians, in which multiple temporalities coexisted. Not only the representation of the classical and contemporary Mediterranean space in text and maps, but the circulation of antique fragments, sculptures, coins, bronzes, medals, and manuscripts of classical texts, produced a sense of space in which the antique and the modern could intersect. This, in turn, shaped the ways in which Venetian colonial administrators in the *stato da mar* conceived of the space they were governing; and indeed, of the nature of governance there.

This discussion leads into Part II of the thesis, in which - having established the ways in which Venetians in the metropole collected and read representations of the colonial Mediterranean - I turn to explore how men who were posted to offices in the *stato da mar* perceived the spaces they were governing, and their political roles there. In Chapter III, I

examine the textual compiling and autobiographical writing practices of Giovanni Bembo, with whom I opened the Introduction. Bembo's uniqueness - not only that he had a scribe castrated during his tenure, but that he wrote self-reflectively about it - allows us to see the ways in which Venetian intellectual culture shaped his perception of governance, precisely because he did not govern successfully.

In Chapter IV, I conclude with a study of Pietro Coppo, a Venetian administrator in Istria who became deeply integrated into local municipal governance. I examine the intellectual and political networks in which he was enmeshed, showing that he - along with his peers - wrote texts and produced maps which focused on the historical and contemporary relationship between different conceptions of empire: particularly that of Imperial Rome and of contemporary Venice. Istria, as a threshold between the *stato da terra* and *stato da mar*, as the Venetian territory with the most physically conspicuous history of Roman colonisation, became the subject of humanist chorographies that developed new views onto the emerging imperial configurations in sixteenth-century Europe. It was by writing regional geographies of the Istrian peninsula that Venetian humanists could formulate much wider views onto the relationship between imperialism and humanism as it was unfolding across Europe. As I suggest in the Conclusion, it is this relationship between humanism, space, and empire that reveals how ideas of empire were formed by Renaissance Venetians. The Venetian governors I study here wrote empire in and from the margins: in the margins of their manuscripts, on the fringe of Venetian intellectual culture, from the backwaters of the *stato da mar*. But it is precisely their marginal perspectives which allow a unique understanding of the ways in which knowledge was implicated in colonial power in the early modern Mediterranean.

Part I: Compiling the Venetian Mediterranean

Chapter I: Shipbuilding manuals and navigational compilations in Venetian humanism

I. *Introduction*

In this chapter, I begin to examine the ways in which representations of the Venetian *stato da mar* shaped the intellectual culture of political society at home in Venice. I analyse a corpus of composite manuscripts produced in Venice during the fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries, which contain texts, diagrams, and maps which represent Venetian navigation and maritime technology; manuscripts which, by the end of the Quattrocento, were often incorporated into elite collections. Historiographically, the central difficulty of these manuscripts has been attempting to reconcile their didactic and practical language, on the one hand, with their elite provenance and their impracticability as guides to building or sailing a ship, on the other, as I shall explore in detail below. On a spectrum of Venetian Renaissance textuality, these manuscripts exist between those documents used directly to govern, and the purely literary. In their didactic style and technical subjects, these manuscripts seem to indicate that they were used, at least at one time, in maritime governance or mercantile practice; but the impossibility of using the texts practicably and their often elite provenance histories would simultaneously suggest that these texts were read as fictions.

I argue that these texts can thus be understood as representations of Venetian maritime trade and governance that were collected and read within metropolitan intellectual culture. In their texts and maps, these manuscripts represent the spaces and practices of Venetian trade and governance in the *stato da mar*: from the rules kept on Venetian naval galleys, to the quantity of pepper brought into Venice in a given year, to instructions for sailing around the eastern

Mediterranean coast. In this chapter, I focus particularly on the texts about ships and shipbuilding which circulated within these compilations, in order to examine the Renaissance readings of these codices by their elite Venetian collectors. Shipbuilding texts did not simply convey instructions for physically constructing a ship, but offered a language of design, ingenuity, and technology to their humanist readers. Focusing on the role of the concept of ingenuity in the shipbuilding texts and in contemporary humanist letters about ship design, I argue that these technical texts were used by humanists such as Pietro Bembo and Gianbattista Ramusio in wider social and political debates in Renaissance Venice, and especially to articulate the relationship between intellectual culture and political responsibility within the Venetian state. By using humanists' letters about shipbuilding to illuminate the shipbuilding texts themselves, I suggest that these texts reveal - perhaps more clearly than any other text in these compilations - how humanism was perceived as a practical tool of government in Renaissance Venice. It is the nature of this relationship between intellectual and political cultures that is central to the dissertation as a whole.¹⁰⁵

I argue that by attending to these formal relationships between text and codex, and particularly to the interpretive role of compositeness, we might discuss their meaning beyond a simple rejection of practical readings focused on utility. The relationship between formal, codicological elements of manuscripts and their interpretive meaning has recently been at the forefront of literary scholarship on medieval manuscript reception, part of a larger turn towards

¹⁰⁵ The following discussion of the ways in which technical literature associated with an artisanal class could be subsumed into elite culture developed from reading two of Bourdieu's classic studies of the relationship between cultural production and class structures: P. Bourdieu, *Distinction: A Social Critique of the Judgement of Taste*, trans. R. Nice (London, 2010); and idem, *The Field of Cultural Production*, trans. R. Johnson (New York, 1993). Also see T.J. Jackson Lears, "The Concept of Cultural Hegemony: Problems and Possibilities," *The American Historical Review* 90/3 (1985): 567-593.

materiality in medieval studies.¹⁰⁶ This work has often focused on more traditionally ‘meaningful’ texts, including fragments of Chaucer or devotional literature such as hagiography.¹⁰⁷ Technical and didactic texts might seem to present a critical problem in this regard, as the structural or formal meaning of part-to-whole, text-to-codex, has typically been analysed in relation to the interpretation of narrative. Although perhaps not constructed along narrative lines in the same way as one of Chaucer’s tales, I argue here for a meaningful relationship between composite structure, and didactic and technical writing and imagery, for Venetian Quattrocento readers of these navigational manuscripts.

In the first two sections of this chapter, I review historiographical attempts to define and create taxonomies for these navigational manuscripts and printed books, and outline the corpus of manuscripts under consideration. I examine the kinds of texts which were most often included in these codices, and look at some of the more unusual examples of geographical, medical, and ‘book of secrets’ texts which were included in a few of them.¹⁰⁸ In the following two sections, I analyse the formal features of the texts, focusing on their provenance and codicology, in order to

¹⁰⁶ Most useful for my discussion of composite literature as both a material condition and an interpretive one has been A. Bahr, *Fragments and Assemblages: Forming Compilations of Medieval London* (Chicago, 2013). There has been an increased interest recently in the materiality of medieval manuscripts and the ways in which this materiality shaped their reading. See J. Borland, “Unruly Reading: The Consuming Role of Touch in the Experience of a Medieval Manuscript,” in *Scraped, Stroked, and Bound: Materially-Engaged Readings of Medieval Manuscripts* (Turnhout, 2013): 97-114; N.V. Durling, “Birthmarks and bookmarks: the example of the thirteenth-century French anthology,” *Exemplaria* 16 (2004): 73-94; and M. Rust, *Imaginary Worlds in Medieval Books: Exploring the Manuscript Matrix* (New York, 2007). I return to discuss Rust’s interventions in particular in the second half of this chapter.

¹⁰⁷ On Chaucer, see A. Bahr, *Fragments and Assemblages*. On devotional literature, S. Kay, “Original Skin: Flaying, Reading, and Thinking in the Legend of Saint Bartholomew and Other Works,” *Journal of Medieval and Early Modern Studies* 36/1 (2006): 35-73; and K.M. Rudy, “Kissing Images, Unfurling Rolls, Measuring Wounds, Sewing Bandages and Carrying Talismans: Considering Some Harley Manuscripts through the Physical Rituals they Reveal,” *Electronic British Library Journal* 12 (2011), online: <http://www.bl.uk/ebj/2011/articles/article5.html> (last accessed 24/2/2014).

¹⁰⁸ On the book of secrets, see W. Eamon, *Science and the Secrets of Nature: Books of Secrets in Medieval and Early Modern Culture* (Princeton, 1994). P.O. Long in *Openness, Secrecy, Authorship: Technical Arts and the Culture of Knowledge from Antiquity to the Renaissance* (Baltimore, 2001) deals with similar texts, although not the pseudo-Aristotelian *Secretum secretorum*.

draw some preliminary conclusions about the production and collecting of these books. In the second half of the chapter, I undertake a case study of one particular kind of text included in these manuscripts - those that dealt with constructing and fitting out ships - to examine the ways in which compositeness and didacticism were invested with meaning by Renaissance Venetian readers. Integrating the analysis of the material and formal features of the codex with a close reading of the composition of its shipbuilding texts and contemporary humanist letters about the shipbuilding in Venice, I outline the possible readings that were offered by these manuscripts.

II. *Navigational books*

a. *Written culture and terminology*

This is, that is to say, the entry to the port of Venice, that is, the signals for the channel and to always know how to be within the channel. And first is San Giorgio at the lighthouse, until San Nicolò della Cavanna lines up on the two huts on the verge of being out of soundings. And when San Nicolò della Cavanna between the two huts is at the large shoal and San Nicolò is at the west hut, you will be within the channel, and in this you go west and northwest.

Questo sie quello zoe lintrata del porto da Veniexia zoe segnalli per la fossia et per ssaver sempre quanto serar sora la fossia. Et primo sia zorzi ala ture dalfano tanto che san nichollo dela chavanja sera ai do chaxoni a loro de fuera del thotho et quando san nichollo dela chavana fa a mezo de ido chaxuny serai al gran secho et quando san nichollo sera al chaxon da ponente serai dentro della foxia et in quella vane arbitamentte intro ponente maistro.¹⁰⁹

This late-fifteenth century Venetian *portolano* text professes to teach technical knowledge: how to sail into the port of Venice. Yet Quattrocento readers who might have wished to put these ‘segnalli’ into practice could not have followed it as a navigational guideline. As the historian of

¹⁰⁹ Anonymous scribe, Padua, Biblioteca Civica CM 17, fol. 78r. Manuscript consulted. Translation adapted from *The Book of Michael of Rhodes: A Fifteenth-Century Maritime Manuscript*, eds. P.O. Long, D. McGee, A.M. Stahl (Cambridge, MA, 2009), vol. II: Transcription and Translation, by A.M. Stahl and F. Rossi, pp. 346 and 347.

cartography Piero Falchetta has found after consulting with experts on lagoon navigation, the written style of the lagoon *portolani* is so oblique, and their sense of spatial relationships and progression so unclear, ‘that they appear useless.’¹¹⁰

Falchetta identifies in his remark one of the most interesting and problematic features of the Renaissance *portolani*: the tension between the ways in which they were read, and their style. On the one hand, their didactic language - the use of the second-person future or imperative verb tense, and their descriptions of the lagoon’s built environment - suggest that these texts were resources for professional navigators. And yet these features of instructional language and physicality dissolve under further inspection. The landmarks do not make geographical sense. The repetitive style of the first lines of the *portolano* text in the Padua codex excerpted above indicate the loss even of semantic meaning as the text circulated later in the fifteenth century.¹¹¹ The navigational ‘manual’ appeared to be, rather than actually was, navigable. Moreover, the codicological contexts of the *portolano* (found not only in these two manuscripts, but in several others)¹¹² point to elite, rather than professional, ownership, as I shall explore in detail below. These ‘internal contradictions’, as one Italian literary scholar has termed these tensions between

¹¹⁰ P. Falchetta, “The Portolan of Michael of Rhodes,” in *The Book of Michael of Rhodes*, p. 199, especially footnote 14: ‘I turned to two of the greatest experts on traditional lagoon navigation, Massimo Gin and Gilberto Penzo. They did not consider Michael’s instructions to be ‘navigable’ because they were hardly intelligible, even bearing in mind that the lagoon morphology has undergone significant changes since the fifteenth century.’

¹¹¹ The first sentence from the Padua *portolano* does not appear in the earlier version of the text in Michael of Rhodes’ manuscript.

¹¹² In Michael of Rhodes’ two manuscripts: one in a private collection and Venice, Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana, Ms. It. IV 170 (=5379). I relied on the facsimile, edition, and translation of the Michael of Rhodes manuscript held privately, and consulted the copy in the Marciana. The text also appears in Padua, Biblioteca Civica, CM 17 (as above, note 5); and in the *Cornaro Atlas*, London, British Library, Egerton MS 73 (consulted).

style and content, language and form, have been the focus of much debate amongst historians of mercantile culture and literature since the 1960s.¹¹³

All produced in Venice, the technical manuscripts containing these heterogeneous texts, diagrams, calendars, and images are similar in several respects. Perhaps their most obvious feature is that they are all written in Venetian vernacular. Secondly, each manuscript is composite. As I discussed briefly in the Introduction, ‘composite’ for the purposes of this dissertation refers to any collection of heterogeneous texts within one codicological structure. Each of the navigational manuscripts, though containing texts on broadly similar subjects or versions of the same text, are composed of many different discrete textual elements: texts on shipbuilding compiled with recipes for mixing paint, lists of port tariffs next to charms to dispel sea squalls. Thirdly, each of the texts copied and assembled into these codices is didactic, professing to provide access to practical knowledge. Like the *portolano* text I highlighted above, in many of the technical texts included in these manuscripts there is often a tension between the stylistic appearance of didacticism, on the one hand, and their incapacity for practical use and the elite codicological contexts in which they are found, on the other.

This tension has never been comprehensively resolved by scholars of this corpus of nautical compilations.¹¹⁴ Historians of Venice and Venetian trade have viewed these manuscripts

¹¹³ M. Cortelazzo, “La cultura mercantile e marinaresca,” in *Storia della cultura veneta*, Vol I: Dalle origini al Trecento, ed. Gianfranco Folena (Vicenza, 1976), pp. 676-7.

¹¹⁴ In the most recent group of studies to emerge on one such manuscript, that produced by the navigator Michael of Rhodes in 1434, the contributing authors agreed that the assembled technical texts could not have been used straightforwardly for any of their professed practical applications, although several authors were hesitant to place these books outside a mercantile and didactic practical context. One emerging idea, which appears in Piero Falchetta’s conclusion to his essay and in a separate article by Alan Stahl, is that the Michael of Rhodes manuscript was valuable ‘as testimony - as well as means - of knowledge’, rather than as straightforwardly practical. See P. Falchetta, “The Portolan of Michael of Rhodes,” in *The Book of Michael of Rhodes*, p. 210; and A.M. Stahl, “Michael of Rhodes and the Birth of the Mariner’s Manual,” *Journal of Early Modern History* 14 (2010), p. 161.

as having emerged from, and having been read within, mercantile culture, and accordingly have used the terms *zibaldone*, *taccuino*, or *tariffa* to describe these books. These terms each emphasise the books' heterogeneous composition and their professional aesthetic as notebooks related to mercantile or navigational practice. Frederic Lane, writing an introductory essay for an edition of the early-fourteenth century *Zibaldone da Canal*, established that the book was produced by merchants and used within a professional context, but part of a larger cultural shift from 'mercanti viaggiatori' to 'mercanti residenziali'.¹¹⁵ Manlio Cortelazzo connected the miscellaneity of the manuscripts to the impossibility of distinguishing between mercantile and maritime practices within Venetian 'cultura tecnica'.¹¹⁶ Ugo Tucci, writing in 1968, broadly agreed, writing that the manuscripts - which he termed *tariffe* - circulated publicly and were available as didactic material for a large community of Venetian merchants, distinguishing them from the Florentine *libro* which were private productions used within one family or firm.¹¹⁷ James Dotson, in revisiting the *Zibaldone da Canal* in a translation of 1994, agreed with Tucci's conclusions, writing that the book was 'assembled by a young man who was just leaning the merchant's trade'.¹¹⁸

Armando Petrucci, approaching these manuscripts as a palaeographer and historian of the book, has outlined a taxonomy and set of definitions for the codices and related texts. He has proposed the term 'register-book', a private production 'tied more to local and individual experiences than to actual artisinal traditions'. These register-books are characterised by the use

¹¹⁵ F.C. Lane, "Manuali di mercatura e prontuari di informazioni pratiche," in *Zibaldone da Canal: Manoscritto Mercantile del Sec. XIV* (Venice, 1967), p. lviii.

¹¹⁶ M. Cortelazzo, "La cultura mercantile e marinaresca," p. 673.

¹¹⁷ U. Tucci, "Tariffe veneziane e libri toscani di mercatura," *Studi Veneziani* 10 (1968), p. 90.

¹¹⁸ J. Dotson, *Merchant Culture in Fourteenth Century Venice: the Zibaldone da Canal* (Binghamton, 1994), p. 11.

of cursive writing (either chancery minuscule or *mercantesca*, a mercantile minuscule); usually are written on paper; are of moderate size and often ‘careless manufacture’; usually do not contain readers’ notes; and contain heterogeneous texts within one codicological structure.

Within this larger definition, Petrucci defines two sub-types: the deluxe register-book, a scribal production for private patrons which often contains literary texts (such as Dante and Boccaccio), but which is written in a cursive bookhand; and the *zibaldoni*, or ‘hodgepodge’ books, which Petrucci claims are a ‘manifestation of an essentially nonbook mentality, appropriate for those whose graphic culture consisted especially of writing for business and private documentation.’¹¹⁹ Although Petrucci proposes a more detailed and text-conscious taxonomy, like Cortelazzo, Tucci, and other historians of Venice, he proposes that the *zibaldoni* emerged from a mercantile or business-centred written culture.¹²⁰

Building upon Arthur Bahr’s study of fourteenth-century English ‘miscellany’ manuscripts, I would suggest defining these Venetian codices as composite: they do not reflect a particular organisation of material or professional context, but a specific kind of arrangement of discrete works into a single codicological structure.¹²¹ The terms *zibaldone*, *taccuino*, and *tariffa* each reflect a particular social context and set of readings for these manuscripts, linked to mercantile practice and professional teaching, a context which I challenge in the following section. Indeed, Petrucci’s set of characteristics of register-books does not wholly describe the formal characteristics of the Venetian composite manuscripts, ticking some boxes but not others:

¹¹⁹ A. Petrucci, *Writers and Readers in Medieval Italy*, trans. C. Radding (New Haven and London, 1995), pp. 183-189.

¹²⁰ Other important studies include: A. Petrucci, “Alle origini del libro moderno: libri da banco, libri da bisaccia, libretti da mano,” in *Libri, scrittura e pubblico nel Rinascimento* (Bari, 1979), pp. 142-147; and U. Tucci, “Introduzione,” in *Il libro dell’arte di mercatura* (Venice, 1990): 3-128.

¹²¹ A. Bahr, *Fragments and Assemblages*, p. 11.

they are usually cursive, but range vastly in size and contain one or more scribally-produced quires; some were made of paper, others parchment; in some cases they contain marginalia and readers' notes; and very often the texts were carefully ordered and arranged. They do not easily fit either within his definition of the deluxe register-book, nor the 'hodge-podge' *zibaldone*.

Finally, like Bahr, I would argue that compositeness is as much a physical characteristic of the codex, as it is 'a way of apprehending and interpreting', a 'perspectival' or hermeneutic approach to the book by the Renaissance reader.¹²² Defining these manuscripts as composite, then, opens up possibilities of production, reception, and interpretation beyond mercantile culture and the associations with a 'nonbook mentality' which are often implied.¹²³ As I shall argue in the second half of the chapter on shipbuilding texts, these books were read as complex commentaries on the relationship between practice and narrative, experience and literature, that point toward particular political readings by Venetian humanists.

b. *The corpus and genre*

¹²²A. Bahr, *Fragments and Assemblages*, pp. 11-14.

¹²³A. Petrucci, *Writers and Readers in Medieval Italy*, p. 188.

I consider eighteen manuscripts and printed books in total in this chapter.¹²⁴ Although the texts in these books are all broadly didactic and related to the world of Venetian navigation, shipcraft, and mercantile activity, the codices also divide along several structural lines. Nine of these manuscripts are truly composite constructions, filled with a range of heterogeneous texts.¹²⁵ Five manuscripts are more homogeneous, although they are related genetically to the composite codices. Of these, four contain only texts on shipbuilding. One is similarly filled with mostly mathematical material. The shipbuilding texts proved especially popular and so were copied and circulated independently from the shipbuilding texts in the more heterogeneous manuscripts; I examine these shipbuilding texts in more detail in the second part of this chapter.¹²⁶ Two early

¹²⁴ The *Zibaldone da Canal* (Yale University, Beinecke MS 327) (consulted edition and translation, and partial digitisation of manuscript available online); Bergamo, Biblioteca Civica Angelo Mai, MA 334 (consulted manuscript); *The Book of Michael of Rhodes*, private collection (see note 7, above); the *Raxon de' marineri* (Venice, Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana, Ms It IV 170 (=5379)) (see note 7, above); the *Book of Giorgio da Modon* (London, British Library, Cotton Ms. Titus A. XXVI) (consulted manuscript and partial edition); the *Algune raxion per marineri* (Padua, Biblioteca Civica, CM 17) (consulted manuscript and edition); the *Cornaro Atlas* (London, British Library, Egerton MS 73) (consulted manuscript); Venice, Biblioteca Museo Correr, Port. 12 (unable to view; see note 78 below); the *Ragioni antique spettanti all'arte del mare et fabriche de vasselli* (Greenwich, National Maritime Museum, NVT 19) (consulted edition and translation); the *Libro di marineria* (Florence, Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale, MS. Magliabechiano cl. XIX, cod. 7) (consulted partial edition); the *Arte de far vasselli* (Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Collezione Marco Foscarini cod. CCCXVIII, n. 6391) (did not consult); the *Trattato de re naval cavato dall'esemplar di G.B.R.* (Milan, Biblioteca Ambrosiana, MS G. 149 inf.) (consulted manuscript); the *Misure di vaselli* (Venice, Archivio di Stato, Archivio Proprio Pinelli, busta 2) (consulted manuscript); Venice, Biblioteca Museo Correr, Cicogna 845 (consulted manuscript); Benedetto Cotrugli, *De navigatione* (New Haven, Yale University, Beinecke MS 557 (consulted digitised manuscript and critical edition); and Philadelphia, University of Pennsylvania Library, Schoenberg Collection MS 473) (consulted digitised manuscript); Anonymous, *Lo libro chiamato Portolano*, Bernardo Rizo de Novaria (Venice, 1490) (consulted edition); and Pietro Coppo, *Portolano*, Augustino di Bindoni (Venice, 1528) (consulted early printed edition). See Appendix I for full bibliographic information, including modern editions where available and digitised resources.

¹²⁵ The *Zibaldone da Canal* (Yale University, Beinecke MS 327); Bergamo, Biblioteca Civica Angelo Mai, MA 334; *The Book of Michael of Rhodes*, private collection and the *Raxon de' marineri* (Venice, Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana, Ms It IV 170 (=5379)); the *Book of Giorgio da Modon* (London, British Library, Cotton Ms. Titus A. XXVI); the *Algune raxion per marineri* (Padua, Biblioteca Civica, CM 17); the *Cornaro Atlas* (London, British Library, Egerton MS 73); Venice, Biblioteca Museo Correr, Port. 12; and the *Ragioni antique spettanti all'arte del mare et fabriche de vasselli* (Greenwich, National Maritime Museum, NVT 19).

¹²⁶ The shipbuilding manuscripts are: the *Libro di marineria* (Florence, Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale, MS. Magliabechiano cl. XIX, cod. 7); the *Arte de far vasselli* (Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Collezione Marco Foscarini cod. CCCXVIII, n. 6391); the *Trattato de re naval cavato dall'esemplar di G.B.R.* (Milan, Biblioteca Ambrosiana, MS G. 149 inf.); and the *Misure di vaselli* (Venice, Archivio di Stato, Archivio Proprio Pinelli, busta 2). I discuss the shipbuilding texts at length in the second half of this chapter. The mathematical manuscript is: Venice, Biblioteca Museo Correr, Cicogna 845. On mathematical manuscripts of this period: W. Van Egmond, *Practical Mathematics in the Italian Renaissance: A Catalog of Italian Abacus Manuscripts and Printed Books to 1600* (Florence, 1980).

printed books contain only *portolani*.¹²⁷ Two manuscripts are copies of Benedetto Cotrugli's *De navigatione* (1464-65), an encyclopaedic text on ocean geography, shipbuilding, meteorology, and related subjects which does not share textual material with the eight composite manuscripts, but as I will explore, broadly borrows its structure and approach from composite collections.¹²⁸

Borrowing terminology from Alan M. Stahl and Franco Rossi in their edition of Michael of Rhodes' manuscript, these genres of content within these manuscripts are: arithmetic and algebra, including mercantile numeracy exercises and problems; astrology, astronomy, and chronological computations; 'orders and commandments' of rules on deck; instructions for navigation, including portolans; instructions for sailmaking; shipbuilding texts; prayers, invocations, and magical formulas.¹²⁹ To these I add texts on medicine and texts on spices. There is also a capacious 'Other' category which includes texts witnessed only in individual manuscripts, such as Michael of Rhodes' fictional coat-of-arms, Giorgio da Modon's musical notation, excerpts from troubadour poetry in the Zibaldone da Canal, the compilation of portolan charts in the *Cornaro Atlas*, or the 'Libro di Aristotele' (or *Secretum secretorum*) in the Bergamo manuscript. These generic categories are of course problematic, as any attempt to create interpretive categories inevitably does injustice to the complexity of these texts and the ways in which they were compiled; particularly by obscuring the heterogeneity of the individual texts within these generic categories, as I detail below. Franco Rossi has similarly analysed the 'intrinsic and extrinsic elements' of the navigational composite books, and established six

¹²⁷ Anonymous, *Lo libro chiamato Portolano*, Bernardo Rizo de Novaria (Venice, 1490); and Pietro Coppo, *Portolano*, Augustino di Bindoni (Venice, 1528)

¹²⁸ New Haven, Yale University, Beinecke MS 557; Philadelphia, University of Pennsylvania Library, Schoenberg Collection MS 473.

¹²⁹ These categories are used in the 'Principal Sections of the Manuscript' index, *The Book of Michael of Rhodes*, vol. II, pp. li-lii.

‘generational lines’ which map the textual relationship between the books.¹³⁰ This is helpful in visualising that several of the manuscripts share several texts. It is clear from Rossi’s diagramming that some copyists isolated these texts from their composite prototype to become homogeneous productions (particularly the shipbuilding texts); and yet other codices, like the Bergamo manuscript, do not contain any replicated material from other manuscripts and are unique witnesses. Even if the exact texts are not shared between, say, the *Cornaro Atlas* and the Bergamo manuscript in the same way in which the *Cornaro Atlas* shares texts with Michael of Rhodes’ book, the generic categories outlined above generally are shared between the books; so a codex that may appear to be an outlier from the perspective of Michael of Rhodes’ codex is actually very much part of the same literary culture as the rest of the codices.¹³¹ Indeed, comparing the charts which outline the percentages of generic material in each codex in Appendix II, the only common characteristics are the diversity of genres compiled into each book, and that one genre is usually prevalent (although which genre is individual to each codex, perhaps reflecting the interests of the owner).¹³²

Nevertheless, it is helpful to outline the relationships between the manuscripts briefly. The earliest surviving composite navigational manuscript from Venice is the so-called *Zibaldone da Canal*, compiled in the late fourteenth century.¹³³ Like many of the manuscripts under consideration here, several of the texts in this manuscript are explicitly dated much earlier than

¹³⁰ Ibid, pp. xv.

¹³¹ F. Rossi treats the shared texts in his “Introduction to the Manuscript,” *The Book of Michael of Rhodes*, vol. II, pp. xviii-xxi.

¹³² I have excluded the second holograph Michael of Rhodes manuscript, which is very similar to the original; and one manuscript (Venice, Biblioteca Correr, Port. 12) was on loan to an exhibition when I was conducting research in Venice.

¹³³ New Haven, Yale University, Beinecke MS 327.

the manuscript's compilation: one, related to weights and measures, is dated to 1311.¹³⁴ James Dotson has argued that the careful arrangement of material in the *Zibaldone* indicates that it was probably copied not from disparate documents related to navigation and mercantile practice, but from a manuscript very similar to the *Zibaldone* itself, in which these texts had already been compiled and organised.¹³⁵ Second-oldest is the manuscript now in Bergamo, probably compiled around 1400.¹³⁶ Another early manuscript which I consider here, copied in 1434, contains mathematical and medical texts which seem not to be directly related to the rest of the corpus.¹³⁷ As a greater number of manuscripts survive from the second half of the Quattrocento, and those that do survive from these earlier decades are not directly related, it is difficult to speculate on the kinds of production contexts from which these earlier manuscripts emerged or on the nature of their audience.

Michael of Rhodes - a navigator with the Venetian navy - began compiling his own composite book in 1434: one copy which may have served as a presentation copy to the Collegio responsible for appointing him to naval office; and a second copy probably written on commission for a fellow navigator.¹³⁸ Several manuscripts share texts with the Michael of Rhodes manuscripts. Two manuscripts, the first produced by Giorgio da Modon between 1444 and 1449, and the second a compilation of professionally-produced quires now in the National Maritime Museum, seem to contain shipbuilding texts perhaps copied from similar exemplars as

¹³⁴ J. Dotson, *Merchant Culture in Fourteenth Century Venice*, p. 83.

¹³⁵ Ibid, p. 10.

¹³⁶ Bergamo, Biblioteca Civica Angelo Mai, MA 334.

¹³⁷ Venice, Biblioteca Correr, MS Cicogna 845.

¹³⁸ A.M. Stahl, "Michael of Rhodes and the Birth of the Mariner's Manual," p. 161.

the ones used by Michael of Rhodes to produce his manuscripts.¹³⁹ Another, the manuscript now in Padua written around 1475, also shares several texts with the Michael of Rhodes book; and so does the luxury *Cornaro Atlas*, compiled in 1489.¹⁴⁰ Three manuscripts on shipbuilding were also derived, although perhaps through other now-lost manuscript witnesses, from the shipbuilding texts in Michael of Rhodes' book.¹⁴¹ A luxury navigational composite book now in the Biblioteca Correr, which contains calendrical information for the years 1490-1527, shares several texts with the *Cornaro Atlas*.¹⁴² The *portolano* in the Correr manuscript is shared with the first printed *portolano* compiled by 'uno zentilomo veniciano' and published by Bernardino Rizzo da Novaria in Venice in 1490. Bearing no direct textual relationship to this tradition are the two manuscripts containing Benedetto Cotrugli's *De navigatione*, probably written towards the end of the fifteenth century.¹⁴³ The chronologically latest text I consider is a *Portolano* written by the Venetian patrician and colonial administrator Pietro Coppo, published in Venice in 1528. While Coppo does not seem to borrow directly from earlier manuscript witnesses, he adapts the format of technical *portolano* writing incorporated in the manuscripts to create his own humanistic version of Venetian vernacular concepts of navigational space and geographies.¹⁴⁴

¹³⁹ M. Bondioli, "Early Shipbuilding Records and the Book of Michael of Rhodes," in *The Book of Michael of Rhodes*, p. 276.

¹⁴⁰ Padua, Biblioteca Civica, CM 17; and London, British Library, Egerton MS 73.

¹⁴¹ Florence, Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale, Ms. Magliabechiano, cl. XIX, cod. 7; Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Collezione Marco Foscari, cod. CCCXVIII, n. 6391; and Milan, Biblioteca Ambrosiana, Ms. H. 149 inf.

¹⁴² Venice, Biblioteca Correr, Port. 12.

¹⁴³ New Haven, Yale University, Beinecke MS 557; Philadelphia, University of Pennsylvania Library, Schoenberg Collection MS 473.

¹⁴⁴ Pietro Coppo is the subject of Chapter IV.

The generic categories within these manuscripts include a number of diverse texts, which are often individual to each manuscript. For example, if we examine the genre of prayers, invocations, and magical formulas, Michael of Rhodes' book contains a prayer to St. Sebastian, several prayers to ward off fever, one to not confess under torture, one for fear of snakes, one for a woman who cannot go into labor, one for a fisherman to be able to catch fish, one for a toothache, one to staunch the flow of blood, one for protection from drowning and being injured in battle, and finally a magical recipe to make a drunk man sober.¹⁴⁵ The Bergamo manuscript contains a verse prayer to the Virgin Mary.¹⁴⁶ The *Cornaro Atlas* contains two different charms to dispel a sea squall, which consist of carving a cross on the side of the ship and repeating gibberish spells.¹⁴⁷ The National Maritime Museum manuscript contains two charms to dispel fever, and one to expel evil spirits.¹⁴⁸ The *Zibaldone da Canal* contains a section on the magical uses of coral, and of rosemary; charms to stanch the flow of blood, and a way to remove evil from one's body; a prayer to Mary Magdalene; a prayer to prevent worms; and a charm to say to a stubborn horse to make him stand to be shod.¹⁴⁹ Within this loose generic category, compilers of these navigational manuscripts included invocations to the Virgin and to horses, for professional hazards and medical ones, earthly and supernatural afflictions. The terminology of genre only permits one particular and rather superficial view into the truly heterogeneous nature of the texts.

¹⁴⁵ *The Book of Michael of Rhodes*, vol. II, pp. 514-521.

¹⁴⁶ Bergamo, Biblioteca Civica Angelo Mai, MA 334, fol. 62v.

¹⁴⁷ London, British Library, Egerton MS 73, fol. 43r.

¹⁴⁸ London, National Maritime Museum, NVT 19, fols. 63v and 67v.

¹⁴⁹ J. Dotson, *Merchant Culture in Fourteenth Century Venice*, pp. 149-151 (on rosemary and stanching blood); pp. 175-6 (prayers and charms).

Other generic categories are similarly capacious. ‘Instructions for navigation’ includes *portolani*, or directions for sailing along coastlines, which have a wide geographical range around the Mediterranean basin and on the Venetian trading routes to Flanders and England; the ‘*raxion de marteloio*,’ or the navigational computation used to reckon how to traverse from one course to another; and tidal information for specific ports, especially for the Venetian lagoon.¹⁵⁰ The category of astrological and chronological computations contains texts such as lists of unlucky days to begin journeys or for bloodletting, astrological properties of months, texts on the influence of particular stars over human life, and non-textual material like *computus manualis*, or diagrams of how to calculate the day of Easter using a mnemonic technique based on one’s hand and fingers.¹⁵¹ Categories of arithmetical and mercantile problems are particularly diverse. The individual problems, which are arranged as ‘word problems’ with specific situational details, contain a wide range of hypotheticals: in the Michael of Rhodes manuscript alone, these range from the division of investments of sacks of pepper between two men who form a merchant company, to how to calculate freight charges for a ship going to Syria, to calculating odds in a game of dice, to the intricacies of fractional division involved in a man’s calculations in a will left with his pregnant wife.¹⁵² In the *Cornaro Atlas*, similar texts include comparisons of tariffs

¹⁵⁰ *Portolano* for the Mediterranean and partial Atlantic coast: London, British Library, Egerton MS 73, fols. 67r-78v; for England, Ireland, and Flanders, Greenwich, National Maritime Museum, NVT 19, fol. 10r-11r. The *raxion de marteloio*: Padua, Biblioteca Civica, CM 17, 46r-47r. Directions to sail into Venice: Padua, Biblioteca Civica, CM 17, fols. 78r-80r (see above, p. 49).

¹⁵¹ ‘Giorni uziagi,’ or unlucky days: for bloodletting, Bergamo, Biblioteca Civica Angelo Mai, MA 334, fol. 1v; and for beginning journeys, Padua, Biblioteca Civica, CM 17, fol. 12v-13v. (See also G. Ortalli, “Les ‘giorni uziagi’: Hommes de mer vénitiens et jours néfastes,” in D. Coulon, C. Otten-Froux, P. Pagès, and D. Valérian, eds. *Chemins d’outre-mer. Études d’histoire sur la Méditerranée médiévale offertes à Michel Balard* (Paris: 2004): 633-638.) Astrological properties of months: Bergamo, Biblioteca Civica Angelo Mai, MA 334, fol. 15r. Influence of stars: Greenwich, National Maritime Museum, NVT 19, fols. 94, 23v-24r. *Computus manualis* diagrams: Padua, Biblioteca Civica, CM 17, fols. 34r, 37r-v, 39r-v, 116r.

¹⁵² *The Book of Michael of Rhodes*, vol. II: on companies, pp. 90 and 91; on freight, pp. 100-103; and on the will, pp. 116 and 117.

and weights and measures between ports, as well as the so-called ‘*raxom delle ttore*,’ or the rule of the towers, in which one is taught how to triangulate distance and height.¹⁵³ The *Zibaldone da Canal* contains a great variety of mathematical mercantile texts, not only in relation to hypothetical investment problems, but including freight requirements for cloth from a number of Italian and northern European ports, and the value of mint, oil, wax, flax, pepper, wool, and cheese in different port cities all around the Mediterranean.¹⁵⁴ The only genre which is stable throughout its various manuscript witnesses is that of the ‘orders and commandments’ texts, which explain the rules on deck; although they are expanded and abridged in particular witnesses, the content is much more homogeneous than in the other generic categories outlined here. I return to consider these texts in detail later in this chapter.¹⁵⁵

The heterogeneity of most categories, however, is paralleled by the great diversity of texts encompassed in the ‘Other’ category. These ‘Other’ texts seem sometimes to be particular additions of the owner reflecting a personal interest: as when the fifteenth-century owner of the *Zibaldone da Canal* added troubadour poetry and a fragment of a Tristan romance; or when Giorgio da Modon, a trumpeter with the Venetian navy, built his composite book around a professionally-produced, commissioned booklet of sheet music.¹⁵⁶ Other texts are less explicable: the appearance of thirty-six portolan charts in the *Cornaro Atlas*, for example, is an entirely unique instance of an enormous collection of maps being combined with composite

¹⁵³ London, British Library, Egerton MS 73: fols. 55v-56r for the ‘towers’ text; tariffs, fols. 59r-60r.

¹⁵⁴ J. Dotson, *Merchant Culture in Fourteenth Century Venice*, pp. 83-89.

¹⁵⁵ These texts are found in the Michael of Rhodes manuscript (*The Book of Michael of Rhodes*, vol. II: pp. 324-347); in the *Cornaro Atlas*, London, British Library, Egerton MS 73, fols. 48r-50v; and in Padua, Biblioteca Civica, CM 17, fols. 76r-78r.

¹⁵⁶ J. Dotson, *Merchant Culture in Fourteenth Century Venice*, pp. 125-127 (Tristan) and pp. 165-169 (verse); and London, British Library, Cotton MS Titus A 26, fols. 2r-8r.

navigational texts.¹⁵⁷ Although similar in content to other texts collected in the composite manuscripts, the ‘Libro di Aristotele,’ more commonly known in the late Middle Ages as the *Secretum Secretorum*, in the Bergamo manuscript is not attested in any other navigational composite book.¹⁵⁸ Apocryphally attributed to Aristotle, the *Secretum Secretorum* is itself a composite text, styled as a letter of advice to Alexander the Great. It includes advice on astrology, diet, baths, the organisation of an army, even a lapidary and an herbal.¹⁵⁹ Equally unusual in the Bergamo manuscript is an extensive list of patrician family’s properties in the city of Venice, or a *caxade* document, divided by *sestiere* and dated by the scribe to the twelfth century.¹⁶⁰ The diversity and unique attestations of these texts serve to underscore the heterogeneous nature of the manuscripts, even within more easily definable generic categories. Finally, they demonstrate the extent to which the texts themselves - and not only the codex - were composite constructions, undermining the idea of a constituent ‘text’ as itself a homogeneous structural or even hermeneutic feature. In the following two sections of the chapter, I examine some of the formal features of these manuscripts to identify who read these highly heterogenous collections, and how they were compiled.

c. *Provenance*

The evidence of the scribal production and provenance history of these codices indicates the kinds of collectors who might have been interested in owning these composite books. Three of

¹⁵⁷ London, British Library, Egerton MS 73, fols. 2r-39v.

¹⁵⁸ Bergamo, Biblioteca Civica Angelo Mai, MA 334, fols. 16r-26v.

¹⁵⁹ See S.J. Williams, *The Secret of Secrets: The Scholarly Career of a pseudo-Aristotelian Text in the Latin Middle Ages* (Ann Arbor, 2003).

¹⁶⁰ Bergamo, Biblioteca Civica Angelo Mai, MA 334, fols. 57r-61v.

the earliest compilations can be firmly attributed to specific compilers: two written by Michael of Rhodes, and one by Giorgio da Modon.¹⁶¹ Michael of Rhodes was a rower, sailor, and navigator with the Venetian merchant galleys. Not only did he sign his manuscripts in colophons, but his first manuscript written in 1434-5 even includes his imaginary coat-of-arms. Both manuscripts are formally organised and neatly laid-out, with detailed and often complex illustrations. Even the second manuscript Michael produced in 1445, probably for another navigator named Pietro de Versi, which is lacking some of the more ornate coloured illuminations, still contains delicately drawn *computus manualis*. Michael's original holograph manuscript was also owned by a sailor, Giovanni da Dirvasto, who sailed with Marino Dandolo and who pasted his will into the codex in 1473 whilst he was staying 'al Chiarcho', a small island near Rhodes. But these books were not straightforwardly used to access professional knowledge. Not only are the texts in the manuscripts of little practical use, as Piero Falchetta has found of the dangerously inaccurate *portolano* discussed at the beginning of this chapter,¹⁶² but these books were decorated, organised, and finely written - not 'scratch books' for unmediated professional notetaking.

Alan Stahl has researched Michael of Rhodes' career, evidence of which can be found in the books kept by the scribes of the Collegio, the administrative body in charge of appointing

¹⁶¹ Michael of Rhodes' two manuscripts: one in a private collection and Venice, Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana, Ms. It. IV 170 (=5379); and Giorgio's, London, British Library, Cotton MS Titus A XXVI. I examine both Michael and Giorgio's productions in greater detail in a later section of this chapter.

¹⁶² P. Falchetta, 'The Portolan of Michael of Rhodes,' in *The Book of Michael of Rhodes*, p. 199.

chief navigators for Venetian galleys, and now kept in the Archivio di Stato.¹⁶³ Stahl has shown that the first and only time that Michael was appointed as *armirao* of a convoy of merchant ships - the most competitive navigational position available to non-nobles - was in 1436, a year after he completed his manuscript. Stahl has also convincingly shown that Michael would have faced a major barrier to his appointment in his non-citizen status, as he was likely born in Rhodes. Pietro Loredan, the only member of the patrician Collegio in 1436 to have served with Michael on a previous trading journey, could have, Stahl suggests, shown Michael's book to the other members of the council, as 'a physical manifestation of skills and experience'.¹⁶⁴ The appearance, rather than content, of technical knowledge, comprised of texts, calendars, and *computus* drawings, may have convinced the Collegio to appoint Michael, in a demonstration of the power of *mise-en-page* and formal manuscript features even within the relatively socially stratified process of staffing galleys. Stahl has also found Pietro di Versi in the Collegio books, as a candidate for *armirao* and *homo di conseio* between 1453 and 1474.¹⁶⁵

Michael's book was of interest not only to Pietro di Versi and potentially to the Collegio, but also to Giovanni Battista Ramusio, the Venetian humanist collector, editor, and translator of geographical and travel writing who published the first ever collection of these travel documents in Venice in 1550.¹⁶⁶ As I explore in detail in the following section, Ramusio copied the

¹⁶³ See A.M. Stahl, 'Michael of Rhodes: Mariner in Service to Venice,' in *The Book of Michael of Rhodes*, pp. 67-80; and idem, "Michael of Rhodes and the Birth of the Mariner's Manual," *Journal of Early Modern History* 14 (2010), pp. 155-6. For the staffing of officers on galleys more generally, see F.C. Lane, *Venice: A Maritime Republic* (Baltimore, 1973), pp. 340-344; A. Sacerdoti, "Note sulle galere da mercato veneziane nel XV secolo," *Bollettino dell'Istituto di Storia della Società e dello Stato*, IV (1962): 80-105; and J.-C. Hocquet, "La gente di mare," in *Storia di Venezia* XII: Il mare, ed. A. Tenenti and U. Tucci (Rome, 1991): 481-526.

¹⁶⁴ A.M. Stahl, "Michael of Rhodes: Mariner in Service to Venice," in *The Book of Michael of Rhodes*, p. 87.

¹⁶⁵ A.M. Stahl, "Michael of Rhodes: Mariner in Service to Venice," in *The Book of Michael of Rhodes*, p. 97.

¹⁶⁶ On Ramusio's collecting of geographical texts, see L. Horodowich, "Armchair Travelers and the Venetian Discovery of the New World," *The Sixteenth Century Journal* 36/4 (2005): 1039-1062.

shipbuilding texts and drawings from Michael's manuscript (or from a now-lost copy of Michael's manuscript) into his own codex, now in the Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale in Florence. A nearly identical copy of this manuscript exists in the Österreichische Nationalbibliothek and is also dated to the mid-sixteenth century. A third copy, dateable to between 1570 and 1580, exists in the Biblioteca Ambrosiana in Milan, and is self-consciously titled 'Trattato de re navali cavato dall'esemplar di G.B.R.,' that is, Ramusio.¹⁶⁷ While the fifteenth-century manuscripts by Michael of Rhodes were owned by navigators, possibly for reasons of professional advancement and so constructed for the elite audience of the Collegio, the three sixteenth-century copies became associated with the humanist milieu of Ramusio. The three redactions of the Michael of Rhodes' shipbuilding texts affiliated with Ramusio indicate that by the sixteenth century, these texts were valued by elite collectors.

Two codices, the surviving copies of Benedetto Cotrugli's *De navigatione*, contain evidence of a similar kind of elite ownership during the second half of the fifteenth century.¹⁶⁸ However, unlike the compilations of technical and didactic texts in the *Cornaro Atlas* and other composite codices, Cotrugli collected classical and historical geographical, nautical, and meteorological texts into an encyclopaedia characterised by a much greater sense of internal cohesion. Each written in one hand throughout, on paper, in a humanist cursive, these books were internally consistent compendiums of historical navigational knowledge, rather than a collection of disparate texts copied into a single structure. These books are also unusual in that

¹⁶⁷ Florence, Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale, Ms. Magliabechiano, cl. XIX, cod. 7; Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Collezione Marco Foscari, cod. CCCXVIII, n. 6391; and Milan, Biblioteca Ambrosiana, Ms. H. 149 inf.

¹⁶⁸ New Haven, Yale University, Beinecke MS 557; Philadelphia, University of Pennsylvania Library, Schoenberg Collection MS 473.

they contain a Latin incipit which dedicates the book to the Doge and the Senate of Venice in 1464.¹⁶⁹ Neither the copy of Cotrugli's text now in the Schoenberg Collection in Pennsylvania, nor that in the Beinecke Library at Yale, are likely to have been the presentation copy for the Doge: Chet van Duzer has recently speculated that four *mappaemundi* in other manuscripts were derived from Cotrugli's, and the Schoenberg and the Yale codices only contain blank spaces where the *mappaemundi* were intended to be filled in.¹⁷⁰ Both codices likely date from the end of the fifteenth century. The Schoenberg codex in particular is a luxury production, with illuminated borders and diagrams and gold leaf used throughout. The Yale codex is not as finely executed, but was owned in the early sixteenth century by the Venetian patrician Alvise Pisano, who wrote 'Illustrissimo signore Alvisio Pisano gentilomo Venetiano' nine times on the front flyleaf of the manuscript (fig. 2). Finally, Cotrugli himself came from a successful merchant family in Ragusa and worked on Venetian ships under Piero Zen and Maffio Contarini.¹⁷¹ He produced what was very likely a finely crafted illuminated navigational codex, complete with coloured maps, which synthesised Venetian technical writing with humanistic geographical scholarship; and he dedicated that book to the doge himself. Cotrugli's intended audience for *De navigatione* and the provenance history of the surviving copies demonstrates a recognition of the value to elite collectors of navigational knowledge and writing relating to the world of Venetian mercantile world. If van Duzer's identifications of *mappaemundi* based on Cotrugli's original presentation

¹⁶⁹ The text opens, 'Benedictus de Cotrullis Equitis Ad Inclitum Senatam Venetorum De Navigatione Liber Incipit. Prohemium primum. Foeliciter. Immortalis est hominum cura, Serenissime Princeps, et vos clarissimi patritii Cives Veneti...' From P. Falchetta, "Il Trattato *De Navigatione* di Benedetto Cotrugli (1464-1465). Edizione Commentata del Ms. Schoenberg 473 con il testo di MS. 557 di Yale," *Studi Veneziani*, LVII, 2009, p. 29.

¹⁷⁰ Chet Van Duzer, "Benedetto Cotrugli's Lost Mappamundi Found - Three times" *Imago Mundi* 65/1 (2013), pp. 1-3.

¹⁷¹ On Cotrugli's biography, see P. Falchetta, "Benedetto Cotrugli et son traité *De navigatione* (1464-1465)," *Historical Review/La Revue Historique* vol. IX (2012), pp. 55-6.

copy maps are correct, then the appearance of his maps in an encyclopaedic Latin history, in Cristoforo Buondelmonti's *Liber insularum Archipelagi*, and to illustrate a geographical text by Poggio Bracciolini, indicate the kinds of humanistic, elite readers who may have seen or collected *De navigatione*.¹⁷²

In two instances, the collecting history of the manuscript can be extrapolated by comparing their contemporary late-Quattrocento bindings with surviving provenance information: the *Cornaro Atlas* in the British Library, and a composite book containing mathematical and medicinal texts in the Biblioteca Correr.¹⁷³ They are covered in stamped leather-covered wood boards, with brass clasps. The intricately-designed leather covers are characteristic of 'humanistic' binding according to Anthony Hobson.¹⁷⁴ Certainly the *Cornaro Atlas* would fit within this kind of deluxe collecting context: it is a large-format book on large sheets of white parchment, written by a single scribe in a neat cursive bookhand. As suggested by its name, the *Cornaro Atlas* was in the collection of the Cornaro family, a patrician family in Venice, from at least the eighteenth century, when their family bookplate was pasted in; but it is

¹⁷² Ibid, p. 7. I examine the Venetian reception of Buondelmonti's *Liber insularum* in greater detail in Chapter II.

¹⁷³ London, British Library, Egerton MS 73; and Venice, Biblioteca Correr, Cicogna 845,

¹⁷⁴ A. Hobson, *Humanists and Bookbinders: The Origins and Diffusion of Humanistic Bookbinding 1459-1559* (Cambridge, 1989), p. 59.

not inconceivable that a member of the Cornaro family commissioned the Atlas in 1489.¹⁷⁵ An earlier Cornaro commissioned an atlas now in Lyon, which bears a set of Cornaro arms contemporary to the production of the book.¹⁷⁶ The Cornaro family also owned an atlas made by Pietro Coppo, and now in Bologna (dated 1520).¹⁷⁷ Circumstantially, it is tempting to see the *Cornaro Atlas* as a commemorative commission within a family context: 1489 was a very important year for the Cornaro, and indeed for Venice, as Giorgio Cornaro's sister, Caterina, was persuaded to abdicate her throne as queen of Cyprus, and Venice annexed the island.¹⁷⁸

The Cicogna codex, on the other hand, is much smaller and written on paper; although like the *Cornaro Atlas*, it was composed by a single scribe in a bookhand *mercantesca*. This codex was owned by the Venetian patrician Alvise Contarini, who recorded that he purchased the

¹⁷⁵ One of the maps in the *Cornaro Atlas* (fols. 24a-b) has a long title inscription, reading 'Beneditus Pesina fecit Ano Domini MCCCCLXXXVIII Veneciis.' Although it is possible that the scribe simply copied that inscription from a prototype map, the cartographic historian Armando Cortesão has nevertheless pointed to the possibility of Pesina as the scribe of the Atlas. (See his *History of Portuguese Cartography* (Lisbon, 1969), Vol. I: p. 200). As the date of this inscription matches the first year of the table of moveable feasts pasted onto the inside cover of the codex, it seems likely confirmation both that the book was produced in 1489 and that Pesina was its scribe. Finally, unlike the other author-titles which were decorated with a small, black leaf on either side of the name, here, there is a larger, more detailed leaf sketched only in outline underneath the inscription. This leaf looks very much like the foliage in the corner decorations throughout the Atlas, in its elegant outline and delicate shading. In size, level of detail, and visual kinship to the corner decoration, the leaf drawing may well have been a graphic statement of authorship, visually binding each map with its own flowers and vines to the autograph chart. This, combined with the longer text and the matching dates, suggest that this inscription should be considered the colophon of the manuscript.

¹⁷⁶ Lyon, Bibliothèque de la Ville, MS 179. Second half of the fourteenth century. I have consulted the partially digitised manuscript: http://www.bm-lyon.fr/expo/14/tresors/ici_ailleurs.php.

¹⁷⁷ Bologna, Biblioteca Comunale dell'Archiginnasio Ms. A. 117. I have consulted the digitised manuscript: <http://badigit.comune.bologna.it/books/coppo/scorri.asp> (last accessed 10/03/2014). I return to this Atlas in Chapter IV.

¹⁷⁸ B. Arbel, 'The Reign of Caterina Corner (1473-1489) as a Family Affair' in *Cyprus, the Franks and Venice*, Ashgate Variorum (Aldershot, 2000), p. 71. The atlas depicts Cyprus in charts of the eastern Mediterranean, including one chart in which the image of the island is doubled: represented once in the Mediterranean, and again on a larger scale on the same folio (fol. 21a-b). The manuscript was in the Cornaro family collection in Venice as of the late eighteenth century, and in the collection of the Biblioteca Marciana by 1818, when Cardinal Zurla studied it there and published a description of its contents. Between 1818 and 1832, it was acquired by M. Vendramin, a Venetian dealer who sold the book in England. It was then acquired by Reverend C. Yonge, from whose library the British Museum purchased the manuscript in 1832 with funds from the Egerton bequest. See: Cardinal P. Zurla, *Di Marco Polo e degli altri viaggiatori Veneziani più illustri Dissertazioni*, II (Venice, 1818), pp. 353-358; and F. Madden, *Catalogue of the Manuscript Maps, Charts, and Plans, and of the Topographical Drawings in the British Museum* (London, 1844), pp. 17-21.

book on 6 October, 1488 from the bookseller Antonio Moretto, who is attested to have been active in Padua in 1481-82 and in Venice from 1494-1500. The original owner, or the owner from whom Moretto acquired the codex, is unknown; the scribe's colophon, 'Deo gratias in la Forte 1387 15 decembre / questo e una copia de un altro libro scritto ad 30 zugno 1434' records that the book was produced fifty years before Contarini acquired it. If Emmanuele Cicogna was correct in identifying 'la Forte' as a Venetian prison attested in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, then perhaps the prototype's production in 1387 was somewhat less prestigious than the patrician collection it ended up in by the close of the century.¹⁷⁹ Even if its production context is unclear, it seems that both the small, paper Cicogna codex and the large parchment *Cornaro Atlas* were both owned by patrician collectors at the end of the fifteenth century: the first collected by Contarini, the second commissioned, possibly by a Cornaro.

The production and collecting histories of four remaining manuscripts - the early *Zibaldone da Canal* and the Bergamo manuscript, and the later Padua and National Maritime Museum codices - cannot be as precisely defined.¹⁸⁰ Each of these manuscripts, however, were composed partially (in the case of the *Zibaldone da Canal*, Bergamo, and National Maritime Museum copies) or entirely of scribal quires (Padua): the books were not only private 'scratch-books' for sailors or merchants, but had at least some structural components that were professionally commissioned and executed. The Bergamo manuscript and the *Zibaldone da Canal*, the two earliest surviving manuscripts, were written by scribes in a neat cursive Gothic chancery bookhand, and contain more cursive, informal later additions by fifteenth-century

¹⁷⁹ B. Vanin, *I Manoscritti Medievali in Lingua Volgare de Biblioteca del Museo Correr di Venezia*, unpublished doctoral dissertation (Università Ca' Foscari, Venice: 2008), pp. 78-79.

¹⁸⁰ New Haven, Yale University, Beinecke MS 327; Bergamo, Biblioteca Civica Angelo Mai, MA 334; Greenwich, National Maritime Museum, NVT 19; and Padua, Biblioteca Civica, CM 17.

owners. In the case of the *Zibaldone da Canal*, one of these later owners was the Venetian patrician Nicolò di Bartolomeo da Canal, ‘honorabilis civis Veneciarum’, who inscribed the book in 1422. Nicolò seems to have been relatively young when he purchased the book, as his later career, which includes an appointment as governor of the Dalmatian island of Pago in 1445, stretched until a final appointment in 1466.¹⁸¹ The National Maritime Museum manuscript is a similar kind of production, containing several quires that were professionally produced by different scribes in cursive bookhands, the first dated to 1471. However the book also contains more informal hands of later owners, who added not only inscriptions but several lengthy texts. One of these hands recorded the deaths of relatives, dated to between 1499 and 1509, which reveals that the codex was owned at least at this stage by a member of the De Milliis or De Millio family. Several members of the family recorded in the manuscript were associated with Venetian navigation: one, the recorder’s brother Domenico, died on ship in a naval battle. However, this book is amongst the largest-format of any of the manuscripts under consideration here. Although perhaps owned and compiled over a period of decades by a single family through a combination of commissioned scribal quires punctuated with personal additions, the book was certainly in Petrucci’s category of the ‘desk-book’, rather than the more portable and informal ‘register-book’ of smaller format.¹⁸² Finally, the Padua manuscript of the last quarter of the fifteenth century contains only one very neat cursive scribal bookhand; we might infer that it was a commissioned, rather than personal, compilation, but no contemporary provenance information for this manuscript exists.

¹⁸¹ B. Kohl, A. Mozzato, and M. O’Connell, “The Rulers of Venice, 1332-1524,” *Renaissance Society of America, rulersofvenice.org* (2012): entry numbers 15851 (office on Pago) and 28879 (final position). Last accessed 10/03/2014.

¹⁸² A. Petrucci, *Writers and Readers in Medieval Italy*, pp. 189-90.

Equally inconclusive is the exact provenance history of the luxury navigational composite manuscript now in the Biblioteca Correr, and its relationship with the earliest printed *portolano* (Venice, 1490).¹⁸³ The manuscript is a deluxe production, rubricated and gilt throughout, in a fine cursive bookhand. As mentioned briefly above, the manuscript is usually dated to 1489-90, on the basis of its calendrical information which includes the years 1490-1527, and that the shared printed *portolano* was published in 1490. Apocryphally attributed to the Venetian explorer Alvise da Mosto, it is more likely that this manuscript - which shares several texts with the *Cornaro Atlas* - was a luxury commission for an elite collector, produced potentially in the same year as the *Atlas*. The explicit of the printed *portolano* reads, 'Finito lo libro chiamato portolano composto per uno zentilomo veniciano',¹⁸⁴ indicating perhaps that either the compiler who worked with Bernardino Rizo in publishing the book, or the collector affiliated with the manuscript exemplar, was a Venetian patrician; or at least that such an attribution was considered to be both believable and valuable to potential collectors of the printed book. Finally, a second printed *portolano* was published in Venice 1528, written by Pietro Coppo, a Venetian patrician and administrator in Istria. The book contains the colophon, 'Composto per Piero Coppo a Intelligentia & utilita da caduan navigante & de qualcuno persona che de saper desidera'.¹⁸⁵ Perhaps what is most striking about both the anonymous printed *portolano* and Coppo's is their size; Coppo's in particular is tiny, measuring only 73 x 103 millimetres. The minuscule size of the book renders his woodcut maps nearly illegible (fig. 3),

¹⁸³ Venice, Biblioteca Correr, Port. 12. I was unable to view this manuscript in Venice; selected folios are reproduced in the exhibition catalogue, C. Tonini and P. Falchetta, eds., *Navigare e descrivere: isolari e portolani del Museo Correr di Venezia* (Venice, 2001), pp. 64-5; and in S. Biadene, ed., *Carte da navigar: portolani e carte nautiche del Museo Correr, 1318-1732* (Venice, 1990), pp. 118-19.

¹⁸⁴ Anonymous, *Portolano per tutti i naviganti* (Venice: Bernardinus Rizus, 1490), 163v.

¹⁸⁵ Pietro Coppo, *Portolano* (Venice: Augustino di Bindoni, 1528), 4v.

which poses a question of utility much like that raised by the ‘inaccuracy’ of the navigational texts in the fifteenth-century manuscripts.¹⁸⁶ Although ostensibly aimed at navigators, the authors of these texts - members of the Venetian patriciate - were not themselves involved in a technical capacity in navigation. The luxury production of the Correr manuscript, and miniature format of Coppo’s book, indicate that they were probably intended for an elite audience, too: those who ‘de saper desidera’.

d. *Codicology*

In this review of the available provenance information for these codices, I have suggested that they often were collected by elite readers, especially towards the end of the fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries. Even the books made by the navigator Michael of Rhodes were perhaps intended to be displayed to an elite audience on the Collegio; and his texts ended up in the collection of the humanist scholar and translator Ramusio in the early sixteenth century. Despite Coppo’s claim that his *portolano* could be used by navigators, the more likely reality was that these books, both manuscript and printed, were not straightforwardly produced and read by sailors, but rather by those who would probably never sail a ship nor cut a sail. That the books were owned by these kinds of readers is evident not only in their external features like bindings, illuminations, and ownership inscriptions, but indeed in the kinds of readings suggested by the internal construction of the codices themselves. As James Dotson has concluded for the *Zibaldone da Canal*, and Ornella Pittarello for the Padua manuscript, these books were likely

¹⁸⁶ See D.C. McMurtrie, *Miniature Incunabula: Some Preliminary Notes on Small Books Printed During the Fifteenth Century* (Chicago: privately printed, 1929) for the early history of miniature book printing, with reference to Venice, p. 9 and p. 11.

compiled from other similarly-organised manuscript exemplars: not from archival or disparate, unbound documents of mercantile or navigational information.¹⁸⁷ This careful assembling of texts by the manuscripts' scribes indicates that perhaps these books were produced for readers interested in learning about particular themes - mathematical, say, rather than navigational or medicinal. An example of this is found in one of the most transparent passages regarding the construction on one of these manuscripts, in the *Cornaro Atlas*. The scribe writes of his working process,

Horo ho ditto suxo questo libro prima la condicion delli XII segni et la propiettà de li 7 pianeti et tutte raxom di luna et di aqua et di ponti de stella et di vuoiagi et raxom de marteloio et hordeni de chapettani et de zenerali chome de nave armade et de gallie da viazo et hoio trascritto tutto el portolam sì da levante chomo da ponente mo' meffa mestier escriver qui da basso molte raxom de marchadanttia le qual xe molto necesarie in questo libro et hoiole scritt raxom de taiar velle sì lattine chome quare et de trovar tuoi sartia de una nave et prima comenzaremo dela raxom delle ttore la qual sie molto necesaria per piui chaxi puol hochorer.

Now I have said above in this book first the condition of the 12 signs and the property of the 7 planets and all the rules of the moon and water and points of stars and of voyages and the rules of the marteloio and orders of the captains and generals for both the armed ships and the traveling [merchant] ships and I have transcribed all the portolan both from the Levant and the west; now it becomes my job to write here below many rules of merchandise which are very necessary in this book, and I have written the rules of sail making both lateen and square and to find your rigging for a ship, and first we will begin with the rule of the towers which is very necessary for many circumstances that can arise.¹⁸⁸

The scribe tells the reader that he has already 'said' (ditto) the astrological texts, the rules of the *marteloio*, and the 'orders' texts: these make up the first three quires of the text portion of the manuscript (fols. 39r-45v; 46r-51v; and 52r-54v). He also says he has 'transcribed' (transcritto)

¹⁸⁷ O. Pittarello, *Algune Raxion per Marinieri* (Padua, 2006), p. 31; and J. Dotson, *Merchant Culture in Fourteenth Century Venice*, p. 10.

¹⁸⁸ This passage has been translated by P. Falchetta, 'The Portolan of Michael of Rhodes,' in *The Book of Michael of Rhodes*, vol. III, p. 203.

the *portolano*, which makes up the last two quires of the textblock (fol. 67r-72v, and 73r-78v).

He then summarises what he is about to write: the texts related to merchandise and those about making sails, or the fifth quire (fols. 55r-66v), and the ‘rule of towers,’ a mathematical text common to abacus manuscripts that comprises the fourth quire (fols. 55r-57v).

The scribe indicates that he divided the texts thematically, and an investigation of the binding reveals that this thematic grouping was conceived structurally in the quire construction. This description of his working order, the parallel quire construction, and the use of a catchword between the two gatherings of the portolan chart text, indicate that the organisation of the texts as they now stand reflect their fifteenth-century order, thus allowing a glimpse into the scribe’s editorial process.¹⁸⁹ This structural division suggests that the scribe culled each of these ‘blocks’ of thematically linked texts from distinct sources: rather than amalgamating individual texts from many sources into a thematically unified quire, he copied whole groups of texts from a handful of books, each of which were to some extent already focused on a particular subject.

That these texts and the quire construction can largely be divided into astrological and historical subjects, mercantile subjects, and the *portolano* might suggest that these texts were organised into some kind of thematic grouping before the scribe copied them. The thematic organisation of these texts by quire indicates a process of construction that was considerably

¹⁸⁹ The *Atlas* was subject to a major intervention before 1818 (the manuscript today is in the same state as it was when Zurla examined it - see note 73 above), which seems to have primarily affected the *Atlas*’ maps. The folios were removed from their original binding, potentially to allow the maps to be displayed outside of the codex. The maps very likely would have originally been on guards to allow the entire image to be easily visible. However, when the maps were being prepared to be rebound into the codex, rather than attaching them to guards, they were cut in half and then glued together along the edge in the gutter of the codex. What was once a single map is now held glued together in two halves, with the seam lined by a strip of white backing fabric for support. It was rebound with a reversed leather spine that is typical of nineteenth-century intervention. This intervention is confirmed by the first recorded conservation of the object by the British Museum in 1925, during which the maps were split, re-sewn, cleaned, and flattened. The texts in the back of the codex have not been subject to such extensive intervention, and their original quire construction has been maintained. Private correspondence: Tony Campbell (14 and 21 June, 2012); Charmaine Fagan (14 and 28 June, 2012); and Phillipa Marks (3 May and 21 June, 2012). See M.A.C. d’Avezac, *Note sur un atlas hydrographique manuscrit* (Paris, 1850), pp. 15-16.

more choreographed than perhaps these books' definition as *zibaldoni* or scratch-books would seem to recognize. Even if the luxury *Cornaro Atlas* is unique in some respects, the codex now held in Padua was similarly constructed: copied by a single scribal hand, and organised by thematic units of information. Although the scribe did not self-consciously describe his method as the *Cornaro Atlas* scribe did, the thematic ordering of information - in which calendars and astrological material are grouped in the first several quires, navigational texts (including the *marteloio* and sail-cutting texts) in the middle, followed by *portolani* in the last quires - indicates that this method of compiling was not unique to the *Cornaro Atlas* scribe. An author-owner did not copy down many different texts that appealed to him personally, but a professional scribe transcribed whole clusters of texts from books which were perhaps already oriented towards a particular aspect of navigational culture.

The books certainly have the appearance of miscellaneity due to the heterogeneity of their texts; but the congruity between the process of transcribing, the thematic organisation of the texts, and the codicological structure of the *Cornaro Atlas* points instead to a highly organised scribal plan for copying and assembling the codex. Along with the scribe's description of his working process, this structure allows the reader to find a particular subject easily - astrological texts at the front, mercantile texts in the middle, and the *portolano* at the back, in the case of the *Cornaro Atlas* - so that the material codicological structure serves a similar function to an index or a table of contents. Perhaps appearing as more miscellaneous than they actually were, these navigational books operated on a structural level as encyclopedic collections of heterogeneous texts. They were compiled in a similar fashion to the more typically 'literary' collections of vernacular Italian texts: comparable in their miscellaneity to Petrucci's 'hodge-podge' *zibaldoni*,

but in their scribal production and organization to his ‘deluxe register-books,’ copied by chancery hands, filled with texts by Dante and Petrarch.¹⁹⁰

e. *Summary*

In asking who might have owned these Venetian composite navigational books, I have turned to some of the formal features of analysis often employed by historians of the book: including bindings, format, scribal hands, provenance inscriptions, and codicological structure. These components have generally been consistent with our understanding of how books were incorporated into elite collections, by those interested in ‘literary’, as opposed to straightforwardly didactic or practical, kinds of readings. The books were, either wholly or in part, written by professional scribes. They were often produced in formats consistent with use in the study: either too large to be portable, or too small to convey enough information to be useful to navigators. They were sometimes bound in the fine stamped leather bindings that have been associated with humanist collectors. Provenance inscriptions often point to specific elite collectors: including Nicolò da Canal, Alvise Contarini, Ramusio, and Alvise Pisano. We might add a member of the Cornaro family, and the Doge Cristoforo Moro and the patrician Senate, for whom Cotrugli’s book was intended. Pietro Loredan and the other patrician members of the Collegio to whom Michael of Rhodes may have exhibited his manuscript might form another elite reception context for these books. At least, Michael of Rhodes and Benedetto Cotrugli seem to have had a common purpose of professional advancement in the producing of their manuscripts.

¹⁹⁰ A. Petrucci, *Writers and Readers in Medieval Italy*, p.183.

By the end of the fifteenth century, several of the composite manuscripts seem to have been assembled into elite collections. Their provenance history and formal features would suggest that even when a specific collecting history is obscure, their categorization as *zibaldoni* - part of a 'nonbook' mercantile culture - does not adequately describe the codices' scribal production and readings. As the scribe's description of his compilation method of the *Cornaro Atlas* reveals - particularly when assessed with that of the Padua codex - these manuscripts were produced by scribes working from thematic book collections, and organized in similar ways to literary texts, rather than as mercantile scratch- or account books. In the following section, I explore this particular question further. How was the compositeness of these manuscripts, and their didactic style, used to literary effect? What kinds of readings did the relationship between the formal structure of the texts and codex and their content produce for their Quattrocento readers? In examining the texts about ships and shipbuilding included in several of the composite technical manuscripts, and contemporary letters about shipbuilding by Venetian patricians prominent in political society, I examine how these documents representing Venetian mercantile and naval practices were incorporated into wider contemporary debates within Venetian humanism.

III. *Ships and shipbuilding in Venetian humanism: a case study*

I suggested in the previous sections that these manuscripts have posed interpretive problems for historians because they have not been approached as literary texts. Once we shift to understanding these compilations as literary constructions, and focus on questions of textuality rather than of professional context, it is possible to offer some possibilities as to how these

codices were read during the Renaissance. The readings and interpretations of these manuscripts by their Renaissance Venetian collectors were produced in the relationship between part and whole, in their composite construction. Many of the individual texts within the manuscripts are themselves composite, as I indicated in the previous section, including lists of tariffs and exchanges, and compilations of mathematical problems; even the collection of portolan charts in the *Cornaro Atlas* are structured around the assemblage and even repetition of component elements. Here, I examine one kind of text which appears in several of the composite manuscripts: those on ships and shipbuilding.¹⁹¹

This kind of text appears in several manuscripts from the Quattro- and Cinquecento. I examine the earliest Venetian text of its kind in the Michael of Rhodes manuscript; and the closely related shipbuilding texts in Giorgio da Modon's manuscript and in the large-format composite manuscript in the National Maritime Museum. I then investigate the Venetian humanist Gianbattista Ramusio's copy of the shipbuilding text, which is nearly identical to Michael of Rhodes' text, as well as the tradition of shipbuilding texts which then became closely associated with Ramusio himself. I examine Benedetto Cotrugli's shipbuilding text, which perhaps provides some of the earliest evidence for a humanistic interest in recovering ancient methods of shipcraft. Then, I analyse a set of texts which relate the historical 'orders and commandments' for the Venetian navy, included in the *Cornaro Atlas*.

Finally, I examine a fascinating but now little-known spectacle that took place in the Venetian lagoon in 1529: the launch and race of the humanist shipbuilder Vettor Fausto's new quinquereme against the traditional Venetian trireme. Fausto was the talk of Venetian humanist

¹⁹¹ An introduction to the shipbuilding texts: J. McManamon, "The 'Archaeology' of Fifteenth-Century Manuscripts on Shipbuilding," *INA Quarterly* 28/4 (2001): 17-25.

society, praised in a flurry of letters by Pietro Bembo, Andrea Navagero, and Ramusio, supported by the Doge Andra Gritti, but apparently treated with skepticism by the more conservative members of the Venetian Senate and *proti* of the Arsenal. By situating Fausto's remarkable quinquereme within a history of Venetian shipbuilding manuscripts and interpretation of this craft by elite collectors, I aim to explore how shipbuilding and ship design offered a language to debate particular features of the relationship between intellectual activity and politics for Venetian humanists. I argue that Ramusio, Fausto, and Bembo used the concept of ingenuity in ship design, evident also in the ways in which manuscript texts and images about shipbuilding were read, in order to articulate ideas about the relationship between intellectual and political society in Venice in the mid-Cinquecento.

As Mauro Bondioli has found, there is a close relationship between the three earliest examples of Venetian shipbuilding texts: those of Michael of Rhodes, Giorgio da Modon, and the anonymous scribe of the composite manuscript in the National Maritime Museum. Although it seems that one did not directly copy another, it is likely that each compiler copied from very similar prototype texts.¹⁹² Historians and nautical archaeologists have been interested in where these prototype texts might have originally been produced, what they reveal about Arsenal ship production processes and ship design, and about the typology of Venetian nautical archaeology in

¹⁹² M. Bondioli, "Early Shipbuilding Records and the Book of Michael of Rhodes," in *The Book of Michael of Rhodes*, p. 276.

this period.¹⁹³ However, in the most recent scholarship on these manuscripts, Bondioli and David McGee have agreed that no matter what precise function the prototypical texts served, the texts that have survived in Michael of Rhodes manuscript and others from fifteenth-century Venice cannot be read as instructions to actually physically construct a ship.¹⁹⁴ First, neither Michael nor Giorgio were shipmakers: Michael was a navigator, Giorgio a trumpeter with the navy. The texts do not include all the dimensions needed to make a galley; the drawings are not scaled; there are several key transcription mistakes. McGee thus concludes that Michael of Rhodes intended his shipbuilding text as a pedagogical aid for teaching captains and merchants - likely patricians - how to rig a ship: the text was intended to teach patrician *patroni* how a ship was made, rather than how to make a ship.¹⁹⁵ Bondioli attempts to situate Michael's text within the institutional history of the Arsenal, and the increasing pressure to move from a memory-based, craft system of construction, to written methods; the text then was not a guide to construction, but a record of the dimensions of ships which were already built. However, he concedes by the end of the essay that there are several problems with this analysis, and that perhaps it was Michael of Rhodes and Giorgio da Modon who 'launch[ed] a literary and cultural course of which Michael and Giorgio

¹⁹³ A partial bibliography: S. Bellabarba, "The square Rigged Ship of the 'Fabrica di Galere' Manuscript," *Mariner's Mirror* (1988) 74.2: 113-130; M. Bondioli's essays "The Art of Designing and Building Venetian Galleys from the 15th to the 16th century," (pp. 222-227) and "The Arsenal of Venice and the Art of Building Ships," (pp. 10-13) in *Boats, Ships, and Shipyards* (Venice, 2000); U. Alertz, "The Naval Architecture and Oar Systems of Medieval and Later Galleys," in *The Age of the Galley*, eds. R. Gardner and J. Morrison (London, 1995), pp. 142-62; and D. McGee, "From Craftsmanship to Draftsmanship: Naval Architecture and the Three Traditions of Early Modern Design," *Technology and Culture* 40 (1999): 210-236. For general histories of shipbuilding and the social history of the Arsenal in this period: F.C. Lane, *Venetian Ships and Shipbuilders of the Renaissance* (Baltimore and London 1992); R.C. Davis, *Shipbuilders of the Venetian Arsenal: Workers and Workplace in the Preindustrial City* (Baltimore and London, 1991); and E. Concina, *L'Arsenale della Repubblica di Venezia* (Milan, 1984). For representations of Venetian ships in this period, including those in some of the manuscripts I discuss here: L. Ray Martin, *The Art and Archaeology of Venetian Ships and Boats* (London, 2001).

¹⁹⁴ The two essays are D. McGee, "The Shipbuilding Text of Michael of Rhodes," (pp. 211-242) and M. Bondioli, "Early Shipbuilding Records and the Book of Michael of Rhodes," (pp. 243-280), in *The Book of Michael of Rhodes*, vol. III.

¹⁹⁵ D. McGee, "The Shipbuilding Text," pp. 238-40.

themselves constituted the first examples of interested readers' of technical shipbuilding texts.¹⁹⁶

Both Bondioli and McGee seem to point in their conclusions toward the use of these manuscripts either by elite readers, or (perhaps concomitantly) with more 'literary and cultural' kinds of reception.

The nature of these elite and literary kinds of readings are closely related to the organization of the entries on the construction of the ship. Each text offers an account of how to build several different kinds of ship: light galleys and the 'galley of Flanders', round merchant ships which sailed under lateen sails and square. For each kind of ship, the text begins with a brief didactic introduction. In the Michael of Rhodes 'galley of Flanders' design, this reads:

Questo sarà l'amaistramento da far una galia del sesto de Fiandria e de far tute le chose i prozede inchina sarà aparechiada d'andar a vello o a remy, zoe' da farla intera, achoredarla e armarla, chomo te sarà dechiarado qui de sotto per singollo.

These will be the instructions for making a galley of the Flanders design and for accomplishing all of the things and procedures until it is fit for going under sail or under oars, that is, to make it complete, to rig it and fit it out, as will be explained to you below item by item.¹⁹⁷

Michael begins the text didactically: writing that these entries, explained 'per singollo', will instruct the reader (here addressed in the second-person) how to make a ship suitable for sailing. McGee and Bondioli have focused on the use of 'amaistramento' and the second-person verb form to argue that the text was didactic, reflecting its oral history as a document of teaching. I wish to emphasise different features of the text: in particular the ways in which Michael describes all of the 'chose' and 'prozede' involved in making a ship on the page; and especially his organization of these *chose* 'per singollo'.

¹⁹⁶ M. Bondioli, "Early Shipbuilding Records," p. 280.

¹⁹⁷ *The Book of Michael of Rhodes*, vol. II; pp. 416-417.

After the introductory sentence to the ‘galley of Flanders’ entry, Michael gives the largest overall dimensions for the galley: those of the hull. He then lists the dimensions for its breadth and the number of frames of the main wale, all of which describe the overall size and shape of the ship. At the end of this portion of the text, he includes a sketch of the unfinished galley (captioned ‘galia non chonpida’.) He then describes the dimensions of progressively smaller components of the ship: including the keel, the ribbands, the bow, and the stern. Each of these is illustrated with pictures of the component parts: these parts of the ship are not shown within a diagram of the whole galley, but either isolated or in relationship to one another (fig. 4). For example, in the drawings of the bow and stern for the galley, he arranged them together on the same folio so that the curves and dimensions of each could be easily compared. On his drawing of the construction of the stern, he shows the ways in which the ribbands intersect with the frame of the stern. Following his textual and graphic descriptions of these elements, he writes

Questa nostra gallia del sesto de Fiandra e’ chonpida e messa in ordine. El so chorpo la vederi qui de sotto depenta. E se vosse saver che legname andara’ per questa gallia ande’ a charte 202, e per llo simille feramenta.

This our galley of the Flanders design is completed and put in order. You will see its hull depicted below. And if you wish to know what wood will go into this galley, go to folio 202, and likewise for the iron fittings.¹⁹⁸

The elements of the ship are ‘messa in ordine’ through their graphic layout on the page. Michael then describes and lists the fitting for the ship, moving to ever smaller categories of its construction: including the masting, the skiff, and its rigging, including cables, coiled rope, and anchors. Finally, he writes, ‘Now opposite here we will put our galley under sail because it is

¹⁹⁸ *The Book of Michael of Rhodes*, vol. II: pp. 432-33.

finished'.¹⁹⁹ He draws a beautifully detailed picture of the galley of Flanders under full sail, navigating through blue waves, with all of the ship's rigging in place (fig. 5). After this image, Michael describes the ballast, capstans, and chests which would have furnished the interior of the ship, essential for transporting its precious cargo of pepper, ginger, and wool.

The other ship entries in Michael of Rhodes's text, and indeed the shipbuilding texts included in the National Maritime Museum manuscript, follow the same formula: a didactic introduction and a description of the largest dimensions of the ship, before progressively moving from its large components to its smaller ones, rigging to ballast. The National Maritime Museum manuscript contains a few different types of galleys, but follows the same pattern for each text; the scribe has written,

Sesto delle galie de Fiandra con tutte misure, ovre fino alla vela.
Qua chomenza el sesto de le gallie de Fiandra choredate e chorete de tute chosse che i prociede siandro armade e simelmente de Romania e de tutte altre maniere de gallie.

Design of the galley of Flanders with all its dimensions, ending with the sails.
Here begins the design of the galley of Flanders, equipped and put under sail with all the things and procedures to be rigged out, and similarly that of Romania and all the other kinds of galleys.²⁰⁰

The shipbuilding texts were constructed by formula. Each galley *sesto*, or design, had different shapes and dimensions; and these different designs created ships built for different purposes, such as naval warfare or long-distance trading. Each ship was constructed in the text by progression from its largest overall impression, to its smaller component parts. An opposite, but still similar, impression is given by Michael of Rhodes' drawing of a 'gallia desfatta', or an

¹⁹⁹ 'Mo' qui pe inchontro faremo questa nostra galli[a] a vello perche chonpitta.' *The Book of Michael of Rhodes*, vol. II: pp. 438-39.

²⁰⁰ *Ragione Antique Spettanti all'Arte del Mare et Fabriche de Vasselli*, ed. G. Bonfiglio Dosio (Venice, 1987), p. 9.

undone galley: one that was being taken apart to reuse its parts for other boats (fig. 6). Whether ‘chonpitta’ or ‘desfatta’, the galleys were an assemblage of elements: hull and keel, bow and stern, frames, masting, rigging.

Rather than instructions referring to the construction and manipulation of actual wooden frames and rope, though, Michael and the later readers of these texts were fabricating ships in text. The construction of the ship did not represent practice or craft in the external world, but rather a world of craft internal to the reading of the manuscript. In Michael’s conclusion to a text of masting, in which he writes, ‘Now we have finished building the ship and you will see it going under sail here’.²⁰¹ The making (*fare*) of the ship was completed within the text itself, in the process of reading: by reading each entry ‘per singollo’, comparing its dimensions to the drawn diagrams, and finally finishing with a drawing of a ship sailing the sea, the reader was building the ship through literature. Through describing its component parts, readers could understand the individual elements of the ship, could envisage its skeleton, and most importantly, could begin to imagine how those discrete elements fit together.

This is not only suggested by Michael’s didactic addresses to the reader, but by the material form of the codex itself. For the Renaissance reader encountering these composite technical books, their interplay between part and whole was fundamental to creating meaning. The composite book stood as a formal parallel to the composite construction of the ship, incorporating shipbuilding into what Martha Rust has called a ‘textual world’ created through ‘codicological consciousness’. According to Rust, ‘a physical book held in a reader’s gaze...function[s] to “bring forth”...a space that enables being and thinking’, a space that she

²⁰¹ ‘Mo’ avemo chonpido da fa nave, e tutto vui vediri’ anda a vello qui.’ *The Book of Michael of Rhodes*, vol. II: pp. 512-513.

terms a ‘manuscript matrix’. This term, for Rust, is not only ‘the designation for a phenomenal realm but also a heuristic model for...analyses of a range of interactive processes that characterise phenomenal space’.²⁰² Likewise, I suggest that the shipbuilding texts themselves encouraged an interactive and imaginative synthesis between the physical construction of the codex, and the imaginary space of craft it represented. If we understand compositeness to have been a hermeneutic, interpretive approach to literature, then the shipbuilding manuals do not simply fail as practical didactic literature, but become a strikingly inventive way in which an emphatically material craft could be actually practised in literature: reading becoming making. The individual entries could be visually assembled by turning the pages of the manuscript: dimensions and diagrams of component parts indicated how one element of the ship’s frame fit together with another, and these elements progressively were assembled with the progression of the manuscript folios. The composite codex, text, and ship worked together formally to produce an internal world of craftmaking for the reader.

Giorgio da Modon, a trumpeter in the Venetian navy, also compiled his own composite manuscript which included a shipbuilding text. Built around a scribally-produced quire of sheet music, Giorgio also included texts on the benefits of rosemary, astronomical problems, fragments of his own bookkeeping account, and an apocryphal letter from Prester John to the Pope. He created sixty different illustrations, depicting sixteen different kinds of boats, eleven kinds of sails, and fourteen engineering machines of his own design. Eric Rieth has called this text a ‘catalogue de formes particulières à une même famille architecturale’, a kind of graphic

²⁰² M. Rust, *Imaginary Worlds in Medieval Books*, pp. 7-8.

taxonomy of the physical components of shipbuilding.²⁰³ Unlike the Michael of Rhodes manuscript, Giorgio's codex has been rebound, so the original organization of these materials is irrecoverable. But given the distribution of diagrams of component ship parts, interspersed with remarkably detailed drawings of galleys and round ships under sail, it is likely that Giorgio also composed his manuscript as a catalogue of elements progressing to an image of the whole ship. This is also indicated in the texts, some of which are written on a single folio, and describe a progression from the dimensions of the entire ship to those of its component parts. The text also contains didactic phrases, such as 'But do as I tell you and you cannot go wrong'.²⁰⁴ However, Giorgio's text is in several respects very different from Michael's and the text in the National Maritime Museum miscellany: not only in the number of drawings and of different kinds of boats, but in the inclusion of often fantastical machines.

Giorgio's machines are evidence of a creative engagement with the didactic style and composite formal structure of the shipbuilding texts he compiled into his manuscript. Didactic texts, as Lisa Cooper has suggested, contain an implicit sense of temporality. That the text exists at all implies that the craft was practiced in the past; the text itself recalls that practice in the present; and the imperative or sometimes future verb tenses imply that it will again be practiced in the future.²⁰⁵ Every didactic text is thus imbued with its own narrative arch of action. In the Michael of Rhodes and National Maritime Museum texts, this action takes place within the text itself. Rather than referring to a future action that will take place in the shipyard, the act of

²⁰³ E. Rieth, "Les illustrations d'un 'Livre de recettes techniques' d'architecture navale au milieu du XVI^e siècle: le Libro di Zorzi Trombetta de Modon," in *Pour une histoire du 'fait maritime': sources et champ de recherches*, ed. C. Villain-Gandossi and E. Rieth (Paris, 2001), p. 104.

²⁰⁴ 'Mo fa chome tte diro e non porai falir.' R.C. Anderson, "Italian Naval Architecture about 1445," *The Mariner's Mirror* 11 (1925), p. 155.

²⁰⁵ L.H. Cooper, "The Poetics of Practicality," p. 504.

making the ship unfolds ‘per singollo’ within the text itself, putting the features of this ship ‘in ordine’ on the page. The reader can be gratified by the completion of his shipmaking with an image of a detailed ship under sail, by composing the ship textually. A speculative future was implied by the didacticism and compositeness of shipbuilding texts: the narrative of these texts indicate idea that if ‘you’ (*tu*) compose parts together in a certain way, you will be rewarded at the end with a ship.

But for Giorgio da Modon, this speculation led to a proliferation of both kinds of ships and kinds of machines in his manuscript. The narrative of composing a ship allowed Giorgio to imagine other kinds of compositions: machines to chop wood, a portable and collapsable bridge, windmills and watermills (figs. 7 and 8). As Jessica Wolfe has suggested in her fascinating study of the role of machinery in Renaissance humanist literature, these narrative, visual catalogues of ships and machines are the products of particular perceptions about the relationship between technical construction and written construction.²⁰⁶ Just like the composite book, the ship is constructed from component parts; it tells a narrative of its own construction which proceeds from part to whole; its form provides a space not only for this narrative, but for a storage system of those component parts. Assembly, careful composition, and ‘atomistic’²⁰⁷ organization: these are formal characteristics of the textuality of shipbuilding manuals that opened up the possibilities of design for Giorgio. Grounded both in the material construction of the codex and in the fictional past of the material construction of the ship in the Arsenal and *squeri* of Venice,

²⁰⁶ J. Wolfe, *Humanism, Machinery, and Renaissance Literature* (Cambridge, 2004), esp. pp. 174-180 on maps and globes.

²⁰⁷ *Ibid*, p. 173.

Giorgio used these material structures speculatively to design new machines.²⁰⁸ Especially in his use of semi-transparent wash to represent elements of the machines - which allows the reader to see the assemblage of components 'through' the external shell of the machine - these drawings seem predicated on graphic representations of assemblage derived from shipbuilding texts. Giorgio's use of the formal and stylistic elements of composite writing and drawings to create new narratives of design indicates the extent to which the materiality of the manuscript itself engendered particular ways of thinking about the relationship between literary representation and the physical world.²⁰⁹ In drawing and text, one could compose a ship as easily as one could compose a portable bridge, because both were imaginary assemblages. Giorgio's drawings demonstrate that shipbuilding texts, no matter the conditions or location of their original development, were read imaginatively as early as the 1440s: read as a way to construct objects and imagine new ones within an entirely textual world.

Renaissance ship drawings also produced their own particular explanations for the world outside of representation.²¹⁰ The later readers of Michael's shipbuilding text, for instance, which seemed to circulate independently, could have experienced crafting a ship in text through the assemblage of its component parts, spoken to in didactic language by the compiler. The

²⁰⁸ In this sense, the composite structure and didactic style of these manuscripts are what Steven Shapin has called the 'literary technology' of scientific texts: the stylistic, formal, and visual means of creating and defining knowledge. S. Shapin, 'Pump and Circumstance: Robert Boyle's Literary Technology,' *Social Studies of Science* 14/4 (1984), pp. 481-484.

²⁰⁹ See W. Lefèvre's introduction to *Picturing Machines, 1400-1700* (Cambridge, M.A. and London, 2004), p. 7: 'In these processes, drawings are not simply visualizations of ideas. Rather they function as material means that shape ideas. Their role is that of models that simultaneously provide a fictitious and a real opportunity to test possible arrangements of machine parts, try out combinations and alternative shapes, of these parts, and so on.'

²¹⁰ As David Baird has shown for scientific instruments, models do not necessarily demonstrate some 'real' action in the world: he writes, for example, that the eighteenth-century orrery was not read as having demonstrated that there were 'brass gears in the heavens,' but rather that heavenly bodies moved by mechanical actions, promoting a mechanistic explanation of astronomical phenomena. *Thing Knowledge: A Philosophy of Scientific Instruments* (Berkeley, 2004), pp. 28-29.

shipbuilding texts produced a composite way of viewing craft construction which led Giorgio to imagine different kinds of assemblages in his own text. Whereas Pamela Long has found that contemporary technical books of mechanical arts were often produced in contexts of elite, courtly patronage ‘because of a new close alliance between political and military praxis and the mechanical arts’,²¹¹ Giorgio da Modon - who produced this book for his own personal use - seems to have designed these machines in response to the more traditional shipbuilding texts he transcribed, rather than at the instigation of a patron.

A different approach was taken by Benedetto Cotrugli, the Ragusan merchant and navigator who compiled an encyclopedic collection of texts in four books: the first on ocean geography; the second on the history of shipbuilding and ship dimensions; the third on astrology and meteorology; and the fourth, *portolani* texts. As discussed in the first section, the book, titled *De navigatione*, contains a dedication to the Doge and Senate, although neither of the two copies which survive were the original presentation copy. The main body of the text is written in the vernacular, although this is framed with Latin incipits and a Latin dedication. For Cotrugli, the circulation of composite shipbuilding texts perhaps led him to produce a new way of describing shipcraft and construction: though its historical practice. Cotrugli describes ‘la disciplina navale’: from the Athenians, to the Argonauts and the *Aeneid*. In the second section of the shipbuilding book, Cotrugli describes all of the kinds of ships used by the ancient Romans, referencing particular classical authors from whom he extracted his information. In the final section of the book, he describes the ‘galee trireme et bireme secundo li moderni’. Here he discusses the kinds of ships in contemporary use, the materials one needs to construct them and sail them, kinds of

²¹¹ P. Long, “Power, Patronage, and the Authorship of Ars: From Mechanical Know-How to Mechanical Knowledge in the Last Scribal Age,” *Isis* 88/1 (1997), p. 1.

rigging, famous historical Venetian ship captains and their ships, and all of the positions one needs to fill on the galley. The historical content and format of Cotrugli's text differs entirely from the contemporary composite shipbuilding texts, and yet the section on 'modern' biremes and triremes contains what is essentially a list of spaces and parts of the ships:

Le dicte galee ando li membri loro, et prima è la poppa, poi è la cammera de poppa dove sta lo patrono o vero lo capitaneo, poi è paglolo, Sancta Maria, la Iudecha, scandalorro, camera de meço, camera del gomito, camera del soctopatrone, prora, camera de prora, li speroni, roda de poppa et de prua, cursia, taglamar, pestiçça dove stando li scalmi, tapiera socto la pestiçça, glates quello traversa arganelli, bacaglari che tene la pestiçça che tene la coperta, ragiole, filari cioè li dui bastuni sculi bachalari, tabernaculo, tendal, le tisoie sopra che sta la tenda, le pertegoçe, lo dragante dove si senta a poppe, dui timoni de cascia, dui timoni de roda, et questi sono principali, dui giganti, uno grande et uno piccolo, banchi, banchecte dove tengnono li pedi, pedagnes dove appontano li pedi, castagnole dove apontano le dicte pedagne, bataglole, giogo de poppa et de proa, maymo dove sta la bombarda de proa.²¹²

These are the parts of the aforementioned galley: the first is the stern, then the room in the stern where the owner or truly the captain stays, then the planks, *Santa Maria*, *La Iudecha*, the steward's room, the storage room, the commander of the crew's room, the first mate's room, the bow, the room in the bow, the figurehead, the ship's wheel in the stern and in the prow, the planks across the central beam of the deck, the cutwater, the keel where the oarlocks are kept, the bars above the keel, the bowsprit, the wood above the deck of the stern, the guards along the deck, the long poles that support the rails - that is to say, the two rods above the deck of the stern, the platform for the captain, the cloth that covers the stern, the pile of poles, the main frame of the stern, two rudders (the primary ones: two very large ones, one big one, and one small), benches, stretches where they put their feet, the oarlocks, the guard rails, the two masters of the stern and the prow, the caulker's rave-hook, in the prow.

Although framed by historical material and within an encyclopedic book, Cotrugli's shipbuilding text seems to be formally related to the composite shipbuilding texts of Michael of Rhodes. The ship is imagined part-by-part, in a progression from back to front, in a spatial catalogue of its component parts.

²¹² P. Falchetta, "Il Trattato *De Navigatione* di Benedetto Cotrugli," pp. 292-3.

The addition of historical framing, though, is an important shift in the readings of shipbuilding texts. Here, shipbuilding is a discipline with its own history. The book opens,

La navigatione come anchi le altre discipline ebbe simplicie principio, ma colla pradica et continuatione dello exercitio è venuta in più soctelglieça de ingengno et de pradica, et como è mutata la pradica et lo uso dello navigare...et o vero dellu modo delli navilii, cossi anche è transacta da giente in gente.²¹³

Navigation, like other disciplines, had a simple beginning. But with skill and continual practice, it became more precise, due to ingenuity and skill. And with this, the skill and custom of navigating - or truly the customs of the sailors - changed; as it was also exchanged between peoples.

Shipbuilding texts, for Cotrugli, were a way to present a description of the changes, developments, and innovations that have taken place in navigation from the Athenians to the Venetians. Like any other discipline, Cotrugli writes, navigation contains its own internal history: a history which culminates with Venetian triremes. Where the readers of Michael's text would have been able to imaginatively construct Venetian triremes through reading, the audience for Cotrugli's text would have paired this spatial imagination of ships with a temporal conception of their development over time. Although still written in the vernacular, Cotrugli's text marks a remarkable shift. Shipbuilding craft became an object of historical inquiry, which culminated in a composite catalogue of the Venetian trireme.

It was not only the interior spaces and structural elements of the ship that could be imaginatively compiled and constructed in text, but also a historicised accounting for the ship as a space of governance. In the *Cornaro Atlas*, a grouping of four texts written continuously on four folios relate the orders, rules, traditions, and prescribed courses of action for various

²¹³ Ibid, p. 289.

Venetian fleets.²¹⁴ The first text was authored by Michael of Rhodes, and is found in the original, holograph copy of his composite book. It was while Michael was engaged as *armirai* under Andrea Mocenigo during a skirmish against the Turks at Gallipoli from 1428-9 that he observed and recorded the orders and commandments given by Mocenigo to the fleet. The text next appears in the so-called *Raxon de' Marinieri*, dated to 1443-5, the later autograph copy by Michael of Rhodes of his first book. The orders also appear in the late fifteenth-century manuscript in Padua.²¹⁵ In the first text, Andrea Mocenigo and his captains - described in the text as 'victorioxissimo', 'spectabilli', or 'gieneroxisimo' - are recorded through their rules and orders given to the sailors of the Venetian armada. The second text relates the 'ordeni et chomandamenti' of the naval armada, not attributed to a particular captain-general. The third text describes 'le spexa', or the expenditures, of the captains of the galleys trading on the Flanders route. Finally, the fourth and shortest text relates the orders of the Venetians galleys 'ab anticho'. The texts relating the expenses of the Flanders galley captains and the 'ancient' orders both appear in the Padua manuscript. The *Cornaro Atlas* is the only attestation of the naval armada orders text.

The historical governance of the Venetian navy was not retold in chronicle or narrative form, but in the composite list format of its rules and commandments. Not only the external fabric of Venetian galleys, but their internal regulation, was represented through an ordered and composite list. Similarly, the list of orders for 'nostre gallie' which have 'stato senpre ab anticho' animates a Venetian sea peopled by 'nochieri, ballestrieri, challafasi, marangoni, remeri'.²¹⁶

²¹⁴ London, British Library, Egerton MS 73, fol. 48r-51r.

²¹⁵ Venice, Bib. Naz. Marciana, Ms. It., cl.IV, 170 (=5379); and Padua, Biblioteca Civica, MS CM 17.

²¹⁶ 'Shipboard apprentices, guard archers, caulkers, carpenters, oarsmen'.

These lists of expenditures, shipboard offices, and rules and commandments echo the list-format history of the 'naval discipline' by Benedetto Cotrugli: elaborating 'per singolo' the items that collectively made up the history and practice of Venetian shipbuilding and naval history. The material documents of naval practice - here, compiled into a luxury atlas more than fifty years after the documents were first produced - became representative of the hierarchical organization and governance of the Venetian navy as a historical institution. This may be compared to the findings of the geographer Miles Ogborn in his study of the British East India company ship as a political space.²¹⁷ Cotrugli's *De navigatione* and the *Cornaro Atlas* are evidence of the ways in which Venetian ships, shipbuilding, and ship organization became their own historical disciplines for their patrician readers. 'The ship of state became the ship as state' in these manuscripts, which transformed documents related to Venetian shipbuilding and ship organization into imaginative representations of Venetian maritime governance.²¹⁸

Gianbattista Ramusio's holograph shipbuilding manuscript copied in the 1520s can perhaps be understood in the same kind of reception context: for Ramusio, a secretary and ambassador at the centre of Venetian political life, the shipbuilding manuscript - like the many travel accounts he also collected - could have been evidence of the history of Venetian shipbuilding.²¹⁹ Interestingly, it seems to have been the humanist Ramusio - not Michael of Rhodes, nor any other fifteenth-century owners of shipbuilding texts - with whom this text became affiliated. A copy dateable to between 1570 and 1580 exists in the Biblioteca

²¹⁷ M. Ogborn "Writing Travels: Power, Knowledge and Ritual on the English East India Company's Early Voyages," in *Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers* NS 27 (2002): 155-171.

²¹⁸ Ibid, p. 163.

²¹⁹ Florence, Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale, Ms. Magliabechiano, cl. XIX, cod. 7.

Ambrosiana in Milan, titled 'Trattato de re navali cavato dall'esemplar di G.B.R.', or Ramusio. Whilst the fifteenth-century manuscripts by Michael of Rhodes were owned by sailors, the sixteenth-century copies became associated with the humanist milieu of Ramusio, owned by scholars interested in collecting and editing texts that represented the history and accomplishments of Venetian navigation.²²⁰

Ramusio shared a wider interest amongst Italian humanists in the history of ships and shipbuilding, a development which began in the late fifteenth-century with the elite collecting of technical composite manuscripts and Cotrugli's dedication to the Doge of his *De navigatione*. Although Michael of Rhodes may also have had an elite audience for his manuscript in the members of the Collegio from whom he was hoping to obtain a promotion, Giorgio da Modone - and, it seems, the De Millo family who owned the codex now in the National Maritime Museum over a period of more than fifty years - probably kept their books for personal use, fabricated from a combination of professionally-produced quires and autograph texts. With Cotrugli's production in the 1460s, its provenance amongst elite owners like Alvisio Pisano in the later fifteenth century, the circulation of documents of naval organization in luxury compilations like the *Cornaro Atlas*, and Ramusio's collecting of shipbuilding treatises in the early sixteenth century, however, these manuscripts seem to begin to circulate in the kinds of humanistic and elite circles which Pamela Long has identified for other kinds of technical treatises in Florence and Rimini.²²¹

²²⁰ L. Horodowich, "Armchair Travelers and the Venetian Discovery of the New World," p. 1044.

²²¹ P. Long, "Power, Patronage, and the Authorship of Ars," for instance in her discussion of the reception of Valturio's *De re militari*, pp. 26-30.

Indeed, it was not only in the world of Venetian technical literature, but in attempts at nautical archaeology that the architecture and craft of naval construction was becoming of interest to Italian humanists. One of the most evocative is Leon Battista Alberti's attempt in 1446 to raise an antique Roman ship from the floor of Lake Nemi, south of Rome. Cardinals from the Papal Curia and Roman humanists all gathered on the shores of the lake to watch Alberti's attempt to salvage the ship, during which it dramatically broke apart. This initiated a great deal of humanist interest in the archaeology of the Roman ships. The Venetian humanist Bernardo Bembo took his own copy of Alberti's *De re aedificatoria*, in which he described ship mechanics, to Lake Nemi with him, and recorded his visit in the book. Pope Pius II went to the lake in 1463 to see the ship remains for himself. Flavio Biondo, the Roman humanist, also wrote on the Nemi ships, comparing classical nautical architecture to modern construction, much like Cotrugli attempted in his *De navigatione*.²²²

But it was one of Ramusio's correspondents and another visitor to Lake Nemi, the Venetian Vettor Fausto, in whose writings and designs humanism and shipbuilding most spectacularly converged.²²³ An editor of classical texts and a public lecturer in Greek in the school of San Marco, Fausto's early career was not markedly different than his contemporary teachers in Venice. He edited Cicero's *De officiis*, travelled with his patron, the Venetian

²²² See A. Grafton, *Leon Battista Alberti: Master Builder of the Italian Renaissance* (New York, 2000). pp. 249-252. Renard Gluzman has written on the techniques used in early modern Venetian salvaging of shipwreck: "Resurrection of a Sunken Ship: The remarkable salvage of the Venetian *marciliana* that saved Cattaro from Barbarossa," forthcoming in *Archivio Veneto* (December, 2014). Many thanks to Renard for allowing me to consult his article prior to publication.

²²³ The most complete treatment of Fausto is E. Concina's chapter, "Architectura navalis: Vettor Fausto (1520-1550)" in his *L'Arsenale della Repubblica di Venezia* (Milan, 1984), pp. 108-153. Portions of this chapter were published in English as E. Concina, "Humanism on the Sea," *Mediterranean Historical Review* 3/1 (1988): 159-165. See also F.C. Lane, *Venetian Ships and Shipbuilders of the Renaissance* (Baltimore, 1992), pp. 64-71; and N.G. Wilson, "Vettor Fausto, Professor of Greek and Naval Architect," in *The Uses of Greek and Latin*, A. Dionisotti, A. Grafton, and J. Kraye, eds. (London, 1988):89-96. Also see M. Tafuri, *Venice and the Renaissance* (Cambridge, M.A., 1989), pp. 108-110 for discussion of Fausto's work in the context of the Grittiian *renovatio urbis*.

Giovanni Badoer, to Spain, and gave lectures on Thucydides, Aristophanes, and Lucian at San Marco. In 1517, he published a critical edition of the pseudo-Aristotelian text *Mechanica*, having translated it into Latin.²²⁴ The *Mechanica* contained thirty-five practical problems on mathematical mechanics, of which four dealt with topics related to naval architecture: on rowing, steering with a rudder, and two on the action of sails. As Larrie Ferreiro has found, the link between Fausto's translation of the *Mechanica* and his later attempts at shipbuilding is speculative; but it was at least the case that Fausto was interested in this technological and mechanical classical text.²²⁵ Fausto is also known to have produced a shipbuilding manuscript of a very similar format and containing similar content to those of Michael of Rhodes and Giorgio da Modon.²²⁶ Eight years later, in August 1525, Fausto entered the Venetian Senate and presented to the patrician governors and the Doge a model of a quinquereme: a ship derived from those used by the Greeks after the Peloponnesian wars in 404 B.C., which contained three banks of oars rowed by five oarsmen. Although some members of the Senate were hesitant to award Fausto the money he would need to construct the massive quinquereme, Doge Andrea Gritti and the majority of the Senate voted him the commission.²²⁷

²²⁴ *Aristotelis mechanica Victoris Fausti industris in pristinum habitum restituta ac latinitate donata, Vaenundantur in aedibus Jodici Badii.* (J. Badius: Paris, 1517) (consulted). The *Mechanica* was first published in Greek by Aldus Manutius in Venice in the late 1490s. See P.L. Rose and S. Drake, "The Pseudo-Aristotelian Questions of Mechanics in Renaissance Culture," *Studies in the Renaissance* 18 (1971): 65-104.

²²⁵ L.D. Ferreiro, "The Aristotelian Heritage in Early Naval Architecture, From the Venice Arsenal to the French Navy, 1500-1700," *Theoria* 68 (2010), p. 230.

²²⁶ Venice, Archivio di Stato, Archivio Proprio Pinelli, busta 2 (consulted). U. Tucci has edited this manuscript: "Architettura Navale Veneziana: Misure di Vascelli della Metà del Cinquecento," *Bollettino dell'Atlante Linguistico Mediterraneo* 5-6 (1963-1964): 277-293. Although Tucci rejected ascribing this manuscript to Fausto, Lilia Campana is currently producing a doctoral thesis in which she argues Fausto authored the text ("The Immortal Fausto: Life, Works, and Ships of Vettor Fausto (1490-1546), Venetian Humanist and Naval Architect." Forthcoming, Institute of Nautical Archaeology, Texas A&M).

²²⁷ I have relied primarily on E Concina, "Architectura navalis," for Fausto's biography.

In 1529, four years after having been awarded the commission, Fausto launched his quinquere. In a race through the lagoon from the Lido to the Basin of San Marco, Fausto's quinquere won against a traditional smaller, lighter, and more manoeuvrable Venetian trireme galley. As Marin Sanudo recounted it breathlessly in his diary, the race was a memorable spectacle:

After vespers His Serenity [the Doge] invited all the ambassadors...Accompanied by many nobles, [they] went in boats to the castle called Castel Nuovo, where seats had been adorned with tapestries and shaded from the sun for them. And there were an infinite number of boats outside the two castles and along the canal...and boats from as far away as Padua with people inside, and an infinite number from Chioza, and today some have paid eight or ten lire for a gondola just to see such a thing. I saw many ladies in boats, and procurators, and even the most reverend Cardinal Pixani with the archbishop of Nicosia, Poldacataro, in a small boat with don Lippomano, the *primicerio* [of the cathedral of] Padua. Now, at the hour agreed upon, when the signal was given, the said galleys came rowing, racing one another, and in front came the [trireme] Cornara, but when they had almost arrived at the castles, the quinquere was ahead and the Cornara hugged the land so closely that it passed in front of His Serenity, and so came ahead rowing as far as San Marco, with so many boats in the canal, along with sails of large ships that had returned from the high seas, that it seemed like an armada. It was most beautiful to see. [...] Many boats were in the Grand Canal, and I was there among them, and the celebration lasted till evening.²²⁸

Sanudo was not the only Venetian seemingly taken with the grandeur and speed of Fausto's quinquere. Letters between Fausto, Pietro Bembo, and Gianbattista Ramusio, as well as Pietro Francesco Contarini's preface to Fausto's collected orations printed after Fausto's death, record the deep impression this race made upon them.

It is in their letters that we can glimpse the ways in which the craft of shipbuilding was transformed into a physical metaphor and a language for writing about the Venetian state in the mid-sixteenth century. In a letter from Pietro Bembo to Ramusio in 1529, shortly after the race,

²²⁸ This passage was edited and translated from Sanudo's diaries by P.H. Labalme, L. Sanguineti, and L.L. Carroll, *Città Excelentissima: Selections from the Renaissance Diaries of Marin Sanudo* (Baltimore, 2008), pp. 249-250.

Bembo described Fausto's victory as 'cosa maravigliosa', writing of how Gritti shed 'due lagrime dalla molta gioja' watching the spectacle.²²⁹ But it is Bembo's defence of Fausto's learning that is perhaps most interesting:

Lodato sia Dia, che si doverà pure hora potere agl'ignoranti far credere, che gli huomini letterati fanno anche fare altro, che leggere o scrivere; posciache' il Fausto huomo sempre usato nelle lettere, e da alquanti anni adietro stato & hora tuttavia essendo professor nella nostra Città delle Greche publicamente salariato da lei, & perciò honorato & hauto caro; ne' mai havendo messo mano in far Galee, o navi, o maniera altra di legni, hora ch'egli vi s'è posto, ha fatto per la prima sua opera la cinquereme, la quale era già si fuori non solo della usanza, ma ancora della ricordanza degli huomini [...] & halla fatta di maniera, ch'egli non fu mai più di gran lunga nel nostro arzanà fatta Galea nè così bene intesa, nè con sì bella forma ordinata, nè così utilmente & maestrevolmente fabricata, come questa. Et è pure il nostro arzanà quello, dove si lavora meglio di quest'arte, che in altro luogo, che si sappia del mondo tutto. Per la qual cosa dico, che tutti i letterati huomini gli hanno ad havere un grande obbligo.²³⁰

Praise God, that he has given ignorant men the chance to believe that lettered men are able to do more than just read or write. Fausto, a man well-versed in letters, for some years has been the publicly salaried professor of Greek in our city, and because of this honoured and held in great esteem. But having never before put his hand to making galleys, or ships, or other things of wood, the first work he made was the quinquereme. The quinquereme had not only fallen out of use, but even had been lost from men's memory [...]. And such a well-designed and perfectly shaped galley, so usefully and skilfully built, had never before been seen in our Arsenal. And it is surely in our Arsenal where the greatest [examples] of this art [of shipbuilding] are produced, as the whole world knows. For this reason I say that all men of letters owe Fausto the greatest obligation.²³¹

Bembo argued that Fausto was not only lettered as the professor of Greek in Venice, but he should also be honoured as a man of letters for 'messo mano in far Galee'. Bembo listed *fare* along with *leggere* and *scrivere* as the activities that can distinguish the 'huomini letterati' of Venice. It was not simply 'making', though, but making a ship that had been forgotten by

²²⁹ Frate Giovanni degli Agostini, *Notizie istorico-critiche intorno la vita e le opere degli scritore viniziani* (Venice, 1754), II, p. 457.

²³⁰ Frate Giovanni degli Agostini, *Notizie istorico-critiche*, p. 459.

²³¹ Ennio Concina gives a partial translation of this passage in "Humanism on the Sea," p. 163, from which I have adapted this translation.

modern man, that made Fausto particularly praiseworthy. Fausto's status as a humanist was a combination of his more standard qualifications to read, write, and teach Greek; and, Bembo claimed, his ability to revive a lost form of making. Bembo then went even further to argue that other Venetian humanists owed Fausto a great debt, for it was through his humanistic revival of the quinquere that the Venetian Arsenal would be known throughout the world for its *arte*. With Bembo's letter, shipbuilding became not simply an industrial practice, but an art practised by men of letters for the glorification of their city.

Bembo expanded on this latter theme towards the end of his letter:

La onde io per me ne gli rendo di ciò molte gratie, & tanto ancora glielo rendo maggiori, quanto egli non è attempato & vecchio, ma è molto giovane, & potrà far delle altre belle pruove del suo ingegno & delle altre sperienze assai in honore & favor di quelli, che alle lettere si danno, o daranno per lo innanzi, siccome io mi fido, che egli farà. Perciò ch'io non dubito, che la nostra Citta' oltre a gli altri doni & premii che se gli convengono, non l'abbia a far primo maestro dell'arzanà & delle marineresche fabrili opere & artificio tutto. [...] che egli non si riposerà, ne vorrà dormirsi nella sua cinquere, ma investigherà & troverà molte altre vie da giovare alla patria, che honorato l'haverà.²³²

This is why, for my part, I give him the greatest thanks, and why many others also give him greatest [thanks]. Fausto is not elderly and old, but is very young, and could make other beautiful experiments from his genius and from his experience. Other lettered men give him honour and gratefulness for this - or should begin to, as I faithfully do. Because I do not doubt that our city will gather other gifts and rewards, [by making him] the master of the Arsenal and of the production of navigational works and all machines. [...] He will not rest, nor will not wish to [rest on the laurels of] his quinquere, but will investigate and will find many other ways of being good to the country, which is honoured to have him.

Because Fausto was young when he made and raced the quinquere, Bembo reasoned, he has plenty of time to create other *belle pruove* within the Arsenal. Bembo argued that Fausto should be appointed as the *maestro* of the Arsenal, and of the making of ships and machines in Venice more generally, as they will bring benefit to the *patria*. In his letter, Bembo crafted an argument

²³² Frate Giovanni degli Agostini, *Notizie istorico-critiche*, p. 459-60.

which first linked making and ship production to humanist endeavour; before then supporting Fausto's bid to become master of the Arsenal, where he could best benefit Venice.

For Bembo, Vettor Fausto's *ingegno* was the source, or the cause, of his 'beautiful experiments'. It was Fausto's individual ingenuity or intellectual ability that allowed him to imagine and build physical objects, like the quinquereme, that had not been seen since ancient Greece. The idea of an innate ingenuity is derived from Ciceronian rhetoric, in which inventiveness was the first step to composing efficacious orations.²³³ This concept is reiterated in the dedication to Fausto's collected orations, in which the author writes that it was Fausto's 'inquires ingenium' that led to him to revive (*revocavit*) the 'disciplina' of practical mathematics and architecture.²³⁴ Fausto also treated the subject of *ingenium* and the relationship between knowledge and making in a letter to Ramusio:

Nanque ingenium homini est si excitetur industria, polypo aut chameleonti simile: quae duo animalia alterum aquis latitans, alterum frondibus involutum facile se in omnem colorum speciem eius rei, cui adhaeserint, induunt, sed periculum est forsitan, ne vile aliquid & minime dignum [his?] literarii me per agendum suscepisse ostendant.²³⁵

The genius of men seems as if it is provoked by industry: like octopus or chameleons, animals that, once lurking in water or leaves, are easily veiled in the semblance of all colours of the things which they assume, as they are placed one against the other; but this may be dangerous, lest they may exhibit something base and hardly worthy, as I have undertaken in these letters.

²³³ H. Lausberg, *Handbook of Literary Rhetoric* (Leiden and Boston, 1998), p. 502, entry no. 1152. Here, *ingenium* is defined as one of the three intellectual gifts of the orator, alongside *iudicium* and *consilium*. Martin Kemp discusses the humanists' devotion to *ingenium* in textual composition in "From 'Mimesis' to 'Fantasia': The Quattrocento Vocabulary of Creation, Inspiration, and Genius in the Visual Arts," *Viator* 8 (1977), p. 385. More recently, Rhodri Lewis has outlined the Cinquecento intellectual history of *ingenium* in "Francis Bacon and Ingenuity," *Renaissance Quarterly* 67 (2014), esp. pp. 120-124.

²³⁴ *Victoris Fausti Veneti Orationes quinque*, p. 4r.

²³⁵ *Epistolae clarorum virorum, selectae de quam plurimis optimae* (Cologne, 1586), p. 130.

Like a chameleon takes on the shade of his environment, so too will a man be stimulated by the kind of industry which he practises. By practising shipbuilding, Fausto's genius was provoked by the right kind of industry: one which he aligns with the Vitruvian conception of the profession of architecture.²³⁶ Although Fausto made a case for his value as a teacher and man of letters elsewhere,²³⁷ in this letter, he argued that the *ingenium* of men is produced by physical labour, by working with material objects. In doing so, Fausto was part of a tradition of considering *ingenium* as an architectural or mechanical ability, one that became known to be associated with Vitruvius in the sixteenth century.²³⁸ It is not the man, but his physical environment, that must be 'worthy'. For Fausto, *ingenium* was produced by industry itself; this suited the rhetorical purposes of his letter, which was aimed to demonstrate that shipbuilding should be considered - like Vitruvius' architecture - as one of the 'worthy' arts, a suitable object of elite patronage.

To Bembo and Fausto, *ingegno/ingenium* was a political value. For Fausto, it was an indication of the worthiness of his pursuits within Venetian intellectual - and therefore, political - society. Ship design was not left to the *arsenalotti*, but became a practice in which the role of intellectual pursuit within political life could be debated. More importantly, shipbuilding was not simply a technical craft that could be taught through the didactic language of Quattrocento shipbuilding texts. Fausto built his famous ship from the Greek concept of the quinquereme, using pseudo-Aristotelian mechanics. It was through his ability to create a material structure lost

²³⁶ 'Imo vero nihil usqua est, quod maiorem literarum pene omnium cognitionem requirat, quam architecturae professio: quippe cuius minimam partem, quae fabrilis peritia continentur, Vitruvium esse contendat.' ('Truly, nothing requires greater learning of books than the profession of architecture: as Vitruvius affirms, the builder's practical experience is surely only the smallest part [of this profession].') *Epistolae clarorum virorum*, p. 130-131.

²³⁷ As in an oration delivered in November 1520, "Oratio...qua maius stipendium peritur." *Victoris Fausti Veneti Orationes quinque*, 18v-38v.

²³⁸ M. Kemp, "From 'Mimesis' to 'Fantasia,'" p. 391-392.

to antiquity that he displayed the intellectual quality - *ingenium* - that was implicitly valuable to the state. Indeed, in this sense, Fausto seems to rather have imported a Ciceronian rhetorical definition of *ingenium* to his nautical architectural practice: a definition focused on the rhetorician's ability to invent, which was more closely associated with his first profession as a salaried lecturer at San Marco, than with his second as a shipbuilder. For Bembo, *ingegno* was not a matter simply of reading or writing; but of the application of one's mind to making (*fare*). More Venetian humanists should 'put their hands' to making things; or alternatively, support those who could. Teaching Venetian adolescents to compose Latin or delivering orations were not the only ways that humanists could serve their governments: as Bembo wrote, there were 'molte altre vie de giovare alla patria' that a designer and builder like Fausto could provide.

In Bembo and Fausto's discussions of the role of *ingegno/ingenium* in Venetian political and intellectual life, we can perceive the cultural legacy of shipbuilding manuscripts that were read metaphorically as representative of conceptual - rather than physical - building practices. Even in the mid-fifteenth century, before these manuscripts were widely collected by humanists, their fictionality was being exploited by compilers like Giorgio da Modon to imagine entirely new, fantastical machinery.²³⁹ The composite way of perceiving ship construction which these texts engendered was being compiled, by Benedetto Cotrugli, into new disciplinary histories of navigation; and in compilations of naval organization and governance, as in the *Cornaro Atlas* 'orders and commandments' documents. By the late Quattrocento when these manuscripts transported the craft of shipbuilding into humanist literary culture, they were already being read

²³⁹ Kemp has discussed the role of *invenzione* and *ingegno* in the Venetian Francesco Colonna's *Hypnerotomachia Poliphili* and in the Florentine architect Filarete's 'infectious joy for curious inventions, marvels, oddities, conundrums and hieroglyphs; and both indulge in the kind of fantastic inventiveness disparaged...as beyond the limits of feasibility'. "From 'Mimesis' to 'Fantasia'," p. 365.

not as straightforwardly didactic texts, but as ways of imagining: the texts were, to use Martha Rust's term, 'matrices' for ingenuity.²⁴⁰ In the encounter between the composite manuscripts' depictions of inventive shipbuilding and ship governance and Fausto's physical construction of the quinquereme, the humanistic definition of *ingenium* as the foundation for rhetorical invention, and the Vitruvian concept of *ingenium* as foundational to the discipline of architecture, seem to converge. For the readers of Michael's manuscripts and for Giorgio da Modon, the concept of ingenuity in ship design unfolded entirely within the manuscript 'matrix'. For Bembo and Fausto, this ingenuity within the discipline of shipbuilding had political and social implications beyond private reading. For these men, the concept of ingenuity itself became a crucible for thinking about the relationship between physical and intellectual labor, political society, and service to the state.

The shipbuilding manuscripts discussed here were two-dimensional models of shipbuilding; or, models of the process of shipbuilding, as the reader had to assemble their structural elements visually before having the final image of the ship under sail revealed to him. The imaginative process of constructing a ship in text produced its own explanations of the world outside the text. For Bembo and Fausto, the ingenuity and imaginativeness produced through the pure intellectual endeavour needed to construct ships offered a model for reading and writing about their own complex social and political world. For Fausto, the concept of *ingenium* and its relationship to *industria* provided a way to prove that his efforts were worthy of the intellectual class, in a bid for patronage and support amongst his peers. For Bembo, *ingegno* provided a language to argue that 'making' should be valued in Venetian political society,

²⁴⁰ M. Rust, *Imaginary Worlds in Medieval Books*, p. 7.

because it inspired works which would increase the renown of the city. Through discussing shipbuilding and ingenuity, Fausto and Bembo argued whether and what kinds of physical labor could be considered worthy of pursuit by intellectuals; the relationship between intellectual and physical labor; and how this labor could be performed in the service of the Republic. Technical manuscripts and the models of ship design they represented were far from unmediated, ‘non-book’ documents. In producing readings that relied on ingenious mental invention, they offered a language and imagery for debating the role of the intellectual and the role of maritime technology in wider Venetian intellectual society and political life. In reading shipbuilding texts alongside contemporary humanist letters about shipbuilding, we can glimpse the genuinely practical consequences and centrality of humanist scholarship within the political culture of Renaissance Venice.

IV. Conclusion

I began this chapter with the tensions implicit in the Quattro- and Cinquecento technical miscellanies identified by several scholars of Venetian mercantile culture: that their didactic content could not be used to practise navigation or shipcraft. By more closely examining their provenance histories and codicological construction, I have challenged previous historians’ attempts to contextualise these manuscripts within practical mercantile culture, rather demonstrating that they were read within a rather different spectrum of Venetian society: from navigators hoping for professional advancement to elite collecting. In doing so, I have shifted the critical perspectives from which we examine these manuscripts: from that of Venetian economic histories and the history of technology, to that of medieval and early modern textualities and the

history of the book. This methodological shift has suggested both new reception contexts as well as new interpretive possibilities.

Particularly in the last section of the chapter, I argued that the composite nature of the shipbuilding texts, and their didactic style, encouraged the reader to imaginatively compose ships and machines within the text. The relationship between ingenuity and ship design and construction in late Quattrocento Venice produced a political and social language that was not confined to personal readings of these manuscripts. With Fausto, Bembo, and Ramusio in the early and mid-sixteenth century, the concept of ingenuity in nautical architecture became central to wider discussions of the role of the intellectual within Venetian political society, and how his practices - both literary and technical - related to the well-being of the state. Bembo's letter, in particular, demonstrates the ways in which a language associated with technical practices came to have broader implications for the ways in which Venetian intellectuals engaged in the political life of the city. In doing so, I have indicated in this chapter some of the ways in which textual and visual representations of the Venetian mercantile world became implicated in debates which took place within Venetian intellectual and political society, particularly within the realm of humanist politics. Not only were these books collected by men who were both humanists and members of Venetian political society, but in the readings they produced, the texts offered a language which became appropriated into contemporary political debates. Technical manuscripts which represented the world of the Venetian *stato da mar* - particularly its ships, as I have examined here - offered models for ideas about the role of the intellectual, technology, and ingenuity within the Venetian state. In this sense, they are evidence of some of the ways in which representations

of Venetian trade and governance in the Mediterranean came to shape the humanist intellectual culture of the city.

In conclusion to this chapter, I would like to examine the relationship between the case-study of Venetian shipbuilding texts undertaken here, and other modes of representing the Venetian maritime empire within the navigational compilations. As I suggested in the previous section, the ‘manuscript matrix’ of codices like Michael of Rhodes’s or Giorgio da Modon’s produced an imaginative space in which the external world of craft and of shipbuilding could be replicated and experienced through reading. The somatic experience of turning the page, of physically encountering composite elements of ships in a formulaic order, was integral to the meaning of the shipbuilding texts. This same somatic and imaginative mode of reading was at the crux of the Renaissance Venetian reader’s understanding of the cartographic and textual representations of space in these manuscripts.

One map from the *Cornaro Atlas*, in particular, offers a similar kind of imaginative construction produced through a physical interaction with the folios of the *Atlas*, as the sequence of text and image in the shipbuilding texts (fig. 9). Labeled ‘Francesco Cexano’, the author of the prototype map from which the *Cornaro Atlas* chart was copied, the map represents the Italian peninsula and the Adriatic Sea. Across the bottom of the open folio is the eastern shore of the Adriatic, with its brightly coloured islands.²⁴¹ In the middle of the bifolio is the Venetian lagoon, with ‘Venixia’ prominently inscribed in large red letter on the most righthand side of the folio. The eastern coast of Italy crosses the middle of the page, but the southernmost part of the peninsula - what should be Calabria - is duplicated as the Venetian lagoon, so that the coastline

²⁴¹ London, British Library, Egerton MS 73, fol. 15a-b.

on the very top of the folio is a replication of the eastern Adriatic, already represented on the bottom of the page. The map is a mirror image, split down the centre of the Italian peninsula. The recognisable shape of the southern tip of Apulia, the island of Corfu, and of course the large and decorative Venetian lagoon, orient the reader to what is a complex image. That the mirrored lagoon contains small variations in the colours and shapes of the islands of the Adriatic, the inclusion of colourful rectangular bars along the coast of the lagoon in one map which are lacking from the other, and small geographical discrepancies (for example, 'Ravena' is represented next to a small, pointed inlet on the righthand map, and next to a perfectly spherical inlet filled with red dots on the lefthand map), suggest that rather than faithfully copying a prototype map by Cexano, the scribe of the *Cornaro* charts likely adapted a primary single map by Cexano into a mirrored structure, possibly by copying parts of a second map.

The mirrored structure of the Adriatic chart produced a complex graphic effect. First, because the length of the Italian peninsula stretches horizontally through the middle of the map, the 'heel' of Apulia pushes close to the Dalmatian coast, so that on both sides of the mirrored image, the Adriatic Sea comes to appear as a nearly-enclosed lake. There is still a channel to the Mediterranean - a brightly coloured Corfu marks this crucial passageway - but the overall graphic effect of the mirroring is to emphasise the enclosure of the Adriatic, dominated by the city of Venice, decoratively marked on this map. The Adriatic is drawn horizontally, so that on the top half of the map, Venice is to the far left of the folio, and on the bottom, to the far right. Engaging somatically with the reader's inclination to move his eyes horizontally across the page, this orientation creates a lateral, linear sense of movement across the length of the Adriatic. The coastal toponymy, tiny islands, and even the opening into the Mediterranean become in some

ways incidental to the emphasis on the horizontal visual sweep that begins at ‘Venetia’ and encompasses the entirety of the Adriatic, becoming a graphic play on the idea of the Adriatic Sea as ‘il golfo di Venezia’. Through the graphic manipulation of geographical representation, the scribe transforms a document of Venetian maritime practice into one which becomes emphatically non-representative, which comments not on the practice of navigation, but on an imaginative geography which tells of the historical Venetian domination of the Adriatic.²⁴²

The Adriatic chart recalls the passage from the Padua codex with which I began this chapter, which narrates a supposedly didactic account of how to sail into the Venetian lagoon in broken grammar and with little geographical sense. These non-representational geographical descriptions - both textual and graphic - are best understood within the context of the imaginative shipbuilding texts in these Quattrocento manuscripts. Not only Venetian naval history and technology, but Venetian maritime space, was conceived as fragmentary, composite, and encountered through imaginative construction and non-representational description. As the early modern legal geographer Lauren Benton has found for the Atlantic empires, these representations of Venetian maritime history and space were ‘uneven geographies,’ as opposed to the kinds of rationalised, centralised territorial projections of sovereignty more often associated with cartographic histories of early modern empire.²⁴³ But beyond Benton’s analysis, it was not only colonial space, but indeed the space of the Venetian lagoon itself (in the Padua codex *portolano*) and maritime history (in the shipbuilding texts) which were non-representational and composite.

²⁴² On somatic interpretations of cartographic representation, see V. della Dora, ‘Performative Atlases: Memory, Materiality, and (Co-)Authorship’; and D. Wood, ‘Pleasure in the Idea: The Atlas as Narrative Form.’

²⁴³ L. Benton, *A Search for Sovereignty: Law and Geography in European Empires, 1400-1900* (Cambridge, 2010), p. 2-3.

As another historian of early modern British empire, David Armitage, has written in a discussion of English jurisprudence relating to the foreshore, the history of ‘maritime ideology’ is the history of the ‘conception of Britain itself’.²⁴⁴ In the incorporation of the imaginative composition of shipbuilding manuscripts and antique shipbuilding projects into Venetian humanism and the letters of political society, political thought amongst the humanist patricians of the city was framed in a language determined by the Venetian maritime empire: by its ships, coastlines, and islands. I suggest that the composite, fragmentary, and non-representational character of these texts and maritime maps reflects the ways in which the history and space of the Venetian empire were perceived by Venetian patrician humanists and office-holders, who both collected the literary and material cultures associated with the Mediterranean world, and who governed there. In this sense, they are evidence of the ways in which the Venetian *stato da mar* acquired a coherent identity as both a maritime and a commercial empire; and the ways in which that composite maritime empire became a fundamental element of the self-conception of the city itself, as in the fragmentary and non-representational description of sailing into the lagoon. In Chapter II, I build upon this idea, in order to discover the ways in which the relationship between Venetian intellectual culture and the environment of the Mediterranean shaped political perceptions and administration of that space.

²⁴⁴ D. Armitage, *The Ideological Origins of the British Empire* (Cambridge, 2000), p. 102.

Chapter II: Encountering the Venetian Mediterranean

I. *Introduction*

The elite reading of composite literature and the representation of the space of the Venetian maritime empire which I explored in Chapter I are themes which I build upon here. Venetian patrician readers were, as I have begun to explore in the first chapters, often themselves administrators and governors who had first-hand experience of the Venetian Mediterranean. They read and collected representations of the same physical environment which they witnessed as governors. Throughout this chapter, I explore the relationship between the Venetian experience of the material culture and physical environment of the Mediterranean, on the one hand, and their reading, representation, and collecting of that world, on the other. How the material culture and space of the Venetian Mediterranean were translated into writing, and how humanists at home in Venice encountered that physical world through literature, will be the twin themes of this chapter. As in Chapter I, I shall argue that composite literature played a meaningful role in this exchange between materiality and textuality for Renaissance Venetian readers. Throughout, I examine how a composite textual approach made the Mediterranean into a humanist space. By comparing composite literature with the exchange of objects and manuscripts, and with reading practices such as annotation and illustration, I hope to evoke the ways in which the Mediterranean space gained a doubled temporality for Renaissance Venetian readers and collectors, at once contemporary and antique.²⁴⁵

²⁴⁵ My thinking on the doubled temporality of the Mediterranean, a central theme of this chapter, has been informed primarily by A. Nagel and C. Wood, *Anachronic Renaissance*, as well as by J. Gil Harris, *Untimely Matter in the Time of Shakespeare* (Philadelphia, 2009). Nagel and Wood and Harris focus on the role of materiality in the exchange between contemporary and antique temporalities. For a critical review of recent approaches to materiality by early modernists, see D. Bruster, "The New Materialism in Early Modern Studies," in *Shakespeare and the Question of Culture* (New York, 2003).

In the following sections, I examine the Venetian encounter with the physical world of the Mediterranean and especially with the remains of antiquity there, through genres like the *isolario*, the sylloge, travel accounts, and sketchbooks. These genres combining text and image, which proliferated in Venice and the Veneto in the second half of the fifteenth century, are evidence of the ways in which Venetian humanists translated the physical world of the Mediterranean into writing. First, I examine Bartolomeo dalli Sonetti's *Isolario* of c. 1478-85, before turning to its immediate source, the Florentine Cristoforo Buondelmonti's *Liber insularum archipelago* (first compiled in 1422), which circulated in manuscript throughout Italy and was especially popular amongst Venetian readers. I examine the tradition of compiling sylloges, or collections of ancient inscriptions, sketches of monuments, and prose descriptions in notebooks, first by Cyriac d'Ancona (1391-1453/55), and then by the many humanists and especially Venetian patricians who owned and circulated Cyriac's work. I also examine the accounts of Italian travelers and pilgrims in the Mediterranean who provide evidence of the ways in which the Venetian governors on Crete and Cyprus began to collect and display the remains of antiquity they discovered on their islands. In this chapter, I analyse the ways in which the Mediterranean was represented in the literary culture of Venetian humanists, in order to discover the sets of ideas and expectations that were created about the *stato da mar* within the metropole itself, throughout the second half of the Quattrocento.

II. *The book of islands*

Bartolomeo dalli Sonetti's *Isolario* was the first printed geographical encyclopaedia of islands, containing forty-nine woodcut maps of the islands of the Aegean and of the eastern

Mediterranean, each facing a sonnet or a group of sonnets describing the history, mythology, and topography of the island illustrated in the map (fig. 10).²⁴⁶ The sonnets are printed in the centre of the page, leaving wide white margins encircling the block of text, and the maps of the islands contain only minimal detail: some clumps of trees, hills, and cliffs, and schematically outlined houses and churches. Drawn behind each island is a windrose, a cartographical symbol used in maritime charts and *portolani* to indicate wind directions.²⁴⁷ The printer has traditionally been identified as Guglielmo da Trino, who also worked under a pseudonym, ‘Anima mia’. This attribution was made by identifying the typeset of the book as identical to that of an edition of Simon Genuensis’ *Synonyma medicinae*, printed by Anima mia in Venice in 1486. The Incunabula Short Title Catalogue lists thirty-four editions printed by Anima mia (including the *Isolario*), ranging from 1485 to 1495. His best-known work is a 1493 edition of the Malermi Bible, which contains 330 woodcuts that have been characterised as evidence of a school of ‘classical’ woodcut design in Venetian book illustration.²⁴⁸

However, a reconsideration of the dating of the book necessitates a certain caution in affirming this attribution. The Venetian bookseller Francesco de Madis kept a detailed daybook that lists over 25,000 printed books that he sold between May 1484 and January 1488; the

²⁴⁶ On the *isolario*: G. Tolias, “Isolarii, Fifteenth to Seventeenth Century,” in *History of Cartography*, vol. 3: *Cartography in the European Renaissance*, D. Woodward, ed.:263-84; and idem, “The politics of the isolario: maritime cosmography and overseas expansion during the Renaissance,” *The Historical Review/La Revue Historique* IX (2012):27-52; the introduction by F.R. Goff to the facsimile of Bartolomeo’s book: *Isolario, Venice 1485* (Amsterdam, 1972); M. Donattini, “Bartolomeo dalli Sonetti, il suo Isolario e un viaggio di Giovanni Bembo, 1525-1530,” *Geografia Antiqua* 3-4 (1994-1995), pp. 211-234; F. Lestringant, *Le livre des îles: atlas et récits insulaires* (Geneva, 2002); and M. Donattini, *Spazio e Modernità: Libri, Carte, Isolari nell’età della Scoperte* (Bologna, 2000).

²⁴⁷ See Appendix III for a list of islands in the book, with their modern names.

²⁴⁸ A.M. Hind, *An Introduction to a History of Woodcut* (London, 1935), vol. II, p. 464. See also T. Campbell, *The Earliest Printed Maps, 1472-1500* (London, 1987), pp. 90-92.

daybook is one of the most comprehensive resources for bibliographers of the Venetian incunable period. According to Cristina Dondi, editor of the daybook, the *Isolario* does not appear in de Madis' lists, a surprising absence if the book was indeed printed in 1485 or 1486.²⁴⁹ These dates were originally proposed on the basis of the three-line cryptogram which opens the book: 'Al Divo Cinquecento cinque e diece Tre cinq[ue] a do Mil nulla tre e do vii ce[n]to nulla questa opra dar piu che altri lecce'.²⁵⁰ The cryptogram, often resolved by fifteenth- and sixteenth-century readers of the text, spells the name 'Dux Zuan Mozenico,' referring to Giovanni Mocenigo who was Doge of Venice between 1478 and 1485, when he died. This is explained if we replace the numbers in the cryptogram with Roman numerals (mil = M; cinquecento = D; cento = C; diece = X; cinque = V; tre = Z; do = N; un = I, nulla = O; a = A; VII = I; and e = E).²⁵¹ The dating of the book to 1485 is thus an attempt to reconcile the dedication to Mocenigo with the earliest stages of Anima mia's printing career. However, given that the book is not listed in de Madis' daybook, and that the attribution to Anima mia is uncertain,²⁵² I would suggest re-dating the *Isolario* to 1478-1484: from the first year of Mocenigo's dogeship, to just before the beginning of de Madis' record-keeping.

²⁴⁹ C. Dondi, personal correspondence, 22 Sept. 2012.

²⁵⁰ "Al Divo" which introduces the cryptogram might be translated as, 'To the divine Giovanni Mocenigo.' M. Guglielminetti ["Per un sottogenere della letteratura di viaggio: gl'isolari fra quatro e cinquecento," in *La letteratura di viaggio dal Medioevo al Rinascimento: generi e problemi* (Alexandria, 1989), p. 108] has suggested that Bartolomeo modelled his cryptogram after Dante's in *Purgatorio*, XXXIII, lines 43-44, the conclusion to a prophecy which reads: 'nel quale un cinquecento diece e cinque, / messo di Dio, anciderà la fuia / con quel gigante che con lei delinque.' ('when a Five Hundred Ten and Five, / sent by God, shall slay the thieving wench / and the giant sinning there beside her.') J.D. Sinclair, trans., *Purgatorio* (Oxford, 1981), p. 436-37.

²⁵¹ C.F. Bühler, 'Variants in the First Atlas of the Mediterranean.' *Gutenberg Jahrbuch* 1957, p. 94.

²⁵² *Ibid*, p. 94. Bühler expresses some hesitancy about dating the book.

The *Isolario* was subject to revision by its author and printer.²⁵³ Curt Bühler has published a variant copy of the *Isolario*, identifying two states of the book.²⁵⁴ The first, which is the ‘complete’ state of almost all extant copies of the *Isolario*, contains three distinctive features: two sonnets on ‘Stampalia’, a sonnet each on ‘Sicandro’ and ‘Policantro’ printed on the same folio, and three stanzas on the ‘Sdiles’. The variant identified by Bühler, found in a single copy of the book at the Pierpont Morgan Library in New York, contains a single stanza on each of these pages.²⁵⁵ Underneath the single sonnet on ‘Stampalia’ a second stanza is written in manuscript, which appears with some spelling variations in the print in books in the completed state. Bühler interprets this to be Bartolomeo’s autograph addition to an early printed copy of the *Isolario*. Although the other two folios do not have manuscript additions, in the ‘normal’ variant of the book, the inking of the added sonnets on all three pages is much darker and more uneven and the text is not registered properly with the previously printed sonnet, suggesting that these sonnets were printed after the full print run had been completed.

Bühler’s claim that these annotations are Bartolomeo’s own might be reassessed. Literary scholar Massimo Donattini has found Bartolomeo’s name - ‘Bartholameus Ioannis Sonetis’ - on four different lists of potential candidates for the position of *homo conseio*, or chief navigator, two dated to 1463, the others to 1465 and 1470, in the records of the Collegio in the Venetian

²⁵³ For this process, see P. Needham, “Copy-Specifics in the Printing Shop,” in *Early Printed Books as Material Objects*, ed. B. Wagner and M. Reed (The Hague, 2010):9-21

²⁵⁴ C.F. Bühler, “Variants in the First Atlas of the Mediterranean,” pp. 94-97.

²⁵⁵ New York, Pierpont Morgan Library, PML 45643 (consulted).

State Archives.²⁵⁶ Although Donattini claims that the signatures are Bartolomeo's, it is rather more likely that Bartolomeo's name in the Collegio registers was written by notaries, rather than by Bartolomeo himself. Thus it is impossible to identify Bartolomeo's hand conclusively. The contemporary reader who purchased the Morgan copy likely sought out an amended book in order to copy in the extra sonnet, a choice which reveals the ways in which the owner considered his book to be 'incomplete' and sought to rectify this, even after it had been pulled off the press. Especially when compared to the annotation tradition associated with the *Isolario* (a practice which I explore in detail below), that the reader desired a more complete version of the text and to have copied in these extra sonnets himself does not seem extraordinary.

Finally, I have identified a third and fourth variant of the text, in copies now in the National Maritime Museum in London and in the Biblioteca Correr in Venice, respectively. The National Maritime Museum copy may have been an early attempt to reprint the completed text with the additional sonnets, as the poems and maps are out of order, reprinted across two pages, and sometimes incomplete. The copy in the Correr contains two of the three poems missing from the first state of the edition, suggesting that this copy was an intermediate step between the first and final printing; or that perhaps the printer forgot to run the third sheet through the press for a second time. Together, the four states of the *Isolario* suggest that before a copy was purchased, brought home, and scribbled in, the text and layout of the book were not considered fixed by the printer or Bartolomeo, but open to amendment even after the print-run had been completed.

²⁵⁶ M. Donattini, 'Bartolomeo da li Sonetti, il suo *Isolario* e un viaggio di Giovanni Bembo,' p. 215. The two registers are held in Venice, Archivio di Stato, Collegio, Notatorio, reg. 10 and reg. 11. Bartolomeo's name is on folios 84r and v and 85v in reg. 10, and fols. 76v-77r in reg. 11 (consulted).

III. *Writing and collecting books of islands*

Prefacing the island maps and sonnets is an introductory poem which contains 139 lines of *terza rima*, followed by two sonnets. Bartolomeo first briefly outlines the content of the book: the number of islands, their size, and their geographical features. He then explains where and why he began to write, and lists his sources for the book (a section I will explore in detail later). At the end of the tercet poem, he summarizes the encyclopedic content of the individual island sonnets and maps by narrating a voyage through the islands. Finally, in the sonnets at the end of the introduction, he describes how he compiled and wrote the *Isolario*, and elaborates his experience as a navigator in the Aegean islands. In these sonnets, Bartolomeo describes the relationship between his experience of the physical world of the *stato da mar*, and his attempt to translate that physical world into maps and verse:

Periplus nison²⁵⁷ nel qual se contiene
 sesantesete ogni insula maggiore
 novantaoto e poi che son minore
 riposte in questo egieo che le sostiene
Si come el ciel che le stele ritiene
 qual piccole qual grande e qual migliore
 cusi son queste e qualunque le score
 con il mar tranquilo de belta ripiene
Le miran tute la da prima vera
 con i suo scogli con son quartocento
 e piu sesantaoto che el non si erra
Le seche onde bisogna eser atento
 coperte e discoperte in mar e a terra
 e saperle schivar per ogni vento
Si sono cento con quarantasei
Che die fa a marinar sovente o mei

Per abrobar questa opereta fata

²⁵⁷ A Greek term meaning 'island navigation chart.' Thanks to Andrew Pearson for his assistance in translating this phrase.

per me bartolomeo da li sonetti
 intendo de monstrar con veri effeti
 quanto che londa egeia abia cerchatta
 Et se ho piu volte ogninsula chalchatta
 e porti e vale e scogli i sporchi e i netti
 col bosolo per venti ho i capi retti
 col stilo in charte ciaschuna segnatta
 Quindece volte in trireme son statto
 ufficiale e poi patrone in nave
 merce di mei signor che onor ma fatto
 Bis on el benbo e tre pexari me ave
 sopranzo longo e prima el bon donato
 tre loredami edo viazi grave
 Laltro fu piu suave
 Querini baxadona e barbargio
 Venire rimondo zorzi e mocenigo²⁵⁸

This island *periplus* contains
 seventy-seven of all of the larger islands
 and ninety-eight and more of the smaller ones,
 placed in the Aegean that sustains them
 (like the sky protects the stars):
 the small ones, the large ones, and the best ones,
 the sea flows past each of them,
 the tranquil sea filled with beauty.
 I admire them all there, at first sight:
 with their four hundred rocky islands,
 and more than seventy-eight that no one has rambled.
 One needs to be careful by the shoals,
 both covered and exposed, in the sea and the land -
 I know how to sail them in every wind.
 There are a hundred and forty-seven
 which I have often navigated.

To prove that this work was made
 by me, Bartolomeo of the Sonnets,
 I intend to show with true effect
 How many Aegean waves I've searched
 and how many times I've trampled over every island,
 and port, and valley, and rocks, both dangerous and safe -
 and compass set to the wind,

²⁵⁸ *Isolario*, p. 3r.

I have marked each with my pen on charts.
Fifteen times I was in a trireme,
as *oficiale* and then as *patrone in nave*,
thanks to my lords who honoured me.
Twice Bembo and three times Pexari had me,
so too did the Soranzo and Longo, and earlier the good Donato,
and three voyages with the Loredano, two were dangerous
(but the other was calmer) -
and with Querini, Baxadona, and Barbarigo,
Venier, Rimondo, Zorzi and Mocenigo.

Bartolomeo claims that he sailed through the Aegean many times, has explored all of the islands - even the uninhabited, rocky outcroppings - himself, marking their locations on his 'charte', or nautical map. He describes how he was appointed as 'oficiale' and 'patrone in nave', working on the large Venetian triremes that were owned by the state and would have sailed along the primary trading routes in the Mediterranean.²⁵⁹

Each sonnet is divided into two distinct sections. In both, the contrast between them is used to emphasise Bartolomeo's experience and authority as a navigator. In the first sonnet, he writes about the beauty of the Aegean and its islands, describing how the Aegean reflects the sky above, the islands and stars dotting the beautiful and tranquil surface. But when Bartolomeo begins in the ninth line of the sonnet to discuss his own experience in the Aegean, it suddenly becomes a scene of danger and emptiness: rocky islands that have never been explored and dozens of deadly hidden sand shoals, which Bartolomeo knows how to avoid due to his expertise in the region. The beauty of the Aegean, which Bartolomeo intended to capture in his poetry, is swept away to reveal the danger of the same space: that Bartolomeo knows how to skilfully manoeuvre in this perilous sea reinforces his authority to write of its beauty. Similarly, in the

²⁵⁹ M. Donattini, 'Bartolomeo da li Sonetti, il suo Isolario e un viaggio di Giovanni Bembo,' p. 213.

second sonnet, Bartolomeo describes how he will ‘prove’ that he wrote the sonnets himself through the ‘veri effetti’ of his representational skill. His skill as a navigator and explorer shore up his authority as an author and illustrator. When he then begins in the second half of the sonnet to describe his resumé as a navigator with some of the most well-known Venetian patrician families of the Quattrocento - whose men would have been the *padroni* of the Venetian-owned merchant galleys - he is both orienting his readers to his own social status, and again reinforcing his claims to be a truthful author via his navigational experience.

Bartolomeo’s claims of first-hand experience were not purely literary trope. As discussed briefly above, Massimo Donattini has found Bartolomeo dalli Sonetti in the Venetian Collegio registers. Bartolomeo’s name, ‘Bartholameus Ioannis Sonetis’ is followed by the title ‘civis vester originarius’ or ‘civis originarius Venetiarum’, suggesting that Bartolomeo was a member of the *cittadini*, the bourgeoisie excluded from the ranks of the nobility, but who from the late fifteenth century gained bureaucratic and administrative posts in the Venetian state.²⁶⁰ Being a *cittadino* was also important for gaining the most competitive offices on Venetian merchant galleys, including that of *homo conseio*, or chief navigator.²⁶¹ These positions were chosen by the Collegio from a list of applicants and, as discussed in Chapter I, were very competitive, as the highest-paying non-noble position on the trading galley.²⁶² The Collegio registers both confirm Bartolomeo’s claims to professional experience that he references in the poem, and indicates that

²⁶⁰ E. Crouzet-Pavan, *Venice Triumphant: The Horizons of a Myth* (Baltimore, 2002), pp. 226-8.

²⁶¹ A.M. Stahl, ‘Michael of Rhodes and the Birth of the Mariner’s Manual,’ p. 155.

²⁶² F.C. Lane, *Venice: A Maritime Republic* (Baltimore, 1973), pp. 343-4. See also A. Sacerdoti, ‘Note sulle galere da mercato veneziane nel XV secolo,’ *Bollettino dell’Istituto di Storia della Società e dello Stato* IV (1962) pp. 80-83; and P. Falchetta, ‘Marinai, mercanti, cartografi, pittori. Ricerche sulla cartografia nautica a Venezia (sec. XIV-XV),’ *Ateneo Veneto* 183 (1995), p. 15-16 for more on the role of the *homo di conseio* or *armirao*.

he used this pseudonym at least as early 1463. That the pseudonym ‘Bartolomeo of the Sonnets’ could be used in both navigational, professional culture and a printed verse work indicate, on the one hand, that Bartolomeo’s navigational experience was an important component of his authority as an author, and on the other, that his second profession as a poet coexisted comfortably with his shipboard duties.

In finding a way to translate his experience as a navigator into print, Bartolomeo chose the composite form of the island encyclopaedia: at that time known only through one other example, the Florentine Cristoforo Buondelmonti’s *Liber insularum archipelagi* which circulated throughout Italy in manuscript in the fifteenth century. But as a Venetian navigator - and perhaps in order to emphasise that experience - Bartolomeo integrated Buondelmonti’s humanist, encyclopedic form of the *Liber insularum* with more traditional Venetian forms of navigational writing, particularly the *portolano*. Especially in describing his movement through the Aegean archipelago, Bartolomeo borrows the narrative style of concatenated movement from the technical writing of the *portolano*. Many of the island sonnets are introduced with several lines that related how Bartolomeo sailed there, describing his navigation to the island using present-tense verbs. Similarly, the last lines of the sonnets often describe sailing away to the next island.

The following examples are the introductory lines to two sonnets on Piscopia and Limonia:

(1)

Verso il suaue zefiro se invia
per londa egeia la mia piccola barca
e per poco camino presto varcha
da linsula de charchi a piscopia²⁶³

²⁶³ *Isolario*, p.10v.

Toward the sweet zephyrs, through
the Aegean, my little boat sails,
and through a small passage it sailed
from the island of Charchi to Piscopia.

(2)

Se da le simie te vorai levare
per andar quarta dostro in ver garbino
circa quaranta mia per tal camino
limonia e carchi tu potrai trovare²⁶⁴

If you would like to continue on from Simie,
go south in a true *garbino*²⁶⁵
for around forty miles by that route
You will be able to find Limonia and Carchi.

Each of the quatrains describes the passing seascape of the Aegean in a style that is resonant with the technical writing of the *portolano*. The islands are linked together by the concatenated movement of sailing - or, more precisely, the Venetian ‘hopping’ (*varchar*) - from one island to the next.²⁶⁶ The use of the possessive pronoun to refer to the boat, the second-person narrative, and the reliance on the winds to provide movement between one encyclopaedia entry and the next, are each techniques borrowed from the *portolano*. This becomes clear when Bartolomeo’s verse is compared with a *portolano* text from the Michael of Rhodes manuscript, which describes the Apulian coast:

Manfredonya con Barlletto, sirocho e levante, mia 30. Non à nesun redutto, ma per la via
sono alcune seche inver li saline. Alargatte ben in mar. Barlletto à uno schoietto per mezo

²⁶⁴ *Isolario*, p. 9v.

²⁶⁵ A south-westerly wind.

²⁶⁶ On *cabotage* or tramping, the short-distance sailing routes between ports and islands that took place within sight of the Mediterranean coastline, see P. Horden and N. Purcell, *The Corrupting Sea* (Oxford, 2000), p. 140; and for a recent reassessment, D. Jacoby, “The Eastern Mediterranean in the Later Middle Ages: An Island World?,” in *Byzantines, Latins, and Turks in the Eastern Mediterranean World after 1150* (Oxford, 2012): 93-118.

et à chomo una turixella in lo schoietto, e chi per forza dovesse star mettasse i prodixe al schoyo.

Barletto a Trany mia 6. Schure tuti li ditti luogi levante e sirocho. La chognosenza de Trany: uno chastello dentro ala tera, e da ponente à un portixello in mezo de du ture. Vane chon gallia pizulla e mettite ala ture da ponente, e non andar da levante. E non andar massa entro perché tuto è secho, e armizate per quarto per la restia.

Manfredonia with Barletta, southeast and east, 30 miles. There is no place to stop, but along the route there are several shallows near the saltworks. Stay well out to sea. Barletta has a reef in the middle and has something like a small tower on its reef, and anyone who out of necessity must stay there should carry the mooring ropes out to the reef.

Barletta to Trani, 6 miles. At all these places it flows to the east and southeast. Landmarks of Trani: a castle inside the city and on the west side it has a small gate between two towers. Go there with a small galley and steer on the west tower, and don't go to the east. And don't go too far in since everything is shoal, and moor by quarters because of the breakers.²⁶⁷

In the *portolano*, the movement between landmarks and ports is sequential, and includes imperative directions ('Alargatte ben'), and references to the boat itself, the 'gallia pizulla', which closely parallel Bartolomeo's navigational writing. This *portolano*-inflected style integrates the time of narration with the time of the journey itself, so that the reader is sailing and finding islands with Bartolomeo, in his little boat. The miniaturisation of the boat, again a common trope in *portolano* writing, serves to place the reader within the seascape of the Aegean, the geography unfolding in front of and around the reader in the present-tense alongside Bartolomeo's composition of the poem.

Bartolomeo integrated this technical style of descriptive writing into a composite form first elaborated in the context of Florentine antiquarian humanism in Cristoforo Buondelmonti's

²⁶⁷ *The Book of Michael of Rhodes*, ed. P.O. Long, D. McGee, and A.M. Stahl, vol. II, pp. 532 and 534 (transcription and translation).

manuscript book of islands. Born around 1380 in Florence to a cadet branch of a patrician Florentine family, Buondelmonti left Florence for the Aegean in his mid-twenties in order to learn Greek. There, he wrote a geographical and archaeological description of Crete dedicated to Nicolò Niccoli, which may have originally contained a map. Five years later, in 1420, he produced his *Liber insularum archipelagi*, an encyclopaedia of the Aegean islands which matched a geographical description, some discussion of toponymy and classical history, and archaeological information with maps of each island.²⁶⁸ The *Liber insularum* was enormously popular in the late Quattro- and Cinquecento and according to Hilary Louise Turner, is known in sixty-four manuscript copies - only thirteen fewer than Marco Polo's travel account.²⁶⁹ The book was also popular amongst Venetian readers: the Latin text was translated in two copies into the Venetian vernacular in the late fifteenth century. One of these Venetian-dialect manuscripts of the *Liber* was even originally bound with a printed copy of Bartolomeo's *Isolario*, indicating that at least one reader was interested in a very Venetian elaboration of the Aegean archipelago.²⁷⁰ A third Latin copy of the *Liber* was probably produced in a Venetian context, according to Phyllis Williams Lehmann, who has discovered that the corrected attribution of a bronze equestrian

²⁶⁸ On Buondelmonti: H.L. Turner, "Christopher Buondelmonti and the Isolario," *Terrae Incognitae* 19 (1987): 11-28; G. Ragone, "Il Liber Insularum Archipelagi di Cristoforo del Buondelmonti: filologia del testo, filologia dell'immagine," in *Humanisme et culture géographique à l'époque du Concile de Constance*, ed. D. Marcotte (2002): 177-218. The most recent and comprehensive work on Buondelmonti's biography, writing, and the reception of the *Liber insularum* is C. Barsanti, "Costantinopoli e l'Egeo nei primi decenni del XV secolo. La testimonianza di Cristoforo Buondelmonti," *RIASA* 56 (2001): 83-254. No definitive edition of the *Liber* has been published. A facsimile exists of a Latin manuscript copy: M. Plassman, A. Effenberger, and F. Rijkers, eds., *Liber insularum archipelagi: Universitäts- und Landesbibliothek Düsseldorf Ms. G. 13* (Wiesbaden, 2005). A French translation of a Greek manuscript copy has been published by E. Legrand, *Description des Îles de L'Archipel par Christophe Buondelmonti* (Paris, 1897).

²⁶⁹ H.L. Turner, "Christopher Buondelmonti and the Isolario," p. 13.

²⁷⁰ Venice, Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana, Ital. VI 19 (=6087) (consulted); and Milan, Biblioteca Ambrosiana, Y.72 sup (consulted). Neither copy contains maps. On the latter, see V. della Dora, "Mapping a Holy Quasi-Island: Mount Athos in Early Renaissance Isolarii," *Imago Mundi* 60/2 (2008), p. 162, n. 99.

statue in Constantinople, from that depicting Justinian to Theodosius, was likely made by Venetian scribes.²⁷¹

Three Latin copies of the *Liber* can be attributed to specific Venetian owners. One copy now in Berlin was in the collection of Antonio Venier, a Venetian patrician prominently involved in the political life of the city and the Venetian *terraferma* during the end of the fifteenth century. Venier's volume is decorated with a wreath containing the initials 'A.V.', and filled with Latin humanist poetry praising Venier written by his friends to whom he lent the book to be consulted or possibly copied.²⁷² A volume of the *Liber* now in the Biblioteca Civica in Padua contains an inscription recording that Taddeo Quirini - brother of the more famous humanist Nicolò on Crete - gave the book to Jacopo Zeno, the Venetian patrician bishop of Padua (1418-1481).²⁷³ Finally, Francesco Barbaro (1390-1454), one of the most well-known of the Venetian patrician humanists, owned a composite volume of geographical writing in which the *Liber* was included.²⁷⁴ This group of Venetian copies of Buondelmonti's *Liber* indicates the popularity of the text for elite humanist readers. It was possibly in this context - even perhaps through one of

²⁷¹ P. Williams Lehmann, "Theodosius or Justinian? A Renaissance Drawing of a Byzantine Rider," *The Art Bulletin* 41/1 (1959), p. 56.

²⁷² Berlin, Staatsbibliothek Hamilton MS 108 (not consulted). *Die Lateinischen Handschriften der Sammlung Hamilton zu Berlin*, ed. H. Boese (Wiesbaden, 1966), pp. 58-60. I examine these inscriptions in greater detail towards the end of this chapter.

²⁷³ Padua, Biblioteca Civica, Ms. CM 289 (consulted). See C. Barsanti, "Costantinopoli e l'Egeo," p. 89. The full inscription reads: "Insularum Aegei pelagi descriptio usque Costantinopolim foeliciter incipit ab expertissimo viro composita et quae perpetuae observantiae mei Thadei Quirino est ad reverendum dominum dominum Iacob[um] Zeno episcopum Paduanum comitem Saccensem virum regium et omni laude praestantissimum cui aequo offitio dono transmissa est." From the Biblioteca Civica online catalogue: <http://nbm.regione.veneto.it/StampaManoscritto.html?codice=7859> (last accessed 7/2/2014).

²⁷⁴ Venice, Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana, Ms. Lat. X. 124 (=3177) (consulted). Ibid, p. 89. See also A. Diller, "The Library of Francesco and Ermolao Barbaro," in *Italia Medioevale e Umanistica* 6 (1963): 253-62.

the patrician *padroni* who Bartolomeo lists in his introductory sonnet - that Bartolomeo may have first seen Buondelmonti's *Liber*, and borrowed its organisational premise for his own work.

The encyclopedic structure of Bartolomeo's *Isolario* is modelled after Buondelmonti's, in which each island is given its own block of text and map. In Bartolomeo's book, however, the map faces the sonnet, whereas in Buondelmonti's, the map is more closely integrated with the text on the same folio: probably a result of early printing technology, as it would have been simpler to print the woodcut map on a separate block from the text.²⁷⁵ However, both Buondelmonti and Bartolomeo used a composite method in writing the text itself; in comparing the introductory lines to one entry, on Stampalia (Astypalaia), their respective methods become clear. Buondelmonti's text reads,

Nunc ad Stinfaleam olim hodie Stampaleam meum properabo cursum et ut ait plinium de Stinfalea libere civitatis circuitus octuagintanovem millia passuum et in super ovidius hinc anaphum sibi iungit hinc astinpalea regna promisis anaphim regna et stinfalea belo contaque piscosis astinphaelea vadis.²⁷⁶

Now I steer toward the island once called Stinfalea, now called Stampalia, about which Pliny said: '[Astypalaea] was a free city, eighty-nine *millia passuum* in circumference.' And Ovid said, 'The island of Anaphe joined with [Minos], and that of Astypalaea (Anaphe by promises, Astypalaea by war). And Astypalaea is ringed by rich fishing grounds.'

To introduce his sonnet, Bartolomeo writes:

La mia trieme da nisar partita
e in verso locidente navicando
circha cinquanta mia vien ritrovando
linsula astipalea qui ve descritta.
Questa ne i capi e larga in mezo strita
per se dintorno landarai circando

²⁷⁵ On the technology of map printing: A.H. Robinson, 'Mapmaking and map printing: the evolution of a working relationship,' in *Five Centuries of Map Printing*, ed. D. Woodward (Chicago and London, 1975), especially pp. 1-16.

²⁷⁶ M. Plassman, A. Effenberger, and F. Rijkers, eds., *Liber insularum archipelagi* (Wiesbaden, 2005), fol 37r.

de molte peschaxon vera cantando
si come tracta ovidio de la dita.²⁷⁷

My trireme departs from Nisaro,
and sailing westward for about
fifty miles, comes to find
the island Astypalaia, described here.
There are capes and through the middle, a strait
(you must sail around them to go in):
there are many fish there,
as Ovid truly sings.

It is evident that Bartolomeo relied heavily on Buondelmonti's *Liber* for content: as in other island sonnets, he incorporates Buondelmonti's quotations from classical authorities.

Buondelmonti himself relied particularly on Ovid and Virgil.²⁷⁸ In Buondelmonti's quotation from Ovid in his entry on Stampalia, he conflates Ovid's writing on the island from two separate sources: one, describing how Aegeus (Theseus' father) gathered allies amongst the islands of the Aegean, from the *Metamorphosis*; and the second, on the island's fish, from the myth of Icarus described in the *Ars Amatoria*.²⁷⁹ Even in compiling his own text, Buondelmonti either combined two discrete Ovidian references, or himself copied them from a miscellany in which Ovid's writing was organized not by title, but by subject or even by island. Bartolomeo then 'Venetianised' Buondelmonti's text: introducing the sonnet in the imperative language of the *portolano*, emphasising the technical knowledge needed to reach the island, and even focusing on Ovid's fish ('peschaxon') - rather than Pliny's description or Ovid's mythological history - as characteristic of the island. Bartolomeo's classicism is invoked instead through the confrontation

²⁷⁷ *Isolario*, p. 12r.

²⁷⁸ H.L. Turner, "Christopher Buondelmonti and the *Isolario*," p. 17.

²⁷⁹ *Metamorphosis* 7.461 and *Ars Amatoria* 2.82.

between a Venetian encounter with the island, determined by navigational knowledge, and the presence of Ovid singing (‘cantando’) his antique description of the island.

It was not only Bartolomeo, but his readers, too, who were interested in the relationship between the Venetian navigational experience of the Aegean, and the humanist literary forms by which that space was increasingly becoming known. First, copies of the *Isolario* were often integrated into humanist book collections. Of the individual copies of Bartolomeo’s *Isolario* that I have seen or seen reproduced, four are bound with wood board covered in brown calf leather, tooled blindly or in gold; in two instances, the clasps survive, and for two copies, the brown calf slipcase in which the book was preserved also survives (fig. 11).²⁸⁰ Of these copies, only one - the copy now in the Biblioteca Estense in Modena - can be positively linked with an early owner, Giovanni Bembo, a Venetian colonial administrator in the Aegean whose annotations to the copy I explore in-depth in Chapter III. These small, gilt leather bindings, often with detailed abstract stamped designs, have been called characteristically ‘humanistic binding’; indeed an Islamic interlaced stamped binding that Anthony Hobson reproduces, covering a manuscript sold by a Venetian stationer, is strikingly similar to that of the binding of the Pierpont Morgan Library copy of the *Isolario*.²⁸¹ Of these four, three are annotated: one in Latin and Greek,²⁸² one in Latin and Italian,²⁸³ and one, Bembo’s copy, in Latin, Greek, and Italian.²⁸⁴ Together, the

²⁸⁰ New York, Pierpont Morgan Library, ChL951 (consulted); Cambridge, Trinity College, Wren Library, VI. 14. 10 (consulted); New Haven, Yale University, Beinecke Library, Taylor 24 (consulted partially digitised copy); Modena, Biblioteca Estense, Alfa E 5. 15 (consulted).

²⁸¹A. Hobson, *Humanists and Bookbinders*, pp. 58-9. For the stamped codex, see p. 67, fig. 54, Venice, Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana, gr. VIII, 7 (1069).

²⁸² New York, Pierpont Morgan Library, ChL951 (consulted).

²⁸³ Cambridge, Trinity College, Wren Library, VI. 14. 10.

²⁸⁴Modena, Biblioteca Estense, Alfa E 5. 15.

bindings and the multilingual annotations suggest that these were owned by readers who were educated in humanist schools, and that these books were integrated into humanist collections.

This interest in the presentation of the book as an aesthetic object within a humanist collection is also reflected in the Renaissance illustration of the book. Ten copies of the *Isolario* that I have examined have coloured maps, all illustrated in a similar style of wash, with pale greens, blues, browns and reds.²⁸⁵ Some, like a copy in the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris, are more accomplished drawings than others. Whether the coloured washes were commissioned by the owners from artists or book illustration workshops, or whether they were done by the owners, is unclear. Five copies contain coats-of-arms or *segnate* painted onto the page; only one of these has been identified, as that of the Donato, a Venetian patrician family.²⁸⁶ Two of these copies, one in the Biblioteca Marciana and another at Smith College, contain beautifully painted false ‘frontispiece’ decorations, with the family or owner’s *segnata* in a roundel at the bottom of the page; these were done by professional miniaturists or book illuminators (figs. 12 and 13). They are remarkable pages, with delicately shaded, grisaille borders which lend the page a feeling of having been engraved in marble, bordered with brightly coloured vegetation patterns and, in the

²⁸⁵ Cambridge, Trinity College, Wren Library, Grylls 3.335 (consulted) and VI.14.10; New York, Pierpont Morgan Library, ChL951 and ChL951a (consulted); Northampton, Smith College, Mortimer Rare Book Collection, B.183 (consulted); Modena, Biblioteca Estense, Alfa E.5.15; Venice, Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana, Inc. 733 (consulted); Urbana-Champaign, University of Illinois, Inc. 852 (consulted partially digitised copy); Paris, Bibliothèque nationale, Cartes et plans, GE DD 1989 (consulted partially digitised copy); Boston, Public Library, Q.H05.128 (consulted partially digitised copy).

²⁸⁶ Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale de Paris, Cartes et plans, Res. Yd. 770 (not viewed).

Smith copy, with *grotesche*.²⁸⁷ This style of painted frontispiece was popular with humanist book collectors, and is especially associated with copies of vernacular poetry.²⁸⁸

The *Isolario* was indeed so collectible that once the printed copies were no longer available, manuscript copies were produced for readers. Three manuscript copies of the *Isolario* survive, though likely more were produced in the early sixteenth century.²⁸⁹ Although there are some very slight spelling differences between these three copies, the hand and the colouring patterns are the same, which suggest that a single copyist or workshop was responsible for producing these copies. Whether they were commissioned by a reader who was aware of the *Isolario* but could not find a printed copy for sale, or whether these were produced speculatively by the workshop, is impossible to know; but in any case, it indicates both that the demand for the book very probably outpaced supply, and that the readers who sought these copies were wealthy enough to purchase manuscripts for their collections. Taken together with the manuscript drawings and annotations in printed copies, the manuscript codices also indicate the kind of

²⁸⁷ Northampton, M.A., Smith College, B.183. Thanks to John Lancaster and Mark Morford, who kindly showed me the draft of their forthcoming catalogue of the Smith College incunable collection. They point out in their entry that the *grotesche* in the Smith copy were indirectly derived from the Domus Aurea decorations. For more on the Renaissance rediscovery of the Domus Aurea, see C.L. Stinger, *The Renaissance in Rome* (Bloomington, 1998), 2nd ed., p. 77.

²⁸⁸ Lilian Armstrong has argued that hand-painted frontispieces flourished in the incunabule period in Venice: "The Impact of Printing on Miniaturists in Venice after 1469," in *Printing the Written Word: The Social History of Books*, ed. S. Hindman (Ithaca and London, 1991): 174-204.

²⁸⁹ London, National Maritime Museum, P/21 (consulted); Brussels, Bibliothèque royale de Belgique, Cartes et plans, 17847 (7379) (not consulted); and Venice, Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana, Ms. It. IX 188 (6286) (consulted on microfilm; not available to view). The Brussels manuscript has been published by Wouter Bracke, 'Une note sur l'Isolario de Bartolomeo da li Sonetti dans le manuscrit de Bruxelles, BR, CP, 17874 (7379),' *Imago Mundi* 53 (2001), pp. 125-129. In Emmanuele Cicogna's notes in his copy of the *Isolario*, now in the collection of the Biblioteca Correr in Venice (Inc. F. 26), he references a manuscript codex in the Libreria Pesaro. In the catalogue of this private Venetian family library, the book is described as a 'codice manoscritto membranaceo del secolo XV, 40, con figure, legatura in vitello'. This is not the same manuscript as the copy in the Marciana, which Cicogna also inspected. Whether that is the codex now in London or Brussels, or a fourth manuscript which has remained in private hands, I have not been able to determine. M.F. Pesaro, *Catalogo della libreria d'un illustre patrizio veneto* (Padova, 1805), p. 80, cat. no. 1622.

permeability between manuscript and printed media accepted by incunable readers, for whom the printed text was not considered fixed and manuscript text could easily substitute for print.²⁹⁰ This latter attitude to manuscript is underlined by the copyist's extremely close adherence to the typeset of the printed copy, so well imitated that it is indeed impossible to date his hand.²⁹¹ The only difference in treatment between the manuscript and printed copies is that the manuscript codices are not annotated; these more expensive codices may have been treated as semi-public works of art for display within a library or study, operating fluidly as both collectible objects and objects of scholarship.

Although printed and manuscript copies of Bartolomeo's *Isolario* were bound and illustrated for inclusion into elite book collections, the fifteenth- and sixteenth-century readers of the text were equally interested in Bartolomeo's claim to navigational expertise, and the social world of Venetian sailing from which he came. Perhaps the most common annotation is the underlining of either Bartolomeo's name, or of the entire tercet in which he first introduces himself as an author: 'bon venitian bartholomio / da li soneti ver compositore'. Often his name is written out in the margin of the page; Bembo writes in the Estense copy, 'Bartholomio da li Soneti Venetiano Auctor' in large roman capitals; the owner of the Trinity College copy writes, 'Bartholomeo Sonetti, Venetian Author'. Readers also demonstrate an interest in Bartolomeo's autobiographical writing in the last sonnet of the introduction: for instance, in the Florence copy,

²⁹⁰ On the fluidity and co-existence of manuscript and print cultures in Renaissance Italy, see B. Richardson, *Manuscript Culture in Renaissance Italy* (Cambridge, 2008), pp. 1-14; and M.D. Reeve, "Manuscripts Copied from Printed Books," in *Manuscripts in the Fifty Years after the Invention of Printing*, ed. J.B. Trapp (London, 1983): 12-20. For Venice, see M. Zorzi, "Dal manoscritto al libro," in *Storia di Venezia*, eds. A. Tenenti and U. Tucci (Rome, 1996), Vol. IV, pp. 839-52; and H. Szépe, "Venetian Miniaturists in the Era of Print," in *The Books of Venice - Il Libro Veneziano*, eds. L. Pon and C. Kallendorf (New Castle, D.E.: 1986): 31-60.

²⁹¹ Thanks to C. Dondi for advising on the dating of the manuscripts.

the second line of the pair, 'Per aprobar questa opereta fata / per me bartholomeo da li sonetti', is underlined, as it is in several other copies. The Florence reader and British Library reader also underlined all of the Venetian patrician families with whom Bartolomeo claims he sailed. In a copy now in the Correr, Bartolomeo's description of himself as 'oficiale e poi patrone in nave', is underlined, along with the family names. In copies in the Pierpont Morgan collection and in Madrid, this second sonnet is given a title: for the first, 'Soneto de chi a fato l'opera - et i[n] che modo', and for the latter, 'Soneto in qu[alche] modo ha facto le insule' (Sonnet on who made this work; Sonnet on how the islands were made). The question of who made the *Isolario* - resolved by seeking his name, profession, the social *curriculum vitae* of Venetian trade expeditions - was an important one to readers of the book, as was his method of, and authority to, create it. Again in the Correr copy, the lines in which Bartolomeo writes of wandering the islands and marking them on his maritime charts are underlined. In Bembo's copy, he writes next to this sonnet, 'Auctoris navigationis', commenting upon the authority lent to Bartolomeo as a poet by his experience sailing in the Aegean. The reader of the Trinity College copy writes next to the same sonnet, '15 viagii con Gallere, Bartholommeo fatto', (Bartolomeo made 15 voyages with galleys) as well as 'Capitani de gallere sue' (Captain of his galleys). Bartolomeo's experience of the Mediterranean as a navigator was itself collectible: it was his transformation of that knowledge into humanist encyclopedic form that made the book an important object for elite readers.

A copy now in Florence illustrates this phenomenon particularly well (fig. 14).²⁹² It contains many fine ink sketches alongside the coloured wash, and is full of beautifully drawn ships, both galleys and round merchant ships, often portrayed as though cutting quickly through

²⁹² Florence, Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale, Magl. F. 6. 6 (viewed digitised copy).

the waves. These ships are Venetian and dateable to the second half of the fifteenth century; more intriguingly, the perspective from which many of these ships were drawn is strikingly similar to that of the ships in the background of Carpaccio's St. Ursula cycle, particularly *The Return of the Ambassadors* and *The Meeting of St. Ursula and the Prince*, which were painted for the Scuola di Sant'Orsola in Venice in 1497-8 (figs. 15 and 16).²⁹³

The copy also contains two pages of calendrical and astrological material in the front of the book: on the first page, two wheels are shown, one for determining the date of Easter and beginning in 1512, and another beginning in 1508; and on the second page, there is a drawing of two numbered *computus manualis* beginning again in 1512. The quality of the drawings, both of the hands and of the ships, would seem to indicate that the book was illustrated professionally. Only the first map has a toponym annotated, and is in a different, humanist hand from the instructions for using the calendrical wheels and hand diagrams; this latter hand is a Venetian *mercantesca*, and the text is in the Venetian dialect. The owner and illustrator of this copy were very likely contemporary Venetians, probably working with the book in the first decade of the sixteenth century; one of them could have even been affiliated with Scuola di Sant'Orsola, where he would have seen Carpaccio's paintings. The book was perhaps purchased by a humanist reader, and given to an illustrator and copyist who was affiliated both with the world of merchant-mariner textual production and with humanist book illustration, a professional spectrum which reflects that of Bartolomeo himself. In its inclusion of Venetian merchant-mariner texts like the calendrical wheels and hand diagrams alongside the detailed drawings of

²⁹³ I am very grateful to Lilia Campana of the Institute for Nautical Archaeology at Texas A&M, who identified and dated these ships, and suggested their similarity to Carpaccio's paintings. (Personal correspondence, 11 February 2013). The St. Ursula cycle now hangs in the Gallerie dell'Accademia. See P. Fortini-Brown, *Venetian Narrative Painting in the Age of Carpaccio* (New Haven, 1988), pp. 56-60, and 193-196.

ships and colouring, the Florence copy speaks of a reader who considered the book's association with Venetian navigation to be worthy of being richly illustrated and accented, to be essential to its aesthetic worth as a collectible object.

Bartolomeo's construction of his expertise as a navigator and experience of the Mediterranean, contemporary readers' interest in that information, and even one owner's inclusion of technical diagrams related to the navigational miscellany tradition, indicate the *Isolario* seems to have been collectible as evidence of a direct Venetian encounter with the physical islands and seascape of the Aegean. However, as Bartolomeo himself recognised in borrowing its form and some content from Buondelmonti's *Liber insularum*, his *Isolario* would be purchased by elite book collectors, and read and annotated by wealthy owners who would scribble Latin and Greek in its margins. Much like the composite navigational miscellanies, atlases, and technical writing which I examined in previous chapters, Bartolomeo's *Isolario* is evidence of the ways in which the physical world of Venetian navigation was translated into verse and image, to become collectible by elite readers who would experience that world from the confines of the study. In the following section, I examine the ways in which Bartolomeo translated that physical world into verse for his readers, and compare the *Isolario* with the other major Quattrocento genre of documenting the Mediterranean environment: the antiquarian sylloge, or catalogue of inscriptions.

IV. *The production of knowledge in books of islands*

How was knowledge about the Mediterranean world produced and documented by Bartolomeo in the *Isolario*? Although he relies on his professional expertise and Venetian social connections

to construct his authority as a navigator - and thus as an author with a specifically technical knowledge of the Aegean - Bartolomeo's description of how he came to write the *Isolario*, in the first place, indicates a rather different kind of genesis for the book of islands. In the introductory *terza rima* poem, as Bartolomeo tells the reader the way he will describe the islands - their names, their rulers, and their fame, past and present - he tells of one particular island, which 'de done e pur tanto copiosa' ('is the most full of women'), who are 'si gratiosa' ('so agreeable') that no man could ever want to leave. It is from this island, and from amongst these women, that Bartolomeo says he began the poem:

Unde per questo mi conven che scriva
che el mar dele Syrene i potria dirsi
per in se aver tal suavitade diva.²⁹⁴

So for this reason it is appropriate that I write
that it could be called the Sea of the Sirens
because it has in itself such divine attractiveness

Bartolomeo tells the story of his own mythological 'birth' as a poet in the Sea of the Sirens. He writes that the goddess was singing,

Echi²⁹⁵ auctor ne volesi potria girsi
a quel gran fiume de eloquentia emena
che fece tanto in questo stilo udirsi.²⁹⁶

And what author would not want to be able to turn
To that great stream of pleasing eloquence
which made itself heard so much in this pen²⁹⁷

²⁹⁴ *Isolario*, p. 1v.

²⁹⁵ 'Echi' carries a double meaning of echo and nautical sounding.

²⁹⁶ *Isolario*, p. 1v.

²⁹⁷ Many thanks to Caroline Elam who assisted me with translating this and the previous tercet (personal correspondence, 3/4/2014).

Bartolomeo ascribed his inspiration to the eloquence of the Siren, which was instantiated in his pen. He then quotes the Siren's song that gave birth to his identity as a poet:

Dicea cantando io sum dolce serena,
che marinari in questo mar dismago
tanto son de dolcesa a sentir piena.²⁹⁸

She said singing, 'I am the sweet Siren
who bewitches sailors in this sea,
so great a delight it is to hear me.'²⁹⁹

These final three lines were appropriated by Bartolomeo from Canto XIX of Dante's *Purgatorio*, as noted by Marziano Guglielminetti.³⁰⁰ Guglielminetti, however, was primarily interested in the ways in which Bartolomeo was copying Dante in order to write himself into the genre of vernacular 'travel' literature, of which the *Commedia* was the most prestigious example in the Quattrocento. In appropriating these lines from Dante, and especially in imitating the verse structure and *terza rima* scheme of the *Commedia*, Bartolomeo was thus adopting the 'più prestigiosa struttura poetica disponibile per il racconto di un viaggio', creating a generic category of travel literature capacious enough to encompass Dante's otherworldly wanderings and Bartolomeo's watery ones.³⁰¹

Beyond a particular generic identity, though, Bartolomeo's use of this particular quotation from the *Purgatorio* offers a more complex commentary on the ways in which Italian literature

²⁹⁸ *Isolario*, p. 1v.

²⁹⁹ Adapted from J.D. Sinclair's translation of *Purgatorio* (Oxford, 1981), p. 244.

³⁰⁰ M. Guglielminetti, "Per un sottogenere della letteratura di viaggio," p. 110.

³⁰¹ As Barbara J. Godorecci has found regarding Machiavelli's use of *terza rima* in the *Decennali*, the form could be adapted to various tones and styles, and so assigning it to a particular generic use is unwise: "Beyond Limits: Time, Space, Language in Machiavelli's Discourses," in *The Comedy and Tragedy of Machiavelli: Essays on the Literary Works*, ed. V.B. Sullivan (New Haven, 2000), p. 16.

could mediate the experience and representation of the space of the Mediterranean. In the canto from the *Purgatorio*, Dante has fallen asleep, and has a dream in which a crippled woman with crossed eyes, crooked feet, and most importantly, an inability to speak - she is 'una femmina balba', stammering or literally choking on her tongue - appears before him. Dante gazes at her and his gaze brings back her colour, makes her stand up straight, and loosens her tongue. She then sings the tercet which Bartolomeo appropriated: 'Io son dolce serena, / che' marinari in mezzo mar dismago, / tanto son di piacere a sentir piena!' It is not until 'una donna santa' comes to Dante's aid and calls Virgil to rip open the siren's clothes, that Dante wakes up from his dream, awoken by the stench coming from the siren's stomach.³⁰²

Not only did she bewitch Dante in his dream, but the Siren says in the *Purgatorio* that she ensnared Ulysses,³⁰³ as well: 'Io volsi Ulisse del suo cammin vago / al canto mio', ('I drew Ulysses from his path to my song') a story repeated by Boccaccio in the *Genealogia deorum gentilium*, an encyclopaedia of pagan gods, and by Fazio degli Uberti in the late fourteenth-century *Il Dittamondo*, a didactic travel poem in which Fazio is guided by the Roman geographer Solinus (parallel to Virgil's role in the *Commedia*), and a poem which has been considered to be a potential influence upon Bartolomeo's writing.³⁰⁴ Bartolomeo claims to have begun writing the *Isolario* in the Sea of the Siren, and that her singing animated his own pen. Thus in the passage that Bartolomeo adapted from the *Purgatorio*, it was not exactly Dante who Bartolomeo quoted,

³⁰² See J. Tambling, "Dreaming the Siren: Dante and Melancholy," *Forum for Modern Language Studies* 20 (2004), p. 65.

³⁰³ J. Freccero, "Dante's Ulysses: From Epic to Novel," in *Dante: The Poetics of Conversion* (Cambridge M.A., 1986): 136-146.

³⁰⁴ Fazio degli Uberti, *Il Dittamondo*, available online: <http://bepi1949.altervista.org/dittamondo/dittamondo.html> (last accessed 9/12/2012), lines 70-73. On *Il Dittamondo* as a potential influence on Bartolomeo, M. Donattini, 'Bartolomeo da li Sonetti, il suo Isolario e un viaggio di Giovanni Bembo,' p. 218.

but Dante's Siren. Much like Virgil in the opening canto of the *Inferno* who is made to speak by Dante's gaze, the Siren is similarly changed from a tongue-tied cripple into a melodious, enchanting singer through the poet's gaze.³⁰⁵ Dante's gaze vocalises the Siren; and Dante's Siren vocalises Bartolomeo, so that by a process of poetic and authorial substitution, Bartolomeo weaves an authorial heritage connecting him with Dante.

Finally, Bartolomeo and Dante's use of the Siren parallels closely Cicero's conception of the Siren as a fount of knowledge, rather than simply seduction. In *De finibus bonorum et malorum*, the Sirens were not seductresses at all:

It was not the sweetness of their voices or the novelty and diversity of their songs but their professions of knowledge that used to attract the passing voyagers; it was the passion for learning that kept men rooted to the Sirens' rocky shores [...] It is knowledge the Sirens offer, and it was no marvel if a lover of wisdom held this dearer than his home.³⁰⁶

It may have been Cicero's conception of the Sirens as offering tempting knowledge which Cristoforo Buondelmonti appropriated, in somewhat altered form, for his *Liber insularum* (fig. 17). Buondelmonti gave a concrete geography to 'sapientia' itself, where knowledge is the navigational expertise needed to avoid the Siren's song:

Venio inde ad Sapientiam coram modonense civitate que parva et fructuosa apparet et dicta est Sapientia ut navis transeundo sapienter a Scopulis ibi occultis se custodiat: vel quia ibi mulier greca cum habitaret futura incantationibus transeuntibus re solvebat.³⁰⁷

I come to Sapientia, which appears to be a small and fertile city³⁰⁸ facing Modon. It is called Sapientia either because the ships passing to Skopelos know that the occult is kept

³⁰⁵ H. Belting, 'Dante's picture theory and the shadow,' lecture delivered 14 Nov. 2012, Warburg Institute, London.

³⁰⁶ J. Tambling, "Dreaming the Siren," p. 63. From Cicero, *De finibus*, V, xviii, trans. H. Rackham (London, 1983), pp. 449-451.

³⁰⁷ M. Plassman, A. Effenberger, and F. Rijkers, eds., *Liber insularum archipelagi* (Wiesbaden, 2005), fol. 32r.

³⁰⁸ Sapientia is depicted as a tiny island-city.

there; or because the Greek woman lives there, casting spells on those passing by. Bartolomeo has engaged in a kind of Faustian knowledge exchange, mediated via Dante, Ulysses, Cicero and Buondelmonti: he is able to write poetically and authoritatively not only through his navigational experience, but through his Mediterranean encounter with the Siren. The space of the Mediterranean becomes, from the introductory tercets of the book of islands, one of a direct encounter with antiquity - or perhaps, even more otherworldly than simply an encounter, Bartolomeo completes an exchange with the Siren. When compared with his elaboration of his direct experience as a Venetian navigator, his exchange with the Siren conveys a sense of the Aegean space as existing in two different temporal spheres. Knowledge can be produced both through the *techne* of the Quattrocento navigational writing, and through an encounter with antiquity: and indeed these two are mutually reinforcing.

Bartolomeo similarly animates a series of classical authors, claiming that he hears each of them. He begins with Virgil himself, as imagined in the opening canto of the *Inferno*: ‘Al primo e quel che ove il sol tace sede / nel gran deserto’ (‘The first is that where the sun is silent in the vast desert’). He goes on to ‘hear’ Dionysius Periegetes, ‘che scripse cantando / de situ orbis cum tal melodia / che al ciel va a[n]chor sua fama arinsonando’ (‘who wrote singing *De Situ Orbis* with such melody that his fame again goes resounding to the heavens’), as well as Pomponius Mela, ‘che un orphea p[ro] par cantando el sia’ (‘he himself is like Orpheus by his singing’); and finally Strabo, ‘reciting’ the history of Sparta.³⁰⁹ Each of the authors is introduced with auditory language, especially focused on singing and reciting, much like Dante’s Siren. The orality of Bartolomeo’s references suggest that he hears them in the present tense, through their prose; it is

³⁰⁹ *Isolario*, p. 1v.

through his verse in the *Isolario* that their voices can again ‘resound’ in print. Knowledge about the Mediterranean world was not produced simply by reading and compiling classical texts, then, but through an imaginary oral exchange with classical authors.

Knowledge about the Mediterranean world was also created in the physical encounter with the material culture of antiquity, or with what remained of it scattered throughout the Aegean islands. In the sonnets and maps of Bartolomeo’s *Isolario*, in particular, Bartolomeo translates his experience of the ruins on the Aegean islands into printed map and text. Unlike the transitional quatrains at the beginning of the sonnets which imply a sense of movement through the archipelago, the descriptive writing of the sonnets and the diagrammatic role of the island maps imply a still tableau which Bartolomeo can see all at once: a ‘cartographic’ perspective on the space of the Aegean. The sonnets and maps imply Bartolomeo’s occupation of a space above the islands, a height which allows him to take in the entire landscape and history, and a space which the maps force the reader to occupy as well.³¹⁰ The maps provide a diagrammatic setting for the writing of the sonnets, in which a tableau of the classical past and landscape is woven from ancient toponyms, temples and goddesses of myth, and antique geography. The entirety of the historical landscape of the island can be seen and described as a static tableau, seen as a cohesive whole from the space above.

The landscape as seen from above is classical, but as it was described and mapped by Bartolomeo on his trading journeys with Venetian *padroni*. The classical islands are never in the

³¹⁰ The development of a cartographic ‘bird’s-eye’ view in verse is a literary technique I explore in greater detail in Chapter IV. See J. Schultz’s well-known article, “Jacopo de’ Barbari’s View of Venice: Mapmaking, City Views, and Moral Geography before the year 1500,” *The Art Bulletin* 60/3 (1978): 425-474; and B. Wilson, *The World in Venice* (Toronto, 2005), pp. 47-50.

perfect state of antiquity. Ruins and earthquakes abound in the sonnets, testifying to the effects of time. In the sonnet on Rhodes, for example, Bartolomeo writes:

La sua citate antiqua gia
fu albergo a signor molti de lasia minore
dita adeso turchia et vase atergo
Perche la fu piu nobile e maggiore
ma iteramoti in parte te dico ergo
a exinanide sue superbe tore

Its ancient city was once the seat
of many nobles of Asia Minor,
now called Turkey, and now is decaying:
For it was the noblest and the greatest [of all cities],
but earthquakes, I tell you,
have destroyed her proud towers.³¹¹

Fortini Brown's interpretation of Bartolomeo's writing about the classical past emphasises the absolute separation between the author's time and the time of the miniature or sonnet.³¹²

However, in Bartolomeo's Aegean, the buildings decay: in the process of becoming ruins, the material culture of antiquity intervenes into the present-day Venetian experience of the Aegean. Rather than reifying a timeless antiquity, Bartolomeo's island tableaux describe a constantly unfolding sense of history that can still be encountered, mapped, and translated into print. These persistent ruins are presented - by comparison between the sonnet and the map - in their original, spatial context, as temples, castles, fortifications, set within an antique landscape (fig. 18a-b).

The contrast between the nautical, first- or second-person concatenated movement of the *portolano* in the beginning of the sonnets, and the cartographic tableau of the ruined built environment of the classical islands, directs the reader between an exterior world of movement

³¹¹ Translation by P. Fortini Brown, *Venice and Antiquity* (New Haven, 1997), p. 160.

³¹² Ibid, p. 160.

and an interior one of the islands themselves. Bartolomeo's subject and his sources - the ruins of antiquity, and the poetry of Dante and the Siren's song - belong to the interior world of the study, to the *vita contemplativa* of reading, studying, and writing. But by setting his encounter with the voices and material culture of antiquity in the dynamic, contemporary world of Venetian navigational expertise, the literary culture of the Venetian humanist study is translated to the Aegean. The antique Aegean was not past but present, a temporal world which could still be encountered by Venetian navigators like Bartolomeo in the Quattrocento: by those with the right combination of navigational *techne* and Siren-inspired *sapientia* and *eloquentia*. The question of who could represent the antique material culture of the Aegean, and how one might do so, was answered by Bartolomeo by layering navigational and humanist knowledge to create a representation of a physical antique Aegean world which persisted into the Quattrocento present.

V. Cyriac d'Ancona: *inter antiquos antiquissimus*

Perhaps the single most important figure who translated the physical world of Aegean antiquity into text and image during the Renaissance was Cyriac d'Ancona, born in 1391, who travelled extensively around the Mediterranean world collecting inscriptions, dealing in books and antiquities, working as a diplomat and merchant, even staying at the Ottoman court of Mehmed II.³¹³ His extensive notes of Latin and Greek inscriptions, travel diaries, and geographical

³¹³ Cyriac's texts and letters have been published in E.W. Bodnar, *Cyriacus of Ancona and Athens* (Brussels, 1960); E.W. Bodnar and C. Mitchell, *Cyriacus of Ancona's Journeys in the Propontis and the Northern Aegean, 1444-1445* (Philadelphia, 1976); and, with some overlap with previous editions, E.W. Bodnar, *Cyriac of Ancona: Later Travels* (London, 2003). The most comprehensive monograph on Cyriac is J. Colin, *Cyriaque d'Ancône: le voyageur, le marchand, l'humaniste* (Paris, 1967); and the papers collected in *Ciriaco d'Ancona e la cultura antiquaria dell'Umanesimo. Atti del Convegno Internazionale di Studio*, ed. G. Paci and S. Sconocchia (Reggio Emilia, 1998). Also see F. Babinger, "Notes on Cyriac of Ancona and Some of His Friends," *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* 25/3 (1962): 321-323; and J. Raby, "Cyriacus of Ancona and the Ottoman Sultan Mehmed II," *JWCI* 43 (1980): 242-246.

descriptions - probably at one point reaching six volumes, known as the *Commentaria* - were lost in the Sforza library fire at Pesaro in 1514.³¹⁴ Only one autograph excerpt from the *Commentaria* has survived, known as the Trotti manuscript, and it is from this excerpt that we can glimpse what the entire original *Commentaria* might have looked like (figs. 19 and 20).³¹⁵ However, Cyriac's miscellaneous collections of inscriptions, notes, and drawings were circulated widely throughout the Renaissance and Cyriac himself made copies as gifts for important friends; Theodor Mommsen even speculated that it was not a library fire, but the voraciousness of Renaissance collectors, which was responsible for dispersing the original *Commentaria*.³¹⁶ These excerpts circulated all over the Mediterranean and Italian diplomatic and humanist world: from Genoese Chios, to Constantinople, to Venice and the Veneto. Like Buondelmonti, Cyriac was known in the Florentine humanist circles of Nicolò Niccoli: in a *Vita* written of Cyriac by his friend Francesco Scalamonti (produced at the insistence of the Venetian humanist Lauro Quirini on Crete), Scalamonti writes that Cyriac received a dignitary's tour of Niccoli's library and antique coin and sculpture collection.³¹⁷

Although Cyriac may never have met Buondelmonti, he very likely owned a copy of the *Liber insularum*. Several composite manuscripts preserve what is now called 'Cyriacana', collections of inscriptions, drawings, and miscellaneous texts including the *Liber* which were

³¹⁴ E.W. Bodnar, *Cyriacus of Ancona and Athens* (Brussels, 1960), p. 69.

³¹⁵ Milan, Biblioteca Ambrosiana, Trotti MS 373, ff. 101-25 (consulted).

³¹⁶ E.W. Bodnar, *Cyriacus of Ancona and Athens* (Brussels, 1960), pp. 69-70.

³¹⁷ C. Mitchell and E.W. Bodnar, eds., "Vita Viri Clarissimi et Famosissimi Kyriaci Anconitani," *Transactions of the American Philosophical Society*, N.S. 86/4 (1996), p. 132.

probably copied and circulated from Cyriac's own manuscript collections.³¹⁸ The popularity of these 'Cyriacana' collections, in which the *Liber* was copied together with Cyriac's letters, drawings, and geographical texts which Cyriac owned (including the fourth book of Poggio's *De Varietate Fortunae* which reports Nicolò di Conti's Indian travel account, and Pomponius Mela's *Cosmographia*) indicates the diffusion of the Mediterranean encounter with antiquity through heterogeneous compilations of text, epigraph, and image.

The editorial history of Cyriac's texts, and the survival of only one excerpt from the *Commentaria*, make the heterogeneous nature of his compilation of inscriptions, drawings, and prose difficult to perceive. Cyriac did not copy inscriptions or write his travel accounts chronologically, and these already 'out of order' accounts were then dispersed through various manuscript copies. E.W. Bodnar, who has published most of Cyriac's texts, has tried to 'reconstruct' his journeys by editing Cyriac's letters and accounts into a chronological order: producing a coherent narrative, but not necessarily an accurate picture of Cyriac's *Commentaria* nor of his approach to the material culture of the Mediterranean. Here, I compare the format of the extant Trotti manuscript folios from the *Commentaria* with the text of some of Cyriac's letters and *Vita*, not to reconstruct his journeys chronologically, but to examine his approach to collecting the material remains of Mediterranean antiquities in text.³¹⁹

³¹⁸ Manuscripts of 'Cyriacana' collections include: Oxford, Bodleian Library MS Canon Misc. 280 (see C. Mitchell, "Ex libris Kiriacy Anconitani," *Italia Medioevale e Umanistica* V (1962), pp. 283-300) (consulted; also partially digitised); Rome, Biblioteca Casanatense Ms. 106 (not consulted) and Treviso Biblioteca Comunale Ms. 323 (not consulted) (C. Barsanti, "Costantinopoli e l'Egeo," p. 90); and Venier's manuscript held in Berlin (as above, note 28). Also see R. Barbour, "A Thucydides Belonging to Cyriac d'Ancona," *The Bodleian Library Record* V/1 (1954), pp. 9-13; and R. Sabbadini, *Le scoperte dei codici latini e greci ne secoli XIV e XV* (Florence, 1905), pp. 48-9.

³¹⁹ Maya Jasanoff's study of antiquities collectors in eighteenth-century India and Egypt has shaped my approach to Cyriac's collecting. Jasanoff argues for collecting as a metaphor for empire, and is interested in the collecting practices of ordinary imperial merchants, traders, and bureaucrats in the peripheral spaces of empire. M. Jasanoff, *Edge of Empire: Conquest and Collecting in the East 1750-1850* (London, 2006).

Perhaps the most striking feature of Cyriac's *Commentaria* is the complete absence of historical interpretation for his inscriptions. Besides a brief line associating the inscription to a particular building, Cyriac simply copied the Latin and Greek inscriptions into his book, without parsing the inscription itself. There is often no relationship between the inscription, or diagram, and the main body of the narrative text. In the narrative text, he described his travels in detail: recording who he travelled with and what they did on each island or city, relating myths and geographical descriptions. He copied in descriptive evidence of all of his encounters with the antique material culture of his travels: dimensions of Roman temples and their columns; lists of manuscript incipits from his book purchasing on Mt. Athos; bits of poems written in his honour; new inscriptions he devised by copying antique ones; encomia that he penned to Paros, to Chios, to the pagan gods of the sea, all inspired by the Siren (and in vernacular). Beyond copying material into the volumes, Cyriac also attached fragmentary manuscript leaves into his *Commentaria*, folios that contained excerpts from antique Greek letters.³²⁰

The visual impression of the Trotti manuscript folios is one of a fragmented experience of the material culture of the Mediterranean, in which direct copying - of inscriptions, sculpture, and architecture - mirrors the fragmented nature of those remains. The recto and verso of one folio, 113, from the Trotti manuscript are evidence of this fragmentary approach (fig. 20). On the recto are sketches of three classical scenes with Greek inscriptions found at Nauplion (Nafplio), a Venetian-owned seaport town in the Greek Peloponnese. Each scene is framed with an architectural element, including arches and pillars; Cyriac does not include a Latin or vernacular explanation of these scenes, but the Greek inscriptions read: 'Melikrea from Antioch, daughter of

³²⁰ E.W. Bodnar, *Cyriac of Ancona: Later Travels*, p. 203.

Aphrodeisios: Dear one, free from pain, farewell’, and ‘Kineas, Pollis, Dexis, farewell’.³²¹

Against one of these sculptural gravestones is a sketch of a three-dimensional figure of Dionysos, pictured at the same scale as the gravestones. On the verso of the folio is Cyriac’s travel narrative relating to Nauplion, in which he describes the ruins of the citadel, towers, and walls; underneath the text, he draws the ancient stone wall across the bottom of the folio.

Cyriac’s encounter with Nauplion is represented in fragmentary elements from his journey in different media: sketches, inscriptions, and descriptive writing. None of the antique fragments escape Cyriac’s interest; indeed, it seems he was most taken with the ‘pulchra architectorum arte’ and ‘arte magnis’ evinced by the walls of the citadel.

The ways in which Cyriac’s heterogeneous *Commentaria* was circulated and reused by contemporaries demonstrates the importance and afterlife of their compositeness. Michael Vickers has pointed to Andrea Mantegna’s possible re-use of Cyriac’s drawing of the statue of Justinian in Constantinople for his painting of Jerusalem in the background of the *Agony in the Garden*, now in London’s National Gallery (fig. 21 and 22).³²² But sections of the ancient city walls of Jerusalem - painted as stratified layers of ancient and more ancient blocks and brick - Mantegna also seems to have copied from Cyriac, from his much less conspicuous drawing of the Nauplion fortress walls. Cyriac’s description of the walls as both ‘antiquissime’ and ‘arte magnis’ might have justified to Mantegna their re-use as the walls of Jerusalem for his painting; and are evidence of the kind of eclectic visual citation which Cyriac’s own jumbled *Commentaria* suggested.

³²¹ A selection of folios from the Trotti codex have been published by P. Fortini Brown in *Venice and Antiquity*, pp. 86-88. Translations by E.W. Bodnar, *Cyriac of Ancona: Later Travels*, p. 385.

³²² M. Vickers, “Mantegna and Constantinople,” *The Burlington Magazine* 118/883 (1976): 680-87.

By comparing excerpts from Trotti manuscript with his letters, the ways in which Cyriac organized this disparate material into more coherent and contextualised narratives becomes clear. In a letter to Nicolò Zancarolo in 1445, Cyriac describes an archery contest he witnessed on Crete, run by the Venetian governor P. Balduo, ‘under the gaze of the distinguished citizens and colonists’.³²³ After a narrative description of the contest, Cyriac copied in quotes from Isidore, Pindar, Lucan, Virgil, Ovid, and Apuleius, all which described the antique relationship between Cretans and archery; Cyriac writes afterward, ‘Cyriac of Ancona, lover of Hermes, chose all these brilliant and famous sayings of the ancient writers and poets to record here as proof of the ancient worth of all the Cydonian and Cretan archers’.³²⁴ He then drew a picture of Apollo as an archer, which circulated in manuscript ‘Cyriacana’ collections thereafter (fig. 23). Although still a heterogeneous collection, Cyriac wove these discrete elements - travel narrative, quotations, and drawing - into a coherent whole, his copying choices (‘rescribenda delegit’) explained and justified, drawn together under a single theme (‘archery in Crete’). When self-consciously presented for readers ‘at home’ within an epistolary setting, Cyriac’s documentation of his experience of the Mediterranean acquires narrative framing and an interest in authorial construction. Cyriac presents himself primarily as a compiler of classical texts, with images playing a supplementary role, in a reversal of the style of his *Commentaria*. These uses of the *Commentaria* collection reflect uses of commonplace books and textual miscellanies in Renaissance manuscript culture more broadly, as heterogeneous fragments were compiled for re-

³²³ E.W. Bodnar, *Cyriac of Ancona: Later Travels* (London, 2003), p. 179: ‘dico egregiisque spectantibus accolis civibus et colonis.’

³²⁴ E.W. Bodnar, *Cyriac of Ancona: Later Travels* (London, 2003), p. 179: ‘Kyriacus idem hermophylos Anconitanus in Cydonum Chretensiumve omnium sagictferum probatis argumentum antiqua haec omnia praeclara auctorum poetarumve inclita dicta his rescribenda delegit...’

use in original thematic constructions. Even Mantegna's re-use of the walls of Nauplion, 'most ancient' and 'well-crafted', under a kind of visual *locus communis* of 'Jerusalem', recalls this kind of composite thematic compilation.

These compilations were particularly popular in Venice and the Veneto amongst elite collectors. Cyriac himself was in Venice and Padua in 1448, when he presumably made contact with members of humanist circles in the Veneto.³²⁵ From his early career in Ancona, Cyriac's patron was the Venetian cardinal Gabriel Condulmer, who would eventually become Pope Eugenius IV.³²⁶ Probably when Cyriac was in the Veneto in the late 1440s, the Venetian bishop of Padua, Pietro Donato, commissioned a sylloge from Cyriac ("Epigramata litteris maiusculis scripta Latina et Greca et us plurimum Romana") which he had bound into his personal miscellany, a manuscript which also included histories of Venice, a copy of the inscription on Petrarch's tomb in nearby Arquà, classical texts such as Frontinus' *De aqueductibus urbis Romae*, and indices of Greek authors divided by subject.³²⁷ Donato's much better known manuscript, his 1436 commission of a copy of the Codex Spirensis *Notitia Dignitatum*, includes a depiction of Constantinople that the illuminator Peronet Lamy very likely copied from Cyriac's drawings of the city, provided by Donato himself (fig. 24).³²⁸ As mentioned briefly above, Cyriac's antiquarian work must have been well-known to the Venetian humanist Lauro Quirini on Crete, who requested from Cyriac an account of his life (this was eventually provided to him

³²⁵ Idem, *Cyriac of Ancona: Later Travels*, p. xiii.

³²⁶ Idem, *Cyriacus of Ancona and Athens*, p. 20.

³²⁷ Berlin Staatsbibliothek Hamilton MS 254 (not consulted). T. Mommsen, "Über die Berliner Excerptenhandschrift des Petrus Donatus," *Jahrbuch der Königlich Preussischen Kunstsammlungen* iv (1883): 73-89.

³²⁸ Oxford, Bodleian Library MS Canon Misc. 378 (consulted digitised manuscript).

by Cyriac's friend Francesco Scalamonti). Copies of excerpts from Cyriac's *Commentaria* seem to have circulated particularly in the Veneto. Theodor Mommsen proposed that the so-called 'Antiquum Venetum', a now-lost epigraphical sylloge created by Cyriac for the Venetian Contarini family, was the source for many of these manuscript copies.³²⁹ This original Venetian source is reflected in other Veneto collections, including Giovanni Marcanova's well-known copies (Marcanova worked in Padua and Bologna);³³⁰ and the manuscript owned by the Venetian Alessandro Strozza now in the Biblioteca Laurenziana.³³¹ Scalamonti's *Vita* appears in one manuscript, which was produced by the Veronese antiquary and scribe Felice Feliciano for a Milanese member of the Gonzaga court in Mantua.³³² This manuscript preserves a copy of Feliciano's *Iubilatio*, his fanciful account of his idyllic travels around the Lago di Garda in 1464 with his friends Andrea Mantegna, Samuele da Tradate, and Giovanni Marcanova, gathering inscriptions and searching for antiquities in paradisiacal gardens.

A letter from one 'Antonio di Leonardo', almost certainly a Venetian, to Feliciano is preserved in this manuscript. Alongside some inscriptions Antonio recorded at Torcello and Murano, he neatly summarizes Cyriac's Venetian legacy:

[Cyriac] may be considered a man who, among ancients, would have been most ancient: a man well learned in sundry matters, especially in Greek and Latin literature, as his *opuscula* that are now circulating bear witness: a man, in short, who travelled over almost the whole world. With his own eyes he inspected buildings, temples of the gods, marble statues, inscriptions, and all manners of antiquities. Nor was he ever daunted by the harshness of the way, the cruelty of the sea, or the weariness of long journeying:

³²⁹ E.W. Bodnar, *Cyriac of Ancona: Later Travels*, p. 123.

³³⁰ On Marcanova, P. Fortini Brown, *Venice and Antiquity*, pp. 120-126.

³³¹ Florence, Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana, MS. 10, 77 (not consulted). E.W. Bodnar, *Cyriac of Ancona: Later Travels*, p. 123.

³³² C. Mitchell and E.W. Bodnar, eds., "Vita Viri Clarissimi et Famosissimi Kyriaci Anconitani," p. 1.

everything was most easy, agreeable, and pleasant to him on account of his virtue and the antiquities to be discovered.³³³

Cyriac deserves to be known as ‘most ancient among the ancients’ because of the variety of his learning (‘in variis rebus eruditus’), his knowledge of both Latin and Greek, the circulation of his work, and that he travelled to and witnessed a huge variety of antique material remains bravely and agreeably. Ancientness, rather than *only* a temporal characteristic, refers to a mode of engaging with material culture that is diverse or heterogeneous, comprehensive, and virtuous. Cyriac not only encountered the remains of an ancient world, but also pursued this encounter and documented it anciently, even more anciently than the ancients themselves who originally produced those material objects.

The idea of virtuous ancientness which Antonio proposed is closely linked to the fragmentary and heterogeneous nature of the material culture which Cyriac encountered in the Mediterranean, and his composite method of recording and documenting those buildings, temples, statues, and inscriptions. The diversity of Cyriac’s learning, that he considered with his own eyes ‘antiquitates omnes’, and that each and every kind of antique object was documented in his *opuscula*, were summoned by Antonio as proof of his ancientness. Cyriac, Buondelmonti, and Bartolomeo each approached their translations of classical physical geography and material culture into text with composite writing: weaving together excerpts from classical literature, the technical language of the *portolano* with the humanist geographical encyclopedia, combining

³³³ 'Habeas quod vir ille inter antiquos antiquissimus fuisset, beneque in variis rebus eruditus, litteris praesertim Graecis atque Latinis; nam opuscula ab eo edita quae vagantur testes sunt de eo qui, ne longius quam statui sim, totum ferma peragravit mundum. Nam aedificia, templa deorum marmorea, statuas, epigrammata, antiquitates omnes hic propriis oculis conspectus est; nec huic unquam nocuit itineris asperitas, nec pelagi saevitia neque longae peregrinationis lassitudo; omnia ob virtutem, ob antiquitates inveniendas facillima, suavia, iucundaque fuerent.' C. Mitchell and E.W. Bodnar, eds., “Vita Viri Clarissimi et Famosissimi Kyriaci Anconitani,” Latin p. 196, translation p. 4.

copied inscriptions with sketches, diagrams, and text. These composite approaches were imitated in later appropriations of antiquarian geographies: in Marcanova's copies of Cyriac's sylloge, Mantegna's incorporation of visual citations, even in the manuscript compilations of 'Cyriacana', in which Buondelmonti's *Liber* was copied alongside sketches of Apollo and excerpts from Boccaccio's *De mulieribus claris*.³³⁴ The Mediterranean physical environment was documented, and this material was circulated by elite Venetian collectors, in composite form: as Antonio writes, it was the heterogeneity of this documentation of the Mediterranean world that became characteristically ancient and virtuous, despite having been produced contemporarily.

The composite nature of Cyriac's *Commentaria*, with its jumble of text and image, was not conducive for extended narrative analysis of the fragments and inscriptions he recorded. The heterogeneity of the *Commentaria* allowed a kind of documentation that was authoritative in its variety and extent, rather than in Cyriac's successfully parsing of Greek and Latin inscriptions for their meaning or historical import. The fragmentary mode of compiling the *Commentaria* was considered by Cyriac and his readers to be the best way of textually approaching and recording the fragmentariness of antique material culture itself: the composite book was the most accurate way of documenting the ruined, obscured, and scattered evidence of antiquity. Scalamonti twice records Cyriac's response to the built environment of Rome, passages in which this approach becomes clear:

It appeared to him, as he looked upon the great remains left behind by so noble a people, and cast to the ground throughout the city, that the stones themselves afforded to modern spectators much more trustworthy information about their splendid history than was to be found in books. He accordingly resolved to see for himself and to record whatever antiquities remained scattered about the world, so that he should not feel that the

³³⁴ Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Canon Misc. 280.

memorable monuments, which time and the carelessness of men had caused to fall into ruin, should entirely be lost to posterity.³³⁵

Scalamonti identifies what might seem to be a paradox: Cyriac believed that the ‘stones themselves’ offered more truthful (‘fidem’) evidence of their great history than could be found in literature; but his solution to this was to record them in writing (‘litteris mandare praeposuit’) as they were continually becoming ruins. But Cyriac's mode of recording the ruins, in a hodgepodge of descriptive text, inscriptions, diagrams and sketches, was considered to be more truthful than ‘books’. The ‘libri’ which Scalamonti refers to here were almost certainly meant to be understood as ancient texts by classical authors who presumably witnessed Rome in its glory. Cyriac's composite recording was not only more truthful than ancient literature, but better suited to preserve antique material culture for the future (‘penitus posteris abolita non sentiat’). This claim might be ascribed to the Renaissance ‘obsession’ with their own particular kinds of preservation, as David Karmon has recently explored in the case of Flavio Biondo and his *Roma instaurata*.³³⁶ But Scalamonti (through Cyriac) is making a claim about literature, as much as he is about material culture and its preservation: Cyriac’s composite mode of recording antiquity bore a closer relationship to historical reality than other literary genres.

It was not only for posterity that Cyriac documented antique fragments and monuments.

Scalamonti reports Cyriac to have said to the emperor Sigismund during a tour of Rome,

³³⁵ 'At et cum maximas per urbem tam generosissimae gentis reliquias undique solo disiectas aspexisset, lapides et ipsi magnarum rerum gestarum maiorem longe quam ipsi libri fidem et notitiam spectantibus praebere videbantur. Quam ob rem et reliqua per orbem diffusa videre atque litteris mandare praeposuit, ut ea quae in dies longi temporis labe hominumve iniuria conlabuntur, et memoratu digna visa sunt, penitus posteris abolita non sentiat.' C. Mitchell and E.W. Bodnar, eds., “Vita Viri Clarissimi et Famosissimi Kyriaci Anconitani,” Latin p. 48, translation p. 117.

³³⁶ Flavio Biondo, *Roma instaurata* (Rome, 1446). D. Karmon, *The Ruin of the Eternal City: Antiquity and Preservation in Renaissance Rome* (Oxford, 2011), pp. 6-19. I discuss Biondo’s texts in more detail in Chapter IV.

‘I was sure you would be deeply shocked by the way the marble of these huge and elegant buildings throughout the city, these fine statues and columns, which the ancients erected so nobly at such cost, and with such craftsmanship and architectural skill, and these important historical inscriptions, are continually being burnt up into lime by the present inhabitants of the city in so lazy, barbarous, and indecent a fashion that there will very soon be nothing left of them for posterity to see. What a crime! And may the spirits of the famous Roman dead regard these things and remedy such evils by their superior genius. For these are the shining witnesses the ancients left behind them and they possess particular power to fire the minds of noble men to the greatest deeds and to the pursuit of undying glory.’³³⁷

Grieving for the loss of ancient Roman architecture and monuments was a popular literary trope in Renaissance humanist writing, from Petrarch and Poggio to Flavio Biondo; it is one that became especially powerful for a group of Veneto-Dalmatian scholars writing on Friuli and Istria in the early sixteenth century, too, as I explore in Chapter IV. However it is in Cyriac’s final claim, that the ‘*veterum monumenta*’ have the ability to move contemporary men to glory and great deeds (‘*res maximas gerendas et ad gloriae et immortalitatis*’), that the need for truthful documentation becomes clear. If compiling different kinds of representations of antique material culture was the most ‘trustworthy’ way to gain access to antique history, Scalamonti (through Cyriac’s voice) argues that one might gain more than simply the preservation of that history: the monuments themselves might impel the viewer to glory, as they did the ancients. The idea that Roman glory could ‘move’ in the Italian Quattrocento is emphasised by Cyriac’s reported plea to the ‘famous Roman dead’ to help save contemporary Rome from ruin. The plea to the Romans

³³⁷ ‘Equidem non parum putabam caeseri principis animum lacessere, quod qui nunc vitam agunt Romana inter moenia homines, marmorea ingentia atque ornatissima undique per urbem aedificia, statuas insignes, et columnas tantis olim sumptibus, tanta maiestate, tantaque fabrorum architectorumve arte conspicuas et nobilia in his magnarum epigrammata rerum, ita ignave, turpiter et obscene in dies ad albam tenuemque convertunt cinerem, et eorum nullam brevi tempore speciem vestigiumve posteris apparebit. Proh scelus! et o, vos inclytae Romulae gentis manes, aspice haec meritumque malis advertite numen. Nam et ea praeclara sunt veterum monumenta, virorumque nobilis praesertim animos ad res maximas gerendas et ad gloriae et immortalitatis studium vehementer accendunt.’ C. Mitchell and E.W. Bodnar, eds., “Vita Viri Clarissimi et Famosissimi Kyriaci Anconitani,” Latin p. 68, translation p. 131.

for help is borrowed from the *Aeneid*, from a passage in which Dido begs various gods to carry out her curse on Aeneas, immediately before she commits suicide.³³⁸ Importantly, though, it is not only Dido's curse channeled through Cyriac's grief that has the power to move the ancients to intervene in the contemporary world. It is the stones themselves which, according to Scalamonti/Cyriac, have that power.³³⁹ By recording them in his *Commentaria* in a particularly truthful way, through a miscellaneous compiling of different modes of representing material culture, Cyriac has allowed that kind of classical agency to circulate in literature. Antiquity became alive and intercessory through the circulation of Cyriac's composite texts.

VI. *A humanist Mediterranean*

The material culture of the antique Mediterranean did not circulate only in composite literature like Cyriac's *Commentaria* excerpts and books of islands. Objects themselves, from medals, coins, and sculpture fragments to manuscripts, created social links between Italian humanists in the Mediterranean. In the *Vita*, Scalamonti writes of Cyriac purchasing fragments of classical sculpture, including a statue of Venus, on Rhodes;³⁴⁰ he regularly shipped 'monumenti' to his friends in Italy and around the Mediterranean, as when he sent Antonio Boccone a bronze figure

³³⁸ Scalamonti's 'aspicite haec meritumque malis advertite numen' is from Virgil, *Aeneid*, Book IV, 611: 'accipite haec meritumque malis advertite numen'.

³³⁹ Scalamonti uses the verb 'accendere' to describe this kind of agency; although the editors have corrected this, replacing 'accendere' (to kindle, light a fire, inflame) with 'accedere' (to approach, advance, or resemble). C. Mitchell and E.W. Bodnar, eds., "Vita Viri Clarissimi et Famosissimi Kyriaci Anconitani," p. 68, ft. g. Given that the word appears between Cyriac's discussion of the marble stones being burned up for lime and a reference to Dido's funeral pyre, perhaps 'accendere' is what Scalamonti intended.

³⁴⁰ C. Mitchell and E.W. Bodnar, eds., "Vita Viri Clarissimi et Famosissimi Kyriaci Anconitani," p. 124.

of a bird,³⁴¹ presented the emperor-elect Sigismund with a gold coin that pictured the emperor Trajan as an example for his own rule,³⁴² or when he gave Pope Eugenius two Indian porcelain ewers decorated in gold that he had acquired on his travels.³⁴³ One of his richest descriptions of this kind of exchange is found in a 1445 letter to M. Lepomagno, sent from Crete, in which Cyriac describes his visit to the Venetian galley commander Giovanni Delfino on-board his ship. Delfino shows him a crystal signet seal which Cyriac believes to depict Alexander: ‘When one holds the solid part of the gem to the light (where, because of its three-dimensional corporeality with a barely lit, glass-like, translucent shadow within, breathing limbs are seen to gleam with wondrous beauty) we learn [the name of] this superb object’s artificer from the very ancient Greek characters inscribed on it’.³⁴⁴ (fig. 25) Venetian patricians who held officers or commanded ships around the Mediterranean often played host to Cyriac, shaping his experience of Mediterranean antiquities, as when Ermolao Donato led him around Damascus.³⁴⁵ Benedetta Bessi has noted that Cristoforo Buondelmonti, in his description of Crete, wrote of a similar encounter with a Venetian patrician collector, Nicolò Cornaro: Cornaro showed Buondelmonti

³⁴¹ E.W. Bodnar, *Cyriac of Ancona: Later Travels*, p. 31.

³⁴² C. Mitchell and E.W. Bodnar, eds., “Vita Viri Clarissimi et Famosissimi Kyriaci Anconitani,” p. 129. In his recent study of imperial humanism, Thomas Dandeleit discusses the role of ancient coins as models for political emulation; amongst other examples, he cites Petrarch as writing about a gift of coins to Charles IV: ‘I gave him as a gift some gold and silver coins bearing the portraits of our ancient rulers...and among them was the head of Caesar Augustus, who almost appeared to be breathing. ‘Here, O Caesar,” I said, are the men whom you have succeeded, here are those whom you must try to imitate and admire, whose ways and character you should emulate.’ *The Renaissance of Empire in Early Modern Europe* (Cambridge, 2014), p. 18.

³⁴³ Ibid, p. 129.

³⁴⁴ E.W. Bodnar, *Cyriac of Ancona: Later Travels*, p. 197 ‘Cum et ad lucem solidam gemmae partem obiectares, ubi cubica corporalitate intus sublucida et vitrea transparenti umbra mira pulchritudine membra quoque spirantia enitescere conspiciantur, et tam conspicuae rei opificem superscriptis inibi consculptis litteris Graecis atque vetustissimis intellegimus’. Delfino’s gem depicting the *Pallas Athena* is now held in the Berlin Staatliche Museen.

³⁴⁵ C. Mitchell and E.W. Bodnar, eds., “Vita Viri Clarissimi et Famosissimi Kyriaci Anconitani,” pp.121-2.

his garden filled with antique sculpture where ‘he poses on a pedestal every statue that he discovers in the bushes and finds to his taste, and there are plenty of them...the ancestors of my host posed the busts of Marc Antony and Pompeius. There I saw pretty marbles brought from every kind of building’.³⁴⁶ Two Italian pilgrims, Gabriele Capodilista and Roberto da Sanseverino, who set out for Jerusalem in the spring of 1458 on the same galley from Venice, wrote of a similar Cornaro *locus amoenus* on Cyprus: ‘I stayed sometime in this castle and saw certain beautiful orchards of oranges, cedars, and other trees, which produce fruit called carob - long, edible, and black when ripe - which when eaten tastes a bit like cassia’.³⁴⁷ His companion Gabriele reports that when they had received news that the queen of Cyprus, Helena Palaiologina, had recently died, they travelled with Andrea Cornaro and his brothers to visit a monastery, where after swearing his loyalty to the new king James II with ‘his hand over his heart,’ one of the Cornaro brothers received ‘a sword, encircled with the motto “Pour liuté mantener”’.³⁴⁸ The Venetian Mediterranean of the Quattrocento was one of fragmentary antiquities, paradisiacal gardens of ruins and exotic fruits, curious relics of French ritual fealty. Antique material remains - including sculpture, coins, and medals - structured the Italian social experience of Mediterranean space, and were shipped to friends, discussed in letters, used as

³⁴⁶ ‘...aedificari fecit inique quisquid corpus in arboribus delectamini sumit reperitur habunde....atque levam Marci Antoni caput et Pompei patres posuere. Ibi marmora pulchra cognomi, que ab aliis hedifitiis traslata fuere.’ B. Bessi, “Cristoforo Buondelmonti: Greek Antiquities in Florentine Humanism,” *The Historical Review/La Revue Historique* IX (2012), p. 66.

³⁴⁷ ‘Stati alquanti in dicto castello et viduti certi bellissimi zardini de naranci cedri et certi arbori, chi produchano alcuni fructi chiamati charabole longe et piate et negre quando sono mature, che nel gustare han quasi sapore di cassia...’ *Viaggio in Terra Santa*. Ed. G. Maruffi (Bologna, 1888), p. 62-3.

³⁴⁸ ‘una spada circundata da uno breve che dice “Pour liuté mantener.”’ *Viaggio in Terrasanta di Santo Brasca 1480 con l’Itinerario di Gabriele Capodilista 1458*, ed. A.L. Momigliano Lepschy (Milan, 1966), p. 178-9.

diplomatic gifts;³⁴⁹ sculpture gardens were stages for civilised behaviour. In the *Commentaria* and books of islands, as well as in the exchange of objects amongst Italian humanists in the Mediterranean, that space was made over into an antique one in which the classical world persisted into the Quattrocento.³⁵⁰

Volumes of classical texts, too, were perceived as ancient objects to be collected and distributed to humanist friends at home in Italy. Buondelmonti purchased seven or possibly more manuscripts in the Mediterranean: five on Crete, one on Andros, and one on Imbros. Six of these he dealt to Nicolò Niccoli in Florence, and are held now in the Biblioteca Laurenziana. These include a Greek commentary on the Song of Songs by Gregory of Nyssa, a Greek copy of Aristotle's *Physica*, and the *Declamationes* of Libanius, bought on Crete; a copy of Plutarch's *Vitae* purchased on Imbros; and perhaps most importantly, a manuscript of the *Hieroglyphica* ascribed to Horapollo, a text which claimed to translate Egyptian hieroglyphics into Greek and which kindled Italian humanistic interest in Egyptian antiquity.³⁵¹ Cyriac was also a prolific collector of manuscripts, especially from the Greek Orthodox monasteries at Mount Athos, where according to Scalamonti, he shamelessly cajoled the 'illiterate monks' into giving him ancient codices.³⁵² These included copies of Plutarch's *Moralia*, codices of Homer's *Illiad*, tragic

³⁴⁹ For the Venetian humanist Pietro Bembo's discussion of his antique coin collection in his letters, see I. Brooke, "'Per farne poi di esse donation...per lasciar perpetua memoria a i posterì de i nomi di coloro': gifts of ancient coins to Pietro Bembo," in *Una insalata di più erbe: a festschrift for Patricia Lee Rubin*, J. Harris, S. Netherdole, and P. Rumberg, eds. (London, 2011): 51-62.

³⁵⁰ Giada Damen's recent doctoral dissertation provides an in-depth treatment of the circulation of antiquities in Italy, and particularly their assemblage in Venetian collections: *The Trade in Antiquities Between Italy and the Eastern Mediterranean (ca. 1400-1600)*, unpublished PhD thesis, Princeton, 2012.

³⁵¹ On Buondelmonti's books, see B.L. Ullman and P.A. Stadter, *The Public Library of Renaissance Florence* (Padua, 1972), pp. 95-96. B. Curran, *The Afterlife of Ancient Egypt in Early Modern Italy* (Chicago, 2007), p. 58.

³⁵² C. Mitchell and E.W. Bodnar, eds., "Vita Viri Clarissimi et Famosissimi Kyriaci Anconitani," p. 123.

plays by Euripides, and Ovid's *Fasti*.³⁵³ Cyriac also compiled a list of manuscript incipits in the monastic libraries of Mount Athos, which include Synesius' *De insomniis*, a treatise on dreams; a text of Libanius' work on rhetoric; Eustathius of Thessalonica's commentary on the *Illiad*, interestingly beginning with a warning concerning the Sirens; a book of excerpts from Herodotus; and a composite codex containing ancient letters.³⁵⁴ From the contemporary manuscript collections of 'Cyriacana', we can also surmise that Cyriac owned a copy of Pomponius Mela's *De situ orbis*, Poggio Bracciolini's *De varietate fortunae* (at least the fourth book), and a copy of Buondelmonti's *Liber*. Finally, a copy of Cyriac's Thucydides has been identified in the Bodleian.³⁵⁵ Not only do these collections illustrate the kinds of disparate and diverse sources from which Buondelmonti and Cyriac could compile their own texts, but they also indicate the ways in which collecting and trading manuscripts became an essential component of the Quattrocento Italian experience of the Mediterranean: mediating the authors' experience of the space, and redolent of Greek and Roman antiquity when assembled in Italian libraries at home.

Readers' impressions of the books of islands equally reveal how effectively Bartolomeo dalli Sonetti and Cristoforo Buondelmonti made over the Mediterranean as a humanist space. As mentioned briefly above, Antonio Venier, the Venetian patrician humanist who held a number of political offices in the Venetian *terraferma*, owned a copy of Buondelmonti's *Liber insularum*

³⁵³ Ibid, p. 123.

³⁵⁴ E.W. Bodnar, *Cyriac of Ancona: Later Travels*, p. 131.

³⁵⁵ R. Barbour, "A Thucydides Belonging to Cyriac d'Ancona," pp. 9-13.

and lent it out to his friends to read or possibly to have copied for themselves.³⁵⁶ The manuscript was probably copied from a 'Cyriacana' collection, as it also includes drawings of Mercury and of an elephant which can be traced to Cyriac's *Commentaria*, and a poem about the fall of Constantinople by Gianni Pannonio which is attested in two other 'Cyriacana' collections.³⁵⁷ His friends gratefully wrote short Latin poems to thank Venier for his generosity, poems which also serve as unique evidence for the kinds of readings to which Buondelmonti's book was subjected. The most common conceit in Venier's friends' poems is that by lending them the *Liber*, Venier allowed them to travel through the Cyclades, the Sporades, Crete and other islands without having to face the danger of sea travel. Ludovico Cendrata articulates this idea by writing, 'I might traverse these famous Cyclades islands at seventy-nine years old, without fear of attack or the danger of the sea'.³⁵⁸ Marcantonio Averoldi writes in verse that 'Indeed, you shall not see more of the earth and sea from a fast ship through the Cyclades in a month, than that which is depicted in this short work'.³⁵⁹ Augustinus Capellus of Verona writes in his rhyming poem, 'To have traversed the sea free from danger / with nothing undertaken and no fear - / I owe all this to you, Venier, / as you have shared this little book with me'.³⁶⁰ The humanist

³⁵⁶ Berlin, Staatsbibliothek, MS Hamilton 108. Ludovico Cendrata, one Venier's friends to whom he lent the book and an author of an inscription of thanks in the manuscript, dates his inscription to 1481 in Verona. Antonio Venier was the *podestà* of Verona in 1481. B. Kohl, A. Mozzato, and M. O'Connell, "The Rulers of Venice, 1332-1524," record number 52705 (last accessed 28/07/2014).

³⁵⁷ C. Barsanti discusses the poem, "Costantinopoli e l'Egeo," p. 90. The poem is also found in Rome, Biblioteca Casanatense MS 106 and Treviso, Biblioteca Comunale MS 323.

³⁵⁸ '...ut uno ferme impetu novem et septuaginta absque maris periculo Cyclades percurrerem claa insularum notitia.' *Die Lateinischen Handschriften der Sammlung Hamilton zu Berlin*, ed. H. Boese (Wiesbaden, 1966), p. 59.

³⁵⁹ 'Nanque orbem et celeri quas per mare mense carina Cyclades haud videas, hoc breve pingit opus.' Ibid, p. 58.

³⁶⁰ 'Nullis sumptibus, et timore nullo, / Percurri, vacuus maris periclo: / Hoc totum tibi debeo, Veneri, / Dum me hoc partem facis libello.' *Die Lateinischen Handschriften der Sammlung Hamilton zu Berlin*, ed. H. Boese (Wiesbaden, 1966), p. 59.

Bernardo Bembo, probably best known for his Platonic love for Ginevra de' Benci and for restoring Dante's tomb whilst serving as a Venetian governor in Ravenna, wrote a brief two lines addressed to future readers of Venier's book: 'You desire to traverse lands and seas/ That, reader, which you seek in vain: seek [here]'.³⁶¹ In the poems and prose written in Venier's book by his friends, they articulate the privilege of encountering the Mediterranean through the maps and descriptions of Buondelmonti's *Liber*. Buondelmonti's topological and archaeological writing on the islands is a substitute for witnessing it first-hand: not only is Mediterranean space a place of humanist inquiry, as in Cyriac's *Commentaria*, but it is something to be consumed, read, and collected within the humanist study. It is perhaps not surprising that these readers were all associated with Venetian *terraferma* humanism and governance, rather than the *stato da mar*: Cendrata was a consigliere and public orator in Verona; Averoldi, a doctor of liberal arts in Brescia; Ioannes Calphurnius (or Giovanni Perlanza dei Ruffinoni), a lecturer in rhetoric in Padua; even Bembo and Venier, both Venetian patricians, were politically active on the mainland: Bembo as *podestà* of Ravenna and Verona, and Venier in Brescia and Padua.³⁶² Unlike Giovanni Bembo and Pietro Coppo, Venetian humanists who collected and wrote geographical texts in the *stato da mar* and the subjects of Part II of this thesis, these men were offered an alternative, textual encounter with the Mediterranean through Buondelmonti's *Liber* from their *terraferma* studies in Padua, Verona, and Brescia.

³⁶¹ 'Metiri quicunque cupis terrasque fretumque / Haec, frustra lector quid petis illa, pete.' Ibid, p. 59.

³⁶² M. Palma, "Cendrata, Ludovico," and A. Ventura and M. Pecoraro, "Bembo, Bernardo," in *Dizionario Biografico degli Italiani* 23 (1979), and 8 (1966). Available online: [http://www.treccani.it/enciclopedia/ludovico-cendrata_\(Dizionario-Biografico\)/](http://www.treccani.it/enciclopedia/ludovico-cendrata_(Dizionario-Biografico)/) and <http://www.treccani.it/enciclopedia/bernardo-bembo/> (last accessed 03/07/2014). Capellus and Averoldi, information provided in their own inscriptions. On Calphurnius: F. Ciccolella, *Donati Graeci: Learning Greek in the Renaissance* (New York, 2008), p. 201, ft. 118.

A similar picture emerges from a comparison of contemporary readers' annotations to Bartolomeo's *Isolario*. Aside from Bartolomeo's own identity, as noted above, readers were particularly interested in Bartolomeo's sources and in the classical information he provided: primarily pairs of classical and modern toponyms and mythological figures. Next to the passage in the introductory poem in which he lists the authors which he has made to 'resound', readers often underline their names or copy them into the margin: Pliny, Dioniso, Ponponio mella, Strabon. Interestingly, most readers do not apparently understand to whom Bartolomeo refers in the first tercet of the passage, that which cites Virgil as a source through his appearance in the first canto of Dante's *Inferno*: 'Al primo e quel che ove il sol tace sede / nel gran deserto: [per] aiuto cholui / dai tre fieri animal che niente illede' ('The first is that where the sun is silent in the vast desert: to help him from the three animals whom no one escapes'). In the Florence copy, the reader has simply underlined 'Al primo'; Bembo, in the copy now in the Biblioteca Estense, writes 'Primo' in the margin. In the British Library copy, the reader underlines the two lines from the tercet in which Bartolomeo introduces the sea of the Siren: 'che el mar dele syrene i potria dirsi / per in se aver tal suavitate diva,' as well as the first line of her direct speech, quoted from Dante, 'Dicea cantando io sum dolce serena'. He also underlines the first line of Bartolomeo's citation of Virgil/Dante as a reference, 'Il primo e quel che ove il sol.' Although the other classical sources are underlined and easily identifiable, none of the readers identify these passages explicitly as Dante, indicating that perhaps Bartolomeo was too obscure.

Readers were also particularly interested in the pairs of classical and modern toponyms Bartolomeo references in his sonnets. Nearly all of the annotated copies that I have seen or seen reproduced have toponymy either underlined in the text, written in the margin, or copied from

the sonnets onto the maps. For example, in a copy now in the Bodleian, a Frater Modestus of Bari transferred the ancient toponymy of the sonnet about Tinos into its map; the lines from the sonnet which refer to etymology read, ‘Tine questa si chiama e si chiamo / da aristotile greco prima idrosa / e demostene gli disse ophiosa’, (‘This [island] is called Tine and was first called by Aristotle Idrosa, and Demosthenes called it Ophiosa’) and Modestus has written ‘Tine’ inside the borders of the island and ‘idrosa’ and ‘ephyosa’ next to it. Next to the sonnets on Sdiles, he has extracted all of the ancient toponymy into the margin: ortigia, asteria, cintia, delos, zinetto, pirpile, lagia, certa. In the first lines of his poem on Sancta Erini, Bartolomeo mentions two smaller islands close to its shores: ‘Verso la par te dove il sol tramonta / da nansio e vinti miglia apolegassa’ (‘Toward the part where the sun sets: from Nansio, it is twenty miles to Apolegassa’). Modestus drew these into smaller islands onto the map, and labeled them ‘apolega’ and ‘na[n]sio’. He also labels the diagrammatic representations of churches and castles on the islands, again copying the information from sonnet to map. The annotators of the Smith copy and the Boston Public Library copy, as well as Bembo in the Estense copy, transferred Bartolomeo’s long list of city names in his sonnets on Crete onto the bifolio map.³⁶³ Bembo also copied the ancient toponyms in the sonnets onto the margins of the page. With the exception of Bembo’s cross-references to other classical authors, which I will look at in detail in Chapter III, the readers of the *Isolario* seemed to have extracted toponymic information from the text of the sonnets, to place them in list form in the marginal space, or to copy them onto maps.

The names of mythological and classical figures, and the landscapes associated with them, were treated similarly by annotators. One figure that caught readers’ attention was Homer;

³⁶³ Northampton, M.A., Smith College, Mortimer Rare Book Collection, B.183; and Boston, Public Library, Q.H05.128.

in the first lines of Bartolomeo's sonnet on Sciro, he writes, 'Se dice in questa eser sepulto homero / il gran poeta degno singulare' ('It is said that Homer's tomb is on this island, the great, worthy, singular poet'). Bembo as well as the annotator of the Marciana copy found this important, and wrote 'homerus poeta' and 'homero,' respectively. Cyriac, too, was taken with the idea of Homer's tomb. In a letter to the Genoese humanist Andreolo Guistiniani from Chios in 1446, he writes how he made 'a little excavation' on the island to try to find the tomb but found nothing, still writing that it was 'a joy and a pleasure to gaze upon the place that the greatest of poets [...] chose as the locale worthy of and most appropriate to his profound vision'.³⁶⁴ The Marciana annotator was interested in other classical and mythological figures: he wrote 'valerio r[e]gno' in the margin of the sonnet on Samo, in which Bartolomeo writes of 'Valerio regno qui crudel a ognuno...'. In the first lines of the sonnet on Nicaria, Bartolomeo relates the myth of Icarus and Dedalus, in which Icarus tumbles into the sea surrounding the island; the annotator has summarised this in the margin as, 'icaro fil[ius] de dedalo'. The annotator of the Trinity College copy combined toponyms, mythological figures, and notable features of the islands in lists in the margins: next to the sonnet on Citharea, he writes, 'Venus / Diana / Dea / Paris et Elena / Montuosa / habitata / insula prima'. These lists represent the units of information which were most valued by the reader, and the kind of information they extracted is consistent across the annotated copies. The maps in the *Isolario* became thematic ones, a jumbled catalogue of historical toponyms from Aristotle and Pliny to the Venetian names of the present. Venus and Diana were still as much present for these readers on the island of Citharea as its mountainous

³⁶⁴ E.W. Bodnar, *Cyriac of Ancona: Later Travels*, pp. 288-291. 'Sed summa hylaritate placuerat inspectasse loca, quae maximus ille vaturn et rerum omnigenum peritissimus homo altae suae meditationi digna peridoneaque [*diaprepestata*] delegerat in insula scilicet singulari.'

physical landscape. The readers of the *Isolario* were not simply interested in studying the past; they were interested in studying the past as presence. For Venetian humanist readers, the names and landscapes of antiquity belonged to several different historical times and spaces simultaneously: this was Venus' Aegean, Homer's, Aristotle's, Pliny's, as well as Bartolomeo's and the Venetians'. The past was both used to create the Venetian present, and was a living presence itself.

VII. *Conclusion*

In the latter half of the Quattrocento, Italian humanists translated the Mediterranean into a space with a doubled temporality, simultaneously contemporary and antique. This was achieved in the Mediterranean itself by antiquarians like Cyriac d'Ancona, as well as in the humanist studies of mainland Italy, through geographical and antiquarian literature. The encounter with antiquity staged in the Mediterranean world - and the ways in which this encounter was represented in text and image - was of particular importance to Venetian humanist patrician readers and collectors, whose interest in the Mediterranean world was not only literary or scholarly but political. The cultural reverberations of the creation of the Mediterranean as a humanist space are wide-ranging and well-studied. From Jacopo Bellini's fantastical sketchbooks, through the surreal classical compositions in the Aldine *Hypnerotomachia Poliphili*, to Titian's painted interpretation of Philostratus' *Imagines* in *The Bacchanal of the Andrians*, the impact of the antique material

culture and geography of the Mediterranean on Venetian visual culture was profound.³⁶⁵ But fifteenth- and sixteenth-century Venetian collectors and patrons of literature and painting were often involved in governing the Venetian state, not only at home but in the *stato da mar*: in the very places being depicted in humanist literature and art as antique landscapes full of sculptural fragments and Greek inscriptions.

Venetian imperial political thought was shaped by the environment of their governance, especially in the Aegean and eastern Mediterranean. That environment was conceived not only as a humanist space but as a space in which one could encounter antiquity: in which one could borrow the *eloquentia* of the Siren, or become moved to virtue by antique stones. As I show in the following chapter on Giovanni Bembo, the construction of an antique Mediterranean was important not only for Venetian painting and visual culture, but also for the political thought and governance of the Venetian patricians who both collected those visual and literary representations and held colonial offices in that space. As we will see in Part II, the antique temporality of the Mediterranean became an inherently political construction in and of itself, an important way to conceive of the geopolitical space of the Venetian empire and of one's own practice of governance. The antique Mediterranean became a crucible for political thought for the men sent to govern there, having been educated in humanist schools and having read books of islands, compiled sylloges, collected fragments of Greek and Roman sculpture. In the final chapters, I examine the writing, mapping, and collecting of two such men: Giovanni Bembo and

³⁶⁵ For Bellini's drawings, see C. Eisler, *The Genius of Jacopo Bellini: The Complete Paintings and Drawings* (New York, 1989), especially plates 84 and 86; and O. Pächt, *Venetian Painting in the 15th Century: Jacopo, Gentile and Giovanni Bellini and Andrea Mantegna*, M. Vyoral-Tschapka and M. Pächt, eds. (London, 2003), pp. 79-86. J. Godwin, trans., *Hypnerotomachia Poliphili* (London, 1999), pp. 238, 244-46, 260-68. Titian, *The Bacchanal of the Andrians*, Museo del Prado. The first printed edition of Philostratus' *Imagines* was published by Aldus Manutius as *Icones Philostrati* (Venice, 1503). On the influence of the Islamic world on the Venetian urban built environment, see D. Howard, *Venice and the East* (New Haven, 2000).

Pietro Coppo, sent to the northern Aegean and to Istria respectively. Both men were taught in the humanist *gymnasia* of Venice, and used humanist geographies and literary approaches in their governance of Skiathos and Isola in order to conceive of their role as colonial administrators in the *stato da mar*. In their annotated books, maps, and composite manuscripts, I examine how the humanist Mediterranean became not only a literary but a political construction for Venetian patrician governors.

Part II: Space and governance in the *stato da mar*

Chapter III: Humanism and Colonial Governance in the Venetian Aegean

I. *Introduction*

While Part I of this dissertation examined a broad set of visual, material, and textual representations of the *stato da mar*, in Part II, I turn to two case-studies of Venetian humanist colonial governors. The first examines the case of Giovanni Bembo, a Venetian *rettore* on Skiathos and Skopelos who, during his term as governor (1524-26), ruined his social and political future in the Venetian state by having a scribe castrated on the island. In this chapter, I argue that the antique Mediterranean - embodied in Bembo's collection of texts and cartographic representations - constantly intervened in his contemporary experience of that space as a Venetian office-holder and representative of the Venetian state. For the both Bembo and Pietro Coppo, who features in Chapter IV, the literary and material cultures I examined in Part I of the dissertation became the media through which they shaped their geopolitical and spatial perceptions of the Venetian *stato da mar*; and, particularly in Bembo's case, through which he could formulate ideas about governance in that space.

In this chapter, I investigate Bembo's training as a humanist and his scholarship, before turning to the ways in which classical authors and humanist methods of composing literature became integral to his perception not only of the space of the Aegean, but of his role within it as *rettore*. I look closely at the events surrounding his castration of the scribe, to untangle the complex social, political, and judicial pressures which led Bembo to his violent decision. Then, I turn to Bembo's reflection upon the castration and the ways in which he tried to account for it in an autobiographical letter. In that letter, Bembo attempted to restore an old friendship with Andrea Anesi from Corfu, and through that friendship, aimed to reconstruct wider social

alliances in order to become once again accepted into Venetian patrician society. But Bembo's friend was too ill to respond, and he was unable to intervene with the Venetian aristocracy as Bembo had hoped. In the pages that follow, I trace Bembo's life narrative as he described it in his autobiography, weaving in passages from the many texts he wrote, annotated, and edited, in order to demonstrate the complex ways in which humanism mediated Bembo's experience of the colonial world; and how it ultimately failed him.

Giovanni Bembo, like many contemporary humanists, authored, edited, collected, and annotated a number of texts.³⁶⁶ But more unusually, it is possible to identify not only the texts he authored and edited, but the individual copies of books he owned and annotated, and in doing so, to partially reconstruct Bembo's textual world. From this wider corpus of writings, compilations, and annotations, I have relied primarily in this chapter on two texts: first, Bembo's lengthy Latin autobiographical letter; and secondly, his annotations to his copy of Bartolomeo dalli Sonetti's *Isolario*.³⁶⁷ Throughout, it is the intertextual relationship between Bembo's self-conscious autobiographical writing, on one hand, and his reading and compilation practiced at work in his *Isolario*, on the other, which provide the richest evidence for the ways in which Bembo perceived himself as a governor within the space of the Venetian Aegean.

³⁶⁶ Bembo's autograph manuscript, which includes his autobiographical letter: Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, CLM 10801 (see below, footnote 2). Bembo's edited volume of classical texts is *In hoc volumine haec continentur: Marci Antonii Sabellici Annotationes veteres et recentes: ex Plinio: Livio: & pluribus authoribus* (Venice, Iacobus Pentius de Leuco, 1502) (consulted). Bembo's annotated books are: Bartolomeo dalli Sonetti, *Isolario* (Venice, c. 1480). Modena, Biblioteca Estense, Alfa E 5. 15; *Librorum Francisci Petrarche Impressorum Annotatio* (Venice: Simon Bevilacqua, 1503) is in London, British Library, 11421.k.13 (consulted); Lucretius, *De rerum natura* (Venice: Theodorus de Ragazonibus, 1495), in Milan, Biblioteca Trivulziana, Inc. C. 54 (consulted). On Bembo's annotated *Isolario*, see M. Donattini, 'Bartolomeo da li Sonetti, il suo Isolario e un viaggio di Giovanni Bembo,' *Geographica Antiqua* II-IV (1994-1995), pp. 225-230. He also owned at one time a manuscript containing several classical texts: Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Vat. Pal. Lat. 1476 (see below in this chapter, footnote 7).

³⁶⁷ Bembo's autobiography is found in Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, CLM 10801. I have consulted the digitised microfilm of this manuscript, available at: <http://daten.digital-sammlungen.de/~db/0004/bsb00043566/images/> (last accessed 05/09/2014). The autobiographical letter (not the entire manuscript) was edited by classicist Theodor Mommsen as "Autobiographie des Venezianers Giovanni Bembo (1536)," *Sitzungsberichten der K. Akademie der Wissenschaften* (1861): 1-31.

In addition to investigating the ways in which Bembo constructed his life narrative using texts he compiled in the *Isolario*, I explore the wider-ranging network of texts within which the autobiographical letter and *Isolario* annotations were placed. In Bembo's annotations to the *Isolario*, I find that the encyclopedic structure of the book itself provided a physical format for Bembo's compilations of classical and contemporary information about the Mediterranean which he perceived as necessary for governing the island of Skiathos. The autobiographical letter was composed within a heterogeneous manuscript that Bembo used to record and compile classical inscriptions, to draft letters to friends, to keep lists of islands, friends, and Venetian resources in the Mediterranean, and even to practice forming Greek letters.³⁶⁸ Throughout the chapter, I examine the ways in which Bembo's autobiographical letter reveals the ways in which he endeavoured to narrate his own life meaningfully through the rhetorical strategies, generic categories, and interpretative literary techniques of humanism.³⁶⁹

In Part I of the thesis, I showed how composite textual practices worked in a number of different manuscript and printed contexts within Venetian Renaissance intellectual culture, with a particular focus on their political representations of the space of the *stato da mar*. In this chapter, I examine Giovanni Bembo's self-perception of his role as a governor and of the Mediterranean space of Venetian governance: perceptions which emerge from his use of composite collecting and writing techniques, visible in the densely intertextual relationships between his autobiographical letter and his annotations to d'Albi's *Sonetti's Isolario*. In the second half of the

³⁶⁸ Hereafter, the 'Munich codex.'

³⁶⁹ On early modern autobiographical sources and methodological questions, see A. Smyth, *Autobiography in Early Modern England* (Cambridge, 2010); A. Mousley, "Early modern autobiography, history and human testimony: the autobiography of Thomas Whythorne," *Textual Practice* 23/2 (2009): 267-287; L. Davis, "Critical Debates and Early Modern Autobiography," in *Early Modern Autobiography: Theories, Genres, Practices*, R. Bedford, L. Davis, and P. Kelly, eds. (Ann Arbor, 2006); J.S. Amelang, *The Flight of Icarus: Artisan Autobiography in Early Modern Europe* (Stanford, 1998), especially the introduction.

chapter, I look more closely at the construction of the letter itself - focusing primarily on its genre and the mosaic of classical allusions at work in the text - in order to explore how related dimensions of Bembo's work as a humanist shaped his perception of his place within the wider geopolitical world of the Venetian maritime empire.

Bembo's autobiographical letter, as well as his annotated books, reveal an image of early modern colonial governance that is not usually explored by historians. In examining the ways in which Bembo's engagement with classical authors mediated his experience of island administration, we can understand the relationship between intellectual culture and colonial governance in the early modern Mediterranean. This relationship reveals a complex picture of the ways in which humanism worked in political practice. In this chapter and the next, I suggest that by examining the ways in which humanist education was used by these governors in their perceptions and administration of the *stato da mar*, we can perhaps better identify the ways in which power really worked in the early modern Mediterranean: and in no case is this clearer than in Giovanni Bembo's autobiographical writing. The corpus of literature and textual approaches which these governors learned as adolescents, which they perfected in their own writing, did not just remain easily bounded within 'intellectual culture': they also provided an important set of resources for formulating their perceptions of the geopolitical space of the Venetian Mediterranean, and of their own roles within that polity.

It is because Bembo failed to maintain alliances and intimacies across the *stato da mar* - precisely because he could not convince the Venetian oligarchy to accept him - that the ways in which he *intended* his composition to intervene into social and political life are so starkly disclosed. The relationship between power and knowledge in the early modern colonial

Mediterranean is exposed precisely in the moment when knowledge fails to accommodate, reinforce, and enable the power of a colonial governor. It was only when he was disempowered and excluded from society that he reflected on this failed dynamic, and it is by closely analysing this autobiographical reflection that we can determine how humanist intellectual culture and colonial governance were intended to work together, and why - in the career of Giovanni Bembo - they did not. I suggest that Bembo's perceptions of imperial space and of political sovereignty that he elaborates in his writings, built upon the kinds of representations of Mediterranean space that I explored in Part I, can lead us to a reevaluation of the ways in which we write about the politics of Venetian humanism.³⁷⁰

II. *Giovanni Bembo*

Giovanni Bembo was born in 1473 to Domenico Bembo and Angela Cornaro. Both the Bembo and Cornaro were important patriciate families in Venice, although Giovanni seems to have been particularly proud of his mother's family connection to Caterina Cornaro, the (then deposed) queen of Cyprus, as he named his son Cornelio to commemorate the family name. He was educated in the *gymnasium* of Benedetto Brugnoli of Verona, as well as under Arsenios Apostolis, in both Latin and Greek. It was perhaps during these years that Bembo met the humanist and priest Giovanni Battista Egnazio, a fellow student of Brugnoli and Apostolis.

³⁷⁰ As I examined in the Introduction, there has not been any reconsideration of the politics and sociology of Venetian humanism since Margaret King's 1986 volume, *Venetian Humanism in an Age of Patrician Dominance*. King recently revisited the subject in "The Venetian Intellectual World." The role of imperial and global dimensions upon political thought has been acknowledged by intellectual historians of the Enlightenment and modern world; and indeed by some political theorists and historians writing on the thought of Machiavelli. For example, S. Muthu, ed., *Empire and Modern Political Thought* (Cambridge, 2012), and especially M. Hörnqvist, "Machiavelli's Three Desires: Florentine Republicans on Liberty, Empire, and Justice," 7-29; and J.M. Najemy, "Machiavelli Between East and West," in *From Florence to the Mediterranean and Beyond*, D. Ramada Curto, E.R. Dursteler, J. Kirshner, and F. Trivellato, eds. (Florence, 2009), II, 127-45. More recently, see T. Dandele, *The Renaissance of Empire in Early Modern Europe* (Cambridge, 2014).

Egnazio would eventually baptise Bembo's daughter Prudenzia, and Bembo gave him a manuscript copy of several of Cicero's texts.³⁷¹ Bembo's first position in Venetian government came in 1496, when he was voted *Ufficiale sopra la foglia d'oro* by the Maggior Consiglio.³⁷² This position seems to have involved work in the Zecca, or the Venetian Treasury.³⁷³

Bembo was in Corfu the next year, when he was twenty-four, probably to trade. It was there in Corcyra that he met both Chiara, who would become his wife, and his friend Andrea Anesi. Although Bembo did not marry Chiara until years after they met, she is recorded as 'Chiara de Mustafa' in the *Libro d'oro*, Bembo's 'gazzona', or maid.³⁷⁴ His father sent him briefly to Lepanto, but Bembo returned to Corfu and stayed there until 1499. Bembo then spent some time sailing the eastern coast of the Adriatic, before settling in Pesaro and enlisting in Giovanni Sforza's mercenary army. While in Pesaro, he attended lectures at the monastery of San Francesco, and opened a school. His father, who had been elected as the castellan of Soncino in Cremona in 1500, died within a year or two of taking up that position. Bembo had to return immediately to Venice: the Venetian state was the creditor to Domenico's house, and they were threatening to confiscate the family property. Bembo then remained in Venice - indeed, in his family house in the parish of San Canzian in Cannaregio - for several years. During that time, he

³⁷¹ Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Vat. Pal. Lat. 1476 (not consulted). Kristeller's description in his *Iter Italicum* describes the manuscript as containing Cicero's *Orationes*, *Quaestiones Tusculanae*, *De Oratore*, and *Topica*. [*Iter Italicum*, II (London, 1998), 2nd edition, p. 590.]

³⁷² B. Kohl, A. Mozzato, and M. O'Connell, "The Rulers of Venice, 1332-1524," record numbers 28875 and 41315 (last accessed 15/10/2013).

³⁷³ V. Sandi, *Principi di storia civile della Repubblica di Venezia* (Venice, 1775-6), Vol. 1, p. 758.

³⁷⁴ T. Mommsen, "Autobiographie des Venezianers Giovanni Bembo (1536)," pp. 4-5.

published a collected volume of humanist commentaries, printed at Jacopo Pencio da Lecco's press in 1502.³⁷⁵

In 1504, Bembo was elected to the Giustizieri Nuovi, in charge of the taxes on wine sold in *osterie* in Venice, as well as public order in the taverns.³⁷⁶ In 1505, he commanded a merchant galley with several other young patrician men, including Carlo Contarini, Battista Morosini, and Giorgio Cornaro (Caterina's brother), as well as Giovanni Querini, who had also studied with Bembo at Brugnoli's school. It was during this trip that Bembo visited Calabria, Sicily, north Africa, and southern Spain. Throughout his travels in the Adriatic and the Mediterranean, Bembo recorded Roman and Greek inscriptions from the ruins and monuments that he found there, and copied them into his manuscript (the Munich codex; fig. 26). When he returned to Venice from his travels, Bembo became involved in a protracted conflict with the Maggior Consiglio regarding the legal status of his family. He had not married Chiara until after they had had children, so these children could potentially have been considered non-noble: both due to the length of time that elapsed before their marriage, and due to Chiara's status as a Greek-speaking, Orthodox, non-noble Corfiote.³⁷⁷ Bembo and Chiara had nine children, two of whom did not live past infancy, and another, Angela, who died at fifteen. In the *Libro d'oro delle nascite* recording noble births in Venice, under the entry for Bembo's son Agosto born in 1517, Chiara's name is

³⁷⁵ *In hoc volumine haec continentur: Marci Antonii Sabellici Annotationes veteres et recentes: ex Plinio: Livio: & pluribus authoribus* (Venice, Iacobus Pentius de Leuco, 1502.) A second edition was printed by Iacobus Tacuinus de Tridino in Venice in 1508 (both consulted). On the Ca' Bembo and the Bembo family properties in San Canzian parish, see P. Fortini Brown, *Private Lives in Renaissance Venice*, p. 188-194. These properties were in a small neighbourhood called Biri, or Biria, which extended from about SS. Giovanni e Paolo in the northeast, west to S. Canzian, and north as far as what is now Fondamente Nove. The still-existing Rio Terà di Biri is evidence of the filled-in canal called Biria after which this neighbourhood was named. G. Cadorin, *Dello Amore ai Veneziani di Tiziano Vecellio* (Venice, 1833), p. 76, ft. 74. Due to Titian's well-known studio in the neighbourhood, 'Biri' or 'Biri Grande' is often mistaken for the name of Titian's house itself.

³⁷⁶ V. Sandi, *Principi di storia civile della Repubblica di Venezia* (Venice, 1775-6), Vol. III, p. 385.

³⁷⁷ A. Cowan, *Marriage, Manners, and Mobility in Early Modern Venice* (Aldershot, 2007), p. 152.

recorded as ‘Chiara Coriera’: indicating that it was perhaps only her father’s given name that was documented in the *Libro d’oro*.³⁷⁸

It was not until 1525 that Bembo received another political office, when he was appointed as *rettore* of Skiathos and Skopelos in the Aegean. This was the kind of relatively minor administrative position in the *stato da mar* that was often allocated to members of minor or impoverished branches of noble families.³⁷⁹ In the first year of his appointment to the islands, Bembo discovered that his scribe had had an illicit affair with his daughter, Urania. On one occasion, she had become pregnant, but the scribe conspired with her to abort the pregnancy. It was only when Urania became pregnant a second time that Bembo found out about the scandalous events happening in his household. As *rettore*, Bembo was responsible for the administration of justice on the island, and he decided to have the scribe castrated in the town square, in front of the island’s inhabitants. Although it is unclear whether Bembo (or indeed the scribe) faced any centralised criminal litigation from the Quarantia for these actions - at least, Bembo does not mention it in his autobiographical letter - he was systematically denied any further administrative positions in the Venetian government, losing elections in the Maggior Consiglio five times after his return from Skiathos. He spent the next two decades in Venice, at his home near San Canzian. In 1536, upon his wife’s death, he penned his autobiographical letter and sent it to Andrea Anesi on Corfu. He hoped to convince Andrea that his actions ten years before on Skiathos had been just, and that he was a good man who did not deserve the social and political exclusion and mocking which he faced from his patrician peers. Unfortunately, Andrea

³⁷⁸ T. Mommsen, “Autobiographie des Venezianers Giovanni Bembo (1536),” p. 5.

³⁷⁹ D. Queller, *The Venetian Patriciate*, pp. 30-38 on the creation of offices in Venetian government for lesser nobility. Also see M. O’Connell, *Men of Empire*, pp. 41-47.

could not respond himself as he was ill, but his son Leonardo did send back a short letter in 1537, which Bembo copied into the Munich codex. Bembo died eight years later in Venice, in 1545.³⁸⁰

III. *Humanism and local intellectual society in Venice*

Like other adolescent men in Venice in the late fifteenth century, Bembo's Latin education would have begun with learning Latin grammar and elementary Latin reading, before progressing to study rhetoric and composition.³⁸¹ Bembo would have learned how to compose written work in Latin, primarily through the use of a Latin commonplace book: a notebook in which selected rhetorical and discursive models - always from classical literature, and more often than not, from Cicero - were copied and collected. These passages were organized by subject, so that they could be easily retrieved when needed to compose one's own text. The aims of this programme of education were to prepare patrician adolescent men for government service: for writing the speeches, reports, and letters that were central to the government of Venice and its empire.³⁸² Margaret King has emphasised the ideological component of this method of education, writing that 'thus trained, [patrician men] would be willing to shoulder the responsibilities of their class and able to govern the state.'³⁸³ Whilst surely an element of humanistic education was, as King would have it, part of constructing and reproducing a class-based intellectual and political

³⁸⁰ I have derived my account of Bembo's life primarily from his edited autobiography (T. Mommsen), as well as from A. Ventura and L. Moretti, "Bembo, Giovanni," *Dizionario Biografico degli Italiani*, accessible online: [http://www.treccani.it/enciclopedia/giovanni-bembo_res-a51145de-87e7-11dc-8e9d-0016357eee51_\(Dizionario-Biografico\)/](http://www.treccani.it/enciclopedia/giovanni-bembo_res-a51145de-87e7-11dc-8e9d-0016357eee51_(Dizionario-Biografico)/) (last accessed 14/10/2013).

³⁸¹ For the curriculum of fifteenth-century Italian grammar schools, see R. Black, *Humanism and Education in Medieval and Renaissance Italy*, pp. 124-170.

³⁸² A. Moss, *Printed Commonplace-Books and the Structuring of Renaissance Thought*, pp. 57-58.

³⁸³ M. King, *Venetian Humanism*, p. 25.

identity, as I explore throughout this chapter, the training that these young men received would colour their perceptions of their world beyond the doors of the Palazzo Ducale. It was the textual practices that they learned - methods of critical reading and written composition - that would also become practices of perception, ways of understanding the composition of the social and geo-political world in which they lived.

Bembo learned these practices, as many young patrician men did in Venice, in schooling with tutors or in organized group formal instruction. According to Paul Grendler's data for the late sixteenth century, about half - 46.8 percent - of Venetian students were educated in Latin, the majority of those independently, but others in communal and in church schools.³⁸⁴ This education was complemented, from the early fifteenth century, by the establishment of public schools that were funded by the Venetian state. The first public school or 'chair' was founded at Rialto in 1408, devoted specifically to the study of philosophy. Two further public schools were founded at San Marco in 1446 and 1460, respectively: the first, intended for those young men who were destined for careers in the Venetian Chancellery; and the second, presided over by a *lector* who would give two daily lectures in poetry and in rhetoric or history.³⁸⁵

Bembo's education began in Latin under Benedetto Brugnoli, a grammar and rhetoric teacher from Legnano. Brugnoli taught at the first school established at San Marco, from 1466 to his death in 1502.³⁸⁶ Brugnoli was a renowned scholar in Venice and an experienced editor of

³⁸⁴ P. Grendler, *Schooling in Renaissance Italy*, p. 43.

³⁸⁵ The scope of the first chair at San Marco would gradually expand to teach grammar and rhetoric to many young noble men, not only those *cittadini* bound for the Chancellery. J.B. Ross, "Venetian Schools and Teachers," p. 529. On the expansion of the Venetian chairs, see P. Grendler, *Schooling in Renaissance Italy*, pp. 62-3.

³⁸⁶ On Brugnolo: J.B. Ross, "Venetian Schools and Teachers," p. 536; V. Branca, "Ermolao Barbaro and the Late Quattrocento Venetian Humanism," p. 220; B. Nardi, "Letteratura e cultura veneziana del Quattrocento," pp. 31-33.

classical texts.³⁸⁷ He was appointed by Bernardo Giustinian to edit his *History of Venice*, and had already edited volumes of Cicero, as well as George of Trebizond's *Rettorica* in 1472.³⁸⁸ His school at San Marco was the meeting-place for many well-known humanists in Venice towards the end of the fifteenth century. One of these humanists was Giovanni Battista Egnazio, who would have a prominent career in Venetian intellectual life, including a high-profile rivalry with Marcantonio Sabellico, the chair of rhetoric at the second school of San Marco (and whose work I examine in detail in Chapter IV).³⁸⁹ As Bembo writes in his autobiographical letter, his other 'condiscipulus' included the poet Domizio Palladio Sorano, Giovanni Quirini who was the 'regulus' of the island Astypalea (and who also funded the construction of Brugnoli's tomb, still in place in the Basilica dei Frari), the doctor and lawyer Bernardino Cabalino, the Cretan teacher of Greek Marcus Massurius, the secretary of the Council of Ten Giovanni Baptista Adriano, and the poet and teacher Nicolaus Gambus.

Bembo was one of the relatively small number of Venetian men at this date to learn ancient Greek formally, and as his many friendships with Cretan scholars and Greek lecturers attest, he seems to have considered Greek an important aspect of his scholarship.³⁹⁰ Although Brugnoli

³⁸⁷ P. Labalme, "The Last Will of a Venetian Patrician (1489)," in *Philosophy and Humanism: Renaissance Essays in Honor of Paul Oskar Kristeller*, ed. P. Mahoney (Leiden, 1976), p. 491.

³⁸⁸ G. Castellani, "Giorgio da Trebisonda, maestro di eloquenza a Vicenza e a Venezia," *Nuovo Archivio Veneto* 11 (1896), I, p. 138.

³⁸⁹ On the rivalry, J.B. Ross, "Venetian Schools and Teachers," pp. 537-538. On Sabellico, see F. Gilbert, "Biondo, Sabellico, and the Beginnings of Venetian Historiography," in *Florilegium historicale*, eds. J.G. Rowe and W.H. Stockdale (Toronto, 1971): 276-293; and E. Cochrane, *Historians and Historiography in the Italian Renaissance* (Chicago, 1981), pp. 83-86.

³⁹⁰ P. Grendler in *Schooling in Renaissance Italy* has compiled statistics which suggest a very small minority of students learned Latin and Greek in independent schools: only 60 of the circa 2,160 students enrolled in Latin and vernacular schools in Venice in 1587 studied Greek alongside their Latin curricula. (p. 48, Table 2.3). Paul Botley has found that the Aldine press produced many more advanced scholarly Greek editions than elementary student texts, which would seem to support Grendler's data. "Learning Greek in Western Europe, 1476-1516," in *Literacy, Education and Manuscript Transmission in Byzantium and Beyond*, C. Holmes and J. Waring, eds. (Leiden and Boston, 2002), pp. 210-11.

was learned in Greek, Bembo studied it independently under two teachers: first, for a short time in Venice under Arsenios Apostolis, a Cretan who probably first arrived in that city in 1492; and then under Giovanni Moschi on Corfu in 1498. Apostolis worked for a time as an editor of Greek texts for the publisher and scholar Aldo Manuzio, editing Greek grammatical treatises and poetry. Bembo, too, knew Manuzio: he was present for the baptism of Bembo's daughter Polimnia, after which the family dined at Manuzio's house. Apostolis stayed in Venice until 1504, a year before Bembo himself left Venice to travel; so it was likely that Bembo studied with him, and was affiliated with the circle of Greek scholarship surrounding the Aldine press in the late 1490s and first years of the sixteenth century.³⁹¹ Giovanni Moschi remains an obscure figure; indeed the only evidence that Bembo studied with him is provided by a page in the Munich codex titled 'Scripsit Joannes Bembus Venetus Corcyra in ludo Joannes Moschi 1495 menses Augusti,' on which Bembo practiced making Greek characters and then copied a Greek text at the instruction of his teacher (fig. 27).³⁹²

In his autobiographical letter, Bembo reveals that he knew several other Greek scholars: Scipio Crateromachus from Pistoia, an associate of Aldo's; Janus Lascaris, who first introduced Bembo to Vitruvius' *De Architectura* in the illustrated edition published by Giovanni Tacuini in 1511; and the aforementioned Cretan Marcus Massurius. He also met Greek scholars whilst in the Aegean: he was reunited with Apostolis on Skiathos, and met during his travels the Greek artist Joannes Dominicus Methoneus - known now as Domenico delle Greche - who Bembo tells us had painted a topography of Greece, as well as produced an illustrated version of Ptolemy's

³⁹¹ On Apostolis, see D.J. Geanakoplos, *Greek Scholars in Venice*, pp. 168-199. On Bembo's relationship with Manuzio, see M. Lowry, *The World of Aldus Manutius: Business and Scholarship in Renaissance Venice* (Oxford, 1979), p. 182, 185, 189.

³⁹² Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, CLM 10801, fol. 37r.

Cosmographia.³⁹³ Bembo's sprinkling of Greek in his autobiographical letter, his collection of Greek inscriptions, his collection of Greek books from which he copied passages into his *Isolario*, and his many Greek academic friends in Venice and the islands, indicates that he was perhaps slightly unusual in his engagement with the classical world beyond that of Latin literature.³⁹⁴ Bembo also travelled extensively in the Greek Aegean and married a Greek-speaking woman, and so indeed may have had more practical experience with contemporary spoken Greek than some of his peers.

Bembo valued his intellectual circle of Venetians and Greek scholars in Venice and the Aegean, and this is nowhere more evident than in his retelling of the births and baptisms of each of his nine children, in a passage following directly after his description of his wife Chiara's funeral. At his eldest daughter Faustina's baptism was the Venetian governor of Pesaro; at Polimnia's, Aldo Manuzio ('literatum reparator et latinorum librorum propagator'),³⁹⁵ the *lector* of Greek Scipio Crateromachus, and Hieronymus Amaserius of Forlì, a humanities teacher in one of the public chairs in Venice. Present for Urania's baptism was the mathematician, Nano Germano; and Modestina's godfather was Bartolomeo Fin, a Venetian doctor and lawyer. At the baptism of Bembo and Chiara's first son, Domenico, were Matteo Fideli and Bernardino Cabalino, both doctors and lawyers who attended Brugnoli's school with Bembo. Cornelio, a son who died in infancy, was baptised by Bartolomeo Zamberto, 'graecae latinaeque linaguae bene

³⁹³ T. Mommsen, "Autobiographie des Venezianers Giovanni Bembo (1536)," p. 28. See "Domenico delle Greche," *Dizionario Biografico degli Italiani*, accessible online: [http://www.treccani.it/enciclopedia/domenico-delle-greche_\(Enciclopedia-Italiana\)/](http://www.treccani.it/enciclopedia/domenico-delle-greche_(Enciclopedia-Italiana)/) (last accessed 15/10/2013).

³⁹⁴ Bembo uses Greek occasionally throughout his autobiographical letter. He also relied heavily on a Greek text, Stephanus of Byzantium's *De Urbibus*, for information on islands which he compiled into his *Isolario* (see below in this chapter, footnote 58).

³⁹⁵ 'restorer of letters and producer of Latin books.' T. Mommsen, "Autobiographie des Venezianers Giovanni Bembo (1536)," p. 28.

erudito': Zamberto was the first to translate Euclid into Latin.³⁹⁶ A third son, Prudentius, was baptised by Giovanni Baptista Egnazio; also present were Marcus Massurius, the Cretan lecturer in Greek, Apostolis, the secretary to the Council of Ten Giovanni Baptista Adriano, and the poet Nicolaus Gambus, all of whom studied with Bembo at Brugnoli's. This baptism was also attended by Raphael Regius, a public lecturer in Padua. Thalia's baptism was attended by a doctor and orator in Venice. Angela's baptism was attended by Domenico Palladio Sorano, the poet, who was a classmate of Bembo's at Brugnoli's academy. Angela, the youngest daughter, was born in 1521, so it seems that all of Bembo and Chiara's children were born before Bembo's tenure in Skiathos.³⁹⁷ Ten years after his term on Skiathos and his exclusion from Venetian politics and society, Bembo remembered and reconstructed each of his children's baptisms according to the eminent humanists and Venetian aristocrats who were present. The intervening fifteen or twenty years, and his careful elaboration of the social networks in which he used to take part, emphasise how keenly he felt the loss of these friendships and alliances.

Bembo is not now known as an important humanist, but he did produce his own scholarship as an editor of an untitled collection of works by contemporary humanists, printed by Jacopo Pencio da Lecco in Venice in 1502 and re-issued by Giovanni Tacuini - the printer whose edition of *Vitruvius* Bembo admired - in Venice in 1508. Bembo dedicated the book to Andrea Anesi, his friend on Corfu, for both Anesi's 'pleasure, but also great profit'.³⁹⁸ The book is a

³⁹⁶ *Euclidis megarensis philosophi platonici mathematicarum disciplinarum janitoris... Bartolomeo Zambero Veneto interprete* (Venice, 1505).

³⁹⁷ T. Mommsen, "Autobiographie des Venezianers Giovanni Bembo (1536)," 27-29. Although Bembo does not give specific dates for the births of his children, he relates that Angela died only a few days after Chiara, in 1536.

³⁹⁸ 'Spero igitur hor[um] variam lectionem non solum voluptatem sed etiam fructum magnum tibi allaturam.' 'Therefore I hope that these various readings will not only lead you to pleasure, but indeed to great profit.' *Marci Antonii Sabellici Annotationes* (Venice, 1502), 1v.

compilation of miscellanies, a collection of texts which were, according to Anthony Grafton, themselves part of a new method of approaching classical texts. The authors whose work Bembo collected in his edited printed volume - particularly Domizio Calderini and Angelo Poliziano - initiated and developed a method of selective collecting of commentaries on classical texts, a reform of the previous method of indiscriminate attempted accumulation of everything that any scholar had ever written on a particular classical passage. Grafton quotes a passage from Poliziano's *Miscellanea*, a text Bembo included in his collection, in which Poliziano explained his methodology:

But lest those men who are ill employed with leisure think that we have drawn [our conclusions]...from the dregs, and that we have not leapt across the boundaries of the grammarians, we have at the outset followed Pliny's example. We have put at the beginning the names of the authors - but only ancient and honourable ones - by whom these [conclusions] are justified, and from whom we have borrowed. But [we have not put down] the names of those whom others have only cited, while their works have disappeared, but those whose treasures we ourselves have handled, through whose writings we have wandered; and [found] in ancient codices, trustworthy coins, and in the inscribed bronzes and marbles of antiquity.³⁹⁹

In other words, each ancient and Renaissance scholarly commentary was compared, and only the ones which genealogically emerged as the original (or as close to original as possible) were included in Poliziano's collection. To accomplish this, Poliziano compared manuscript exemplars, practised palaeographical analysis, and determined which commentary text rested on the surest historical foundations. Books like Poliziano's *Miscellanea* were intended, according to

³⁹⁹ *Marci Antonii Sabellici Annotationes* (Venice, 1502), fol. 34r: 'Enim vero ne putent homines male feriat nos ista quaeque sunt: de faece hausisse: neque grammaticorum transiliuisse lineas. Pliniano statim exemplo nomina praetexuimus authorum: sed honestorum veterumque duntaxat: unde ius ista sumunt: & a quibus versuram fecimus: nec autem quod alii tantum citaverunt ipsorum opera temporibus interciderint. Sed quorum nosmet ipsi thesauros tractavimus: quorum sumus per litteras peregrinati: quamquam & vestutas codicum: & nomismatum fides: & in aes aut in marmore incisae antiquitates.' Translation adapted from A. Grafton, *Defenders of the Text: the traditions of scholarship in an age of science, 1450-1800* (Cambridge, M.A. and London, 1991), p. 52.

Grafton, for use by scholars to engage critically with ‘difficult and interesting problems’.⁴⁰⁰

Calderini, whose *Observationes* is included in Bembo’s collection, followed a similar system.

In his edited volume, Bembo included texts that were closely connected to his own educational and social world in Venice. This included Giovanni Baptista Egnazio’s *Racemationes*, or ‘grape- gatherings’, a metaphor which brings to mind the comparative literary scholarship of Poliziano and Calderini, also included in the volume. These ‘grape-gatherings’ were commentaries on passages from Virgil’s *Georgics*, on Pliny, Ovid’s *Metamorphoses*, and other classical texts. Another local scholar included in Bembo’s collection was Marcantonio Sabellico, whose *Annotationes* on passages from Pliny and Livy opened the book. Amongst these more immediate local connections was the inclusion of Poliziano’s *Lamia*, his ‘praelectio’ or opening lecture on Aristotle, and his *Panepistemon*, his attempt systematically to organise every branch of knowledge in text. These two texts worked closely together: as Christopher Celenza has written in his introduction to his English translation of *Lamia*, ‘If Poliziano’s *Panepistemon* offered a schematic representation of the world’s human wisdom, the *Lamia* can be seen as an attempt to provide a narrative for his schematization: not overtly so, but as a representation of just how widely one needed to think if the ‘love of wisdom’ was to be approached in its integrity’.⁴⁰¹ Poliziano’s *Panepistemon*, then, was intended to be a diagrammatic analysis of Aristotelian ethics, a companion to his lecture on Aristotle’s *Prior Analytics*.

Although Poliziano delivered the lecture in Florence in 1492, presumably Bembo (and his publisher) realised that Poliziano’s Aristotelian texts would have a popular scholarly audience in

⁴⁰⁰ Idem, *Defenders of the Text*, p. 51

⁴⁰¹ C.S. Celenza, *Angelo Poliziano’s Lamia* (Leiden and Boston, 2010), pp. 12-13.

Venice and in the neighbouring university town of Padua: indeed, it was at least the third time that the *Panepistemon* and the *Lamia* were printed together in Venice since Christophorus de Pensus de Mandello's edition of 1495.⁴⁰² The original dedication letters of the individual texts, too, preserved in the collected volume, situate the texts in networks of contemporary Venetian and humanist patronage. Sabellico's text is dedicated to Domenico Grimani, a renowned Venetian humanist, cardinal, and collector; and Egnazio's, to Francesco Bragadin, an Aristotelian philosopher and active politician and administrator in Venice. It was thus through both personal social connections to the world of Venetian humanist schools, and through a more general affinity to the Aristotelian philosophical culture of Venetian humanism, that Bembo crafted his collection to appeal to Venetian scholars. In the following section, I turn to examine Bembo's compilations of classical texts in his *Isolario*, and his reuse of this compilation in constructing his autobiographical letter. Rather than aimed toward an audience of potential scholarly book collectors, though, Bembo used these composite textual techniques in an ongoing process of self-fashioning within the social and political world of the Venetian Mediterranean.

IV. *Composition and the Aegean world of the Isolario*

a. *Skiathos and Skopelos*

⁴⁰² British Library, *Incunabula Short Title Catalogue*. On Venetian Aristotelianism: J.B. Ross, "Venetian Schools and Teachers," p. 531; B. Nardi, "La scuola di Rialto e l'umanesimo veneziano," in *Saggi sulla cultura veneta del quattro e cinquecento* (Padua, 1971), pp. 52-53; on Venetian humanism's connection to the university at Padua and its Aristotelianism, V. Branca, "Ermolao Barbaro" (1973), p. 218. See the collected essays in L. Olivieri, ed., *Aristotelismo Veneto e scienza moderna* (Padua, 1983), especially Eugenio Garin's introductory essay (pp. 1-34). More generally, W.A. Wallace, "Traditional Natural Philosophy," in *The Cambridge History of Renaissance Philosophy*, C.B. Schmitt, Q. Skinner, E. Kessler, and J. Kraye, eds. (Cambridge, 1990): 201-35; and E. Garin, *Italian Humanism: Philosophy and Civic Life in the Renaissance* (Oxford, 1965).

Bembo was elected as *rettore* of Skiathos and Skopelos in 1525, a term that lasted two years. The two islands are in the northern Aegean, part of the Sporades archipelago northeast of the island of Euboea (called Negroponte by the Venetians). These small islands were part of what Ferdinand Braudel memorably described as ‘Venice’s stationary fleet’,⁴⁰³ and were under the city’s direct control from 1453 until 1537: from the geopolitical reshuffle following the fall of Constantinople to the Ottomans, after which the Venetian state assumed direct control of the islands from the patrician Ghisi family; until the third Ottoman-Venetian war of 1537-1540, in which the Venetians lost the Cyclades (except Tinos), the Sporades, and parts of the Morea.⁴⁰⁴ The inhabitants of Skiathos and Skopelos were primarily farmers, fisherman, and involved in Aegean shipping.⁴⁰⁵ Close to Euboea, a major island lost to the Ottomans in 1470, Skiathos and Skopelos were not particularly economically important to the Venetian state, but rather strategically important. They were close to the Greek mainland and became a crucial connection to the continent, once Euboea ceased to provide that geographical link.⁴⁰⁶ As I explored in previous chapters, small island groups in the Aegean were characterised paradoxically by both their connectivity and their fragmentation: they were often reliant on the mainland or on neighbouring larger islands for supplies, while existing as self-contained, remote, even

⁴⁰³ F. Braudel, *The Mediterranean and the Mediterranean World in the Age of Phillip II*, p. 149.

⁴⁰⁴ On the Sporades before direct Venetian rule, R. Loenertz, *Les Ghisi: Dynastes vénitiens dans l’Archipel 1207-1390* (Florence, 1975). On their Ottoman rule, M. Kiel, “The Smaller Aegean Islands in the 16th-18th Centuries According to Ottoman Documents,” *Hesperia Supplements* vol. 40: *Between Venice and Istanbul: Colonial Landscapes in Early Modern Greece* (2007): 35-54. To my knowledge, the Sporades under the period of direct Venetian control (1453-1537) has not been the subject of any published work.

⁴⁰⁵ M. Kiel, “The Smaller Aegean Islands,” p. 35.

⁴⁰⁶ On mobility between Euboea and the mainland in a slightly earlier period, see D. Jacoby, “The Demographic Evolution of Euboea under Latin Rule, 1205-1470,” in *The Greek Islands and the Sea*, eds. J. Chrystostomides, C. Dendrinos, and J. Harris (Camberley, 2004): 132-79.

‘backwards’ microcosmic worlds.⁴⁰⁷ The Cyclades archipelago to the south of the Sporades, for example, is made up of over a hundred islands covering 2,000 square kilometres, of which only 15 percent is arable.⁴⁰⁸ The Sporades archipelago, made up of twenty-four islands, is even smaller and so the kind of precarious ‘connected isolation’ of these islands is particularly striking.⁴⁰⁹ Bembo reports repopulating the island with sixty families in 1525. Ottoman taxation records from 1539/40 document 82 households on Skiathos, and 89 on Skopelos; but Skiathos, in particular, was heavily depopulated during Barbarossa’s conquest of the islands in 1537/8, when he was said to have captured 3,800 inhabitants.⁴¹⁰ In the twelve-year interim between Bembo’s term as *rettore*, then, and the arrival of Barbarossa, it is possible that the island’s population increased rather dramatically.

Perhaps the strongest link between the Sporades, Euboea, and mainland Greece was piracy and corsairing.⁴¹¹ Raids took place throughout the region, not only by Ottoman pirates, but by the inhabitants of Skiathos: most likely by Greek Orthodox who ‘moved throughout the eastern Mediterranean not as Greeks but as... Venetian subjects’.⁴¹² Machiel Kiel has uncovered a set of Ottoman documentation from the first decades of the sixteenth century which suggests that some

⁴⁰⁷ Braudel, *The Mediterranean*, p. 150; P. Horden and N. Purcell, *The Corrupting Sea*, pp. 224-230.

⁴⁰⁸ A.T. Luttrell, “The Latins and life on the smaller Aegean islands, 1204-1453,” *Mediterranean Historical Review* 4/1 (1989), p. 146. The late medieval and early modern history of the Cyclades archipelago is generally better-studied than that of the Sporades, and provides an important point of comparison. See G. Saint-Guillain, “Les Conquérants de l’Archipel: l’empire Latin de Constantinople, Venise et les premiers seigneurs des Cyclades,” in *Quarta Crociata: Venezia, Bizanzio, Impero Latino*, eds. G. Ortalli, G. Ravegnani, and P. Schreiner (Venice, 2006), pp. 125-233; and B. Slot, *Archipelagus turbatus: les Cyclades entre colonisation latine et occupation ottomane c. 1500-1718* (Istanbul, 1982).

⁴⁰⁹ On the paradox of connected isolation, see P. Horden and N. Purcell, *The Corrupting Sea*, p. 226-227.

⁴¹⁰ M. Kiel, “The Smaller Aegean Islands,” p. 36. For the number of captives, F.W. Hasluck, “Depopulation in the Aegean Islands and the Turkish Conquest,” *The Annual of the British School at Athens* 17 (1910/1911), p. 157.

⁴¹¹ On Euboean piracy, see S. Borsari, *L’Eubea veneziana* (Venice, 2002), pp. 88-9.

⁴¹² M. Greene, *Catholic Pirates and Greek Merchants: A Maritime History of the Mediterranean* (Princeton and Oxford, 2010), p. 21. See particularly Chapter 1 for Venetian-Ottoman relations in the sixteenth century.

of the inhabitants of Skiathos were particularly fierce pirates, who attacked the Ottoman-controlled mainland coastline across from Euboea.⁴¹³ Based on the records compiled in *The Rulers of Venice* database, which includes data concerning public office-holding amongst the Venetian patriciate collected from the records of the Maggior Consiglio, the Consiglio dei Rogati, and the Consiglio dei Dieci from 1332 until 1524, there were no *rettori* appointed to Skiathos and Skopelos during that period. Since Skiathos and Skopelos came under Venetian control in 1453, and Bembo was elected as *rettore* in 1525, he was likely the first to fill that role. While this initial hesitancy on the part of the Maggior Consiglio to appoint a *rettore* to Skiathos and Skopelos might indicate the relative unimportance of the islands to the larger fortune of the *stato da mar*, and the very few inhabitants on the islands, evidently something changed in 1525. This shift could possibly have revolved around an increase in piracy and raids in the Venetian Sporades in the aftermath of the fall of Euboea, perhaps aggravated by the Skiathans' piracy of the Ottoman-controlled areas of the Greek mainland coast.

From the 1520s, Venice organized civil militias consisting of island peasantry throughout the *stato da mar*, to defend against raiding.⁴¹⁴ Locals were ordered to muster at strategic high elevation points on the islands, and told to send smoke signals to warn inhabitants of incoming pirate ships.⁴¹⁵ Although systematic fortification of the important Venetian islands did not begin until the mid-sixteenth century after the devastating raids of the late 1530s,⁴¹⁶ Bembo himself

⁴¹³ M. Kiel, "The Smaller Aegean Islands," p. 35.

⁴¹⁴ B. Arbel, "Venice's Maritime Empire in the Early Modern World," p. 205.

⁴¹⁵ Idem, "Colonie d'oltremare," p. 966.

⁴¹⁶ Idem, "Venice's Maritime Empire," p. 206 -207; and "Colonie d'oltremare," p. 967. In the latter article, Arbel reproduces photographs of the mid-sixteenth century fortifications on Corfu (p. 961 and p. 965). Also see M.E. Mallett and J.R. Hale, *The Military Organization of a Renaissance State: Venice, c.1400-1617* (Cambridge, 1984), pp. 429-454.

remarks on the ravaged state of Skopelos upon his arrival there in 1525: '[Skopelos] had a bishop, but after Euboea was captured by the Turks this [post] was destroyed; and upon my arrival, the island was deserted. However I established a refuge on the island, and sixty families with sixty equally good men cultivated it: they were strong men, and daring against pirates.'⁴¹⁷ In 1525, perhaps Venice resolved to send an administrator to oversee the repopulation and cultivation of the island, and to defend it against - or, perhaps to take part in the vibrant economy supported by - piracy in the archipelago.⁴¹⁸

b. *The post of rettore in the Aegean islands*

Elected to the post by Maggior Consiglio, Bembo would have been given a manuscript *commissione*, or book containing his responsibilities as administrator on Skiathos and Skopelos. Although this *commissione* does not survive, comparison with similar *commissioni*, as well as Monique O'Connell's detailed study of the role of the *rettori* within the Venetian colonies, give a detailed picture of what would have been expected of Bembo.⁴¹⁹ Where Venice directly ruled a

⁴¹⁷ 'Habeat episcopum, sed eius civitas post Euboeam a Turco captam fuit diruta et insula usque ad meum adventum deserta. Ego autem constitui in ea insula tanquam asilum, et 60 familiae cum 60 paribus bonum eam coluere, viri fortes et ad propellendos piratas audaces.' T. Mommsen, "Autobiographie des Venezianers Giovanni Bembo (1536)," p. 19.

⁴¹⁸ For more on Mediterranean piracy, see Greene, *Catholic Pirates and Greek Merchants*, who focuses on those pirates from Naples, the French Mediterranean coastline, and Malta. For the same period, see D.A. Zakythinos, "Corsaires et pirates dans les mers grecques au temps de la domination Turque," *L'Hellenisme Contemporain* 10-11 (April-May, 1939): 695-738. For a more traditional history of Ottoman and Christian piracy, see A. Tenenti, *Piracy and the Decline of Venice, 1580-1615* (London, 1967).

⁴¹⁹ M. O'Connell, *Men of Empire* (Baltimore, 2009); and C.A. Maltezou, ed., *Ire debeas in rettorem Caneae: La commissio del doge di Venezia al rettore di Canea, 1589* (Venice, 2002). Also helpful (although for a later period) is the sixteenth-century advice manual to *rettori*: G. Tatio, *La Imagine del Rettore della Bene Ordinata Città* (Venice, 1573). Helena Szépe has compiled a database of all surviving *commissioni* manuscripts, and she kindly confirmed for me that no manuscripts pertaining to Skiathos and Skopelos exist. Her study of these manuscripts is forthcoming, entitled *Privilege and Duty in the Serene Republic: Illuminated Manuscripts of Renaissance Venice*. See also D.S. Chambers, "Merit and Money: The Procurators of St Mark and Their *Commissioni*, 1443-1605," *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* 60 (1997): 23-88.

small island - as in the Sporades - the *rettore* would have been responsible in two primary spheres of governance: civil and military. The *rettore* would be expected to regulate local finances and markets, was in charge of administering justice on the island, and - especially in the case of small islands like Skopelos and Skiathos, which were only assigned one official Venetian administrator - was also expected to defend the island, both from external aggressors and in terms of public order. As O'Connell has shown, this involved maintaining a careful equilibrium between 'reserving power to [Venice], protecting its representatives' prerogatives, and keeping its subjects contented'.⁴²⁰

The post of *rettore* was, perhaps more than any other in the Venetian government, one that was beset by conflicts between the conciliar nature of Venetian governance and the literal isolation of the individual filling the post. Elected by his peers, and answerable to them in the case of misdeed whilst in office, the *rettore* also was the sole governor responsible locally for maintaining peace, administering justice, and protecting his subjects. Bembo comments bitterly on this balance between the pressures of his local role on Skiathos, and his place within the larger picture of the *stato da mar*: 'everyday, the Turkish pirates drove [away the sheep], and they were capturing and seizing the waters and the land of the island, because the commanders of the Venetian triremes - either from Corcyra, or from Zante, or from Crete - were playing with their wealth, and squandering it drunkenly on whores'.⁴²¹ Isolated in the tiny islands of the northern Sporades, Bembo relied on the naval protection of the state to meet the expectations of his job; a resource which he viewed as being squandered, as wealthy naval fleet commanders

⁴²⁰ M. O'Connell, *Men of Empire*, p. 58.

⁴²¹ '...quamvis piratae Teucris quotidie abigebant pecora et insulanos terra marique capiebant et abducebant, quia triremium Venetiarum ductores aut Corcyrae aut Zacynthi aut Craetae pecunias ludunt et eas scortis crapulando consumunt.' T. Mommsen, "Autobiographie des Venezianers Giovanni Bembo (1536)," p. 21.

sailing from more central (and economically important) ports in the Venetian polity abandoned their jobs defending the seas. As mentioned in many of the *commissioni*, Venice - primarily through her *rettori* - was meant to provide 'peace and justice' to her colonial subjects, who in turn were expected to provide 'profit and honour' to Venice.⁴²² When Bembo first arrived in the Cyclades, he appears to have done this: he provided refuge for the islands' inhabitants, who in turn cultivated the land. The ongoing battle against piracy was one in which the colonial state's obligation to provide peace, and the subjects' obligation to provide profit, neatly coincided; and as Bembo's invective against the corrupt 'ductores' of the Venetian fleet indicates, he perceived defence from piracy as a collaborative effort between the state and its colonial inhabitants.

c. *Annotating the Isolario: compiling the Aegean*

Bembo's perceptions of his own role as governor in the Aegean are particularly evident in his annotations to his copy of Bartolomeo dalli Sonetti's *Isolario*, and the intertextual relationship between these annotations and his autobiographical letter. As I explored in Chapter II, many of the surviving copies of dalli Sonetti's *Isolario* were annotated by their readers. Bembo was no exception, as he bound his copy in fine stamped leather, sketched in it, and wrote all over its pages of sonnets and island maps. Like the more typical humanist Latin commonplace books which were filled with passages organized by thematic heading, the *Isolario* served as a kind of geographical commonplace book for Bembo, as an encyclopedic 'container' for copying passages from classical authors on the Aegean island world. His primary classical sources were

⁴²² For an example from the end of the sixteenth century, see C.A. Maltezou, ed., *Ire debeas in rettorem Caneae*, p. 42.

Stephanus of Byzantium's *De urbibus*;⁴²³ and Pliny's *Naturalis historia*, as well as Herodotus, Thucydides, Virgil, Ovid, Strabo, Pomponius Mela, and Ptolemy.⁴²⁴ Bembo extracted the pertinent passages from these authors and copied them onto the upper margin of the sonnet page for the relevant island. He also recorded the Venetian history of the islands.

For example, next to the sonnet on Naxos (Nicsia), Bembo recorded a passage from Pliny in Latin, as well as a long history of the island in the vernacular:

And the said island is the principal one and the seat of the Signor Duke of the Archipelago, whose name is Signor Zuane Crispo, who came into Venice with an armed galley with men from his islands, that is to say, with 80 men from Souda; with 50 men from Milos; 40 men from Santorini; and the rest were 280 men from Naxos, on the fifth of June 1523. This Signoria, six years into his stay on the island of Cervi,⁴²⁵ was hunting alone with two other gentlemen, when he disappeared. That is to say, he was kidnapped on horseback by a Turkish corsair. And his gentlemen and subjects ransomed him that same hour from the corsair for *ducati*. For some reason, the Turk took offence, so that he did not return the said signor, and now I am looking for him to apprehend and hang him.⁴²⁶

Bembo's vendetta against Ottoman piracy is given its own Venetian history here, one that relates how a Venetian patrician from the Archipelago was captured and ransomed by pirates. Bembo did not only conceive of protecting his islands from piracy only as part of his job as *rettore*, then, but as a responsibility that was part of a larger Venetian history in the Aegean. Again, we see the

⁴²³ Aldo Manuzio published a volume of *De Urbibus* in Venice in 1502, the same year that Bembo published his own edited collection; and, as discussed above, Bembo knew Manuzio.

⁴²⁴ M. Donattini, "Bartolomeo da li Sonetti, il suo Isolario e un viaggio di Giovanni Bembo," p. 227.

⁴²⁵ A small island off the northern coast of Cerigo.

⁴²⁶ 'e dita Insula principal et sedia del S. Duca de Archipelago loqual nome S. Zuane Crispo loqual vene in Venetia cum una gallia armata cum homini de sue insule videlicet dela suda homini 80 de Milo 50 de S. Herini 40 el resto fino ala summa di 280 homini de Nixia die 5. Zugno 1523. Se parti el qual signoria anni 6 essendo su la sua insula ala caza di Zervi trovandose sua signoria sola cum duo gentilhomini videlicet in a cavalo fu preso da corsaro turcho Et li sui gentilhomini et subditi lo rescatoano quella horo instesa da quello corsaro per ducati per la qual cosa el signor Turco hebe per mal che ldicto corsar non have presentato dicto signor a si et cercho di farlo prender per apicharlo.' This passage was partially edited by M. Donattini, "Bartolomeo da li Sonetti, il suo Isolario e un viaggio di Giovanni Bembo," p. 228. Many thanks to Nicolas Stone Villani for his assistance in translating this passage.

conflicted nature of collective Venetian governance in the *stato da mar*: in the Sonetti *Isolario*, expressing solidarity with his aristocratic peer who was ransomed; in the autobiographical letter, blaming them for abandoning him without the resources to defend Skiathos.

Bembo's anxiety about the military defence of the Sporades is also evident throughout his annotations to the *Isolario*. On the blank folios in the beginning and end of the codex, Bembo kept extensive lists detailing how many galleys were available from each island; how many men would be needed to fill each position to man the galleys; how many men could be conscripted from each island; which islands belonged to Venice, and which Venetian family was responsible for each. Bembo also noted next to the titles of the sonnets of Venetian-occupied islands, 'Fa homini da facti', followed by the number of people resident on the islands. This phrase refers to the military recruits from each island who could be mobilised for military service at short notice.⁴²⁷ This kind of military preparation would have been an important responsibility within Bembo's role as *rettore*, given that the smaller posts on Skiathos and Skopelos would not have warranted a castellan or captain.⁴²⁸ Bembo's copy of the *Isolario* was thus not only a place to record and preserve classical information about the Aegean islands, but a place to quantitatively measure Venetian maritime resources. The encyclopedic structure of the book worked for both projects: it provided a neat way to organise both kinds of information, each relative to specific islands.⁴²⁹ That Bembo chose to record both passages from Pliny and estimates of Venetian reserves against piracy indicates the complete absence of categorical boundaries between the

⁴²⁷ B. Arbel, 'Colonie d'oltremare,' p. 968.

⁴²⁸ O'Connell, *Men of Empire*, p. 42.

⁴²⁹ Both Frank Lestringant and Tom Conley have commented on the way in which the form of the *isolario* lends itself to use as a 'taxonomic system' for recording and preserving information. F. Lestringant, *Le Livre des îles: Atlas et récits insulaires* (Geneva, 2002), p. 57; and T. Conley, *The Self-Made Map: Cartographic Writing in Early Modern France* (Minneapolis, 1996), p. 168-9.

two: for Bembo, the *Isolario* offered a storage system for information that he considered to be of vital importance for the survival of the Aegean. His need to preserve the classical past of these islands was bound up in his need to protect them, so that the reserves of Venetian humanist scholarship were accounted for alongside the material reserves of the Venetian Arsenal.

d. *Governance and intertextuality: the construction of autobiography*

Bembo transferred the composite practice of commonplacing, in which often disparate passages could be easily compared thematically, into the pages of the *Isolario*. This is evident in a comparison between Bembo's annotations to dalli Sonetti's sonnet and map 'Per Sciati e Scopolo', and the passage on Skiathos translated above from Bembo's autobiographical letter (fig. 28a-d). In the *Isolario*, Bembo has copied the dimensions of the islands from Ptolemy's *Geographia*; he has written a Greek extract from Stephanus of Byzantium across the top of the page; he has scribbled a reference to Philip of Macedonia and his battle with the Athenians in the Sporades;⁴³⁰ and labeled the islands on the map with Greek and Latin toponymy, including ancient toponyms. Dalli Sonetti's heading, 'Per Sciati e Scopolo', was taken by Bembo as a thematic heading in a kind of unusual, geographic commonplace book. Bembo then used that commonplace book to compose his own original work: as we shall see in the passage on Skiathos excerpted below from the autobiographical letter, all of the information which Bembo copied into his *Isolario* - Ptolemy's geographical information, ancient toponymy, passages from Stephanus and from Livy - were composed into a passage which tells compellingly of Bembo's

⁴³⁰ His annotation reads: 'Skopelos and the island of Alonissos with which Philip and the Athenians are concerned are different, there is another Alonissos in the Ionian archipelago.' ('Scopelos et Alonisos Insula de qua inter Philippum et Athenienses differentia erat, est et Altera Alonises Ionia.') Modena, Biblioteca Estense, Alfa E. 5. 15, 51v.

perceptions of his responsibilities on the islands. Classical information was atomised, decontextualised, collected, but then recomposed into autobiography.

Through composition, Bembo created a kind of textual intersubjectivity with classical authors and classical landscapes, atomising them in order to recombine them with his own experience. Bembo easily switches to classical passages - and to Latin - to formulate his responsibility for Skiathos in his autobiographical letter. He writes of the islands,

Of this island Skiathos, Titus Livy said in the second book on the Macedonian wars: ‘Nor did Philip - for he had by now reached Macedonia - carry on less vigorously his preparations for the war. He sent his son Perseus, who was still a boy, with guardians from among his friends to guide his youth, with part of the troops to hold the passes which lead to Pelagonia. He destroyed Skiathos and Peparethus, cities not unknown to fame, to prevent their becoming prize and prey to the fleet of the enemy.’⁴³¹ Skiathos retains its ancient name. Stephanus, author of *De Urbibus*, says: ‘Peparethus is one of the Cyclades.’⁴³² This island Peparethus is now called ‘Diadromi’ by sailors, and is called ‘Prepathora’ by the Skiathans. Its length is 30 *mille passuum*, its circumference 60 *mille passuum*, its width 7 *mille passuum*, Sciathos’ circumference is 20 *mille passuum*, its width VII *mille passuum*. Stephanus says: ‘The island Skiathos belongs to Euboea.’ The distance from Skiathos to Euboea is 20 *mille passuum*. Skopelos island is at a distance to Skiathos of five *mille passuum*, whose length is 30 *mille passuum*, the true width 12 *mille passuum*.⁴³³

In the autobiographical letter, Bembo presented his responsibility for the Venetian presence on Skiathos as not limited to its Quattrocento residents, its trade, its vulnerability to pirates. Its antique existence, the very fact that Livy, Stephanus, and Ptolemy wrote about the island,

⁴³¹ Livy, *The History of Rome*, Book 31, chapter 28. English translation by E.T. Sage, available online through the Perseus Project: <http://bit.ly/YHKPYe> (last accessed 21/03/2013).

⁴³² Stephanus of Byzantium, *De Urbibus*.

⁴³³ ‘De hac Sciatho Titus Livius de bello Macedonio lib. secundo ait: Nec Phillipus segnius (iam enim in Macedonico percenerat) adparabat bellum. Perseam puerum admodum datis ex amicorum numero qui aetatem eius regerent cum parte copiarum ad obsidendas angustias, quae ad Pelagoniam sunt, mitit; Sciathum et Peparethum haud ignobilis urbes ne classi hostium praesae aut praemio essent diruit. Sciathus seruat nomen. Stephanus de urbibus ait: Peparethus est una ex Cycladibus. Haec Peparethus insula nunc a nautis dicitur Diadromi, a Sciathiis dicitur Prepathora. Longitudo est XXX M. P., ambitus LX M.P., latitudo VII M. P., Sciathi ambitus est XX M. P. latitudo VII M. P. Stephanus ait: Sciathos insula est Euboeae. Distat autem Sciathos ab Euboea insula XX M passuum. Scopelos autem insula longe est a Sciatho quinque M. P., cuius longitudo est XXX MP, latitudo vero XII millia passuum.’ T. Mommsen, “Autobiographie des Venezianers Giovanni Bembo (1536),” p. 19.

became part of Bembo's conception of his own contemporary role on the islands. The Ptolemaic dimensions of the islands, their toponymy, and their ancient history became part of a set of information that Bembo perceived as intimately related to their governance. Both kinds of information worked for the same end: for a more complete and organised collection of knowledge about the space he was governing. In this sense, Bembo's writing parallels Bartolomeo dalli Sonetti's combination of navigational and mythological knowledge about the islands examined in Chapter II. In both cases, knowledge became authority: for Bartolomeo, authority as an author; for Bembo, a kind of self-perception of his own authority to govern. Livy's histories as detailed in this passage were not simply historical for Bembo, but a present past through which he conceived of his own role as protector and governor. When read alongside his Venetian vernacular histories and lists of Venetian resources, we can begin to understand the constant intersubjective, intertextual relationship between the classical Aegean and the contemporary, between ancient authors and lived experience, that not only became a way for Bembo to formulate his ideas about governance, but a way for him to construct and narrate his own subjectivity.

V. *A fragmented Archipelago*

As I explored in the conclusion to Chapter I, this kind of composite textual practice - in Bembo's *Isolario*, and in the composition of his autobiography - reflected perceptions of the Aegean islands as a fragmented space.⁴³⁴ The Aegean archipelago was perceived as a heterogeneous collection, a mosaic in which individual islands were differentiated in time and

⁴³⁴ See A.E. Stone, "The Sea and the Self: Travel as Experience and Metaphor in Early American Autobiography," *Genre* 7/3 (1974): 279-306.

space. The ways in which the composite spaces and temporalities of the Aegean became a narrative mechanism in Bembo's life writing are particularly evident in the opening passage of his autobiographical letter in the Munich manuscript:

O suffering! My Chiara died on the 30th of October in the tenth hour of the night. She was seventeen and I was twenty-four when we were united here in Corcyra. Then, at my father's bidding, I decided to go to Naupactus. While sailing I saw the Passu islands, which are now called Passu and Antipassu. The bigger island of Passu has been inhabited since 1513, when your compatriot Joannes Abrameus, who sold it to the Council of Ten for 3600 ducats. And I observed Neriton, called Leucas; and island Perimele, named for the daughter of Hippodamus (now called Scopulus), separate from the Echinades; and Ithaca. Leucas and Ithaca fell to Venice when the Eastern and Western empires divided. Leucas is called Sancta Maura, but we call it Val a Compare, and it still belongs to the Venetians. [...] Leaving the island of Tapho, and Dulicho, and all of the other Echinades islands behind on the right, I arrived at Naupactus, which was then ours; these islands of the Echinades are now called Cuzolari.⁴³⁵

Between the first two sentences of Bembo's narrative, time and space are collapsed around the figure of Chiara, between Venice in 1536 and Corfu in 1497. After this folding of time, Bembo tells of his journey from Corfu to Lepanto island-by-island, weaving in classical toponymy, Venetian history, and contemporary observations of the maritime space of the Venetian islands. The journey was atomised into its component parts: the islands themselves. Bembo perceived the Mediterranean space in which he travelled much like his textual world, indeed much like the encyclopaedism of d'Alli Sonetti's *Isolario*: as a chain of linked but discrete islands, composed

⁴³⁵ 'Proh dolor! Cyruſ mea obiit tertio calendas Nouembris hora decima noctis. Quae septimum decimum agebat annum et ego vigesimum quartum quando isthic Corcyrae sociati sumus. Tunc iussu patris mei Naupactum ire decreui. Currendo autem uelo vidi Passas insulas, quae nunc Passu et Antipassu dicuntur, quam postea Passam insulam maiorem et cultam anno 1513 Joannes Abrameus civis vester a nostris decemuiris emit ducatis sexcentis et tribus millibus. Perspexique Neriton, quae et Leucas dicitur; et Perimelem insulam Hippodamantis filiam ab Echinadibus semotam (nunc Scopulus dicitur); et Ithacam; quam Leucadam et Ithacam in orientis et occidentis imperii divisione Venetorum fuerant. Prima Sancta Maura dicitur, Ithaca autem a nostris Val a Compare, quae adhuc Venetorum est. [...] Tapho insula et Dulicho aliisque Echinadibus insulis dextrorsum relictis, Naupactum Aetoliae urbem tunc nostram perveni, quae Echinades nunc Cuzolari dicuntur.' T. Mommsen, "Autobiographie des Venezianers Giovanni Bembo (1536)," p. 6.

together into the whole of the Archipelago, but each having their own histories, geographies, and identities.

The combination of ‘extreme topographical fragmentation’ and ‘connectivity provided by the sea’ that Peregrine Horden and Nicholas Purcell consider to be distinctive characteristics of Mediterranean history, seems to have been equally characteristic of Bembo’s experience of the physical world of the Mediterranean, and of his recomposition of that world in writing.⁴³⁶ It is a sense of space that I examined in the *Isolario*, and one that is represented as well in Renaissance portolan charts. In the portolan charts of the Aegean in the *Cornaro Atlas* discussed at greater length in Chapter I, islands are represented as small, brightly-coloured, and geometrically-shaped jewels floating in seas of white vellum. As the portolan chart aesthetic generally is characterised by lines on white - the inky grey of a coastline, the faded web of rhumb lines - these green, deep cerise, blue, gold, and even patterned island-shapes make a striking visual impression. Because these island shapes bear no directly representational relationship to the geography of the islands, the function underlying these graphic conventions has been a matter of debate.⁴³⁷

However, in the *Cornaro Atlas*, the reader is given the ability to compare these geometric ‘puzzle-piece’ island shapes across several maps compiled together. Drawing islands on the many maps of the Aegean, in which many different modes of representation could be easily

⁴³⁶ P. Horden and N. Purcell, *The Corrupting Sea*, p.175.

⁴³⁷ Some scholars have believed their function to be a mnemonic one: both to help sailors remember the location of islands in order to navigate around them, implying a certain level of geographical realism, as well as for ‘armchair travelers’ to remember their names, locations, and possibly histories in the course of their reading. V. della Dora, ‘Mapping metageographies: the cartographic invention of Italy and the Mediterranean,’ *California Italian Studies* 1/1 (2010), pp. 9-10; also see C. Jacob, *The Sovereign Map: Theoretical Approaches in Cartography* (Chicago, 2006), p. 201. These islands have also been thought to be an early expression of a setting apart, demarcation, and delineation of owned space, before the introduction of political boundary on maps drawn in nineteenth century. P.E. Steinberg, “Insularity, Sovereignty, and Statehood: the Representation of Islands on Portolan Charts and the Construction of the Territorial State,” *Geografiska Annaler* B 87/4 (2005), pp. 253-65. Also see J.R. Akerman, “The structuring of political territory in early printed atlases,” *Imago Mundi* 47 (1995): 138-154.

compared by flipping through the pages of the codex, was an opportunity for the scribe to emphasise his role as the author of visual diversity within the map. The scribe made explicit for the reader the link between diversity in image - the variety of bright, visually interesting shapes floating in the white space of the page - and cultural, historical, and even geographic diversity of the islands floating in the Aegean. By playing with the conventions of portolan chart drawing, the scribe of the *Cornaro Atlas* allows a glimpse into the ways in which Renaissance readers understood these aesthetic conventions: clusters of jigsaw-puzzle islands were graphic symbols for a collection of diversity, for the embodiment of geographical, cultural, and historical multiplicity that inflected the perception of the Aegean space. The fragmentary but connected nature of the Aegean space was an important feature of its representation to patrician readers; and, at least for Bembo, it was important for the construction of his own life narrative.

Of course, we do not know whether Bembo experienced his journey in the same way that he has narrated it in the opening of his letter; he composed this passage whilst remembering and reimagining his journey, perhaps using sources like his copy of d'Alvi's *Isolario*.⁴³⁸ In composite encyclopedic forms like the *Isolario* and the *Cornaro Atlas*, books meant to be enjoyed in a study, the physicality of genre - the ways in which space was represented through flipping folios and comparing representations - has important implications for the ways in which the space of the Aegean was perceived and recomposed into other works. Bembo's constant engagement between experience and textual practice does not make his perception of the Mediterranean as fragmented but connected composite elements any less real. It is rather

⁴³⁸ A similar narrative style is used in a little-discussed early fifteenth-century Venetian travel account, which also contains a sketched map, describing the journey from Venice to Tana: London, British Library, Burney MS 213, fols. 23v-25r (consulted). The manuscript is a geographical compilation, including a copy of Pomponius Mela's *Cosmographia*. It was noticed by F.W. Hasluck, "Notes on Manuscripts in the British Museum Relating to Levant Geography and Travel," *The Annual of the British School at Athens* 12 (1905/06), p. 204.

evidence of the continual process of atomisation and recomposition which characterised Bembo's approach to literature, space, and as we see in this passage, to the creation of subjective written experience of his life.

Another example of this kind of fragmentary and intertextual construction of Mediterranean space is found in Bembo's collection of Greek and Roman inscriptions in the Munich codex. Titled 'Antique inscriptions chosen from various places',⁴³⁹ the majority of the Munich codex is filled with copied inscriptions, sometimes including basic sketches of the architectural setting or built environment surrounding the inscription. Sometimes Bembo headed the page with the location where he copied the inscription: from the Dalmatian cities of Pula and Solin, from Rome, and - closer to his temporary home - 'In insula Scopeli Venetorum Aegipelagi'. But the messy, seemingly documentary recordings of the inscriptions and their place-names are deceptive. Whilst Bembo certainly did copy some - especially those on Skiathos and Skopelos - the majority of the inscriptions, especially those from Rome, Salerno, Istria and Dalmatia, were culled from existing humanist sylloges, or compendia of ancient inscriptions.⁴⁴⁰ Cyriac d'Ancona's sylloge, as discussed in Chapter II, was particularly popular amongst Renaissance humanist collectors, and was a source for many of Bembo's inscriptions; as were those collected in Marino Sanudo's 1483 *Itinerario per la Terraferma Veneziana*, a text I

⁴³⁹ 'Inscriptiones antiquae ex variis locis sumptae.' Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, CLM 10801, fol. 1r.

⁴⁴⁰ On Bembo's inscriptions, see E. Hübner, *Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum*, II (Berlin, 1862), p. vii; and T. Mommsen, *ibid* (Berlin, 1872): vol. V, p. 5s; vol. X, p. XXX; A. Silvagni, *Inscriptiones Christianae Urbis Romae*, I (Rome, 1922), p. xli, n. 41; and A. Degraffi, *Inscriptiones Italiae*, X (Rome, 1947), p. xii. On Venetian collecting of inscriptions from Istria and Pula especially, see Chapter IV.

consider in detail in Chapter IV.⁴⁴¹ Those inscriptions which Bembo copied from monuments on Skiathos and Skopelos had already been documented by Cyriac, giving Bembo a textual source with which to compare his own evidence. The jumbled compilation of Bembo's own sylloge, then, does not reflect his own recording of these epigraphical sources in the Mediterranean; but the heterogeneity and organization of texts like Cyriac's *Commentaria*.

Bembo's collection of inscriptions from documentary sources, which themselves refer to places and monuments that he would have also personally viewed on his travels, indicates the extent to which the textual world of the *studia humanitatis* mediated his experience of the physical world of the Mediterranean. As we saw in Bembo's annotations to the *Isolario*, it was not only the classical geography, literature, and history of the Mediterranean that were important to him, but the tradition of scholarship associated with documenting that classical history. Greek and Roman inscriptions were collectible evidence of the classical past: evidence which could be documented personally, but which could also be compared with contemporary humanist scholarship. In this sense, Bembo's personal sylloge functions in much the same way as his edited printed collection. Indeed, Roberto Weiss found there was a close relationship between the philological study of epigraphy and the 'new' comparative, origin-driven scholarship developed by Poliziano discussed earlier in this chapter.⁴⁴² For Bembo, composition was invention: imitation, atomisation, and recomposition were not simply the technical foundations of good scholarship, but a way in which to conceptualise the ancient Mediterranean and the

⁴⁴¹ For the three critical editions of Cyriac's inscriptions, letters, and travel diaries, see Chapter II, p. 141, note 70. R.L. Brown edited the *Itinerario di Marin Sanudo per la terraferma veneziana: nell'anno MCCCCLXXXIII* (Padua, 1847). The *Dizionario Biografico degli Italiani* entry for Bembo mentions a third sylloge that served as one of Bembo's sources, by a Benedetto Masciani of Pisa. I have not been able to find any further information on this compilation.

⁴⁴² R. Weiss, *The Renaissance Discovery of Classical Antiquity* (Oxford, 1969), p. 166.

contemporary physical world as existing on a single plane. Bembo exhibits a kind of rigorous, investigative attitude to the physical environment of the Mediterranean, comparing monumental with documentary evidence, weighing personal experience against contemporary scholarship. As Leonard Barkan has written, ‘epigraphy was understood as an important set of antique questions that demanded modern answers’, answers which were found both by witnessing and recording, but also in (textual) conversation with other scholars and documenters.⁴⁴³ As I have set out in the previous chapter on Cyriac d’Ancona, this was a textual practice that foregrounded Bembo’s perceptive approach to the space of the Mediterranean world.

As I argue in the following section, this process did not just happen across the discrete island spaces of the Mediterranean, but also interwove classical time with the present, so that Bembo’s autobiographical letter as a result has the formal appearance of a kind of textual mosaic in which constituent spaces, times, and sources are assembled together to reflect upon his experience as governor. In the following section, I turn to a close analysis of the events surrounding Bembo’s castration of the scribe during his tenure at *rettore* on Skiathos. I untangle the social and political pressures surrounding the castration, and focus especially on the legal concept of *arbitrium*, in order to explore the relationship between colonial judicial decision-making and the experience of a composite physical Aegean space.

VI. *Crisis and governance on Skiathos*

All that was good soon stopped, because my scribe had an illicit affair with my daughter Urania, and twice made her pregnant. Though his skills, the scribe made her abort the first born, by means of soaking [in?] the tar of mallow root. And again, the scribe tried so that the girl would abort the second infant, but she did not want to, because the first time,

⁴⁴³ L. Barkan, *Unearthing the Past*, p. 27.

the girl was in grave danger as she delivered the aborted infant. I declare, in the middle of the city, crowded with my people, I ordered that the scribe's testicles be removed by the executioner, lest he might ever commit infanticide again.⁴⁴⁴

So Bembo recalled in his autobiographical letter the events that ended his political career. But what exactly happened during the incident that Bembo described so concisely? Bembo does not tell us whether the scribe, perhaps admitted into the household in the course of his service to Bembo, was Venetian or a Greek subject.⁴⁴⁵ In his service to the Bembo family, the scribe may have had a degree of access to Urania, although Bembo's narrative does not reveal the exact nature of their relationship. The word *stuprum* was sometimes used to mean rape, although in both Venetian juridical records and in the classical Latin of which Bembo was a student, *stuprum* could also mean a more general disgrace, unchastity, or violation, without any particular set of legal penalties attached.⁴⁴⁶ Bembo refers to Urania as a *puella*; in Thomas Cohen's exploration of mid-sixteenth century Roman court records, he had found *stuprum* to refer to 'not plain rape but defloration.'⁴⁴⁷ Given this range of plausible meanings and Bembo's own language, I would

⁴⁴⁴ 'Omnia inquam bene cessere, praeterquam quod scriba meus stupravit filiam meam Uraniam et bis eam gravidam fecit. Fecit autem primo partu abortum artibus ipsius scribae radice maluae pice intincta. Et rursus ipse scriba conatus est ut puella secundum foetam ejiceret, sed puella prae timore noluit, quia in primo abortu mortis periculo laboraverat. In media urbe frequenti populo edicto meo a carnifice testes ipsius scribae exempti fuere, ne amplius infanticida committeret.' T. Mommsen, "Autobiographie des Venezianers Giovanni Bembo (1536)," pp. 20-21.

⁴⁴⁵ M. O'Connell writes that a castellan of Coron had a Venetian scribe during his tenure in 1442; and indeed Pietro Coppo, the subject of Chapter IV, was initially posted to Isola as a notary to a Venetian governor. But I have not been able to find whether this was common practice (or whether Bembo, whose post was relatively minor within the *stato da mar*, would have been able to afford a Venetian staff). *Men of Empire*, p. 91.

⁴⁴⁶ G. Ruggiero, *The Boundaries of Eros: Sex Crime and Sexuality in Renaissance Venice* (New York and Oxford, 1985), p. 185, note 3, writes: 'Towards the end of our period [i.e., the early-mid sixteenth century] 'stupro' also begins to appear, but its context suggests that it was not used exclusively for violent sexual attacks. Unfortunately, it appears too late and is not used extensively enough to hypothesise about its use or development.' On rape and sexual crimes in the Venetian maritime state, see M. O'Connell, "The Sexual Politics of Empire: Civic Honor and Official Crime outside Renaissance Venice," *Journal of Early Modern History* 15 (2011): 331-348.

⁴⁴⁷ T.V. Cohen, *Love and Death in Renaissance Italy*, p. 213.

suggest that Bembo likely meant that the scribe had an affair with Urania when she was a teenager.

After she became pregnant the first time, the scribe - using his 'arts' - concocted an abortifacient made of mallow root. Unlike many early modern abortifacients, this one apparently worked. It also seems to have nearly killed her. When Urania became pregnant again, the scribe again tried to convince her to abort the pregnancy; but this time she resisted, out of fear of becoming ill as she had during the first abortion. For the scribe, coercing and helping Urania to get rid of the evidence of the affair was probably the best of several unfortunate options. If their relationship was known publicly, he would face either marrying Urania or having to pay her dowry.⁴⁴⁸ If, on the other hand, he could keep the relationship secret by getting rid of any evidence, he could go unpunished. For Urania - a young woman in a tiny island community, daughter of the only Venetian administrator on the island - the social stigma she would have faced by raising a child out of wedlock was grim indeed.⁴⁴⁹ It seems that it was only the potentially life-threatening medical complications to the second abortion that induced her to speak out. It is impossible to know for sure, but it was perhaps at this stage - when Urania was being coerced for the second time to abort - that Bembo became aware both of their relationship and of the first aborted pregnancy. Bembo then ordered the scribe to be castrated in the middle of the town of Skiathos in front of his subjects; interestingly, not as vengeance for impregnating his daughter, but as punishment for the scribe's *infanticida*: coercing and providing the means by which Urania aborted her first pregnancy.

⁴⁴⁸ G. Ruggiero, *The Boundaries of Eros*, pp. 93-96.

⁴⁴⁹ J.R. Ruff, *Violence in Early Modern Europe* (Cambridge, 2001), pp. 147-153.

Bembo castrated the scribe as part of his responsibility as *rettore* to administer justice on the island. Infanticide was indeed a serious crime which Bembo sought to punish severely. The decision to castrate the scribe was an instance of the Venetian colonial practice of *arbitrium*, the legal concept central to the *rettore*'s administration of the colony, which left the ultimate provision of justice up to the highly discretionary and flexible decision-making of the *rettore* himself.⁴⁵⁰ Venetian *rettori* did not receive any formal legal training, so this process was truly a matter of individual discretion. An indication that Bembo considered the castration as the exercise of justice can be found in his exchange with Leonardo Anesi. When he sent his friend Andrea Anesi the letter in 1536, Andrea was too ill to respond; but his son Leonardo did write back to Bembo, who copied the response into his miscellany, underneath the draft of his autobiographical letter. Acknowledging that Bembo wished for his father's opinion on his decision to castrate the scribe during his 'Regimento' on Skiathos, Leonardo conveys that 'in [my father's] opinion, your judgement was very much worthy of praise', but that Andrea recognises that many others have rebuked him for his judgement.⁴⁵¹ The 'iuditio' of Leonardo's letter is likely the vernacular expression of the Venetian colonial practice of *arbitrium*, indicating not only that Bembo's castration of the scribe was conceived as just, but that Bembo could reflect on that decision as flexible: a decision that, in retrospect, could have been right or wrong.

As described briefly in the Introduction to this thesis, there are several parallels between the Greek myth describing Cronus' castration of his father, Uranus, and Bembo's castration of the scribe, who forced Urania to abort her pregnancy. The similarities reach beyond the name

⁴⁵⁰ B. Arbel, "Venice's Maritime Empire in the Early Modern World," p. 158.

⁴⁵¹ 'Et del iuditio di quello desiderar la opinion de mio patre dinoto ad quella per sua opinion multo tal iuditio meritar laude.' 'And about the judgement on which you desired my distinguished father's opinion: on this, in his opinion the judgement merits praise.' Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, CLM 10801, fol. 183r.

Uranus/Urania. Urania was the daughter of Chiara, a native of Corcyra on Corfu: the city was founded upon the mythological location where Cronus buried the sickle that he used to castrate his father. As told in Apollonius of Rhodes' *Argonautica*, the inhabitants of Corcyra were supposed to have been descended from Uranus' blood on the buried sickle.⁴⁵² Was this the source of Urania's name, a matrilineal tradition native to Corfu? Or did Bembo invent the name of his daughter for his autobiographical narrative, an indication that he indeed reflected upon and remembered the events of his life according to the parameters of classical mythology?

Cronus was said to have conspired with his mother, Gaia, to castrate Uranus, because Gaia was angry with Uranus for stealing away some of her children: as Hesiod described it in the *Theogeny*, '[these children] were hated by their own father from the first. [Uranus] used to hide them all away in a secret place of Earth so soon as each was born, and would not suffer them to come up into the light'. So Gaia conspired with her son Cronus: 'My children, gotten of a sinful father, if you will obey me, we should punish the vile outrage of your father; for he first thought of doing shameful things'.⁴⁵³ Perhaps Bembo perceived a mythological analogy between the hidden, buried children of Gaia, hated by their father, and the loss of Urania's pregnancy at the instigation of the scribe. And, seeing this analogy, he punished the scribe in the same method that Gaia and Cronus punished Uranus. These similarities and classical analogies, as we have seen, played an important part in Bembo's perception of the external world, and may have been especially evocative within the physical setting of the Aegean. Bembo's process of *arbitrium*

⁴⁵² Apollonius of Rhodes, *Argonautica* IV.II:982-984. 'Fronting the Ionian gulf there lies an island in the Ceraunian sea, rich in soil, with a harbour on both sides, beneath which lies the sickle...wherewith Cronos pitilessly mutilated his father [...] and thus the Phaeacians themselves are by birth of the blood of Uranus.'

⁴⁵³ Hesiod, *Theogeny*, II:164-172.

may not have consisted of compiling and comparing law codes and cultural traditions, as much as comparing the scandalous events of his own life with those of the Greek gods.

Another factor which must have influenced his decision was his role as father and head of his family. As Lucien Faggion has explored for the Venetian aristocrats in the colonial *terraferma* of the sixteenth century, ‘The family’s identity and continued existence depended on its undefiled honor, pure bloodlines and solidarity. Thus, for the nobles, offences against the family honor must be removed and, since the judicial system was partly based on the principle of negotiation, this meant that the offender had to be induced to acknowledge his responsibility for bringing the family’s honor into disrepute’.⁴⁵⁴ The honour of the family played a crucial role in the decision-making process of *arbitrium*. Just as he was the head of his household and so responsible for accounting for the actions of those within it, Bembo was also responsible for the affairs of Skiathos; shame within the realm of his family meant a stain on his colonial rule. If he could not control his daughter and his scribe, his control of the island was placed in doubt, too. For Bembo, castrating the scribe in the piazza meant that he could reassert himself both as the paternal head of his family, and as the paternalistic colonial governor.⁴⁵⁵ Finally, there is plenty of evidence pertaining to early modern European women that suggests that this crime would have been almost universally punished by execution of the mother.⁴⁵⁶ Perhaps Bembo feared the

⁴⁵⁴ L. Faggion, “Violence, Rites and Social Regulation in the Venetian *Terra Firma* in the Sixteenth Century,” in *Aspects of Violence in Renaissance Europe*, J. Davies, ed. (Farnham, 2013), p. 191.

⁴⁵⁵ For an interesting parallel in modern colonial history, see P. van der Spuy, “Infanticide, slavery and the politics of reproduction at Cape Colony, South Africa, in the 1820s,” in *Infanticide: Historical Perspectives on Child Murder and Concealment, 1550-2000*, ed. M. Jackson (Aldershot, 2002): 128-148.

⁴⁵⁶ J.R. Ruff, *Violence in Early Modern Europe*, p. 153. For Renaissance Italian infanticide and abortion in Florence and Milan, respectively: R.C. Trexler’s “Infanticide in Florence: New Sources and First Results,” *History of Childhood Quarterly* 1/1 (1973): 98-116; and P. Renée Baernstein and J. Christopoulos, “Interpreting the Body in Early Modern Italy: Pregnancy, Abortion, and Adulthood,” *Past and Present* 223 (2014), 41-75. For a comparison with early modern Germany, see U. Rublack’s chapter on “Infanticide” in *The Crimes of Women in Early Modern Germany* (Oxford, 2001), pp. 163-97.

repercussions of Urania's complicity in the first aborted pregnancy: and so he chose the course of justice that would protect his family.

Of course, the patrician men who made up the Venetian state saw it entirely differently. Mythology was not a replacement for Venetian legal precedent; and a recurring theme throughout the *commissioni* and legal proceedings brought against *rettori* involves the punishment of those administrators who unfairly decide in favour of their own family members.⁴⁵⁷ Whilst these rules primarily relate to fraud and unfair political favours, Bembo's castration of the scribe would very likely have fallen under these prohibitions. But it is not surprising that Bembo relied on mythology and paternalism, rather than Venetian legal tradition, in his process of *arbitrium*. Bembo had very little respect for the Venetian legal system, as he reveals in his passionate recollection of his short experience on the Giustizieri Nuovi:

I was made prefect of the Giustizieri Nuovi, where the customs of the city required the nobles of the Maggior Consiglio (because they were superior in legal matters) to be acquitted and to pass with impunity, even in the most offensive crimes; while truly all others are condemned by the law for minor offences: they are neither permitted to depart, nor to be free of penalty. [...] I passed forty-five days in this magistracy, before I abdicated the post because of their injustice.⁴⁵⁸

Although Bembo wrote this ten years after the castration, and so perhaps with a sense of lingering resentment toward his own class, Bembo reveals in this passage that he did not trust the judicial decision-making of the Venetian legal system. He felt as though his own approach to the law was more ethical, so much so that he abdicated from the most important government position

⁴⁵⁷ M. O'Connell, *Men of Empire*: this is a theme which O'Connell deals with throughout her book, but see particularly her chapter "Syndics, Prosecutions, and Scandal," pp. 119-139.

⁴⁵⁸ '...fui praefectus Justitiae novae, ubi more civitatis (nam praevaluit legibus) oportebat nobiles Marioris Consilii quamvis nocentissimos absolvere et permittere eos impune abire, alios vero omnes ob minimam noxam secundum leges damnare: neque abitionem permittere nisi soluta poena. [...] Quadraginta quinque diebus in eo magistratu absolutis, ab illa me iniquitate abdicavi.' T. Mommsen, "Autobiographie des Venezianers Giovanni Bembo (1536)," p. 27.

he had yet been assigned. Indeed, in the years following his resignation from the Giustizieri Nuovi, he would only gain more evidence of the ‘iniquity’ of the Venetian patriciate, as they refused to allow Chiara and their children to be entered into official Venetian records as members of the aristocracy, on account of Chiara’s ‘nationem, patriam, genus, et indoctatam’.⁴⁵⁹ By the time that Bembo reached Skiathos, he had likely developed a personal sense of justice and injustice, especially where his family and his own class were concerned. He consciously chose to remain alienated from the judicial conduct that was expected from him, as an aristocrat and as an administrator.

The process of *arbitrium* was one in which various social, legal, and even literary options could be considered, compared, and weighed, to determine the most appropriate course of judicial action. According to his aristocratic peers in Venice, Bembo did not choose correctly, probably because he privileged the well-being of his family over justice that would have had the state’s colonial interests at its core. For Bembo, though, the parameters which surrounded the possible choices involved in *arbitrium* were very different. The classical world, so much a part of his self-perception as governor, provided him with a set of possible actions. His role as paternal head of his family was inextricable from his role as governor; this was one reason why the private affairs of his household had to be resolved publicly on Skiathos. And Urania had to be protected from any potential repercussions from the first aborted pregnancy. Thus the elements which Bembo could compare and weigh when making his decision were not examples of prior legal action taken in Venice, or passages from his *commissione*, but selected from classical precedent and for the protection of his family. As I will discuss in the following section, this is

⁴⁵⁹ ‘Country, homeland, origin, and religion.’ T. Mommsen, “Autobiographie des Venezianers Giovanni Bembo (1536),” p. 26.

consistent with his description of the aftermath of his castration of the scribe, particularly in his use of Virgil's language describing the scandal of Dido's affair to describe the rumour of the castration spreading. Bembo viewed the events of his life on the scale of classical literature and myth, as having taken place in the same physical world as the Greek and Latin stories he atomised and collected in his manuscripts and *Isolario*. In the following section, I analyse the genre and composition of the letter itself, and examine the ways in which Bembo conceived of his own culpability, his alienation from his peers, and his chance of becoming reaccepted, according to literary precepts borrowed from classical scholarship.

VII. *Constructing autobiography: allusion and genre*

Here, I consider the ways in which Bembo reflected on the aftermath of the castration ten years later in his autobiographical letter. Before I turn to the circumstances under which Bembo wrote the letter and an analysis of its literary construction, I would like to examine how Bembo conceived of the scandal within the wider social, political, and geographical setting of the Venetian *stato da mar*. In a passage which directly follows Bembo's description of the castration, he writes about the way in which the *fama* of his judgement to punish the scribe travelled throughout the Venetian empire. Because Bembo makes use of digression, it is a long passage but useful to quote in full:

The *fama* of the judgement of the castration wandered through Greece, Thessaly, Thrace, and even through the Hellespont. By getting over the Cynaeon Rocks and Symplegades islands, it made its way into the Black Sea, around the shores of Chalcedon, which is now called Scutari, by Paphlagonia and Sinope, once conquered by Lucullus, the Roman, and the country of Diogenes, and fills the ears of the Galatians and the Cappadocians, near Trapezus which was once owned by us Venetians, and into the market and the house and the castle given to us by the emperor of Trapezus. That castle was fortified by us, and the

walls built, and the great flag of San Marco of Venice was raised here. Indeed, a Venetian rector was chosen for this castle. His titles were Orator, Bailiff, and Rector, Orator to the empire of Trapezus, Bailiff for the merchants, Rector who was responsible for judging not only cases regarding money, but indeed for punishing criminal cases. Under the command of the Rector sat two elected counselors of Trapezus. [...] In the Venetian castle at Trapezus, the Venetians had scribes, interpreters, secretaries, and other ministers, all on public stipends, and the same Rector yearly had five hundred ducats. [...] Eight and sometimes ten cargo and trade triremes sailed in the Black Sea, in this part of Trapezus, some going to Tana and some to other places. They sailed very quickly through the famous Black Sea, in the region of Medea, to the place where the Lazei now live, where the Colchis and Phasis rivers and where the people called Cercetas live (they are now called Mengreli and Cerchasi). Having finally left the Meotide swamp, the river empties into the deep-flowing Tanis, which flows 18 *millia passuum* to the city of Tana. This city of Tana was Venetian, then Usbech's, and then owned by Zanibech, the emperor of the Tartars. The kingdom of this emperor was Astraca or Citracha, the emporium and the capital of the emperor, where the city Citra was located above the Volga river or the Rha which flows into the Caspian Sea. In our language, we call this whole kingdom Gaza. And often Tana was overthrown, plundered and burned by the Tartars. [...] In the year 1334, Tana was plundered of four hundred thousand and many Venetians were killed. [...] In the year 1400, Doge Michele Steno sent Pietro Loredan to Tana as Counselor and Rector, whose annual salary was 800 ducats. He had an allied Admiral, five servants, five horses. Indeed, Tana had two noble Venetian counselors [...] In their arsenal they have 20 crossbows, 50 rifles, heavy artillery fire, bows with their arrows and oblong shields. Indeed, there is an interpreter of the language of the Tartars and of the Schytarum, and three scribes, and other arms [...]. And this *fama*, by running, by sailing, by flying, has covered all of these regions with judgement of the testicles.⁴⁶⁰

Fama was a complicated word in premodern Europe, encompassing a range of meanings: from 'rumour', to 'gossip', to 'talk', as well as 'fame' and its opposite, 'infamy'. As Thelma Fenster and Daniel Lord Smail have indicated, *fama* 'intersected with...honor, shame, status, and witnessing, and it glossed the essential nexus of performance, talk, reputation, and speech regulation'.⁴⁶¹ Because of the affiliation in this passage between's Bembo's colonial judgement (or *arbitrium*) and *fama*, certainly one valence of the word is a legal one: referring to the kind of

⁴⁶⁰ See Appendix V for Latin transcription of this passage, which I deemed too lengthy to include in the main text. T. Mommsen, "Autobiographie des Venezianers Giovanni Bembo (1536)," pp. 21-23.

⁴⁶¹ T.S. Fenster and D.L. Smail, *Fama: The Politics of Talk and Reputation in Medieval Europe* (Ithaca and London, 2003), p. 2.

public talk that was reported in court contexts. Of course, this meaning had a double edge for Bembo, who felt keenly judged himself by his Venetian peers for his judgement on Skiathos.

A second meaning of *fama* which Bembo replicates here is that associated with Virgil's language in Book IV of the *Aeneid*, used to describe the way that the *fama* of Dido's affair with Aeneas spread:

Straightaway Rumour flies through Libya's great cities,
Rumour, swiftest of all the evils in the world.
She thrives on speed, stronger for every stride,
slight with fear at first, soon soaring into the air
she treads the ground and hides her head in the clouds.
She is the last, they say, our Mother Earth produced.
Bursting in rage against the gods, she bore a sister
for Coeus and Enceladus: Rumour, quicksilver afoot
and swift on the wing, a monster, horrific, huge
and under every feather on her body - what a marvel -
an eye that never sleeps and as many tongues as eyes
and as many raucous mouths and ears pricked up for news.
By night she flies aloft, between the earth and sky,
whirring across the dark, never closing her lids
in soothing sleep. [...]
Now Rumour is in her glory, filling Africa's ears
with tale on tale of intrigue, bruited her song
of facts and falsehoods mingled...
'Here this Aeneas, born of Trojan blood,
has arrived in Carthage, and lovely Dido deigns
to join the man in wedlock. Even now they warm
the winter, long as it lasts, with obscene desire,
oblivious to their kingdoms, abject thralls of lust.'⁴⁶²

Bembo imitated the image of a flying, screeching personification of rumour, dramatically presaging the tragedy of the repercussions of Dido and Aeneas' affair, in order to lend his own scandal the same level of drama and sense of impending disaster. The image of *fama* filling

⁴⁶² See Appendix V for a Latin transcription of this passage, which I deemed too lengthy to include in the main text. Translation by R. Fagles, *The Aeneid* (New York, 2006), pp. 133-4.

people's ears is paralleled in Bembo's use of 'implevit' to mimic Virgil's 'replebat'; and the classical toponymy and cadence of the first sentences of Bembo's passage, in which *fama* seems to move quickly from one location to another without digression, is especially close to Virgil's depiction. So in addition to the judicial and social valences of *fama*, Bembo was also interested in its resonance with one of the greatest scandals of classical literature. As we have found with Bembo's *Isolario*, he experienced a kind of sympathy with both the writers and characters of classical literature, not only geographically but in writing his own life.

There are two implications to examine here. First, Bembo's use of the personification of *fama* meant that he was able to describe the eastern Mediterranean and the Black Sea from above: he saw imaginatively the Venetian empire from the perspective of this flying figure. It is through this space of flight that we get a sense of the ways in which Bembo could conceive of information, news, and gossip spreading across the Venetian maritime empire. From his study in Venice, penning his autobiographical letter, Bembo imagined the Venetian empire as intimately connected, one in which an event on Skiathos had a traceable ripple effect across colonial locations. Just as Virgil's *fama* has 'an eye that never sleeps' on every feather, taking in the vast expanse of the Mediterranean world below, so too Bembo used the image of *fama* to picture the ways in which information moved around the space of the Venetian empire.

As the passage moves beyond this initial resonance with the *Aeneid*, however, Bembo digresses from classical toponymy and language into the Venetian history in the Black Sea region, and to that of Tana in particular.⁴⁶³ As Virgil gave a geographical setting to the racing *fama*, lending the narrative a dramatic sense of rushing towards an inescapable conclusion,

⁴⁶³ On Venetian history in Tana, see B. Doumerc, "La Tana au XVe siècle: comptoir ou colonie?," in *État et Colonisation au Moyen Âge et à la Renaissance*, ed. M. Balard (Lyon, 1989): 251-266.

Bembo borrowed this same concept, but then created the opposite effect - a slowing-down or halting of the narrative - by digressing into history. By doing so, he allows the full repercussions of his decision on Skiathos to become evident: the 'judgement of the testicles', as he so vividly phrases it, was his contribution to Venetian history. Bembo uses a digression into historical geography to stage his own scandal, to develop the coordinates and dimensions of his term as *rettore* in the larger historical and spatial picture of the *stato da mar*. By conflating the *Aeneid* with Venetian history, Bembo also lends that history in the Black Sea the structure and gravitas of a classical Latin epic. He remade Venetian history - and indeed, his own personal history within the larger realm of the Venetian colonial past - on an epic scale. Rather than finding himself lacking in comparison with the epic history of Venetian colonisation, he still saw himself as part of it: using *nos/nostri* to describe the castles, flags, and triremes that signalled Venetian colonisation. Cataloguing the arsenal and the staff of the Venetian headquarters in Tana in 1400, Bembo writes himself into the Venetian past, layering his own experience in the *stato da mar* with Pietro Loredan's in 1400. In the last sentence of this passage, the *fama* of Bembo's judgement 'covered' all of these regions; we have a sense that Bembo does not simply mean the Black Sea as it existed in 1536, but as it existed in Dido's time, in Virgil's, in 1334, in 1400. Again, Bembo composed discrete elements - the multiple meanings of *fama*, Virgil's epic, Venetian history, historical geography - into a single autobiographical narrative, an instance of the same kind of compositional technique which was foundational to humanist textual practice. In this passage, Bembo uses composite digression to gauge the spatial and historical dimensions of his own life, within the historical temporality of the Venetian colonial world. As explored initially in Bembo's annotation practices within the *Isolario*, in his autobiographical letter,

humanist compositional technique was the foundation upon which Bembo built his perception of the geography and history of the colonial world, and of his role as governor within it.

Humanist composition provided not only the mechanics to understand the flows of information around the colonial world and its governance, but also the means to construct an idea of selfhood and subjectivity in the autobiographical letter through strategic use of genre and rhetorical structure. Like his use of classical literature within heterogeneous composition, Bembo modelled the rhetorical use of genre in the letter after classical exemplars. His autobiographical letter was written ten years after the castration, and sent to his friend Andrea Anesi in order to first receive Anesi's opinion on Bembo's judgement; and in the process of convincing Anesi that he was right, to convey that he should be forgiven by his patrician peers in Venice. Thus questions of the genre of the letter are intimately connected to its intended audiences.

Categorising the text as an autobiography would have made no sense to Bembo: he addressed it and formulated it as an epistolary work, but one which he simultaneously dubbed an oration.⁴⁶⁴ The idea that the epistolary genre could serve an oratorical aim was not a problematic genre-bending for Renaissance writers; on the contrary, the task of convincing was a crucial part of prose letter writing, as I examined in Vettor Fausto and Pietro Bembo's letters about shipbuilding and the state in Chapter I. Letters were, in Cecil Clough's words, 'the prime mean by which scholars, and particularly those devoted to the cult of Antiquity, disseminated their ideas and made their case in scholarly controversy'.⁴⁶⁵ That Bembo sent his letter to Anesi with the aim of convincing him that his decision to castrate the scribe on Skiathos ten years before

⁴⁶⁴ T. Mommsen, "Autobiographie des Venezianers Giovanni Bembo (1536)," p. 31.

⁴⁶⁵ C.H. Clough, "The Cult of Antiquity: Letters and Letter Collections," in *Cultural Aspects of the Italian Renaissance*, idem, ed. (Manchester, 1976), p. 33. Also see B. Scholz, "Self-Fashioning by Mail: The Letters of a Renaissance Misfit," in *Prose Studies: Correspondences: A Special Issue in Letters* 19/2 (1996), pp. 142-5.

was a just one, indicates how the usual conception of the rhetorical scholarly Renaissance letter was mobilised for more personal means. At the same time, though, the epistolary genre was one that was intended to create a sense of intimacy for the correspondents. Anesi's son Leonardo's response to Bembo suggests that he considered Bembo's letter to be an intimate communiqué: he relates news of his sister, and tells Bembo of an incoming visitor to Biri, his neighbourhood in Venice. Family news and the work of convincing could comfortably coexist within the capacious genre of the Renaissance prose letter.

The letters of Cicero provided a general rhetorical model for many corresponding humanists, particularly the collections of letters in *Epistolae ad familiares* and *Epistolae ad Atticum*. But beyond these general collections, it was editions of Petrarch's letters and those of Seneca that animated Bembo's own epistolary writing. Throughout the letter, Bembo focuses on his grief: the letter was written upon his wife's death, and he details the death of his daughter, the rape of Urania, and his exclusion from society with the same language of mourning, weeping, and wailing.⁴⁶⁶ Seneca wrote three letters which dealt explicitly with themes of death, grief, and mourning: two, the *Ad Marciam* and *Ad Polybium*, were consolations for the death of loved ones; and the third, *Ad Helvium matrem*, on exile, both poignant themes for Bembo. These are works in which Seneca argues for a Stoic approach to death and grief - more positional essays than

⁴⁶⁶ Juliana Schiesari has argued that melancholia was 'an elite "illness" that afflicted men precisely as the sign of their exceptionality, as the inscription of genius within them.' Although I don't consider this to have been Bembo's aim, it is a parallel example of the way in which grief and melancholy, in particular, were put to rhetorical uses in humanist writing. *The Gendering of Melancholia: Feminism, Psychoanalysis, and the Symbolics of Loss in Renaissance Literature* (Ithaca and London), p. 7.

intimate letters - and so we can understand them as one of Bembo's models for his integration of epistolary intimacy and the oratorical work of convincing within his autobiography.⁴⁶⁷

However, it was Petrarch's *Epistola ad Posteror*s which could very well have been Bembo's model for the kind of autobiographical self-reckoning which he undertakes. Petrarch's autobiographical narrative begins, 'Possibly you will have heard something about me [...] For almost everyone speaks as he likes it, not as truth demands; for both praise and blame (*infamie*) have no measure', a phrase which seems to resonate with Bembo's own experience of having been the object of gossip (*fama*) and mocking by his aristocratic peers.⁴⁶⁸ Petrarch's 'infamie' parallels Bembo's description of his outcasting as, '[the members of the Maggior Consiglio] were imputing me, a good man, to make me infamous'.⁴⁶⁹ Bembo borrowed directly from Petrarch the rhetorical use of an autobiographical epistle to reckon with what men may have 'heard'; and indeed, Bembo owned and annotated a copy of Petrarch's Latin works, including the *Epistola ad Posteror*s.⁴⁷⁰ Particularly interesting in Bembo's edition of Petrarch is the inclusion of a *Vita Petrarche*, which when compared with Petrarch's own autobiographical letter, may have provided a narrative model for Bembo's construction of his own life.

⁴⁶⁷ G.W. McClure, *Sorrow and Consolation in Italian Humanism* (Princeton, 1991), p. 6-7. Margaret King has studied the circulation of *consolatio* letters and funeral orations amongst Renaissance Venetian humanists in *The Death of the Child Valerio Marcello* (Chicago, 1994).

⁴⁶⁸ 'Et de primo quidem varie erunt hominum voces [...] ita enim ferme quisque loquitur, ut impellit non veritas, sed voluptas; nec laudis nec infamie modus est.' Edition and translation by K. Enenkel, "Critical Edition of Epistola Posteritati," in idem, B. de Jong-Crane and P. Liebrechts, eds., *Modelling the Individual: Biography and Portrait in the Renaissance* (Amsterdam, 1998).

⁴⁶⁹ '...putantes me in crimen bonis ponere atque infamiam.' T. Mommsen, "Autobiographie des Venezianers Giovanni Bembo (1536)," p. 21.

⁴⁷⁰ *Librorum Francisci Petrarche Impressorum Annotatio*. Simone Bevilacqua (Venice, 1503). London, British Library, 11421.k.13.

Indeed, epistolary writing is congruous to autobiographical writing in that in each genre, the author must alienate his 'writing self' from his 'written self,' each requiring the author to construct a written subjectivity or persona.⁴⁷¹ In Bembo's letter to Anesi, his 'written self' is a grieving widower, one who weaves together the mourning for his wife with the mourning for his exclusion from political society, for what he perceived as the wrongs done to him by the *Maggior Consiglio*. It was from the perspective of the written grieving self that Bembo structured and narrated the events of his life. For instance, when Chiara died of a fever, Bembo wrote that her illness was brought on because of her suffering at the hands of the *Maggior Consiglio* because they excluded her from the ranks of the patriciate on account of her ethnic and confessional identity. As Chiara suffered grief at exclusion, so Bembo grieved at her death caused by that exclusion; and Bembo mobilised the rhetorical effect of grieving in order to rectify that exclusion by becoming reconciled with his peers.

In Bembo's letter, the epistolary construction of textual subjectivity is both autobiographical and rhetorical. He moved his reader - central to Cicero's definition of good oratory, and modelled in Seneca's letters on grief - by identifying his mourning with the claim that he acted as a 'good man' ('*bonis*'). Bembo effectively exploited the 'double intentionality' of the Renaissance letter remarked upon by Guillén: the idea that the letter is somehow a genre of separation, privacy, and solitude, and yet at the same time intended to do the work of convincing

⁴⁷¹ As Claudio Guillén has remarked, the neo-Latin prose letter can 'involve the writer in a silent, creative process of self-distancing and self-modelling, leading perhaps, as in autobiography, to fresh knowledge or even to fiction.' See "Notes toward the Study of the Renaissance Letter," in *Renaissance Genres: Essays on Theory, History, and Interpretation*, B.K. Lewalski, ed. (Cambridge, M.A., 1986), p. 77. John Freccero writes on a similar separation required in autobiographical writing in his article, 'The Significance of *terza rima*,' in *Dante, Petrarch, Boccaccio: Studies in the Italian Trecento in Honor of Charles S. Singleton*, Aldo S. Bernardo and Anthony L. Pellegrini, eds. (Binghamton, 1983), p. 8.

and moving a wider group.⁴⁷² The epistolary self which Bembo created, the melancholy widower, betrayed the kind of compelling sorrow and emotional vulnerability which seemed only appropriate in an intimate letter to a friend; and yet his letter was simultaneously written with a public aim. Bembo's letter, then, is evidence of the ways in which the construction of intimacy in epistolary writing was a rhetorical mode through which the writer could convince a wider public of their just cause. The intimate mourning of the written subject played with the confessional conventions of letter-writing between friends, whilst simultaneously becoming evidence for Bembo's merit as arbiter on Skiathos. Who could not have sympathy for his cause, expressed in the language of deep grief: not only for the loss of Chiara, but for the loss of his daughter's innocence, the shame of which he was attempting to rectify, in the first place? Grief was a highly constructed rhetorical mode by which he could make his case to the world of his Venetian patrician peers. Thus Bembo's representation of selfhood in his autobiographical letter was constructed with a specific, public audience in mind. Indeed it was just this paradox, between the intimacy of friendship and letter-writing, and the oratorical genre and intended audience for his narrative, that Bembo navigated in his letter.

In his use of *fama*, digression, and genre, Bembo's writing demonstrates the ways in which humanist literary construction, the temporalities and spatialities of the colonial world, and the construction of selfhood were intimately intertwined for the humanists sent to govern the Venetian *stato da mar*. Through compositional writing, intersubjectivity, and imitation, Bembo made sense of the colonial world, his role in it, and his exclusion from it. What Bembo evidently did not anticipate was that his correspondent - Anesi, the crucial link in his plan to become

⁴⁷² C. Guillén, "Notes toward the Study of the Renaissance Letter," p. 100.

reaccepted into Venetian society - would have fallen ill, and be unable even to respond personally to his letter, nevermind do any work of convincing himself. Bembo's highly constructed letter - weaving together classical and Venetian history, Latin literature, Greek geography, classical generic and rhetorical structures, with his own life experience - failed in its aim; not through any fault in his composition, but through an event outside of his control.

VIII. *Conclusion*

In the texts that I examined in Part I of this thesis, I found that the Venetian experience of the Mediterranean was formed through a mediation between navigational expertise and knowledge, and humanistic interest in the classical literatures and landscapes of the islands. I suggested that this encounter with the Mediterranean world in text and image was of particular importance to Venetian humanist patrician readers and collectors, whose interest in the Mediterranean world was not only literary or scholarly but political. Whilst it is well-known that the antique fragments, inscriptions, and ruins scattered around the Mediterranean had a pervasive influence on Venetian visual culture, I pursued questions about the identities of these fifteenth- and sixteenth-century Venetian collectors of these texts, the patrons of books and of objects, their readers, viewers, collectors. Often, they were the same men were often involved in governing the Venetian state, not only at home but in the *stato da mar*: in the very places being depicted in humanist literature and art as antique landscapes full of sculptural fragments and Greek inscriptions.

Giovanni Bembo's idiosyncratic approach to governing Skiathos was strongly shaped by humanist perceptions of this environment. It became an important way to conceive of the

geopolitical space of the Venetian empire and of his own decision-making as a governor, as we saw in his transformation of the *Isolario* into a place to store information about the islands under his power. Humanist literary criticism, encompassing modes of reading and of writing, shaped both the governors' perceptions of their physical world, and their perception of their place within the larger field of Venetian imperial history. As we saw vividly in Bembo's description of his traveling *fama*, classical literature and rhetorical strategies shaped his description of the Venetian polity. The antique Mediterranean provided an alternative mode of understanding the space of Cinquecento administration.

Indeed, it was Bembo's exclusion from the Venetian patriciate that allows us to see the ways in which intellectual culture was intended to complement governance, and why it failed to do so. Bembo's exclusion was, of course, the reason he wrote an autobiographical letter in the first place, and the extent of his surviving writing allows an unusual glimpse into the microhistorical level of Venetian governance. Bembo, a displaced individual who left archival traces of his unusual negotiations of cultural and social boundaries across the early modern world, is an obvious subject for a global microhistorical analysis of the kind becoming increasingly popular amongst historians interested in examining the global dimensions of early modern lives.⁴⁷³ The object of this kind of analysis may not necessarily be the connectivity, negotiations, and exchanges that occurred in the breach of cultural boundaries in the early

⁴⁷³ T. Andrade, "A Chinese Farmer, Two African Boys, and a Warlord: Toward a Global Microhistory," *Journal of World History* xxi/4 (2010): 573-591; D. Spence, *The Question of Hu* (New York, 1988); N. Zemon Davis, *Trickster Travels: A Sixteenth-Century Muslim between Worlds* (New York, 2006); M. Ogborn, *Global Lives: Britain and the World, 1550-1800* (Cambridge, 2008); S. Subrahmanyam, *Three Ways To Be Alien: Travails and Encounters in the Early Modern World* (Waltham, MA, 2011); E. Rothschild, *The Inner Life of Empires: An Eighteenth Century History* (Princeton and Oxford, 2011); J.P. Ghobrial, "The Secret Life of Elias of Babylon and the Uses of Global Microhistory," *Past and Present* 222 (2014): 51-93. For global microhistories that focus on communities rather than on individuals, S. Aslanian, *From the Indian Ocean to the Mediterranean: The Global Trade Networks of Armenian Merchants from New Julfa* (Berkeley, 2011); and F. Trivellato, *The Familiarity of Strangers: The Sephardic Diaspora, Livorno, and Cross-Cultural Trade in the Early Modern Period* (New Haven, 2009).

modern world; but rather might provide a deep analysis of local contexts and cultures.⁴⁷⁴ Indeed, what emerges from the analysis of Bembo's autobiographical letter, in particular, are not necessarily his perceptions of exchange or 'coexistence':⁴⁷⁵ but rather the importance of Venetian intellectual culture, of the milieu of the metropole itself, in his perception of colonial space and of colonial governance. Written from his study at home in the Cannaregio in Venice, Bembo's perceptions of space and of empire are an emphatically located 'view from somewhere', in the sense that the humanist intellectual culture of the metropole offered its own particular vistas onto colonial governance and colonial space. These kinds of 'para-literary' texts of Venetian intellectual culture, put into conversation with Venetian colonial history, offer a richer and more complex understanding of the relationship between knowledge and the more idiosyncratic conceptions of power, as it was formed in the early modern Mediterranean.

⁴⁷⁴ J.P. Ghobrial, "The Secret Life of Elias of Babylon and the Uses of Global Microhistory," *Past and Present* 222 (2014): 57-59.

⁴⁷⁵ Eric Dursteler's term: *Venetians in Constantinople: Nation, Identity, and Coexistence in the Early Modern Mediterranean* (Baltimore, 2006).

Chapter IV: Humanism and the boundaries of Venetian empire in the ‘ultima region de Italia’

I. Introduction

In this second case study, I shift my focus to Istria in the Venetian Adriatic, the humanist scholars and governors who lived there, and a single genre that they used to describe that space. These scholars were interested in writing geographical texts and in mapping, but especially in producing chorographies of Istria, or topographical and historical descriptions of the region. We have a rich documentary and literary record that allows us to make identifications between authors, scholars, governors, and teachers, a record which I hope to bring to life in the following pages by tracing the threads of this Venetian network which spanned the metropole and the eastern Adriatic coast. At the centre of this network is Pietro Coppo, a minor Venetian nobleman who spent his adolescence in the humanist school of Marcantonio Sabellico, before traveling to southern Italy and Crete, and finally settling permanently in Isola on the Venetian Istrian peninsula.

In the first half of the chapter, I examine the intellectual and political networks of people with whom Coppo studied and governed, who lived in Venice, Padua, and along the eastern Adriatic littoral, and the intellectual and administrative contexts in which they worked. In particular, I consider the physical textual exchange which bound Coppo’s intellectual network: the epigrams, dedicatory letters, and literary bequests which were the material foundations of this far-flung ‘textual community’. In the second half of the chapter, I analyse the central role of textuality – encompassing textual practices and hermeneutics – in creating a communal identity

amongst Venetian and Dalmatian humanist scholars.⁴⁷⁶ I am especially interested in the role of imitation in the chorographic texts produced by these humanist-governors, a genre that was very popular with humanists affiliated with Venetian Istria, Dalmatia, and Aquileia. Finally, I look closely at the spaces and built environments elaborated in those chorographies: primarily classical Roman ruins, but also new architectural commissions, and archaeological sites depicted on maps, that provided not only the substance for humanist investigation, but for affiliation between geographically separated scholars and governors.

Throughout, I focus on the ways that imitation was used by these men, whether in realms of governance, architectural commissioning, or textual production. Pietro Coppo and his friends, teachers, and colleagues in Venetian and Istrian governance used imitation to form and maintain social alliances and networks which spanned Venice, Padua, and the Dalmatian coast. As I explore in detail below, these social networks connected Venetian humanists to the metropole; but what made the Venetian intellectual network unique was that one of its intellectual projects was articulating the historical and geopolitical extent of the Venetian colonial world. Especially for those Venetian and Dalmatian humanists in Istria, a territory which had a complex place in administrative and jurisdictional terms within the Venetian polity, these intellectual networks articulated spatial and historical senses of Istria's imperial identity which - as I shall explore - were very different to, even at odds with, the geo-political identities invoked by the Venetian government. My aims in this chapter, then, are two-fold: in the first half of the chapter, to trace these intellectual networks from Venice, to Friuli, to Istria; and in the second, to understand how

⁴⁷⁶ Brian Stock's term to describe the formation of a community around shared texts, reading, and textual approaches is central to my understanding of the group of humanist scholars of which Coppo was a part. See *The Implications of Literacy: Written Language and Models of Interpretation in the Eleventh and Twelfth Centuries* (Princeton, 1983).

the spaces which that network encompassed were described, reproduced, and understood in humanist chorographic texts and maps. Venetian scholars – who often had a role in the governance of the Istrian peninsula – reassessed the imperial identity of the Istrian polity, both in relation to Venice and to larger imperial configurations in the wider political landscape of Europe, using the spatial language and images of humanist scholarship. The writings and maps of Pietro Coppo and his peers thus allow us to see the ways in which an early modern colonial polity could be bounded and conceived through a shared intellectual culture and its practices.

II. *Pietro Coppo and Venetian governance in Istria*

Pietro Coppo was born in 1469 or 1470 to a patrician family in Venice. His father, Marco, was one of seven sons, and one of the most politically successful. Marco held several administrative positions in *terraferma* cities (Brescia and Verona), and was the *castellano* of Mocco (1471) and the *podestà* of Pirano (1492) in Dalmatia. He was also *camerlengo*, or treasurer, on Crete (1484). But it was Pietro's uncle, Nicolò, who held the most impressive offices amongst the Coppo brothers, a career which culminated in his appointment to the very important office of *rettore* of Canea, on Crete, in 1501.⁴⁷⁷ None of the other sons held particularly important offices, and indeed Attilio Degrassi has written that they were not a politically important presence on the Maggior Consiglio.⁴⁷⁸ Coppo's humanist education during adolescence was spent like many of his patrician peers, as I described in Chapter III. Indeed, he was affiliated with the same scholarly

⁴⁷⁷ B. Kohl, A. Mozzato, and M. O'Connell, "The Rulers of Venice, 1332-1524," rulersofvenice.org. For Marco, entry nos. 32082, 23630, 30530, 28644, 31477, and 25138. For Nicolò, entry nos. 31452, 45477, 31510, and 44854.

⁴⁷⁸ A. Degrassi, "Di Pietro Coppo e delle sue opere: documenti inediti e l'opuscolo *Del Sito De Listria* Ristampato Dall' Edizione del 1540," in *Scritti Vari di Antichità* (Trieste, 1971). Vol. IV, p. 369.

circles as Giovanni Bembo: he studied under Marcantonio Sabellico, who taught in Venice from 1484, and whose *Annotationes* Bembo edited and published. Sabellico held the chair of the chancellery school at San Marco, where he taught Latin literature in the morning, and lectured in the afternoon. Coppo then spent several years travelling, going to Naples with Pomponio Leto, the founder of the Accademia Romana and Sabellico's own former teacher. By the late 1490s, Coppo had arrived in Isola, on the Istrian peninsula. As he had been appointed 'cancelliere podestarile' – or the official notary of the *podestà* – to several *terraferma* cities during the 1490s, it is very likely that he first travelled to Isola in the same capacity.⁴⁷⁹

Coppo would never return to live in Venice again. Aside from spending a year in Candia with his father and with his uncle Nicolò in 1501, when Nicolò was appointed *rettore* there, and two trips to Venice as a representative of the Isolan municipal council, Coppo settled in Isola permanently and became integrated into the local Istrian aristocracy. A surviving marriage contract reveals that Coppo married Colotta, daughter of Cadi de Ugo, in 1499.⁴⁸⁰ This wealthy family was native to Istria, and had been part of the Consiglio in Isola since 1459. In 1505, Coppo was sent to Venice from Istria to request several privileges for Isola from the doge, Leonardo Loredan. He presented *capitula* which petitioned the doge to guarantee certain rights to Isola and to reform the administrative practices of the *rettori*, including urging them to better manage the municipal funds and the treasury which had been 'badly governed and executed'.⁴⁸¹

⁴⁷⁹ A. Degrassi, "Di Pietro Coppo e delle sue opere," p. 370. My biography of Coppo follows that outlined by Degrassi.

⁴⁸⁰ The document is published by Degrassi in "Di Pietro Coppo e delle sue opere," p. 351.

⁴⁸¹ '...pecunie tam istius civitatis quam fontici male gubernantur et exiguntur.' This is from the first *capitulum* of the document, which relates that the city finances and treasury are badly governed, and requests that the *rettori* begin to collect on all debts owed to the city. A. Degrassi, "Di Pietro Coppo e delle sue opere," pp. 393-4.

Perhaps in recognition for these services on their behalf, the local municipal council in Isola elected Coppo as a citizen and a member of their council. In 1511, he was elected *cancelliere del comune*, and was responsible for overseeing municipal revenue and spending; and in 1546, he was sent to confirm the previous privileges with a new doge, Francesco Donato.⁴⁸² As *cancelliere*, Coppo was responsible for accompanying the Venetian *podestà* and noting his orders, and most importantly, Coppo would have kept a register of the revenues and expenditures of the town.⁴⁸³

In addition to acting as a *cancelliere*, Coppo also acted as a public notary in Isola in 1511; as *vicedomino* in 1514, 1531-1532, 1538-1541, and 1546-1553; as a judge in 1533; and as a chief notary in 1537. The office of *vicedomino* was held, during Coppo's lifetime, by men from two other families: the Manzuoli and the Egidio, both members of the local aristocracy.⁴⁸⁴ The two *vicedomini* of Isola were central to the municipal administration of Isola, registering all sales and exchanges of property as well as wills in a town registry book. As notary, Coppo would have been responsible for scribing wills, as well as for signing the *vicedomino's* book.⁴⁸⁵ Whilst Coppo was likely originally sent to Isola as a scribe working for a Venetian *podestà*, his roles as *vicedomino* and public notary later in his career were more complex. These offices were normally filled by local Isolan aristocracy. Perhaps by marrying into this local aristocracy, and as a member of a relatively minor Venetian noble family himself, Coppo integrated into local

⁴⁸² A. Degrassi, "Di Pietro Coppo e delle sue opere," pp. 403-4.

⁴⁸³ L. Morteani, "Isola ed i suoi Statuti," *Atti e Memorie della Società Istriana di Archeologia e Storia Patria* IV/1 (1888), p. 158.

⁴⁸⁴ A. Degrassi, "Podestà e Vicedomini d'Isola," *Atti e Memorie della Società Istriana di Archeologia e Storia Patria*, n.s. XVII (Venice, 1969), pp. 9-12.

⁴⁸⁵ L. Morteani, "Isola ed i suoi Statuti," p. 157.

municipal governance as a privileged Isolan citizen, rather than as a colonial official from Venice.

Three countryside plots were given to him in 1542 by the municipal council, in gratitude for his notarial reform of their registers of rents: interestingly, the land was given to him because the Venetian *podestà*'s stipend had apparently bankrupted the *camera*, so he could not be rewarded monetarily.⁴⁸⁶ That Coppo's local landholding was framed as a kind of consolation prize, a second-best reward that was made unavoidable by the corruption of the Venetian *rettori*, seems to indicate that this was not the landholding pattern of a colonial settler in Istria, but rather a kind of wealth-holding consistent with that of the local nobility. This local social context is underscored by Coppo's intervention on behalf of native Isolan families to the noble council: in 1511, he successfully petitioned the council to admit the local Coletti family to its ranks.⁴⁸⁷ Unlike Giovanni Bembo, who seemed to perceive his role on Skiathos as that of a representative of the Venetian patriciate in the colonial Aegean, Coppo seems to have joined the municipal administration organized on a local level by the Isolan nobility. Finally, Coppo also undertook two major public works projects for the city of Isola. In 1536, he also was elected by the Isolan municipal council, with Nicolò Manzuoli, to oversee a large-scale engineering project at the port at Isola, which consisted of excavating the existing port and repairing the quay. A document from

⁴⁸⁶ 'et ipsas pecunias non posset habere ab ipsa camera comunis agravata in solutione rectoris et stipendiariorum raspurch, petijt habere pro dictis pecunijs terrena infrascripta.' 'and [Coppo] cannot have money from the city treasury, which is burdened by the payment of the *rettori* and the stipends of [the castle] Raspurch, he may seek to have in lieu of the said money the abovewritten land.' A. Degrassi, "Di Pietro Coppo e delle sue opere," p. 401. The fortress Raspo (modern-day Raspor) was an important administrative and military centre of Venetian Istria.

⁴⁸⁷ Ibid, p. 395-6. B. Arbel, "Venice's Maritime Empire in the Early Modern World," p. 190, discusses the mechanism of *grazie* used to help outside individuals participate in local politics after the closing of local municipal councils to newcomers in Istria, Dalmatia, Albania, and Ionian islands.

1547 contains Coppo's notes on the rebuilding of the Church of St. Mauro in Isola.⁴⁸⁸ Coppo made his will in 1550, and is last recorded as serving as *vicedomino* of Isola in 1553.⁴⁸⁹

It is possible that Coppo was elected to oversee the engineering of the quay and of the church not only due his experience in administrating the municipal treasury, but also because he was known in Isola as a learned scholar. Coppo was a prolific author who wrote several geographical texts, and illustrated them with his own woodcut maps. The first, written in 1520, was *De toto orbe*, a geographical encyclopedia divided into four books: the first on cosmography and basic geography, the second on Europe, the third on Africa, and the fourth on Asia. The book exists in its most complete form in a manuscript now at the Biblioteca Comunale in Bologna, which contains twenty-two coloured maps.⁴⁹⁰ This manuscript is bound in a fine sixteenth-century stamped leather-covered board with clasps, and contains a later bookplate of the Cornaro family; like the *Cornaro Atlas* now housed at the British Library (discussed in Chapter I), this may point to an early provenance within the Cornaro family collection. Another copy of *De toto orbe* exists in a manuscript now in Paris, although this codex contains only text. This same manuscript also contains a summary of the encyclopedia, *Summa totius orbis*, both in Latin and in Italian.⁴⁹¹ The *Summa* also exists in two more manuscripts, one in Piran, and a second in

⁴⁸⁸ A. Degrassi, "Di Pietro Coppo e delle sue opere," p. 396 and pp. 404-5.

⁴⁸⁹ Coppo's will is published in A. Degrassi, "Di Pietro Coppo e delle sue opere," pp. 409-412; and idem, "Podestà e Vicedomini d'Isola," p. 11.

⁴⁹⁰ Bologna, Biblioteca Comunale dell'Archiginnasio Ms. A. 117 (consulted digitised copy). See R. Almagià, "The Atlas of Pietro Coppo, 1520" *Imago Mundi* 7 (1950): 48-50.

⁴⁹¹ Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, Fond. Lat. 9663 (not consulted).

Venice.⁴⁹² The former contains fifteen printed maps, and has been produced as a facsimile.⁴⁹³

In his will, Coppo requested his books - including a copy of the *Summa* - to be sent to Venice upon his death. His will reads,

nell libreria de ditto monastier dove lexcelente Messer Marcantonio Sabellico conditor della Veneta Historia per la qual lhebbe ducati 200 alanno de promision lettor pubblico de studio de humanita in Venetia del qual fui suo Carissimo auditor anni tre continui lasso le sue opere composte de sua man qual mia opera habbia a star nella dita libreria appresso le sua a mia memoria.⁴⁹⁴

[It is] in the library of the said monastery that the excellent M. Marcantonio Sabellico - author of the *Venetian Histories*, who has 200 ducats per annum as provision for a public lecturer in the study of humanities in Venice, of whom I was his dearest pupil for three years - left his works composed in his hand, and my work will remain in the said library near to his, for my remembrance.

Coppo bequeathed a copy of his *De toto orbe* - ‘written and drawn in my own hand’ - to the monastery of Santa Maria delle Grazie between Malamocco and Poveglia, on the island of Lido in the lagoon, because Sabellico’s own manuscript works were kept on the monastery library’s shelves. Even decades after Coppo had left Sabellico’s *gymnasium*, and a lifetime spent outside Venice, he still felt that his manuscripts belonged in Venice with Sabellico’s own autograph codices. Despite being assimilated into local Isolan patrician society and having lived there his entire adult life, in his will, Coppo directed his wife, Colotta, to follow Venetian – not Istrian – funerary custom. Coppo stipulated that his wife should not attend his funeral, ‘come se observa a

⁴⁹² Slovenia, Piran, Sergej Mašera Maritime Museum (not consulted, but available in facsimile: see note 18 below); Venice, Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana, MS Lat., cl. X, 146 (=3391) (consulted).

⁴⁹³ L. Lago and C. Rossit, eds., *Pietro Coppo. Le “Tabulae” (1524-1526)* (Trieste, 1986).

⁴⁹⁴ A. Degrassi, “Di Pietro Coppo e delle sue opere,” p. 411.

Venetia', although this differed from the Istrian custom and his wife was indeed a native Isolan.⁴⁹⁵

Aside from the geographical encyclopedia and its summary text and maps, Coppo also wrote two works which were eventually printed. The first, the *Portolano*, was printed in Venice by Augustino di Bindoni in 1528. The text is primarily the list-format sailing directions which I investigated in greater detail in Chapter I, with some digressions into humanistic geography, and contains seven miniature woodcut maps illustrating the setting of the navigation guidelines. The *Portolano* text also survives in a manuscript copy, in the Paris manuscript which contains the *De toto orbe* and the *Summa*. Finally, Coppo wrote a chorographic description of the Istrian peninsula, illustrated with one regional map. This was entitled *Pietro Coppo Del Sito De Listria*, and was printed in 1540 by Francesco Bindoni and Mapheo Pasini (fig. 29). Of all of Coppo's works, the Istrian chorography was the best known in Coppo's lifetime, and the one which seems to have most interested his readers. Coppo's *Del Sito De Listria* was imitated by several Dalmatian humanist writers;⁴⁹⁶ the chorographic map was used to produce part of what some scholars have called the first printed nautical chart, in Giovanni da Vavassore's *La vera descrizione del Mare Adriatico* (Venice, 1541; fig. 30).⁴⁹⁷ Indeed, in Abraham Ortelius' *Theatrum Orbis Terrarum* (Antwerp, 1570), he titles his own map of the Istrian peninsula, 'Histriae tabula a Petro Coppo descr[ipsit]'. (fig. 31) As I will examine throughout this chapter, Coppo's chorographic work was itself modelled on, and became the model for, a particular mode

⁴⁹⁵ Ibid, p. 411.

⁴⁹⁶ P. Kandler published several early modern chorographies that were modelled on Coppo's in "Corografie dell'Istria," *Archeografo Triestino*, serie I, vol. II (1830), pp. 13-100.

⁴⁹⁷ Of which the only surviving copy is held in London at the National Maritime Museum, G235 (consulted digitised copy).

of writing, describing, and mapping this ‘ultima region de Italia’, Venetian Istria.⁴⁹⁸

Coppo played an important administrative role on the local municipal council, and produced geographical scholarship which was read and imitated even in his lifetime. As I shall suggest in the second half of this chapter, though, much of his scholarship - and particularly his Istrian chorography - took as its subject the imperial relationship between Venice and Istria. I suggest that this reflected the colonial presence in the Istrian peninsula by the Venetians, and the complex place of Istria within the larger administrative structures of the colonial polity. The political power of the Isolan council was constrained to a large extent by the Venetian *podestà*. Alfredo Viggiano, in his research on the administration of Venetian Istria, has found their colonial legal policy was to favour consistently Venetian legal precedent over any local statutes or customs. As in other areas of the *stato da mar*, the *podestà* was given the right of *arbitrium*, discussed at length in Chapter III.⁴⁹⁹ But Dalmatia was unlike the rest of the *stato da mar* (with the exception of Crete) in having been the site of several revolts by its colonised inhabitants during its history as a Venetian polity; thus the *arbitrium* of the *podestà* and the structure of local jurisdictions reserved the balance of power to Venetian precedent to a much greater degree than in other colonial localities.⁵⁰⁰ Most relevantly for Coppo and his Isolan intellectual circle, the Venetian central government in Istria unusually had authority to reform local municipal statutes,

⁴⁹⁸ Coppo’s own term for Istria: *Del Sito de Listria*, reprinted in A. Degrassi, “Di Pietro Coppo e delle sue opere,” p. 413.

⁴⁹⁹ A. Viggiano, “Note sull’amministrazione veneziana in Istria nel secolo XV,” *Acta Histriae* III (1994), pp. 7-8.

⁵⁰⁰ R.C. Mueller, “Aspects of Venetian Sovereignty in Medieval and Renaissance Dalmatia,” in *Quattrocento Adriatico: Fifteenth-century Art of the Adriatic Rim*, ed. C. Dempsey (Bologna, 1996), pp. 30-1.

and the Venetian *podestà* even reserved the right to appoint a humanist teacher in their town.⁵⁰¹

The great number of men assigned to Dalmatian office-holding – at the end of the fifteenth century, Marin Sanudo reported twenty *podestà* in Istria, and another thirty lower-ranking governors, *castellani*, and *camerlenghi* – meant that local urban governance in Istria, and Dalmatia more generally, was infiltrated with a Venetian aristocracy who intended to replicate Venetian legal precedent in their administration.⁵⁰²

Finally, Venetian Senate deliberations about Istria are contained in both ‘Stato da Mar’ and ‘Stato da Terra’ archival series. Benjamin Arbel has argued for Istria’s inclusion in a study of the *stato da mar* (whilst admitting the ambiguity of the case), but Monique O’Connell excluded it from her study of Venetian *rettori* because the archival evidence was held in these two different series.⁵⁰³ Arbel references Giovanni Botero’s 1605 description of Istria as included in the *stato da mar*; whilst in 1483, Marin Sanudo included it as the ‘last’ region of his *Itinerario per la terraferma*. Sanudo travelled with Venetian *sindaci*, the men responsible for periodically evaluating the conduct of the Venetian administrators in colonial posts; so his inclusion of Istria in the *Itinerario* was not only literary (a choice I explore later) but reflected Venetian governmental practice. Another example of this kind of ambiguity in administrative practice can be found in the choice of title for the Venetian governors in Istria, who were called the usual

⁵⁰¹ S. Ivović, “Humanism in schools,” p. 2. The Dalmatian municipal councils’ loss of prerogatives under Venetian rule is also stressed by N. Budak, “Urban Elites in Dalmatia in the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Centuries,” in *Città e Sistema Adriatico alla Fine del Medioevo*, ed. M.P. Ghezzi (Venice, 1997), p. 193. A comparative study could be made with the published municipal statutes of Pirano, another town in the Istrian peninsula: M. Pahor and J. Šumrada, *Statut Piranskega Komuna od 13. do 17. Stoletja* (Ljubljana, 1987), vol. I-II.

⁵⁰² R.C. Mueller, “Aspects of Venetian Sovereignty,” p. 36.

⁵⁰³ B. Arbel, “Venice’s Maritime Empire in the Early Modern World,” p. 131; and M. O’Connell, *Men of Empire*, p. 141, n. 22.

terraferma term, *podestà*. Yet that the Istrian *podestà* was given the right of *arbitrium* and to control the municipal council is a striking contrast to the much less invasive practices of the *terraferma podestà* of Vicenza and Verona.⁵⁰⁴ Indeed, in the problematic debate about Venice's waning or waxing fortunes at the turn of the sixteenth century, Venetian holdings in Istria expanded by twenty percent in 1509,⁵⁰⁵ in the very same year that the Republic lost a vast swathe of its mainland holdings at the Battle of Agnadello. In its documentary practices, administration, and even its larger fortunes within the Venetian empire, Istria occupied an ambiguous place in the larger structures of colonial governance. This ambiguity, I shall argue, is strongly present in Coppo and his Venetian-Dalmatian peers' writing on the place of Istria within historical and contemporary imperial relationships.

III. Coppo, Sabellico and Veneto-Dalmatian intellectual society

Coppo was part of a network of Venetian humanist scholars which spanned the Adriatic world. This intellectual society, which included Dalmatian as well as Italian humanists, was bound by personal friendship developed in schools, and by textual exchange and imitation. Coppo, from his experience in the Chancellery public school at San Marco where Marcantonio Sabellico was a teacher, was integrated - like many other patrician adolescent men of the late Quattrocento - into Sabellico's circle from adolescence. Not only did Coppo imitate Sabellico in his writing, as I shall examine in detail later, but the friendships that he made through Sabellico's school proved

⁵⁰⁴ J.S. Grubb, *Firstborn of Venice: Vicenza in the Early Renaissance State* (Baltimore and London, 1988), p. 60-1. However, Grubb has found the 'vitality' of these *terraferma* municipal councils to indeed have decreased by the beginning of the Cinquecento.

⁵⁰⁵ B. Arbel, "Venice's Maritime Empire in the Early Modern World," p. 143.

important throughout his life. Indeed, he travelled with Pomponio Leto, the famed Roman academician and Sabellico's teacher, throughout Naples; he dedicated his chorography, *Del Sito de Listria*, to Giuseppe Faustino, a classmate from the San Marco school.

Sabellico is one of the central figures of Venetian humanism of the late Quattrocento, as the owner of the first copyright for a printed work, a prolific writer who taught an entire generation of Venetian scholars and noblemen, a historian of Venice, and a polemical figure who took part in a famous scholarly feud with a fellow Venetian teacher, Giovanni Battista Egnazio, as discussed in Chapter III.⁵⁰⁶ Born in Vicovaro in Lazio around 1436, Sabellico was trained as a humanist in Rome under Gaspare Veronese, Porcellio, Domitius Calderini, and most importantly, was a member of the scholarly circle the Accademia Romana formed by Pomponio Leto. His first teaching post was in Udine in Friuli, a Venetian territory, in 1473; in nearby Tarcento in October 1477, he witnessed the massacre of the Venetian army by Turkish forces.⁵⁰⁷ This scene inspired his first published work, *De vetustate Aquilieae* (Venice, 1482), a geographical and historical treatise on the city of Aquileia. The work was dedicated to Giovanni Emo, the Venetian governor of Udine in 1478. It also praised Benedetto Trevisan, the governor of Friuli who negotiated the peace with the Ottomans in February 1479. From his experience teaching in one of the hinterlands of the Venetian empire, Sabellico used publishing – and a chorographic work, in particular – as a way to pay tribute to Venetian colonial governors.

⁵⁰⁶ R. Chavasse, "The First Known Author's Copyright, September 1486, in the Context of a Humanist Career," *Bulletin of the John Rylands University Library of Manchester* (1986): 11-37; on Sabellico's career, eadem, "The *studia humanitatis* and the making of a humanist career: Marcantonio Sabellico's exploitation of humanist literary genres," *Renaissance Studies* 17/1 (2003): 27- 38; on Sabellico's history writing, E. Cochrane, *Historians and Historiography in the Italian Renaissance*, pp. 83-86; Felix Gilbert contested his role as official historiographer, "Biondo, Sabellico, and the beginnings of Venetian official historiography"; and on his feud with Egnazio, J.B. Ross, "Venetian Schools and Teachers Fourteenth to Early Sixteenth Century."

⁵⁰⁷ E. Muir, *Mad Blood Stirring: Vendetta in Renaissance Italy* (London, 1998), p. 48.

Arriving in Venice in 1484, Sabellico quickly wrote and published three short works on the geography and administration of the city of Venice itself: *De Venetis magistratibus*, written in 1488-89; the topographical work *De Venetae urbis situ*, composed in 1490 and 1491; and finally, *De praetoris officio*, written 1491-92. But perhaps his most popular work was *Rerum Venetarum ab urbe condita*, a thirty-three volume history of Venice conceived in Livian periods and presented to the doge in 1487.⁵⁰⁸ Although Felix Gilbert has convincingly argued that Sabellico did not write this as an official historiographer of the state – he was rather a state-employed teacher who happened to write history - the *Rerum Venetarum* and the series of three works on Venetian geography and governance reified his central place in the intellectual and political culture of the city.⁵⁰⁹ Indeed, his repeated use of imagery relating Venice as the new Rome, his populist, ‘eyewitness’ literary style, and his huge range of correspondents in Venice and beyond, meant that Sabellico’s mode of historical scholarship was particularly influential.⁵¹⁰

One of Sabellico’s correspondents and friends, Palladio Fosco, connected with Coppo through Sabellico’s literary circle. Fosco was a Paduan humanist who tried unsuccessfully to obtain Sabellico’s former teaching position in Udine in 1483, when Sabellico left for Venice. The letters in which Sabellico assures Fosco of his support for this position were published in Sabellico’s *Opera* (Venice, 1502).⁵¹¹ Whilst in Padua, Fosco became acquainted with a circle of

⁵⁰⁸ E. Cochrane, *Historians and Historiography*, p. 86, on the afterlife of Sabellico’s histories.

⁵⁰⁹ See F. Gilbert, “Biondo, Sabellico, and the Beginnings of Venetian Official Historiography,” p. 286.

⁵¹⁰ R. Chavasse. “The *studia humanitatis*,” p. 32. W.J. Bouwsma has contested Sabellico’s popularity, writing that ‘his remoteness from the attitudes of a true Venetian, and his inadequacies as a philologist’ made him out-of-touch with ‘the precise scholarship now beginning to characterize Venetian humanism.’ *Venice and the Defense of Republican Liberty* (Berkeley, 1968), p. 90.

⁵¹¹ Marcantonio Sabellico, *Opera* (Venice, 1502), pp. 10-10v, 32-32v, 48.

Dalmatian humanists studying at the university there, including Alvise Cippico from Trogir. Sabellico had been a longtime friend of Alvise's father, Coriolanus Cippico: he had praised Coriolanus Cippico's command of rhetoric, saying that his skill was completely unexpected, as he was native to Dalmatia.⁵¹² In the *Opera*, Sabellico published a long epistolary *consolatio* he penned for Coriolanus when his house in Trogir burned to the ground and his wife was killed.⁵¹³ Fosco had read the *consolatio*, and wrote to Sabellico praising his 'doctissimum libellum'.⁵¹⁴ Fosco became friends especially with Coriolanus' son, Alvise, writing an elegy for him upon Alvise's election to the bishopric of Famagosta on Cyprus in 1489.⁵¹⁵

When Fosco failed to obtain the teaching post in Udine, it was through his Dalmatian friends in Padua that he was led to teach first at Zara (1493-1516) and then, at the end of his life, at Capodistria. Fosco was one of many Italian humanist teachers who travelled and taught in Dalmatia (conversely, Dalmatian teachers often left for posts in Italy and central European

⁵¹² M.B. Petrovich, "Croatian Humanists and the Writing of History in the Fifteenth and Sixteenth Centuries," *Slavic Review* 37/4 (1978), p. 633.

⁵¹³ M. Sabellico, *Opera*, pp. 57-59. In 1481 and 1492, another of Coriolanus Cippico's sons, Pietro, erected classical inscriptions commemorating the major events of his father's life, on the family's house in Trogir. The first described Coriolanus' naval expedition under Pietro Mocenigo; and the second, the fire which had destroyed the original structure, providing an opportunity for Pietro to commemorate its reconstruction. Interestingly, the Venetian Senate contributed to its reconstruction, as recorded in the inscription. Inscriptions available online at the *Croatiae auctores Latini* database: "Villae aedificatae inscriptio" and "Villae renovatae inscriptio," <http://www.ffzg.unizg.hr/klafil/croala/cgi-bin/getobject.pl?c.71:1.croala> and <http://www.ffzg.unizg.hr/klafil/croala/cgi-bin/getobject.pl?c.81:1.croala> (last accessed 22/11/13). When the castle in Trogir was again damaged in 1515 - this time, by the Ottomans - the Venetian Senate again paid for the repairs. See A. Bacotich, "Un carme consolatio di Marcantonio Sabellico a Coriolano Cippico da Traù (1492)," *Archivio Storico per la Dalmazia* XII/69 (1931), p. 433, ft. 1.

⁵¹⁴ *Ibid*, p. 48.

⁵¹⁵ G. Praga, "Un poemetto di Alvise Cippico sulla guerra di Ferrara ne 1482," *Archivio storico per la Dalmazia* 10 (1930): 314-339.

courts).⁵¹⁶ Fosco even produced his major scholarly work, a commentary on the poems of

Catullus, from a fifteenth-century manuscript copy of Catullus owned by the Cippico family.⁵¹⁷

Fosco also penned an epigram for Coppo's *De toto orbe*, which survives in the Bolognese codex:

Haec sunt, si quaeris, veneranda volumina, lector,
Quae Coppus miro condidit ingenio.
Aethera et hic narrat, terras depingit et ipsa
aequora; et ex toto praeterit orbe nihil.
Plura doctus oculos pariter delectat et aures.
Quis, rogo, tam pulchrum non legat istud opus?⁵¹⁸

Reader, if you are seeking venerable volumes,
these are the ones that Coppo constructed with his wonderful genius.
Here he tells of the heavens, he depicts the earth and
the sea; he omits nothing of the entire world.
He delights many learned eyes and ears equally.
Who, I ask, will not read this very beautiful work?

Fosco's delight in Coppo's atlas - and in Coppo's ability to describe in both text and image the entire world - may have influenced his own choice of genre. Fosco produced a now-lost atlas of islands, titled *De insulis*, which his Roman editor intended eventually to publish.⁵¹⁹ But it was Sabellico and Coppo's use of the chorographic genre which influenced Fosco's second printed work, a regional description of the Dalmatian coastal cities, entitled *De situ orae Illyrici* (printed posthumously by his editor in Rome, in 1540). Following the chorographic text in this volume

⁵¹⁶ S. Ivović, "Humanism in schools: Italian humanists as teachers in the fifteenth century in Ragusa and Dalmatian communes," pp. 5-6. On the mobility of scholars between eastern and central Europe, M.D. Birnbaum, *Humanists in a Shattered World: Croatian and Hungarian Latinity in the Sixteenth Century* (Columbus, 1985), especially "Seeking Help from the West," pp. 48-76.

⁵¹⁷ J.H. Gaisser, *Catullus and his Renaissance Readers* (Oxford, 1993), p. 105.

⁵¹⁸ G. Mazzatinti, *Inventari dei Manoscritti delle Biblioteche d'Italia*, vol. XXX: Bologna (Florence, 1924), p. 59, no. A. 117.

⁵¹⁹ S. Sabbadini, "Palladio Fosco e il suo *De situ orae Illyrici*," *Archeografo triestino*, 3rd ser. 13 (1926), p. 180.

are several epigrams and short poems, including an elegy for his friend Alvise Cippico. Fosco also included an epigram for Iliya Crijević, a Ragusan humanist who studied with Sabellico's teacher, Pomponio Leto, in Rome in the 1480s.⁵²⁰ Around the figure of Marcantonio Sabellico, a wider network of Venetian, Paduan, and Dalmatian humanist figures emerges: one that moved between humanistic centres within the Venetian colonial world, who were connected through schools and dedications, and an interest in geographical writing.

This network was affiliated not only through personal relationships, but through the use of literary imagery and genre. Printed after twenty years after his death, Fosco's Roman editor, Bartolomeo Fonzo, wrote the dedicatory letter prefacing *De Situ orae Illyrici*. In the letter, Fonzo dedicates the volume to the Venetian Gasparo Contarini, as a 'Mnemosynon' of the kindness which Contareno showed to Fonzo, 'ut ait Catullus'. The Catullus poem which Fonzo refers to, 'Ad Matrucinum Asinium', tells of Catullus' anger when he finds that Asinius has stolen a set of linen napkins from him during a dinner party. Catullus writes that the napkins were not particularly valuable, but were given to him by his close friends, Fabullus and Veranius, and so were a 'mnemosyne' of the two men. Thus, 'haec amem necesse est ut Veraniolum meum et Fabullum': 'I hold them as dear as my Fabullus and Veranius'.⁵²¹ In Fosco's commentary on 'Ad Matrucinum Asinium,' he explains his choice to use Greek characters in the text of the poem, and glosses the 'mnemosyne' as meaning 'monimentum sive memoriale'.⁵²² Through imitating the imagery of Catullus' napkins, found in Fosco's commentary, his editor crafts an image of

⁵²⁰ S. Ivović, "Humanism in schools," pp. 5-6.

⁵²¹ Fosco's text was reprinted in S. Sabbadini, "Palladio Fosco e il suo *De situ orae Illyrici*," pp. 196-208; the 'Mnemosynon' image is on p. 196. 'Ad Matrucinem Asinium' is in J. Michie, trans., *The Poems of Catullus* (London, 1972), pp. 35-7.

⁵²² *Catullus una cum commentariis Eruditi Ciri Palladii Fusci Patavini* (Venice, 1496), fol. 6v (consulted).

Fosco's book, *De Situ orae Illyrici*, as an embodiment of friendship: as a physical thread holding together classical model, author, editor, and patron.

Not only particular classical poetic images, but categories of genre could work effectively to reinforce the textual community encompassing Sabellico, Fosco, and the Cippico family. Coriolanus Cippico (c. 1425-c.1493), from Trau, served on a Venetian naval galley in a skirmish against the Turks, under the general Pietro Mocenigo. His account of the battle, entitled *Petri Mocenici imperatoris gestorum libri tres* (Venice, 1477), was not only the kind of journalistic genre which Sabellico found so compelling in his description of the Turkish incursion into Friuli, but he even incorporated it 'almost word for word' into his history of Venice.⁵²³ Alvise modeled his own eyewitness 'history' of the Venetian war against Ferrara, composed as a verse epistle to the doge Giovanni Mocenigo (Pietro's brother) in 1482, after the same genre used by both his father and by Sabellico, in his *De vetustate Aquileiae*. And Fosco himself, although the extent of his literary production is largely unknown, seems to have written a similar contemporary military history: in a sixteenth-century manuscript now in the Biblioteca del Seminario in Padua, a text entitled 'Palladius Fuscus Patavinus, de bello...inter Venetos et Turcos', seems to indicate his interest in the genre.⁵²⁴ The replication of eyewitness historical style was not limited only to those in Sabellico's immediate circle. Marin Sanudo, the Venetian patrician who set off on a tour of the Venetian *terraferma* and Istria in 1483, modeled his own *Itinerario* through Aquileia and Friuli after Sabellico's geographical conception of these areas as

⁵²³ E. Cochrane, *Historians and Historiography*, p. 82.

⁵²⁴ P.O. Kristeller, *Iter Italicum*, II (London, 1998), 2nd edition, no. 647 (manuscript not consulted). Sabbadini wrote that this text was lost: "Palladio Fosco e il suo *De situ orae Illyrici*," p. 180.

the “Tenth Province” of Roman Italy’.⁵²⁵ Sanudo also wrote a history of the Venetian-Ferrarese war, the *Commentari della guerra di Ferrara* (1484). Alliances were not only constructed through personal friendship in schools, but indeed were reified through a particular written relationship between genre and place. These friendships worked both on a personal level between scholars, and in geographical writing, creating a particularly literary affiliation between Istria and Friuli, and Venetian intellectual culture.

The relationships between Sabellico, Coppo, Fosco, and Coriolanus and Alvise Cippico - relationships of patronage, teacher and student, literary exchange, and genre imitation - indicate that in this highly mobile world of Adriatic scholarship, intellectual networks were sustained across both the space of the empire and across lifetimes. These connections also mapped onto the social world of Venetian governance. Coppo, and the native Istrians Giacomo Egidio and Nicolò Manzuoli, were all members of the local Isolan municipal council. Egidio and Manzuoli were both educated in Isola and were both known locally for their humanist study, although none of their works have survived. Each of them also petitioned the doge in Venice to confirm local Isolan rights and statutes.⁵²⁶ Sabellico was responsible for the education of the patrician adolescents whom he taught in the chancellery school of San Marco; like Coppo, they were being prepared for a political or bureaucratic career. And it was in those roles as notaries and chancellors that Venetian émigrés often became humanist teachers in their adopted Dalmatian cities.⁵²⁷ Many of the men who taught or were trained in the humanist schools of Venice or of the

⁵²⁵ D.S. Chambers, *The Imperial Age of Venice*, p. 100.

⁵²⁶ A. Degrassi, “Un umanista Isolano del Cinquecento: Francesco Egidio,” in *Scritti Vari di Antichità* (Trieste, 1971): 425-434.

⁵²⁷ S. Ivović, “Humanism in schools,” p. 1.

Dalmatian cities were also involved in either central Venetian governance, or participated in municipal governance on a local level.

The realms of scholarship and governance sometimes intersected in a single individual, like Giovanni Bembo or Pietro Coppo; but often they were implicated in less obvious ways. As we have seen in the previous chapter with Bembo's lists of attendees at his children's baptisms, and here in the production of chorographic texts in Venice, Friuli, and Istria, Venetian humanism and political culture were founded upon closely-held alliances between scholars, teachers, and governors. Humanist friendships between scholars and administrators often formed in the schools of Venice and Dalmatia; once these men were sent to teach or govern in other Adriatic cities, their friendships took on literary form, in dedicatory letters, epigrams, and bequests, and through a shared, communal use of literary imagery, genre, and as we shall see in the following sections, shared representations of colonial space. Once outside of Venice, Venetian humanists were bound through social and political networks to the metropole; and yet engaged with and even imitated the writings of Dalmatian humanists, and were immersed in the local physical environment of Istria. The humanist geographies on Istria produced by Veneto-Dalmatian writers and administrators were not subordinated to centralised civic imagery and mythology, as sometimes were the humanist writings on the city of Venice itself. As they were transplanted to and intersected with local intellectual traditions and the local built environment, the Venetian humanists in Friuli, Udine, and Istria produced chorographies that imagined alternative geo-political identities for these colonial spaces, and for their relationships to Venice.

IV. Romanità in the Venetian Adriatic: ruins in chorographic writing

In the remaining sections of this chapter, I examine the chorographic texts authored by the Venetian and Istrian humanists and governors whose relationships I described above. Although it was in Ptolemy's *Geographia* that chorography was explained and defined as a pictorial 'impression' of a particular geographical region, the several Veneto-Dalmatian chorographies published in the sixteenth century had less in common with Ptolemaic definitions of the genre than with mid-fifteenth century textual examples that emerged from Roman humanistic circles.⁵²⁸ Ptolemy primarily referred to the visual representation of a geographic region: for him, chorography was a regional visual description, which focused on creating an artistic impression of landscape, classical history, and major sites of physical antique remains. Ptolemy defined chorography with an analogy to anatomy: 'geography is concerned with the depiction of an entire head, chorography with individual features such as an eye or an ear'. (fig. 32)⁵²⁹ Coppo, who had already produced a Ptolemaic encyclopedic atlas in 1520, was the only one of the Venetian chorographic writers to have included a map with his text. The other Veneto-Dalmatian chorographies I examine here - Sabellico's *De vetustate Aquileiae* (Venice, 1482), Ilija Crijević's *De Epidauro* (manuscript, written c. 1505), and Marin Sanudo's *Itinerario* (manuscript, written in 1483) - are rather part of a literary tradition founded upon three Roman texts of the Quattrocento: Pomponio Leto's *De antiquitatibus* (Rome, 1510), and Flavio Biondo's *Roma instaurata* (Rome, 1446) and *Italia illustrata* (Rome, 1474).⁵³⁰ Sabellico and Coppo, who studied

⁵²⁸ On Ptolemy's definition of chorography, D. Cosgrove, "Mapping New Worlds: Culture and Cartography in Sixteenth-Century Venice," *Imago Mundi* 44 (1992), p. 66.

⁵²⁹ Petrus Apianus, *Cosmographicus Liber* (D. Ioannis Weyssenburger: Landshut, 1524), 6v-6r (consulted).

⁵³⁰ Selections from I. Crijević's *De Epidauro* has been published in *Hrvatski latinisti: Croatici auctores quae scripserunt*, eds. V. Gortan and V. Vratović (Zagreb, 1999), I, pp. 449-453. The entire text has been published online in the *Croatiae auctores Latini* database. Sanudo's text has been published by R. Brown, ed., *Itinerario di Marino Sanudo per la terraferma veneziana nel 1483* (Padua, 1847) (both consulted in these critical editions).

with Leto in Rome and Naples, respectively, would have been directly exposed to his antiquarian Accademia on the Quirinal, his lectures on Roman archaeology and epigraphy, and his famous walking tours of Roman ruins. Biondo's 'philological reconstruction of the ancient city'⁵³¹ of Rome was influential throughout the later Quattrocento and Cinquecento, providing a textual model of antiquarianism, reconstruction, and reconciliation between past and present that had far-reaching implications: not only in the literary world, but in the development of Renaissance archaeology and antiquarianism.⁵³²

Pomponio Leto's Accademia Romana was one of the most important communities of scholars and collection of objects in the development of Renaissance antiquarianism. The members of Leto's academy adopted ancient Roman names, recited classical poetry, and assembled a large and varied collection of antique inscriptions, mounted on the walls of Leto's house and displayed especially in his garden. The group was temporarily disbanded due to fears of heresy in 1468 after Leto was arrested in Venice (1466), but it was allowed to regroup in 1471 after the election of Pope Sixtus IV. Situated near the ruins of the baths of Constantine, Leto's house was the ideal setting to study inscriptions and stage the plays of Plautus and Terence.⁵³³ Although Leto did not publish prolifically, his historical work, *Romanae historiae compendium* (Venice, 1499), was his most successful publishing project. His antiquarianism and interest in Roman archaeological and epigraphical remains were influential primarily through the tours he gave to visiting scholars of Roman ruins, and through notes his students disseminated from his

⁵³¹ L. Barkan, *Unearthing the Past*, p. 35.

⁵³² For the centrality of Biondo's text to Renaissance archaeology and preservation, see D. Karmon, *The Ruin of the Eternal City: Antiquity and Preservation in Renaissance Rome* (Oxford, 2011), pp. 6-19.

⁵³³ K. Wren Christian, *Empire Without End: Antiquities Collections in Renaissance Rome, c. 1350-1527* (New Haven and London, 2010), p. 129.

lectures on the same subject.⁵³⁴ His *De antiquitatibus urbis Romae* was printed in Rome in 1510, and was the only instance in which his ‘guided tour’ of Roman antiquities was made available to a wider audience. Comparing his visual impressions of Rome’s buildings and monuments with his reading of Pliny and Cicero, Leto’s itinerary of Roman ruins and topography was one of the most successful experimentations with writing an archaeological, regional history derived equally from experience and scholarship.⁵³⁵

Broken into roughly alphabetical headings, Leto writes a brief physical description and history of single elements of the larger urban fabric: from the Arch of Constantine, through the Pantheon, to the Esquiline Hill. He then moves to categorise the city differently, by listing all of the elements present in a single neighbourhood; for instance, all of the monuments, ruins, and geographical features surrounding the Porta Capena.⁵³⁶ He includes fourteen of these regional distinctions, before alternating to another mode of classification: by type of monument. Leto lists all of the bridges, *campi*, fora, basilica, baths, bodies of water, and roads which survive of the ancient city. There is very little descriptive language, and no narrative, in *De antiquitatibus*; the book rather reflects the kinds of taxonomies of information which Leto used to categorise and compare the classical remains of Rome: both as an observer of the city, and as an antiquarian who collected fragments. This composite construction of the regional topography of the ancient city probably reflects that the text was written from Leto’s experience giving tours of Rome to his students, as it attempts textually to map Leto’s spatial encounter with discrete antique

⁵³⁴ R. Weiss, *The Renaissance Discovery of Classical Antiquity*, pp. 76-77.

⁵³⁵ V. Zabughin, *Giulio Pomponio Leto: saggio critico* (Rome, 1909-12), II, pp. 170-186 on Leto’s *De antiquitatibus urbis Romae*.

⁵³⁶ *Pomponius Laetus de Romanae Urbis vetustate noviter impressus* (Rome, 1515), fol. 10v (consulted).

elements within a larger, complex urban built environment. It also likely reflects the intended audience for the text: humanist visitors to Rome, who wanted a small and well-organized account of the names, places, and antiquity of the ruins they saw.

Sabellico not only studied under Leto at his Accademia, but published a *Vita* of his teacher which was included in two editions of Leto's *Romanae historiae compendium* (1499 and 1500) and in Sabellico's own *Opera* (1502).⁵³⁷ Sabellico thus assumed partial responsibility for his teacher's legacy, not only in the construction of the *Vita*, but in his own literary production. His *De vetustate Aquileiae*, in particular, borrowed heavily from Leto's archaeological regional study of Rome, transplanted to the ancient city of Aquileia, Udine, and surrounding Friuli. In the first edition of the text (Venice, 1482), Sabellico provides a list at the beginning of the book of the authors from which he 'excerpted' his history: including Pliny, Ptolemy, Strabo, Pomponius Mela, Plutarch, and others. Indeed, Ruth Chavasse has noted that this edition 'resembles more miscellaneous collections such as letter, epigram, and exempla collections'.⁵³⁸ After the list of sources, Sabellico prints a letter from the (otherwise unknown) humanist 'Cynthius' to Sabellico, a letter from Giorgio Merula, a humanist scholar based in Venice, to Sabellico congratulating him on the publication of the book, and Sabellico's own dedicatory letter to the Venetian governor of Udine, Giovanni Emo, before the text finally begins. As the composite construction of Leto's text emphasised his role as an eyewitness or even collector of Roman antiquity, the layout of Sabellico's book situated him not only in relation to the classical authors from whom he constructed his text, but to the world of Venetian humanists and governors for whom his work

⁵³⁷ Sabellico's *Vita* is available online as part of the Repertorium Pomponianum project: http://www.repertoriumpomponianum.it/textus/sabellicus_vita_pomponii.htm (last accessed 21/11/13).

⁵³⁸ R. Chavasse, "The First Known Author's Copyright," pp. 20-1.

was intended.

Called a ‘Chorographia’ by Sabellico, *De vetustate Aquileiae* elaborates the classical and contemporary history of the region of Friuli primarily through the many wars set in the region, and through its antiquities.⁵³⁹ In the dedicatory letter to Emo, Sabellico writes that Emo himself ‘emulated’ ancient Romans, and compares him with the Athenian statesman Phocion, constructing a parallel between his own interest in the antique history of Friuli and the modern governance of the region. In Book III, Sabellico relates the legend of Antenor, the great Trojan counsellor to Priam: Virgil’s story about Antenor fleeing the Greek army ‘to make his passage through the Illyrian gulfs, and safe through the inlands where the Liburians rule [...where] he erected a city for his people, a Trojan home called Padua’, was considered a critical element of ancient Aquileian and Dalmatian history, proof that the Friulani were descended from Trojans.⁵⁴⁰ Indeed, the first book of the text draws heavily on classical geography, especially from Pliny and Strabo, to establish not only the topography but the antiquity of the region. The following books are structured according to the wars that took place in Aquileia and its surroundings: on the wars with the Goths, with the Langobards, on ‘domestic’ wars, and on the very recent Turkish incursion into Friuli.

Following the establishment of Friuli’s antiquity in the dedicatory letter and the initial book, the descriptions of the wars set in Friuli are violent descriptions of the ruination and ravaging of the region’s landscape. The destruction of the region at the hands of the Goths is

⁵³⁹ *De vetustate Aquileiae* (Venice, 1482), 8v (consulted).

⁵⁴⁰ “De vetustate Aquileiae” in *Opera*, p. 127 (consulted). ‘Antenor potuit, mediis elapsus Achivis, / Illyricos penetrare sinus, atque intima tutus / regna Liburnorum [...] / Hic tamen ille urbem Patavi sedesque locavit.’ *Aeneid*, I: 242-7. Translation by R. Fagles, *The Aeneid* (New York, 2006), p. 55.

paralleled both with the fall of Rome, and with Sabellico's eyewitness account of the ravaging of Tarcento during the Turkish incursion in 1478. First Sabellico writes of Rome as a place 'direpta solitudinis', 'ruinae plena', comparing the tragedy of the fall of Rome to the death of Priam, the king of Troy, on the altar of Zeus, as it was graphically related in Book II of the *Aeneid*:

Uno ferme eodemque tempore Roma gentium domino amisso imperii fulgore
ignominiose capta: ac direpta solitudinis: & ruinae plena suo Augusto solo: velut
Priamus ille ad aram hercei lovis miserabiliter condidit.⁵⁴¹

And at one time, not long after, Rome was captured - the emperor having disgracefully lost the people's splendid empire - and Rome was laid to waste, like a wilderness: and was full of only the ruins of Augustus; just as Priam himself was wretchedly murdered on the altar of Jupiter.

Thus much like Leto's project to reconstruct imperial Rome through archaeological and topographical history, Sabellico wove together a comparison between Rome and Troy in order to assert later in the same passage that it was Antenor and the Trojans who constructed Aquileia: 'Aquileia is as ancient as Rome: and equally so is Padua: and Concordia: indeed, these were at one time Trojan: they venerate Antenor, and dare to affirm their [Trojan] founding'.⁵⁴² Having established the historical and geographical connection between Troy, Rome, and the construction of Aquileia, Sabellico then moves to discuss Aquileia's own destruction at the hands of the Gauls. Like Priam and Rome before, Aquileia suffered the same ravaging at the hands of barbarians. The use of the word 'cineres', meaning ashes but particularly in this context the charred ruins of a burned city, provide a thematic link to Sabellico's own eyewitness historical account of the Turkish incursion at Tarcento.

⁵⁴¹ "De vetustate Aquileiae" in *Opera*, p. 127.

⁵⁴² 'Aquileiam ipsam Roma longe antiquiorem: aequalemque Patavio Altino: & Concordia: quippe quas uno ferme tempore a Troianis: qui cum Antenore venerant conditas affirmare audeant.' Ibid, p. 127.

Sabellico compares the scene at Tarcento to the Greek myth of the fall of Phaeton, in which Helios' son was granted his sun chariot for the day and nearly incinerated the earth. Sabellico laments the devastation of the countryside, its country villas, and the cultivated fields. Calling the Turks 'barbarians', Sabellico's vivid imagery of a fertile countryside set ablaze, 'buried under smoke and ash', recalls the 'cineres' of Rome and Aquileia after barbarian invasion.

Cuius cladis phama tantum terroris universae patriae attulit: ut qui in oppidis erant vix se tutos futuros putarent. Frequens fuga nocte illa: qui diem pugnae secuta est: ex villis & agris facta dicitur. Postridie autem cum iam multum diei processisset repente circa Hunnium compluribus locis fumei globi attolli coeperunt: quibus cognitum est hostem adesse: atque momento tempis: quasi inter Barbaros ita convenisset. Quicquid villarum inter sontium & Tiliaventum fuit hostili manu deflagavit. Eram ero per id tempus Tarcenti: quo ob pestilentem annum ex Hunnio concesseram: auditaque clade ad sontium accepta in arcem: qui vico imminet: cum multis mortalibus me receperam: ex eo loco perspectus in universam patriam late patet inde atrocissimum patriae incendium non sine lachrymis spectavi: foedum liquidem fuit interdiu videre tamen culti & amoeni soli fumo & caligne opertum: sed longe foedius atrociusque sub primas tenebras: as per reliquum noctis cernere aciem unam flammaram a sontio amne ad Tiliaventum extensarum: ut nihil medium esse videret: quod non ignis occupasset. [...] Ausim ego affirmare nullo unque tempore tam atrox incendium a mortalibus visum: nidi forte fabulis poetarum credendum putaminibus: qui portentosa illa de phaetonte mendacia confinxere: sed nos haec omnia copiosius in nostris poematibus.⁵⁴³

The news of this defeat instilled such terror in the whole country that even those who lived in the cities hardly believed that they would remain safe. A mass exodus from the countryside began, and kept going during the night which followed the day of the battle. The next day, late in the morning, suddenly around Udine, in various places, clouds of smoke began to rise up; and they realised that the enemy had reached [them]. A moment later, as if the barbarians had convened together, all of the farms that lay between the rivers Isonzo and Tagliamento were burned by the hand of the enemy. At that time I was in Tarcento: I moved there from Udine, on account of the plague. And when I had heard of the defeat at the Isonzo, I took refuge with many others, in the castle that borders [Tarcento]. From that vantage point, one can view a vast area on the entire country. From there, crying, I witnessed the heart-wrenching devastation of the country. It was so

⁵⁴³ "De vetustate Aquileiae" in *Opera*, p. 136.

horrible to watch a such a well cultivated and pleasant countryside buried under the smoke and the ash; but it was much more horrible and dreadful at sunset and throughout the rest of the night, waiting to see that one strip of flames, which unfolded from the river Isonzo to the Tagliamento: so it seemed like there was nothing there in the middle that had not been invaded by fire. [...] I would dare to claim that that never, in any age, have mortals could have seen a fire so terrible; unless one wishes to believe the stories of poets, who invented the extraordinary tales about Phaeton.⁵⁴⁴

Where Leto was interested in recovering classical Rome through comparing textual scholarship with the visual evidence of the city, Sabellico, through his impressionistic style, leaves the battle at Tarcento still smouldering at the very end of his text. Sabellico's textual archaeology and history of the region is open-ended, concluded with a ravaged landscape open for present intervention. Sabellico's vantage point above Tarcento - weeping from the tower of a nearby castle - not only indicates to the reader his first-hand experience of the battle, but presents a narrative trope common in chorographic writing and its regional articulations of space. The dizzying heights and spectacular descent in the myth of Phaeton, too, parallels Sabellico's own sense of chorographic space. Sabellico's narrative perspective, his bird's-eye view of the scene, allows the 'universal' perspective of the regional landscape required in chorographic writing.

Iliya Crijević (1463-1520), a Ragusan humanist, also studied with Leto in Rome and was even crowned *poeta laureatus* there in 1484, before returning to Ragusa (present-day Dubrovnik). Although Crijević seems to have been a prolific writer, he only published four epigrams and a prose epistle during his lifetime. Crijević may have had difficulty printing his

⁵⁴⁴ This passage has been translated into Italian by S. Camilli, L. Torchia, and M. Nobili, for the Comune di Vicovaro (2006) and is available online: <http://www.comunedivicovaro.it/marcantonio-sabellico/pdf/Aquileia-6.pdf> (last accessed 29/11/13).

work in Dalmatia: a printing house was not opened in Ragusa until the eighteenth century.⁵⁴⁵

Crijević produced an unfinished, unpublished epyllion (or a short narrative poem containing epic themes) entitled *De Epidauro*, which related the destruction of the ancient city of Epidaurus.

Crijević told how the inhabitants of Epidaurus had to flee their sacked city, and resettled in Ragusa. Epidaurus, or present-day Cavtat on the Adriatic coast fifteen miles south of Dubrovnik, was founded by Greeks and came under Roman rule in the third century BC. Its sack in the seventh century by ‘barbarians’ meant that the classical city was ruined;⁵⁴⁶ but it also allowed Crijević to posit a glorious lineage for Ragusans, who were thus descended from the Greco-Roman culture of Cavtat. The poem opens with a description of the now desolate rocks of Epidaurus:

Est Socolitanum castelli nomine saxum
Deserto sub monte loco, quod surgit in auras
Vertice praeruptum summo, ab radicibus altis
Saxum horrendum, ingens et formidabile visu.
Desuper useque adeo specula prospectat ab alta
Undique cinxerunt asperrima saxa fragosis
Rupibus et cautes avulsae a montibus altis.
A tergo hi sese circum flexere theatri
In speciem, quos nec saxosos esse putares;
Sed saxa horrorem sic per declivia vastum
Usque ad radices lapidoso vertice servant
Cunctaque saxorum magnis adoperta ruinis
Vestiri et late videas vastescere circum.⁵⁴⁷

⁵⁴⁵ I. Martinović, “Unpublished manuscript heritage of the Croatian Latinists in the libraries and archives of Dubrovnik: preliminary report.” Paper given at Euroclassica Congress, Dubrovnik, 29/3-2/4/2005, pp. 1, 13, 16-17. Archived online at: www.eduhi.at/gegenstand/.../data/Euroclassica_zbornik_Dubrovnik.doc (last accessed 21/11/13).

⁵⁴⁶ “Epidaurus,” in *Dictionary of Greek and Roman Geography*, W. Smith, ed. (London, 1854). Available online: <http://www.perseus.tufts.edu/hopper/text?doc=Perseus:text:1999.04.0064:entry=epidaurus-geo&highlight=epidaurum> (last accessed 26/11/2013).

⁵⁴⁷ I. Crijević, “De Epidauro,” in *Hrvatski Latinisti*, p. 449.

The stone is Socolitanum, named a castle,
deserted at the foot of a mountain. The mountain
rises into the air from a deep source, the highest peak
broken off: horrible rocks, a vast and terrible vision.
I behold from above, from a watchtower: from up here,
every perspective is surrounded by roughest stone,
by craggy rocks torn from [the mountainside],
by fragile cliffs, and by high mountains.
In the back, it bends itself around in the shape
of a theatre, which you would not expect to be rocky.
But, sloping from the stony root of the mountain
all the way to its summit, vast, horrible rocks watch over;
and you see everything covered up by great rocks,
ruins covered, and everywhere laid waste on all sides.

Like Sabellico's description of watching Tarcento burn, Crijević adopts a bird's eye vantage point for telling of Epidaurus' ruin. This viewpoint is particularly well-suited to the descriptive language of the chorography, and allows Crijević to take an objectively all-encompassing, cartographic view of the ruined, forbidding Dalmatian landscape. This sense of space 'from above' is similar to that created by Bartolomeo dalli Sonetti's view of the Aegean islands explored in Chapter II: it was, perhaps, particularly well-suited for spatial descriptions which hinged on the confrontation between antique and contemporary temporalities. Towards the end of the poem, Crijević celebrates the construction of Ragusa and its population:

Tu nunc una duplex Epidaurus et altera fies
Caelestis summoque micantior orbe nitesces,
Syderibus stellata novis, cursabere terra
Altera, nam cives per summa cacumina montis
Elapsi et reduces fato meliore novabunt
Teque restaurandam propiori in littore condent [...].⁵⁴⁸

⁵⁴⁸ I. Crijević, "De Epidauo," p. 453.

You will now become a double, Epidaurus,
And the other will be celestial and great,
a sparkling world, a new, starry constellation
which will begin to shine: a fresh, new earth on high.
Now [your] citizens will renew the peaks of the mountain
which slipped away [and you will better be restored].
And they will build you, restored from earlier times, on [other] shores.

Although Crijević shared Leto's interest in ruination and the physical remains of the classical past, Crijević - unlike Sabellico - ended his poem on a note of reconstruction and reconciliation. The terror of the sack and of the flight to Ragusa was redeemed by the classical heritage which fifteenth-century Ragusans could now claim, providing an antique foundation for classical poets and humanist scholars like Crijević himself. As Sabellico imported Leto's interest and style of writing about antiquarianism and ruin to the Friuli region of the Venetian *terraferma*, so too did Crijević bring Leto's mode of scholarship to bear on his own Dalmatian local history.

Another scholar associated with Roman antiquarianism, Flavio Biondo, also shaped the interests of the group of scholars writing about geography and antiquity in the eastern Adriatic. Biondo wrote *Roma instaurata* (Rome, 1446), his attempt to reconstruct ancient Rome as co-existing with the contemporary city, by interpreting his eyewitness account of the ruined and even partially submerged monuments and buildings of the classical city. He wove together textual, archaeological, and epigraphical information about the ancient cityscape. Biondo dedicated the text to the pope Eugenius IV, writing that the pope's decision to preserve Rome's classical ruins had returned order and stability to the city: invoking the ability of the ruined city to intervene into contemporary political and social life. But Biondo saw his own project as intrinsically more stable and more long-lasting than the built environment of the city, however

Eugenius attempted to preserve it, writing that future readers will attest ‘whether the restoration wrought in marble, rick, cement, stone, and bronze, or the restoration in literature, will last better and longer.’⁵⁴⁹ Like Leto, Biondo understood his written project as one which could not decompose, in which the built archaeological and epigraphical remains of the city could be preserved indefinitely. Leto and Biondo’s reconstructions of Rome were composed of heterogeneous kinds of evidence (textual, archaeological, visual, and epigraphical), compared against one another to determine - in what Barkan has called a ‘philological reconstruction’ - the most historically accurate picture of the classical Roman cityscape.⁵⁵⁰ As Roberto Weiss has written, the kind of philological scholarship practised on manuscripts by humanist scholars was, by the Quattrocento scholars interested in the physical remains of antiquity, able to be adapted to study the physical world.⁵⁵¹ Leto and Biondo were central figures in that enterprise, whose texts and methods of scholarship proved both engaging and able to be removed from the Roman context to the sites of the Venetian *terraferma* and Dalmatia.

Although better known to Venetian historians as a highly productive diarist, the patrician Marin Sanudo (1466-1536) also wrote an *Itinerario per la terraferma veneziana* in 1483, the result of his travels with Venetian *sindici* through the mainland empire, including Istria. Sanudo attended public lectures in philosophy at the school at Rialto, and studied rhetoric, history, and poetry at the school of San Marco. He was also affiliated with Aldo Manuzio’s humanist

⁵⁴⁹ Translation from D. Karmon, *The Ruin of the Eternal City*, p. 19. Also see C. Edwards, *Writing Rome: Textual Approaches to the City* (Cambridge, 1996). p. 8.

⁵⁵⁰ L. Barkan, *Unearthing the Past*, p. 35.

⁵⁵¹ R. Weiss, *The Renaissance Discovery of Classical Antiquity*, p. 166.

circle.⁵⁵² His *Itinerario* is the most overtly classical of any of his later texts, although the *Commentari della guerra di Ferrara*, written in 1484, is similar in genre to the ‘eyewitness’ style of regional histories produced by Coriolanus and Alvise Cippico and Marcantonio Sabellico at the end of the fifteenth century.⁵⁵³ The *Itinerario*, much like Sabellico’s work on Aquileia and Leto and Biondo’s works on Rome, is a kind of composite text assembled from epigrams, poems, inscriptions, lists, sketches, and prose. Written mostly in the vernacular, Sanudo often slips in lines of Latin text, and includes many Latin inscriptions. Interestingly, in his travels through the *terraferma*, Sanudo includes classical Roman epigraphy alongside very recent inscriptions commemorating the deeds and patronage of Venetian governors, apparently making no distinction between the two. For example, Sanudo is as interested in recording the dedicatory inscription to Alvise Sagredo, the Venetian *podestà* of Piran, on the church of San Giorgio there, as he is in recording the ancient Roman inscriptions on the triumphal Arch of the Sergii in the neighbouring city of Pula.⁵⁵⁴

Sanudo’s descriptions of the Istrian landscape are, like Leto and Biondo’s writing on Rome, drawn equally from classical authorities and eyewitness account, with a particular emphasis on the Venetian history in the region (perhaps inevitably, given that Sanudo’s tour was determined by the route of the *sindaci*). Sanudo repeatedly alternates between the contemporary Venetian political affairs of Istria - especially in listing which Venetian patrician was currently

⁵⁵² P.H. Labalme and L. Sanguineti, eds., *Città Excelentissima: Selections from the Renaissance Diaries of Marin Sanudo*, p. xxvi.

⁵⁵³ These might be seen as a literary parallel to the narrative *istorie* painted cycles which served as documentary witnesses of historical and miraculous events within Renaissance Venetian visual culture. See P. Fortini Brown, *Venetian Narrative Painting in the Age of Carpaccio*, esp. pp. 222-225.

⁵⁵⁴ R. Brown, ed., *Itinerario di Marino Sanudo*, pp. 150 and 153. I examine the Arch of the Sergii in greater detail in the conclusion to this chapter.

filling which administrative office - and the classical past of the region, recorded in his epigraphical documentation. In his entry on Aquileia, for instance, Sanudo begins by describing and then listing the ancient marble churches of the city; he then describes its Roman ruins, including 'le vestigie di uno teatro' and the 'aqueduto mal conditionato et roto', before recording an epigraph from the monastery of Santa Maria outside the city walls. Sanudo then transcribed the passage from the *Aeneid* in which Virgil describes Antenor's flight to the Illyrian shores, before ending the Aquileia text with a description of the Ottoman ruin of one of the churches and relating his journey by boat through the gulf of Trieste.⁵⁵⁵ Part travel journal, commonplace book, sylloge, and history text, Sanudo's *Itinerario* is an example of the ways that composite and comparative philological methods of humanist scholarship which Biondo and Leto piloted in Rome, could be displaced to a different geographical region and used for different aims. Although Sanudo - like Biondo in the Italian peninsula and Cyriac d'Ancona in the Mediterranean - recorded for textual posterity the ruins of the classical *terraferma*, Sanudo pursued an intrinsically Venetian project. Documenting the Venetian presence there in the same humanistic, scholarly style as the classical past, Sanudo constructed an image of the Venetian presence in Istria as a perpetuation of the Roman history of the region: a project which was indicated above all in Sanudo's mirroring of Roman classical epigraphy with inscriptions commemorating Venetian *podestà*'s contributions to Istrian urban architecture.

A final epigraphical example indicates similarly the ways in which classical inscriptions were an important physical way in which civic and colonial governance became shaped by humanist scholarship in the Adriatic world. When the Palazzo del Rettore in Dubrovnik was

⁵⁵⁵ R. Brown, ed., *Itinerario di Marino Sanudo*, pp. 143-6.

reconstructed in the mid-fifteenth century, the palace was decorated with angels holding scrolled inscriptions designed by Cyriac d'Ancona. Cyriac had also designed two public inscriptions for the city, installed in the loggia of the palace and on the wall of the palace's fountain. Cyriac had penned an oration dedicated to Dubrovnik, *Anconitana Illyricaue laus et Anconitanorum Raguseorumque foedas*, published with a sylloge of classical inscriptions from Ancona; and appended to this, a trade agreement between Ancona and Ragusa that Cyriac had written, styled as a Roman *leges rogatae* (or statue passed by a popular assembly).⁵⁵⁶ Although Ragusa was, at this stage, an independent city-state, at the Palazzo del Rettore, the reconstruction of an 'original' provided an opportunity to reimagine the kinds of local histories associated with a particular place as part of a civic dynastic history.

V. Coppo's *De Situ de Listria*

Pietro Coppo's *De Situ de Listria* borrowed heavily - both in terms of genre and content - from Biondo's discussion of Istria in *Italia illustrata*. Dedicated to Coppo's friend Giuseppe Faustino, in recognition of the fact that 'gia da Uovenil etate contratta bel litteratissimo contubernio del nostro gia humanissimo Sabelico',⁵⁵⁷ Coppo writes in the dedicatory letter that he decided to write the book 'in volgar lingua' for the benefit of Faustino's friend, who is 'desideroso... grandemente di tal cognitione in volgar lingua a sua plena intelligent (seti voi litteratissimo) et

⁵⁵⁶ S. Kokole, "Cyriacus of Ancona and the Revival of Two Forgotten Ancient Personifications in the Rector's Palace of Dubrovnik," *Renaissance Quarterly* 49/2 (1996): 225-267. On the oration and trade agreement, p. 242.

⁵⁵⁷ 'our most youthful age was spent in the learned school of the most cultured Sabellico.' A. Degrassi, "Di Pietro Coppo e delle sue opere," p. 413. I have consulted both the early printed copy of *Del Sito de Listria* (Venice, 1540) and the critical edition, but have relied on the edition for the quotations which follow.

de cadauna altar non molto litterata persona'.⁵⁵⁸ Whether or not Faustino did indeed have a friend who specifically requested a *volgare* version of Coppo's chorography, it seems that Coppo was aware that a vernacular text might find a larger reading audience than a Latin geography (although he does not hesitate to mention that he has 'altre volte scritto et designate le province et lochi de tutta la terra a cerco in latino'.)⁵⁵⁹ Coppo then introduces the chorography in the dedicatory letter by writing that he travelled extensively throughout the Istrian peninsula to research the book.

Although Coppo lived in Istria and perhaps even travelled along the coastline in a boat as he claimed, he relied equally upon classical sources to describe the topography and history of the peninsula. Like Biondo, Coppo begins with Pliny's description of the size of the region. He then relates the legend that the Argonauts carried their galley above their shoulders to the region near the river Istro: like Virgil's description of Antenor, the story of the Argonauts at Istria gave the region its own mythological Greek history. Coppo then describes the Greek history of the region in greater detail:

avanti che li predirti Argonauti venissero li come dicemo. laqual alhora era habitata in qua in la da Indigeni Aborigeni gente Pastoral. come anchor il resto de Italia al tempo de Iano ouer Fauno et de Saturno che venero di Grecia: et trouorono gente rude vivente secundo la natura de animali et frutti produceua da si la terra non culta. doppo da quelli redutti a viuer piu humano et domestico al culto dela terra. et haver habitatione soto il culto diuino et lege.⁵⁶⁰

Before the aforesaid Argonauts came, as I said, that part was already inhabited by the pastoral Indigenous Aboriginal people. This was just like the rest of Italy, at the time of

⁵⁵⁸ 'is very eager to learn in the vernacular, so that he completely understands; and for other people who are not so learned (as you yourself are most learned in Latin).' Ibid, p. 413.

⁵⁵⁹ 'I have already written and drawn the provinces and places of the entire earth in Latin.' Ibid, p. 413.

⁵⁶⁰ A. Degrassi, "Di Pietro Coppo e delle sue opere," p. 414.

Janus (or Faun), and Saturn, who came from Greece: and they found coarse people, living following the nature of animals, and fruits produced of an uncultivated earth. After this, they came to live more humanely, and domesticated the earth through cultivating it. And they inhabited it under the cultivation of god and law.

The Argonauts and other Greek settlers of Istria found ‘gente rude’ whose primary characteristic seems to have been, for Coppo, their inability to cultivate the earth. The Greeks brought civilization to Istria, in the form of agriculture, law, and religion. After the Greeks, the Romans built up the peninsula: ‘In many places in Istria one finds many worthy antiquities and vestiges of antique land. These demonstrate that it was already inhabited by powerful and worthy men’.⁵⁶¹ The ruins of Istria, then, come to stand as evidence for Coppo not only of the antiquity of the landscape, but of its noble history: if the men who lived in Istria were capable of building the amphitheaters, aqueducts, and fortified walls which still dotted the peninsula, then surely this was proof that classical men were ‘potenti et degni’.

Like Leto and Biondo, Coppo was primarily interested in the antiquities and ‘vestigii’ of this classical past, weaving this interest into a narrative of barbarian destruction. His description of the destruction of Rome and the founding of Aquileia by displaced Romans is a narrative that we have seen not only in Sabellico’s work on Friuli, but in a modified form in Crijević’s work on the origins of Ragusa. Coppo writes,

Et doppo destruta Roma da Breno bellicosissimo capitano de Franzosi. qual passo de Franza in Italia con Tresento millia ferocissimi combatenti ad acquistarsi noue sede et habitatione...per labondante cresciuta multitudine in Franza. Laqual Roma cosi abrugiata et del tutto destruta lassata Breno ando in la dalmatia Ongaria et con prospero successo in Grecia: metendo a terra ogni cosa con asperrima crudelita a focho et ferro senza alcuna pieta. Spogliata prima Listria de tutte sue sustantie et beni. Doppo alquanti anni Totila Re de Goti con numerozo exercito ancor lui venne in Italia. destrusse molte Citta et Fiorenza

⁵⁶¹ ‘In piu lochi de Listria si attrouano mol to degne antiquita et vestigii de terre antique. qual dimostrano gia esser sta habitate da potenti et degni huomeni.’ A. Degrassi, “Di Pietro Coppo e delle sue opere,” p. 415.

in tal modo che un gran tempo deserta per il Gottico furor resto senza nome. diche destruta cosi Roma dominatrice del mondo dal Levante al Ponente: Fiorenza et altre famose citta. Molti deli potenti et opulenti de quelle massimamente Romani ala prima con sue richeze et faculta mobile se redussero ala dita Aquilegiense citta et di grande divenuta la fecero grandissima. et a queste terre e Listria. maxime a Pola: et con le loro richeze feceno quelli notabel edificii. come haveano gia fatto il suo antecessori maxime Romani deliqua ne sono rimasti ancor alquanti mirabel vestigii.⁵⁶²

And after Rome was destroyed by Brennus, the most bellicose captain of the French, they passed from France to Italy with three hundred thousand of the most ferocious soldiers, in order to find a new home and place to live...because there were too many living in France. Rome was burned and everything there was left destroyed by Brennus; he then went to Dalmatia, Hungary, and was successful in Greece: putting each land to fire and sword with terrible cruelty, without any pity. Istria was the first to be despoiled of all sustenance and good things. After some years Totila, King of the Goths, with many of his men, again came into Italy. They destroyed many cities: Florence was deserted and left without a name for many years in this way, from the Goths' furore. It is said that they even destroyed Rome, dominator of the world from East to West: and Florence, and other famous cities. Many of the powerful and rich of these great Romans came to the said city of Aquileia with their riches, and they made the city the greatest. And [they came] to this land of Istria, and especially to Pola: and with their riches, they made these notable buildings. And so their ancestors were great Romans, of whom nothing remains but some wonderful traces.

As in Sabellico's account of Friulian history, Coppo's history of Istria contains a series of sacks of the region. By comparing the Istrian devastation to that of Rome and of Florence, and then relating how great Romans came to settle in the Istrian peninsula, Coppo appropriated some of the classical authority of those cities for his own adopted region.

Coppo and other Venetian-Dalmatian authors thus expressed a desire to uncover the physical and literary remains of the classical past in Istria. Especially in their archaeological focus on Roman ruins, these authors wove a narrative of contemporary Istria as having emerged from a glorious classical history. Biondo's insistence on the permanence of his writing compared

⁵⁶² A. Degrassi, "Di Pietro Coppo e delle sue opere," p. 415.

to the fleeting fortunes of architectural reconstruction in Rome, the reoccurring theme of a classical aristocratic population fleeing one burning city to found a still greater one, and especially Coppo's clear sense of teleological progression from indigenous people, to Greeks, to Romans, indicate the ways in which history was used to imagine the potentiality of the present. The tropes and themes of renewal and permanence in writing articulated a sense of optimism about the ability of humanist scholarship to contribute creatively and lastingly to history, where the Roman ruins were left collaboratively open to humanists' intervention.

In his study of Renaissance archaeology, Leonard Barkan has similarly explored Michelangelo's aesthetic of incompleteness, or of the 'openness' of the ruin or unfinished work to the 'collaborative force' of the contemporary artist. Imitation, according to Barkan, does not seek to attain the perfection of the elusive complete classical sculpture, because completeness was not necessarily an aesthetic or stylistic aim for every artist or writer. Rather, the creativity of intertextuality, the possibility of collaboration offered by fragmentariness, and the hermeneutic instability of heterogeneous composition, were real aesthetic aims.⁵⁶³ In the chorographic writing of Coppo and his peers, the architectural description of Roman ruins was a kind of imitative practice in itself, in which the fragmentariness of the ruined landscape allowed a creative space within textual practice to revise the past. In Venetian chorographic writing about ruins, the textual or architectural model is both ancient and contemporary, part of the composition of fragments which is continually open to creative intervention by contemporary writers. The possibility of imagining a different present became a way in which Venetian and Dalmatian humanists could form a parallel conception of colonial governance, alongside the complexities of

⁵⁶³ L. Barkan, *Unearthing the Past*, pp. 205-7.

Venetian administration. The textual description of the ruined built environment of Istria, dotted with crumbling amphitheaters and triumphal arches, saw the condition of ruin as a place from which they could begin to revise and reassess notions of Istrian colonial identity. In the following section, I analyse one trope in particular - the idea of Istria as a liminal region of Italy - to examine the kinds of potential future identities which humanist scholars imagined for the region.

VI. *The borderlands of Venetian empire*

a. *Language*

In this section and the next, I examine the ways in which the space of Istria was perceived as ‘in-between’ or as a borderland: first in Biondo and Coppo’s historical discussion of the region’s languages, and then in their geographical writing. Perhaps even more widely read than Biondo’s *Roma instaurata* was his *Italia illustrata*, a text which Sanudo references by name in his discussion of Pola.⁵⁶⁴ Written between 1447 and 1453, *Italia illustrata* was conceived as an expansion of *Roma instaurata*, in which Biondo moved his project of humanist reconstruction to all of the regions of Italy. Modelled after Livy and Pliny’s histories, Biondo introduces his *Italia illustrata*:

Since the barbarians destroyed everything [...] we know still less about the events of the past thousand years. But as for the regions of Italy, her cities, towns, lakes, rivers, and mountains, whose names are much mentioned the in ancient writers, we are in a large part ignorant of them. [...] I wish to try, through my knowledge of Italian affairs, to bring to light the names of Italy’s older places and peoples, to give authority to the new places, and to give a record to those that have been destroyed; and finally, to shed some light upon the darkness of Italian history.

⁵⁶⁴ R. Brown, ed., *Itinerario di Marino Sanudo*, p. 155.

Factumque est ut barbaris omnia evertentibus [...] nedum mille quae effluerunt annorum gesta sciamus, sed Italiae regiones, urbes, oppid, lacus, flumina, montesque, quorum nomina a vetustus frequentantur scriptoribus, ubi sint, magna ex parte ignoremus. [...] [T]entare volui, si per eam quam sum nactus Italiae rerum peritiam, vetustioribus locis eius et populis nominum novitatem, novis auctoritatem, deletis vitam memoriae dare, denique rerum Italiae obscuritatem illustrare potero.⁵⁶⁵

This ‘obscuritatem’, Biondo writes, is due to the destruction of Italy by barbarian tribes who so disrupted the landscape and the continuity of Italian classical history that ‘we are [now] ignorant’ of the toponymy of Italy. Most importantly for those Istrian writers, Biondo includes Istria in his descriptions, justifying his decision by writing, ‘Before the times of Caesar Augustus, Histria was considered part of Italy; so it is not now a new region, but let me begin by adding it to the last among the other regions.’⁵⁶⁶ Biondo returned to the Roman classical conception of the boundaries of Italy, although by adding it at the end of the book, he affirmed that Istria was indeed the ‘last’ and most liminal of the classical regions of Italy.

As Biondo and Leto had discussed for Roman history, and Sabellico for the history of Friuli, Biondo was especially interested in his section on ‘Histria’ in the long history of ‘barbarorum incursionibus’ into the region. This is most problematic for Biondo in the history of the Italian and Slavic language in the region. Biondo claimed that St. Jerome - the translator of the Latin Vulgate, and so a particularly important saint for humanist scholars - brought writing and the Latin divine office to the Slavic people in Dalmatia.⁵⁶⁷ The writing and ‘letters’ that

⁵⁶⁵ Latin text and translation from C.J. Castner, *Biondo Flavio's Italia Illustrata: Text, Translation, and Commentary. Vol I: Northern Italy* (Binghamton, 2005), pp. xxxvi, 1-3.

⁵⁶⁶ ‘Histriam nunc non quidem novam, quae ante Caesaris Augusti tempora Italiae censebatur, sed inter ceteras oras ultimo additam inchoemus.’ C.J. Castner, *Biondo Flavio's Italia Illustrata*, p. 220-1. I return to a closer analysis of this passage in the next section.

⁵⁶⁷ B. Trencsényi and M. Zászkaliczky, *For the Love of Which Country?: Composite States, National Histories, and Patriotic Discourses in Early Modern East Central Europe* (Leiden, 2010), p. 193.

Biondo mentioned Jerome to have brought to Dalmatia are those of the Slavic alphabet, a history that has been sometimes marshalled to argue for the Slavic character of Istria.⁵⁶⁸ But Biondo vigorously denied this interpretation that the Istrians were Slavic rather than Italian, writing,

But to those who stubbornly argue that St. Jerome taught and wished...the Histri to use [Slavic letters], if he used in his own country an idiom deeply foreign to Italian, and thus appears to have been a foreigner - I reply that Calabria is a greater and better part of Italy than is Istria; and in these regions, universally considered to be Italian, the use of Greek has always thrived, and is healthy today. But indeed around Asti, Turin, Ivrea, and all that region in the Alps under Italian jurisdiction, a region the Gallic races ruled for a long time, those peoples use a foreign dialect rather than their own appropriate language, Italian. In the same manner, at Vicenza and Verona, famous cities with elegant customs, although they are very far from Germany, there are many villages and many towns subject to those cities whose people use German rather than Italian.

Illis vero, qui pertinaces contenderent beatum Hieronymum, si in patria sua idiomate ab Italico penitus alieno usus fuit, et suos contribules Histros uti docuit atque voluit, videri fuisse alienigenam, respondemus maiorem melioremque quam sit Histria partem esse Italiae Calabriam atque Bruttios, quibus in regionibus sine controversia Italicis et semper antea viguit, et nunc quoque viget Graecanicae linguae usus. Quinetiam circa Hastam Taurinos Eporedienses, et omnem eam Alpibus subiectam Italiae regionem, cui gentes diu praefuerunt Gallicae, alieno magis populi illi quam proprio idiomate Italico abutuntur. Pariter apud Vincentiam Veronamque praeclaras elegantissimasque moribus Italiae urbes, licet a Germani sint remotissimae, multi sunt vici, multa oppida ipsis subdita civitatibus, quorum populi Theotonica frequentius quam Italica locutione utuntur.⁵⁶⁹

Biondo writes that even southern Italian regions in which Greek is a 'living' language, are still considered to be Italian; and that the northern Italian towns bordering the Alps, and those clustering around Verona and Vicenza in the Venetian *terraferma*, contain people who speak various Germanic dialects and yet who are nevertheless Italian. So too is Istria an Italian region, although it contains a multilingual and multiethnic population, who speak both Italian and Slavic

⁵⁶⁸ B. Trencsényi and M. Zászkaliczky, *For the Love of Which Country?*, p. 195.

⁵⁶⁹ C.J. Castner, *Biondo Flavio's Italia Illustrata*, p. 226-7.

dialects. Biondo thus elides the problem of having to excise St. Jerome from his history of Istria, rather accommodating him and Slavic culture by allowing for linguistic diversity under the broader aegis of Italian identity. However, Biondo quickly puts aside his discussion of language to relate the sackings and destruction of the region: first by barbarians, then by the Visigoths, and then during battles between the Venetians and the Genoese. Even if he is willing to admit that Slavic languages are spoken in Istria, the dialect - and the region itself - is identified with a vulnerability to barbarian destruction.⁵⁷⁰

Following Biondo's example, Coppo also writes about the complications of mixed languages. However, rather than focusing on the co-existence of Slavic and Italian, Coppo writes scathingly about the historical formation of the *volgare*: 'The Langobards completely destroyed and annihilated the Latin language, and burned all the Latin books they could find, in order that they could speak their barbarian language and so that they could rule. And it was from the combination of the corrupt words of the Barbarians and from Latin that the *volgare* was born.'⁵⁷¹ Coppo presents a much more conflicted regional linguistic picture than Biondo. Writing himself in the *volgare*, Coppo writes scornfully of the formation of that very language as emerging from the 'vocaboli corotti' of the Langobardic 'barbarians'. Coppo, however, chose to illustrate this linguistic history of the Italian vernacular as part of his larger narrative of the corruption, devastation, and decay of the entirety of the Italian peninsula during the various barbarian invasions. This was a history that characterised all of Italy: indeed, it was central to the formation

⁵⁷⁰ C.J. Castner, *Biondo Flavio's Italia Illustrata*, pp. 227 and 229.

⁵⁷¹ '[i] Longobardi populi] del tutto destruger et anichilar la lengua Latina fecero abrugiar tutti i libri Latini si poteno trovar. acio il suo Barbaro parlar et loro regnaselro. et alhora nascete fa vocaboli corotti tra Barbari et Latini el volgar parlar.' A. Degrassi, "Di Pietro Coppo e delle sue opere," p. 418.

of the Italian language. If Istria so demonstrably suffered from the same barbarian sackings, then it too could be considered as part of an Italian geographical and historical identity. Rather than directing his impassioned discussion of the *volgare* at contemporary Italian writers who were engaging in the linguistic debate raging in intellectual circles in the metropole at this time,⁵⁷² Coppo was interested in building the evidence of Istria's inclusion in the total devastation wrought by the barbarians to the Italian peninsula. This, as we have seen, was an important element not only in Biondo's project, but in the writings of Leto on Rome, Sabellico on Friuli, and Crijević on Ragusa.

b. *Space*

Istria was not only a region characterised by its prolific physical evidence of Roman occupation. As I suggested above when discussing Biondo's opening comments on Istria, it also was a liminal space that needed to be justified as a part of Italy. In the opening passage in which Biondo justifies including Istria in his geography, he writes, 'se inter ceteras oras ultimo additam inchoemas'. Catherine Castner has translated this as, 'Let me begin by adding it [Istria] to the last among the other regions'.⁵⁷³ But Biondo's sentence actually emphasises Istria's remoteness and liminality more than this translation would suggest: 'But we shall commence with the farthest [Istria], annexed between other shores'. Istria was not only the 'last' region of Italy, but it

⁵⁷² Particularly 'la questione della lingua' debated by Pietro Bembo and his circle in Venice, and published in his *Prose della volgar lingua* (Venice, 1525).

⁵⁷³ C.J. Castner, *Biondo Flavio's Italia Illustrata*, pp. 220-1.

was bounded by ‘ceteras oras’: lands that were not Italian.⁵⁷⁴ The preoccupation in many of these texts, including Biondo’s, with barbarian invasions, was not only a means of conveying the destruction of the region, but a way of conceiving of the dangerous porousness of Istria at the boundaries of the civilised world. This is especially evident in Biondo’s closing paragraph to his book on Istria:

Finita iam ad hanc Alpium per milia passuum quadringenta & quinquaginta, ab Varo ad Arsiam amnem externis nationibus munimento Italiae oppositarum partem sit Italiae nostrae latitudo in recentem gloriosissimi Hieronymi doctoris commemorationem, qui sic eam et me sibi devotum ab omnibus tueatur adversantibus, sicut ad hos limites originem illum in ea habuisse ostendimus.

Let my description of the breadth of our country now be finished, to this part of the Alps through five hundred and forty miles, from the Var to the Arsa river, part of the regions opposed as a bulwark against foreign invaders, in remembrance of our glorious father Jerome; thus may he keep Italy safe from all enemies and preserve me, his devoted admirer, as I have shown that he was born at these borders and in this country.⁵⁷⁵

The image of Istria as a borderland and ‘bulwark’ against the barbarians is emphatically clear in Biondo’s writing. Biondo also crafts an image of himself as having authored a convincing argument not only for including Istria into Italy, but even for being part of a campaign to protect it against barbarian invasion. By proving in the text that Jerome was indeed born in Istria, Biondo concludes that Jerome must then in gratitude protect his own homeland. Biondo’s reconstructive project here is not based on physical antiquity but on a kind of literary, humanistic devotion to both Italy and Jerome.

⁵⁷⁴ Trieste and much of the territory of modern-day Slovenia bordering Istria was ruled by the Habsburg during the fifteenth and sixteenth-centuries, so that Istria was a Venetian peninsula truly ‘between’ two larger Habsburg territories. See S. Vlfan, “Towns and States at the Juncture of the Alps, the Adriatic, and Pannonia,” in *Cities and the Rise of States in Europe, AD 1000-1800*, ed. C. Tilly and W.P. Blockmans (Boulder: 1994): 44-59.

⁵⁷⁵ C.J. Castner, *Biondo Flavio’s Italia Illustrata*, p. 229.

Pietro Coppo perhaps derived his interest in Istria as a borderland from Biondo's *Italia illustrata*. He describes Istria in the opening dedicatory letter as 'questa ultima region de Italia', mirroring Biondo's description of the region as a borderland, and its placement at the end of the *Italia illustrata*. Sanudo also writes that Istria 'è ultima region de l'Italia fine et termine', and references Biondo's claim that this geographical distinction dates to the time of Caesar Augustus.⁵⁷⁶ In the last passage of the chorography, Coppo makes a similar geographical distinction:

sono doi gran Montagne adherente ale Alpe: che seperano la Italia dala Barbara natione. una tra Maistro et Tramontana chiamata Monte Caldiera sopra el Colfe Tergestino. l'altra tra Grego Levante sopra el Carner chiamata Monte Mazor. et cose se ha il Sito de Istria.⁵⁷⁷

There are two large mountains close to the Alps: they separate Italy from the barbarous nations. One, between Maistro and the north, is called Monte Caldiera, above the Gulf of Trieste. The other is between Grego and the east above the Carner, called Monte Mazor. And this is the site of Istria.

In Coppo's formulation, two great peaks cleaving to the Alps separate Italy from the 'barbarous nations': mountains which form part of a boundary overlooking Trieste, Friuli, and the Istrian peninsula. The mountains embody the tension in Coppo's conception of the Istrian peninsula as both particularly vulnerable to, and protected from, barbarian attack. They are a natural but unpredictable boundary separating Italy - and, notably, Istria too - from the uncivilised world of northern Europe; but the history which Coppo elaborated in the preceding text would seem to indicate the fallibility of that natural border.

The same idea of a mountainous border region which hems in Istria with the rest of Italy

⁵⁷⁶ R. Brown, ed., *Itinerario di Marino Sanudo*, p. 147.

⁵⁷⁷ A. Degrassi, "Di Pietro Coppo e delle sue opere," p. 423.

is represented in Coppo's maps: both in his regional map of Istria in the chorography, and in his maps of the Adriatic included in his *De toto orbe* atlas. Particularly in the first map of the Italian peninsula and Adriatic Sea in the atlas (fig. 33), Coppo depicted a forbidding, continuous mountain range which encircles northern Italy, before forming a border - contiguous with the physical border of the folio - above Friuli, Istria, and the Illyrian coast of Dalmatia.⁵⁷⁸ In the second map (fig. 34), the border of the mountain range has grown even wider but ends at the eastern edge of Istria. In this map, Istria is the same deep yellow as the rest of the Italian peninsula and is edged with a dense depiction of the Alps; the rest of the Dalmatian Adriatic coast is a light yellow and lacks mountainous borders. Dalmatia seems to be both protected and unprotected, but certainly not part of Italy: this perhaps reflects Dalmatia's inclusion in the Venetian, rather than the Italian, geo-political world.⁵⁷⁹ This distinction is emphasised in the map of the Adriatic, Dalmatia, and Hungary (fig. 35). Here, Coppo again depicts the mountain range barrier that separates Italy, Istria, and the Adriatic coastline from the interior. But this map is intended to describe the toponymy and rivers of the inland space: Italy itself is left almost entirely blank, with only Venice depicted on the northern Adriatic shore.⁵⁸⁰ There is thus a sense in this map that Istria and the Dalmatian coast are identified with the Venetian metropole; whilst the eastern interior, and indeed the rest of the Italian peninsula, are part of different geographical spheres.

In the woodcut map of Istria included in the Piran codex of Coppo's *Summa*, he uses the depiction of mountains to even greater effect (fig. 36). Here, in a large-scale regional depiction

⁵⁷⁸ Bologna, Biblioteca Comunale dell'Archiginnasio, MS A 117, fols. 152v-153r (consulted digitised manuscript).

⁵⁷⁹ Ibid, fols. 153v-154r.

⁵⁸⁰ Ibid, fols. 154v-155r.

of the Istrian peninsula, the entire area north of the peninsula itself is covered in a very dense cover of mountains. Prominently marked in capital letters in the centre of the peninsula is ‘Montona’, a large forest directly governed by the Venetian state. The mountains with their dense forests and Montona itself were of central importance to Venice, as crucial supplies of timber - used for building the piers upon which the city rested, as well as its galleys - were sourced from Istria.⁵⁸¹ Regulated by Venetian governors from inland fortified towns like Raspo, and sent downstream to the coastal port cities, the timber resources of Istria are suggested in the map by the elaborate mountain ranges, the centrality of Montona, and the density of coastal towns controlling the estuaries. Istria’s identity as an important site of natural resources is conveyed by the chorographic map, even in the absence of a representation of its geographical proximity to the metropole. The map thus ultimately shows Istria as its own autonomous local space: rich in resources, but bounded by mountain ranges and by the border of the page, unmoored from larger geopolitical structures.⁵⁸²

By copying the ruined architecture, inscriptions, and histories of barbarian incursions into their own compositions, Coppo and his peers opened those ruined landscapes for historical revision. The present geo-political identity of Istria was thus opened for revision, too. The physical and textual incompleteness of Istria - indicated, for these scholars, by its eroded Roman monuments and the destruction of its texts by barbarians - allowed them creative space to imagine a new kind of Istrian history. As Coppo explained, this history had a strong sense of progression and culmination in the flight of Roman patricians from their sacked city and their

⁵⁸¹ K. Appuhn, *A Forest on the Sea*, p. 169-78.

⁵⁸² Lauren Benton has similarly written that chorography was used in early modern geography to depict empire as a series of discrete, local spaces. *A Search for Sovereignty: Law and Geography in European Empires, 1400-1900* (Cambridge, 2010), p. 18.

resettlement in Istria, Aquileia, and Friuli. Istria represented the threat posed by the absence of civilisation: its ruined landscape and linguistic diversity were testimony to what happened when the mountain boundaries were breached. In this sense, it is easy to understand why Istrian chorography became such a compelling genre for humanists: it seemed to symbolise the aims of the entire humanist reconstructive project for antiquity, in a style of writing which intimately connected the physical, eyewitness remains of the past, and its texts.

That the humanist writers considered here emphasised the antiquity, the *Romanità*, and the Italian geographical identity of Istria, does not only emerge from their interest in humanist scholarship. The geo-political ambiguity of the region - whether it was to be defined as part of the Venetian mainland or maritime empire - could be effectively resolved by revising Istrian history to reconcile it with the present. This was a period when Venice itself was politically and culturally attending more and more to the rest of mainland Italy; it was in this context that the humanists working in Istria promoted their own region's affiliations with Roman conceptions of Italian identity.⁵⁸³ Indeed, as Thomas Dandeleet has recently argued, a particularly imperial form of humanist political thought - modelled on the texts and political figures of Imperial Rome - became increasingly important in these decades in which the Spanish and French presence in Italy deepened.⁵⁸⁴ That many of the texts examined here were produced in imitation of Roman antiquarianism - whether through textual traditions or personal friendships - seems to indicate that in a very important sense, Venetian conceptions of political space competed intensely for these humanist-governors with their sense of the space of ancient Rome and its imperial

⁵⁸³ D.S. Chambers, *The Imperial Age of Venice*, p. 24.

⁵⁸⁴ T. Dandeleet, *The Renaissance of Empire in Early Modern Europe* (Cambridge, 2014).

colonies. Coppo - a Venetian patrician who became deeply integrated into Isolan society - could construct classical geographical and political identities for himself and for his adopted homeland of Istria, in the face of a complex set of allegiances and administrative practices associated with Venice.

VII. *Conclusion*

The writings produced by the circle of humanist scholars around the figure of Pietro Coppo indicate how a particular genre, chorography, came to be associated with Veneto-Dalmatian scholarship about the region of Istria. The patrician men involved in administering and writing about the Venetian colonial world in the eastern Adriatic established a tradition of chorographic scholarship, built on the archaeological, epigraphical, and regional historical texts produced in Rome in the mid-Quattrocento. These texts, with their emphases on the description and recovery of the built environment of the classical city, appealed to the Veneto-Dalmatian humanists living in Istria. Istrian scholars would have seen in their own landscape the kinds of ruins and physical evidence of antiquity that Leto and Biondo so imaginatively reconstructed. But Coppo and his peers also saw in Istrian ruins, and in Roman archaeological scholarship, an opportunity to adapt the geo-political and historical identity of Istria in the face of contemporary political ambiguity. The complex sets of political allegiances and administrative practices which characterised Coppo's biography, and indeed the history of Istria under Venetian domination more generally,

could be accommodated into a local sense of identity and history by affiliating the region with that of the imperial Roman colony, and its related texts, inscriptions, and built environments.⁵⁸⁵

However, it would be a mistake to see these writers' interests in Roman ruins and antiquarian scholarship as the manifestation of a straightforward desire to write an entirely Roman past for Istria and Friuli, to the exclusion of Venetian history and heritage in the region. As we have seen in Coppo's will, he maintained his desire to be considered part of Venetian intellectual society at his death. Sanudo's *Itinerario* employed humanistic methods of documenting the physical world to record both classical and Venetian inscriptions, Roman buildings and the deeds of Venetian colonial governors. And, as I explored in the first half of the chapter, Venetian and Dalmatian humanists and governors maintained relationships with each other and, crucially, with the metropole, through bequests, dedications, and the use of particular genres. The imperial relationships which these men imagined did not link only to ancient Rome, just as they did not link only to contemporary Venice. The history, heritage, and geographical identities elaborated in the texts and maps I have examined here were part of a distinctive strand of humanist writing: one which adapted Roman ruins and Roman history to the geopolitical configurations of the contemporary Venetian empire.

I would like to consider one final classicising monument within Venice itself, which has just such a Roman Istrian heritage: the Porta Magna of the Venetian Arsenal (fig. 37). In the 1450s, a campaign was launched in Venice to renovate the Arsenal. Part of this reconstruction was the commissioning of the Porta Magna, organized by three Venetian patricians with

⁵⁸⁵ An interesting parallel study is Alison's Brown's on Florence and its *contado*. Brown examines the ways in which the city adopted classical Roman language into their legislative and administrative vocabulary concerning their empire on the Italian mainland. "The Language of Empire," in *Florentine Tuscany*, pp. 32-47.

humanistic interests under the dogeship of Pasquale Malipiero, also famously interested in humanist scholarship. The arch was modeled after the Roman triumphal Arch of the Sergii in Pola, in what was then Venetian-controlled Istria (fig. 38). The piers, especially, of the Venetian Porta Magna are closely imitative of the classical Roman arch; while the entablature contains Byzantine *spolia* capitals; and the attic was a new construction, featuring the winged lion of San Marco.⁵⁸⁶ The stratified allusions first to Rome, then to Byzantium, and finally to the Venetian empire have been understood by Ralph Lieberman as representing ‘that Venice rose on a Roman foundation’.⁵⁸⁷ Lieberman also notes that the incorporation of the Arch of the Sergii into the city walls of Pola was ‘read’ as ‘a way [that] an illusion of history could be created by the position of an arch in such a wall.’⁵⁸⁸ The Porta Magna was thus incorporated into the walls of the Arsenal to create just such an allusion to history within Venice itself.

Although Lieberman is attentive to the original architectural context of the Arch of the Sergii in fifteenth-century Pola, the Roman historical identity of the Arch and the implications of this heritage for its imitation at the Arsenal are equally important to consider. The Arch of the Sergii commemorated three members of the Sergius family, and identifies one member of the Sergius family as a military tribune of the 29th legion, who fought for Augustus in the Battle of Actium. Most evocatively known to Renaissance humanists, perhaps, through Virgil’s ekphrasis

⁵⁸⁶ See E. Concina, *L’arsenale della Repubblica di Venezia* (Milan, 1984), 51-73 ; P. Fortini Brown, *Venice and Antiquity*, p. 108-110; and R. Lieberman, “Real Architecture, Imaginary History: The Arsenale Gate as Venetian Mythology,” *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* 54 (1991): 117-126. On the twinned Roman and Byzantine heritage of Venice and its iconography more generally, D. Pincus, “Venice and the Two Romes: Byzantium and Rome as a Double Heritage in Venetian Cultural Politics,” *Artibus et Historiae* 13/26 (1992): 101-114.

⁵⁸⁷ R. Lieberman, “Real Architecture, Imaginary History,” p. 124.

⁵⁸⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 122.

of Aeneas' shield on which the battle was depicted in all of its glory and chaos, Actium was the transitional moment in ancient Roman history in which the Roman Republic became the Roman Empire.

Even if Lucius Sergius Lepidus' role as a tribune in a legion at Actium was not specifically recognised by Renaissance viewers of the Arch in Pola, these men did view the Arch as a relic of the Imperial phase of Roman history. In Scalamonti's *Vita* of Cyriac d'Ancona, explored in detail in Chapter II, Scalamonti writes of Cyriac's visit to the Adriatic in 1419:

[Cyriac] had a desire to visit the ancient city of Pola in Istria, close to the Italian frontier, so embarking in a small ship to cross the Illyrian Sea, he arrived there to find the city largely ruined. But he did see many evidences of its noble past including the splendid gates of Salvia Postumnia, the daughter of the aedile Sergius, as well as many large buildings and the fine amphitheater built of large stones that the people of Pola gratefully dedicated to the imperial brothers, Lucius Septimius Severus and Antoninus. He also saw, both inside the city and outside its walls down to the sea, numerous stone tombs, many of whose epitaphs he transcribed, being accompanied and much helped by Andrea Contarini, who was then Venetian governor of the city.⁵⁸⁹

All of Pola, for Cyriac, was filled with ruins of the Roman imperial past, dedicated to the 'caesareis fratribus', the imperial Sergius brothers. Significantly, this imperial past unfolded in front of Cyriac through the mediation of his Venetian patrician guide, Andrea Contarini; perhaps the imperial interpretation of the built environment of Pola was perpetuated through local Venetian oral tradition. As we have seen throughout, but particularly in the examination of

⁵⁸⁹ 'Polam antiquissimam in histria secus Italiae fines civitatem visere cupiens, naviculum conscendit et Illyrico transfretato eam ipsam venerat Polensium civitatem, quam magna ex parte dirruptam vetustate conspexerat. Sed nobilia pleraque suae antiquitatis vestigia vidit. Et SALVIAE Postumiae Sergi duoviri aedilis clari filiae egregias portas et aedificia pleraque ingentia viderat, et nobile ac magnis editum lapidibus amphitheathum, quod Polensus voti sui compotes Lucio Septimio Severo et Antonino divis et caesareis fratribus dicavere; viderat et innumera per urbem et extra ad mare usque lapidea sepulchra, quorum pleraque nobilia exceperat epigrammata, Andrea Contareno tum pro Venetis praetoria comite curante favitanteque.' F. Scalamonti, "Vita Viri Clarissimi et Famosissimi Kyriaci Anconitani," ed. and trans. C. Mitchell and E.W. Bodnar. *Transactions of the American Philosophical Society* N.S. 86/4 (1996): Latin, p. 41; English translation, pp. 112-3.

Cyriac's writing in Chapter II, the local interpretation of the physical environment was central to the Venetian humanists' representation of colonial space. Finally, Pasquale Malipiero, the commissioner of the Porta Magna at the Arsenal, was undoubtedly aware of this imperial resonance: he was particularly interested in imperial iconography, his own commemorative medal being modelled after a coin of Marcus Aurelius;⁵⁹⁰ and his first political office was as an administrator in Dalmatia and Istria in 1429, exactly ten years after Cyriac had visited.

In its Renaissance Venetian iteration as the Porta Magna, the triumphal arch was placed at the interface between the Arsenal and the city: between the Arsenal as the space of Venetian imperial power, and the urban fabric of the metropole. The Porta Magna was a portal between the metropole and the colonies, not only physically in its placement at the threshold between the city and the Arsenal, but also figuratively. If the Arch of the Sergii was an embodiment of a threshold between the Roman Republican phase and the Imperial period, then the Porta Magna - in both imitating a historically specific monument, and in its placement in the physical fabric of the Arsenal's walls - was itself a threshold between the republican city and that city's imperial space in the Mediterranean. As a monument which looked back to the Roman imperial past, the Porta Magna was a physical embodiment of a kind of Venetian humanism that shaped and was shaped by Venetian colonisation in the Mediterranean world.

The Porta Magna's imitation of an Istrian Roman monument recalls the world of Istrian-Venetian humanism to which Coppo and his peers belonged. Neither purely Venetian nor purely Roman, the Venetian humanist geographical writing crafted by Coppo and his peers did not have as its focus the metropolises of contemporary nor of historical empires. Rather, they trained their

⁵⁹⁰ P. Fortini Brown, *Venice and Antiquity*, p. 105.

sights on the space of the colony and of the periphery, taking a bird's-eye view of Istria and Friuli using the genre of chorographic writing and mapping. In the iconography of the Porta Magna as in the descriptions of ruins in Istrian chorographic writing, the physical remains of Roman history did not allude to Rome-the-metropole, but rather to the Roman Imperial history within their colonies. For Coppo and his peers, humanist chorographic writing provided an intellectual framework for imagining the history and geo-political space of the colonies, and its focus was the connections, links, and networks between metropole and colony, the space of the threshold between the *Serenissima Repubblica* and the *stato da mar*.

Conclusion

I. The literary culture of empire

At the centre of this dissertation has been a corpus of manuscripts and printed books which were written, owned, read, collected, and exchanged by Renaissance Venetian men who were both humanists and part of the political class which governed Venice and its maritime empire. Often containing both text and image, these books pictured the Venetian Mediterranean world: its ships and sailors, as in the navigational composite manuscripts; its islands and history, as in the *isolari*; the life of one of its administrators in the Aegean, in Bembo's autobiographical work; its borderland spaces and relationship to the classical Roman empire, as in Coppo's chorographic writing and mapping. Although these works were produced or read by the humanist-governors in Venice or in the Mediterranean, and each - often in quite different ways - depicted aspects of the space and history of the Venetian *stato da mar*, these manuscripts and printed books have not yet been considered as a corpus. By comparing technical texts with geographical ones, prose letters and inscriptions, I have argued throughout that these seemingly disparate texts and images are actually part of a single literary culture. These codices are sources for a cultural and intellectual history of empire: part of the literary culture of the political class, they contain the texts, maps, sketches, and inscriptions from which Renaissance Venetian men assembled a set of ideas and expectations about the space and history of their empire.

Although these texts and codices were of different genres, formats, and languages, they were each composite, or assembled of heterogeneous texts and images. Throughout, I have considered compositeness as both a central element of Renaissance Venetian literary production, and as part of the hermeneutics of Renaissance reading and writing. In Chapter I, I was

particularly attentive to the ways in which disparate technical texts were assembled, and found that by reading them alongside humanist letters on the art of shipbuilding, composition emerged as an important concept both for creating texts and for building ships. In Chapter II, I considered how Bartolomeo dalli Sonetti, Cristoforo Buondelmonti, and Cyriac d'Ancona used composite writing in order to create a mosaic of spaces and temporalities in the Mediterranean, one in which the Siren could inspire one to write Venetian vernacular poetry and ancient stones could move modern observers to virtue. Giovanni Bembo used this textual mosaic in order to formulate his own sense of the history and responsibility of governing in the Aegean. And humanist scholars in Istria and Friuli, especially Pietro Coppo, compiled antique texts, classical and modern inscriptions, and descriptions of Roman ruins to articulate an alternative imperial identity for their borderland regions. I have argued here that compositeness - in a much broader sense than that implied by the terminology of miscellaneity, commonplacing, or *taccuini* - was itself a meaningful literary practice, a dimension of Renaissance textuality which is fundamental for understanding the ways in which literary culture worked for Venetian readers and writers.

Both the corpus of manuscripts and printed books which I have analysed here, and the use of compositeness as a central interpretive perspective on that corpus, have led to a reassessment of our understanding of humanism in Venice and its textual culture. First, I have expanded the kinds of texts we might consider when we study Venetian humanism. Prose letters, annotations, and geographies are evidence of the intellectual culture of Renaissance Venetians, and indeed present a different picture than sources usually taken to be paradigmatic of humanist writing and thought. These sources have shown the ways in which ideas about the space and history of the Venetian Mediterranean were created and exchanged, and then shaped by

governing in the *stato da mar* itself. Because they were often produced or owned by the humanist patrician men who were governing or administering the *stato da mar*, they provide a picture of the Venetian colonial world as it was understood by men who experienced it: who regularly sailed through the Mediterranean, who governed in the Aegean, who married Greek or Istrian women, and who - in Coppo's case, at least - made a permanent home in a maritime colony. These sources are therefore evidence of the practical politics of humanism. In Part I, I examined how humanism was implicated in creating a cultural sense of the colonial Mediterranean. In Part II, I explored how humanism was used throughout the political lifetimes of the men who were educated in humanist schools as adolescents, before taking up offices in the *stato da mar*.

These manuscripts and printed books thus allow us to consider the relationship between knowledge and empire as it unfolded in Venice and the Venetian Mediterranean. In the first part of the dissertation, I argued that these codices elaborated the space and history of the maritime empire within Venice itself. These texts and images described the geography, classical history, mythology, and contemporary Venetian history within the *stato da mar*. In the second part, I aimed to show what happened to that set of ideas and expectations once transplanted into the Mediterranean. I found that humanist literary culture proved flexible and responsive for the patrician governors and administrators in the *stato da mar*: both Bembo and Coppo used humanist writing and reading practices in ways which were shaped by their local circumstances. Bembo used an imaginative reading of Virgil to depict the spread and pace of the rumour of his downfall. Coppo saw in the Roman colonial built environment an opportunity to write an alternative imperial history for his own adopted homeland of Istria. Within the parameters of

humanist textuality, Bembo and Coppo wrote and assembled texts in which humanist compositional techniques were used adaptively to imagine their own place within the spatial and temporal coordinates of their empire. Humanism was not straightforwardly a tool of power or governance, but as a way in which governors could respond creatively to their local environments and circumstances in the Mediterranean.⁵⁹¹

Humanists in Venice, as well as the governors who held political offices in the *stato da mar*, were part of a rich textual culture: one which not only produced documents of administration, but a complex and highly varied literature about empire. Discovering how they created and participated in this literary culture has allowed us to perceive some of the ways in which textuality was related to empire in the early modern Mediterranean. For Renaissance Venetians, a literary culture about empire articulated the nature of colonial space in the Mediterranean; it provided a classical and contemporary history for that space; and it proved a flexible and responsive way in which governance of that space could be conceived. These texts were not materially powerful like the administrative, judicial, and governmental documents that were deployed across the *stato da mar*. And yet the Renaissance Venetian humanist texts of empire provided a shared literary and intellectual culture for an often geographically dispersed political class; and more importantly, provided a set of ideas, images, and expectations of the empire they were governing, and of their political and social roles within that empire.

⁵⁹¹ I developed this idea of local flexibility alongside a reading of John Elliott, "A Europe of Composite Monarchies," *Past and Present* 137 (1992): 48-71; and D. Goffman and C. Stroop, "Empire as Composite: The Ottoman Polity and the Typology of Dominion," in *Imperialisms: Historical and Literary Investigations, 1500-1800*, eds. E. Sauer and B. Rajan (New York, 2004): 129-146.

II. A changing world

In the 1520s and 1530s, Venetians found themselves in a rapidly changing world. In Venice itself, Doge Andrea Gritti instituted a far-ranging programme of political reform and urban renewal. The Grittiian *renovatio urbis* unfolded in the context of increasingly fraught political dynamics across the Italian peninsula, with brittle coalitions forming, dissolving, and reforming across diplomatic boundaries. The ever-deepening Spanish political and cultural presence in the peninsula culminated in the traumatic Sack of Rome in 1527. Pietro Coppo's attentiveness to the space of the border and to Roman imperial history in his chorography of Istria might be seen in light of these events. In 1535, Giovanni Bembo extensively annotated his copy of Benvenuto da Imola's *Augustalis Libellus*, a history of the Roman emperors from Julius Caesar to the Holy Roman Emperor Wenceslas.⁵⁹² His particularly dense scribbles around the narrative of the humiliation of the Holy Roman Emperor Frederick Barbarossa in 1177, presided over by the Venetians and a central medieval element of the myth of Venice, take on a pointed allusiveness in the context of Charles V's coronation in Bologna only five years before Bembo annotated the text.⁵⁹³

Beyond Italy, it was not only Charles V's election to the imperial throne, but the extension of his empire in New Spain and Peru, which profoundly changed the meaning and scope of empire, and ways in which imperial space was imagined in the early modern world. The Portuguese exploration of the Indian Ocean, as well as the Spanish colonisation and mapping of America, were particularly provocative for Venetians, who recast the ways in which they

⁵⁹² A text included in a copy of Petrarch's Latin writing which Bembo owned: London, British Library, 11421.k.13, *Librorum Francisci Petrarche Impressorum Annotatio* (Venice: Simon Bevilacqua, 1503), fols. 83r-86v (consulted copy).

⁵⁹³ "Liber Augustalis," fol. 86v.

pictured their own city and empire to be related to the rest of the world.⁵⁹⁴ And within the Mediterranean, the continued expansion of the Ottoman empire, and the increasing presence of English and Flemish merchants trading in the Mediterranean, altered the economic, social, and cultural dynamics of the sea.⁵⁹⁵

Against this backdrop, the literary culture and imagination of the Venetian colonial world in the Mediterranean also changed. As Coppo's description of the Roman history of Istria and Bembo's annotations to the *Augustalis Libellus* indicate, Venetians in the colonial Mediterranean were sensitive to the shifting meanings and representations of empire in the quickly-changing 1520s and 30s. The nature of the Venetian response to the changing imperial configurations across the globe has been outside the scope of this thesis, although some of these responses are foreshadowed in Pietro Coppo's imperial humanism.⁵⁹⁶ One potentially useful track for future research would be to explore the ways in which Venetian ideas about empire changed across the middle and later years of the sixteenth century: how did their classical and humanistic ideas about empire confront or accommodate those being developed by Spanish and Portuguese - and perhaps also Ottoman - colonisers during those decades? What were the avenues and media of exchange, debate, or collaboration for those ideas and perceptions?

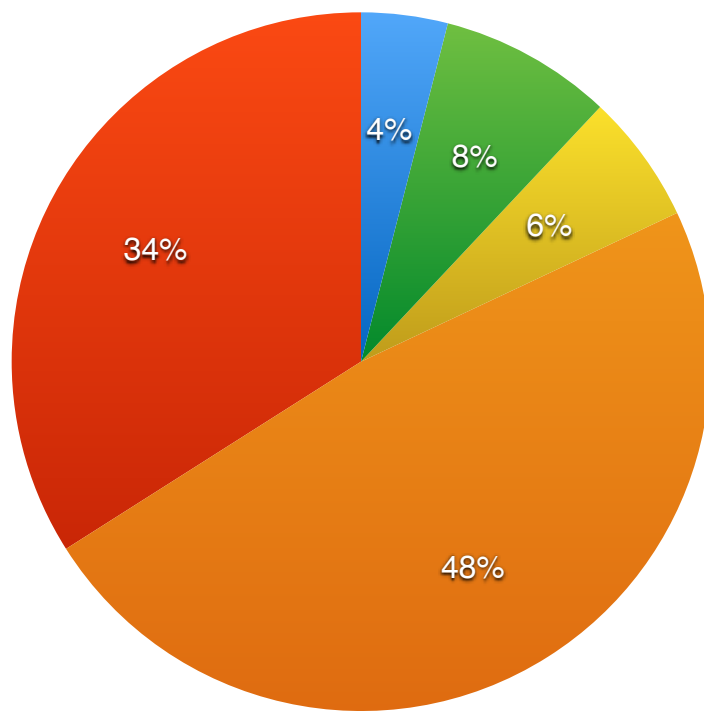
⁵⁹⁴ See E.R. Dursteler, "Reverberations of the Voyages of Discovery in Venice, ca. 1501: The Trevisan Manuscript in the Library of Congress," *Mediterranean Studies* 9 (2000): 43-64; D. Cosgrove, "Mapping New Worlds: Culture and Cartography in Sixteenth-Century Venice," *Imago Mundi* (1992), esp. p. 83, on Tenochtitlan; and E. Horodowich, "Editors and Armchair Travelers: The Venetian Discovery of the New World," *Sixteenth-Century Journal* 36/4 (2005): 1039-1062. Also see Horodowich's forthcoming article, "Venetians in America: Nicolò Zen and the Virtual Exploration of the New World," *Renaissance Quarterly* 2015.

⁵⁹⁵ On Venetian-Ottoman exchange in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, see most recently E.R. Dursteler, *Venetians in Constantinople* (Baltimore, 2006), and N. Rothman, *Brokering Empire* (Ithaca, 2011); for the ways in which British merchants changed economic and cultural dynamics of the Venetian Mediterranean in a slightly later period, see M. Fusaro, "Les Anglais et les Grecs: un réseau de coopération commerciale en Méditerranée vénitienne," *Annales Histoire Sciences Sociales* 58/3 (2003): 605-625.

⁵⁹⁶ T.J. Dandeleit has explored the far-reaching implications of imperial humanism in *The Renaissance of Empire in Early Modern Europe*.

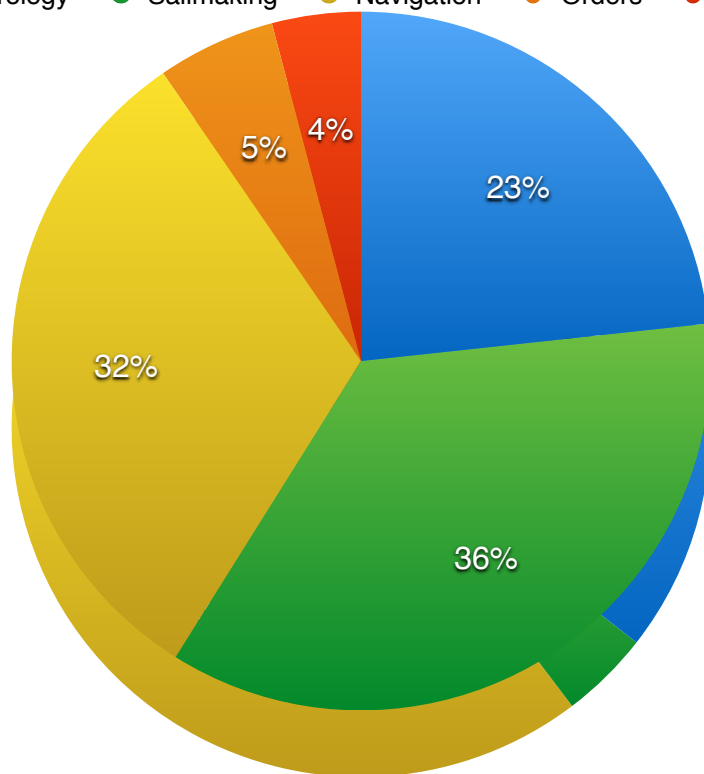
A second potential path for research would be to compare other early modern European empires using a similar methodology to the one put forward throughout this thesis. Early modern Spanish and Portuguese colonial governors were also educated as humanists and steeped in the classical tradition; they were patrons and authors of neo-Latin literature, part of a complex manuscript and print tradition, bureaucrats who both governed colonies and took part in the humanist elite intellectual culture of their metropolises. Within the early sixteenth-century Mediterranean, the Spanish presence in Sicily, Sardinia, and Naples as constituent elements of a composite monarchy, and indeed the colonisation of Oran on the north African coast, might provide an interesting context to compare with the Venetian case in the eastern Mediterranean. But beyond the Mediterranean, studying the relationship between Iberian intellectual cultures and their governance of American colonial space may also yield potentially useful insights, and perhaps contrast with the analysis I have put forward here of the Venetian Mediterranean. The ways in which early modern empire was written ‘from the margins’ of intellectual and political life may provide a new perspective onto the relationships between literary culture and colonial governance, both in the *stato da mar* and perhaps beyond it.

● Medicine ● Sailmaking ● Astrology ● Shipbuilding ● Other



Appendix I: Manuscripts and printed books discussed in Chapter I

● Shipbuilding ● Astrological ● Navigational ● Other ● Sailmaking
 ● Astrology ● Sailmaking ● Navigation ● Orders ● Spices



Common name in italics; editions and translations listed where published.

Manuscript titles reflect titles given by modern critical editors; where these are unedited, they are marked 'Untitled'. The exceptions to this are Manuscripts 7a and 7b which were given titles by their contemporary author.

Manuscript

- 1) *Zibaldone da Canal*. Yale University, Beinecke MS 327.

Edition: A. Stussi, ed. *Zibaldone da Canal: Manoscritto mercantile del sec. XIV* (Venice, 1967).

Translation: J.E. Dotson, *Merchant Culture in Fourteenth Century Venice: The Zibaldone da Canal* (Binghamton, N.Y., 1994).

I did not consult this manuscript, but used the critical edition and translation, as well as the digital photographs of the manuscript available online (partially digitised): <http://brbl-dl.library.yale.edu/vufind/Record/3592282> (last accessed 26/01/2015)

- 2) *Untitled*. Bergamo, Biblioteca Civica Angelo Mai, MA 334.

I have consulted this manuscript personally.

- 3) *The Book of Michael of Rhodes*. Private collection (unable to consult).

Edition and translation: P.O. Long, D. McGee, A.M. Stahl, F. Rossi, *The Book of Michael of Rhodes: A Fifteenth-Century Maritime Manuscript* (Cambridge, M.A., 2009), vols. I-II.

I have used the facsimile, critical edition, and translation of this manuscript.

- 4) *Raxon de' marineri*. Holograph copy of Michael of Rhodes. Venice, Bib. Marciana Ms It IV 170 (=5379).

Edition: A. Conterio, *Raxon de' marineri: taccuino nautico del XV secolo* (Venice, 1991).

I have consulted this manuscript personally, and used the partial edition.

- 5) *Untitled*. Venice, Biblioteca Museo Correr, Cicogna 845.

I have consulted this manuscript personally.

- 6) *The Book of Giorgio da Modon*. London, British Library Cotton Ms. Titus A. XXVI.

Partial edition and translation: R.C. Anderson, "Italian Naval Architecture about 1445," *Mariner's Mirror* 11 (1925): 135-163.

I have consulted this manuscript personally, and used the partial edition.

- 7a) *De Navigatione*. Benedetto Cotrugli. New Haven, Yale University, Beinecke MS 557.
Edition: P. Falchetta, “De Navigatione (1464-65): Trascrizione del testo del ms. 557 della Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library (Yale University)”. Published online: http://geoweb.venezia.sbn.it/cms/images/stories/Testi_HSL/Cotrugli.pdf

I did not consult this manuscript in person, but used the edition, as well as the digitised manuscript available online: <http://brbl-dl.library.yale.edu/vufind/Record/3433876> (last accessed 26/01/2015).

- 7b) *De Navigatione*. Benedetto Cotrugli. Philadelphia, University of Pennsylvania Library, Schoenberg Collection MS 473.

I did not consult this manuscript in person, but used the digitised manuscript available online: http://dla.library.upenn.edu/dla/medren/pageturn.html?id=MEDREN_4844091 (last accessed 26/01/2015)

- 8) *Algune raxion per marineri*. Padua, Biblioteca Civica, CM 17.
Edition: O. Pitarello, *Algune raxion per marineri: un manuale veneziano del secolo XV per gente di mare* (Padua, 2006).

I have consulted this manuscript personally and used the critical edition.

- 9) *Cornaro Atlas*. London, British Library Egerton 73.

I have consulted this manuscript personally.

- 10) *Untitled*. Venice, Biblioteca Museo Correr, Port. 12.

I was unable to view this manuscript personally, as it was on loan during my research trip, but some of its folios are reproduced in C. Tonini and P. Falchetta, eds., *Navigare e descrivere: isolari e portolani del Museo Correr di Venezia* (Venice, 2001), pp. 64-5; and in S. Biadene, ed., *Carte da navigar: portolani e carte nautiche del Museo Correr, 1318-1732* (Venice, 1990), pp. 118-19.

- 11) *Ragioni antique spettanti all'arte del mare et fabriche de vasselli*. Greenwich, National Maritime Museum, NVT 19.

Edition: G. Bonfiglio Dosio, *Ragioni antique spettanti all'arte del mare et fabriche de vasselli. Manoscritto nautico del sec. XV* (Venice, 1987).

I have consulted this manuscript personally and used the critical edition.

12) *Libro di marineria* [copied by Gianbattista Ramusio]. Florence, Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale, MS. Magliabechiano cl. XIX, cod. 7.

Partial edition: A. Jal, *Archéologie Navale* (Paris, 1840), vol. II.

I have not consulted this manuscript, but used the critical edition.

13) *Arte de far vasselli*. Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Collezione Marco Foscarini cod. CCCXVIII, n. 6391.

I have not consulted this manuscript.

14) *Trattato de re navali cavato dall'esemplar di G.B.R.* Milan, Biblioteca Ambrosiana, MS G. 149 Inf.

I have consulted this manuscript personally.

15) *Misure di vaselli*. [copied by Vettor Fausto] Venice, Archivio di Stato, Archivio Proprio Pinelli, busta 2.

Partial edition: U. Tucci, "Architettura navale veneziana. Misure di vascelli della metà del cinquecento," *Bollettino dell'Atlante Linguistico Mediterraneo* 5/6 (1963-64), 277-293.

I have consulted this manuscript personally and used the critical edition.

Print

Titles were given by their contemporary authors.

16) Anon. *Lo libro chiamato Portolano composto per uno zentilomo veneciano lo qual a veduto tute queste parte anti scrite*. Bernardo Rizo de Novaria (Venice, 1490).

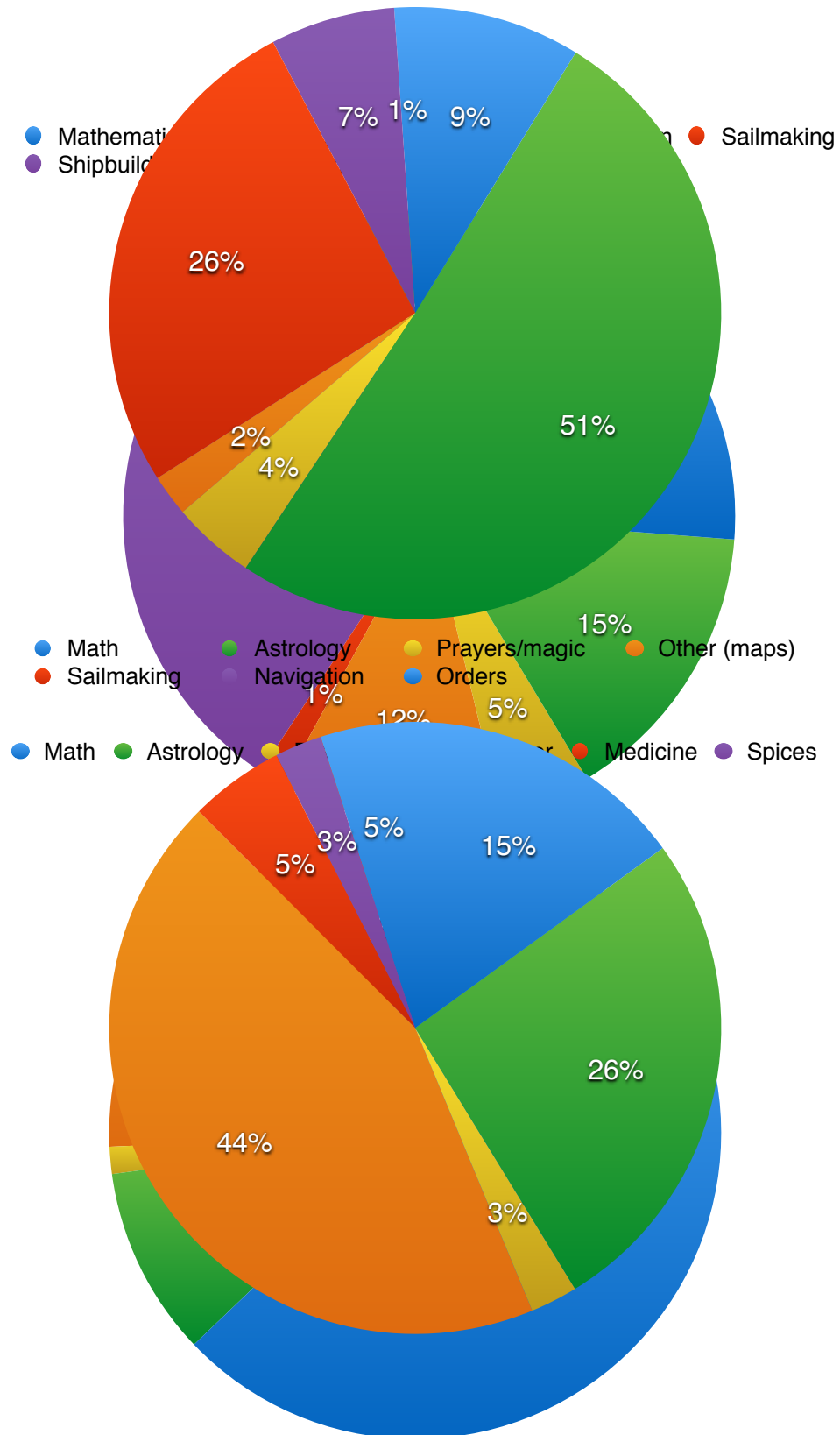
I have consulted this book personally.

17) Pietro Coppo, *Portolano*. Augustino di Bindoni (Venice, 1528).

I have consulted this book personally.

Charts reflect the approximate folio count of the individual texts compiled in the manuscript.

● Astrology ● Math ● Prayers/magic ● Spices ● Navigation ● Other
● Medicine



Island toponymy in Bartolommeo dalli Sonetti's <i>Isolario</i>	Modern island toponymy
Candia	Crete
Scarpanto	Karpathos
Rodi	Rhodes
Sicandro/Policantro	Sikinos/Pholegandros
Piscopia	Iliaki; Episkopi
Nisari	Nisyros
Stampalia	Astypalaia
Namphio	Anaphe
Sancta Erini	Santorini
Limonia/Carchi	Alimnia/Charki
Milo	Milos
Siphano	Sifnos
Serphino	Serifos
Fermenia	Kythnos
Zea	Keos; Kea
Andre	Andros
Tine	Tinos
Micone	Mykonos
Sdiles	Delos
Hyera	Gyaros
Pario	Paros
Nicsia	Naxos
Pira/Chiero/Raclia	Kuphonesos?/Karos/Herakleia
Nio	Ios
Amorgo	Amorgos
Zinara/Levita	Kinara/Levitha
Caloiero, Lango	Cos
Calamo	Kalymnos

Island toponymy in Bartolommeo dalli Sonetti's <i>Isolario</i>	Modern island toponymy
Lero	Leros
Pactamos	Patmos
Crusia or Lipso/Mandria	Lipsos/Mendelia?
Fermancusa/Agatonisi	Pharmakonisi/Aykathonis
Samo	Samos
Nicaria	Icaria; Nikaria
Psara	Psara
Sio	Chio
Metelin	Lesbos; Mytilini
Tenedo	Tenedos
Stalimene	Lemnos
Monte Sancto	Mount Athos
Limine Pelegise	Northern Sporades
Sciro	Skyros
Dromo	Halonesos; Chiliodromia
Sciati/Scopolo	Skiathos/Skopelos
Negroponte	Euboea
Cipro	Cyprus

Appendix IV: Printing variants in copies of Bartolommeo dalli Sonetti's *Isolario*

Corpus	B	M	N	C
4v	Crete 1 and 2 texts	Crete 1 and 2 texts	Simie, Carchi, Limonia texts	Crete 1 and 2 texts
9v	Simie, Carchi, Limonia texts	Simie, Carchi, Limonia texts	Crete 1 and 2 texts	Simie, Carchi, Limonia texts
12v	Stampalia and Conupi texts	Stampalia text printed, variant Conupi text entered in manuscript*	Stampalia and Conupi texts	Stampalia text
13r	Stampalia map	Stampalia map	Nisari map	Stampalia map
13v	Namphio text	Namphio text	Stampalia text	Namphio text
14r	Namphio map	Namphio map	Stampalia map	Namphio map
16v	Sicandro and Policantro 1 and 2 texts	Sicandro and Policantro 1 text	Sicandro and Policantro 1 and 2 texts	Sicandro and Policantro 1 text
25v	Sdiles 1, 2, and 3 texts	1 Sdiles text	Sdiles 1, 2, and 3 texts	Sdiles 1, 2, and 3 texts

Each copy is designated a capital letter (the initial of the collection in which it is found). I have used the Bodleian Library (Oxford) copy of the *Isolario* as representative of the final printed state. Their identifications are

B = Bodleian Library (Oxford), Auct.Q.5.29

C = [Biblioteca] Correr (Venice), Inc.F. 26

M = Morgan Library (New York), PML 45643

N = National Maritime Museum (Greenwich), 912.44 (22) 14:094

Several islands have been devoted multiple poems (Crete, Sicandro and Policantro, Sdiles). In these instances I have assigned each poem a number to distinguish which poem text was printed. Their titles and first lines are:

Crete 1: 'S. primo per linsula de candia / Linsula del gran iove tanto degna'

Crete 2: 'S. secundo per linsula de candia / Quiui regno saturno sapientissimo'

Sicandro and Policantro 1: 'Per sicandro e policantro / Policantro questa insula se chiama'

Sicandro and Policantro 2: 'Per sicandro e polica[n]tro s. 2 / Sicandro vedovei dexabitati'

Sdiles 1: 'Per le Sdiles / Se licito me qui chiamar apollo'

Sdiles 2: 'Per le Sdiles s. 2 / Quiui vn gran tempo apollo fu adorato'

Sdiles 3: 'Per le Sdiles s. 3 / Cinque vna: diece l'altra puo girare'

* The manuscript addition was edited by C.F. Bühler, "Variants in the First Atlas of the Mediterranean," *Gutenberg Jahrbuch* 32 (1957): 94-97.

Appendix Va: Bembo's account of his traveling *fama*

Testicularii huius iudicii fama no modo vagata et per Graetiam Thessaliam Thratiam, verum per Hellespontum et Cyaneis Symplegadibusque insulis superatis Pontum Euxinum penetravit, et praetereundo oram Calcedoniorum, quae nunc Scutari dicitur, per Paphlagoniam Sinopem a Lucullo Romano iam subactam Diogenisque patriam Gallatiorum Cappadocumque aures implevit, apud quod nos Veneti Trapezum habuimus et forum et domus et castrum nobis ab imperatore Trapezi datum. Quod castrum a nobis fuit corroboratum et muris munitum et uexillum S. Marci Veneti in illo tantum erigebatur. Rector autem illius castri creabatur Venetiis. Illius tituli erant Orator, Baiules et Rector Orator ad Imperatorem Trapezi, Baiulus propter mercatores, Rector autem quia non solum causas pecuniarias iudicabat, verum etiam maleficos puniebat. Penes hunc Recotrum sedebant duo Consiliarii electi Trapezi. [...] In casto Venetico Trapezi Veneti habebant scribas, interpretes, praecones et alios ministros, publico stipendio solutos ipseque Rector quotannis habebat ducator quingentos. [...] Octo et interdum decem onerariae nundinariaeque triremes navigabant in Pontum Euxinum, earum partum Trapezum, patrum Tanam et partim ad alia loca. Ipsa fama Pontum, regionem Medae, etiam velociter pertransivit, ubi nunc habitant Lazei, Colchosque et Phasida fluvium et Cercetas populos, Mengreli nunc et Cerchasi dictos, profecta tandem paludem Meotidem ingressa amne Tanais 18 millia passuum Tanam civitatem pervenit. Quae civitas Tana Venetorum fuit ipsamque ab Usbech et postea a Zanibech imperatoribus Tartarorum habuere. Quorum imperatorum regnum erat usque Astracam sive Citracham, emporium et regiam imperatorum, quae civitas Citracam sita est super fluvio Volga Edil sive Rha ubi fluit in mare Caspium. Nostri autem totum regnum appellabant Gazan. Et saepe Tana diruta, depredata et combusta a Tartaris. [...] Praeda autem anni 1334 fuit quatercentena millia ducatorum et plurimi Veneti interfecti. [...] Michael Stenus Dux anno 1400 Tanam misit Petrum Lauredanum Consulem et Rectorem, cuius salarium quotannis erant ducati DCCC. Habebat socium Admiratum, quinque famulos, quinque equos. Tanae etiam erant Consiliarii duo nobiles Veneti [...] Habebant XX ballistarios et armamentarium, sclopetos 50, bombardas, ballistas cum suis sagittis et scuta oblonga. Erat etiam ibi interpretis linguae Tartarorum et Schytarum et Praecones tres et aliquot Bastonerii [...]. Ea ipsa fama modo currens modo navigans modo volans has omnes regiones hoc testiculari iudicio complevit.

Theodor Mommsen, ed. "Autobiographie des Venezianers Giovanni Bembo (1536)," *Sitzungsberichten der Kaiserlichen Akademie der Wissenschaften* (Wien, 1861): 22-23.

Extemplo Libyae magnas it Fama per urbes,
Fama, malum qua non aliud uelocius ullum:
mobilitate uiget uirisque adquirit eundo,
parua metu primo, mox sese attollit in auras
ingrediturque solo et caput inter nubila condit.
illam Terra parens ira inritata deorum
extremam, ut perhibent, Coeo Enceladoque sororem
progenuit pedibus celerem et pernicipibus alis,
monstrum horrendum, ingens, cui quot sunt corpore plumae,
tot uigiles oculi subter (mirabile dictu),
tot linguae, totidem ora sonant, tot subrigit auris.
nocte uolat caeli medio terraeque per umbram
stridens, nec dulci declinat lumina somno; [...]
haec tum multiplici populos sermone replebat
gaudens, et pariter facta atque infecta canebat:
uenisse Aenean Troiano sanguine cretum,
cui se pulchra uiro dignetur iungere Dido;
nunc hiemem inter se luxu, quam longa, fouere
regnum immemores turpique cupidine captos.
haec passim dea foeda uirum diffundit in ora.

J.B. Greenough, ed. *Bucolics, Aeneid, and Georgics of Vergil* (Boston: Ginn & Co., 1900). Text available online, The Perseus Project: <http://data.perseus.org/citations/urn:cts:latinLit:phi0690.phi003.perseus-lat1:4.173-4.197> (last accessed 7/7/2014)

Index of images

Fig. 1 - Giorgio Vasari and Christofano Gherardi, *The Mutilation of Uranus by Saturn*. Florence, Palazzo Vecchio, 1555-1557. Wikimedia OpenSource.

Fig. 2 - Back flyleaf showing ownership inscription. New Haven, Yale, Beinecke MS 557 (*De navigatione*, Benedetto Cotrugli). From digitized manuscript available online: <http://brbl-dl.library.yale.edu/vufind/Record/3433876>

Fig. 3: The world map from Pietro Coppo's *Portolano* (Venice, 1528), 1r-2v. Personal photograph.

Fig. 4: Frame diagram, fol. 139r. Michael of Rhodes manuscript (private collection). From digitized manuscript available online: <http://brunelleschi.imss.fi.it/michaelofrhodes/manuscript/index.html>

Fig. 5: Galley of Flanders at Sea, fol. 145v. Michael of Rhodes manuscript (private collection). From digitized manuscript available online: <http://brunelleschi.imss.fi.it/michaelofrhodes/manuscript/index.html>

Fig. 6: 'Galia desfatta,' fol. 150r. Michael of Rhodes manuscript (private collection). Reproduced from manuscript facsimile: P.O. Long, D. McGee, and A.M. Stahl, eds. *The Book of Michael of Rhodes* (Cambridge, M.A., 2009), p. 334.

Fig. 7: Giorgio da Modon, machine drawing. London, British Library, Cotton Ms. Titus A. XXVI, fol. 30r.

Fig. 8: Giorgio da Modon, machine drawing. London, British Library, Cotton Ms. Titus A. XXVI, fol. 35v.

Fig. 9: Map of the Adriatic from the Cornaro Atlas. London, British Library, Egerton MS 73, fol. 15a-b. Photograph courtesy of the British Library.

Fig. 10: Poem and map of Cyprus. Bartolommeo dalli Sonetti, *Isolario*. Venice, Biblioteca Museo Correr. Photograph available online from the Fondazione Centro Studi Tiziano e Cadore, <http://www.tizianovecellio.it/galleria>

Fig. 11: Binding of Bartolommeo dalli Sonetti's *Isolario*. New York, Pierpont Morgan Library, PML 338. Photograph available online, <http://www.themorgan.org/collections/bindings/item/133631>

Fig. 12: Painted frontispiece. Venice, Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana, Inc. 733, fol. 1r. Personal photograph.

Fig. 13: Painted frontispiece. Northampton, Smith College, Mortimer Rare Book Collection, B. 183, fol. 1v. Personal photograph.

Fig. 14: Illustrated copy. Florence, Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale, Magl. F.6.6, fol. 6v. Images reproduced by Early European Books Online.

Fig. 15: Vittore Carpaccio, *The Return of the Ambassadors*. 1495-1500. Venice, Accademia. Wikimedia OpenSource.

Fig. 16: Vittore Carpaccio, *The Meeting of Ursula and the Prince*. 1495-1500. Venice, Accademia. Wikimedia OpenSource.

Fig. 17: Sapienza and the coast of the Peloponnese. Cristoforo Buondelmonti, *Liber insularum archipelagi*. Greenwich, National Maritime Museum, P/13. fol. 5v. Photograph courtesy of the National Maritime Museum.

Fig. 18a-b - Rhodes poem and map from Bartolommeo dalli Sonetti's *Isolario*. Helsinki, National Library, N. Ink. 73. Digitized copy available online: <http://www.doria.fi/search?query=sonetti&submit=Hae&scope=10024%2F4194>

Fig. 19: Cyriac of Ancona, drawing depicting grave reliefs from Church of the Dormition of the Virgin in Merbaka, Greece. Milan, Biblioteca Ambrosiana, Cod. Trotti 373, fol. 115r. Bridgeman Art Library (image number VBA737702).

Fig. 20: Fol. 113r-v, from Cyriac of Ancona's *Commentaria*. Milan, Biblioteca Ambrosiana, Cod. Trotti 373. Photographs reproduced from Patricia Fortini-Brown, *Venice and Antiquity: The Venetian Sense of the Past* (New Haven, 1997), p. 87.

Fig. 21: Andrea Mantegna, *The Agony in the Garden*. 1458-60. London, The National Gallery. Photograph available online: <http://www.nationalgallery.org.uk/paintings/andrea-mantegna-the-agony-in-the-garden>

Fig. 22: Andrea Mantegna, Detail from *The Agony in the Garden*.

Fig. 23: Drawing of Apollo from Cyriacana manuscript. Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS. Canon. Misc. 280, fol. 68r. Partially digitized manuscript available online: <http://bodley30.bodleian.ox.ac.uk:8180/luna/servlet>

Fig. 24: Peronet Lamy, *View of Constantinople*. 1436. Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS. Canon. Misc. 378, fol. 84r. Partially digitized manuscript available online: <http://bodley30.bodleian.ox.ac.uk:8180/luna/servlet>

Fig. 25: Rock crystal intaglio Pallas Athena. 1st-century B.C.E. Berlin, Staatliche Museen, Preussischer Kulturbesitz, Antikensammlung. Photograph reproduced from Giada Damen, *The Trade in Antiquities Between Italy and the Eastern Mediterranean (ca. 1400-1600)*. Unpublished PhD thesis (Princeton: Princeton University, 2012), p. 488.

Fig. 26: Giovanni Bembo's collection of inscriptions from Pola. Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, CLM 10801, fol. 55v. From digitized manuscript microfiche, available online: <http://www.digitale-sammlungen.de>

Fig. 27: Giovanni Bembo, sheet of Greek writing dated from Corcyra, 1498. Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, CLM 10801, fol. 9r. From digitized manuscript microfiche, available online: <http://www.digitale-sammlungen.de>

Fig. 28a-d: Folios from Giovanni Bembo's autobiographical letter on Skiathos and Skopelos; his annotations to the sonnet on Skiathos and Skopelos in his *Isolario*. Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, CLM 10801, fols. 168v, 196r-v; and Modena, Biblioteca Estense, Alfa E. 5. 15, fol. 51v. From digitized manuscript microfiche, available online: <http://www.digitale-sammlungen.de>; and personal photograph.

Fig. 29: Map of Istria, from Pietro Coppo, *Del Sito de Listria* (Venice, 1540). Reproduced from Attilio Degraffi, "Di Pietro Coppo e delle sue Opere," in idem, *Scritti Vari di Antichità* (Trieste, 1971), vol. IV, p. 384.

Fig. 30: Andrea Vavassore, *La vera descrizione del Mare Adriatico* (Venice, 1541). Greenwich, National Maritime Museum, G235. Photograph available online: <http://collections.rmg.co.uk/collections/objects/540424.html>

Fig. 31: Abraham Ortelius, *Histriae tabula a Petro Coppo*. 1573. Bibliothèque nationale de France, département Cartes et plans, GE DD-2987. Gallica: <http://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b530430048>

Fig. 32: The difference between Geographia and Chorographia, by Petrus Apianus, *Cosmographicus Liber* (Landshut, 1524). Image reproduced from Richard L. Kagan, *Urban Images of the Hispanic World, 1493-1793* (New Haven, 2000), p. 12.

Fig. 33: Pietro Coppo, *De toto orbe*, map of Italy and the Adriatic. Bologna, Biblioteca Comunale dell'Archiginnasio, Ms. A. 117. Images available online: <http://badigit.comune.bologna.it/books/coppo/panoramica.asp>

Fig. 34: Pietro Coppo, *De toto orbe*, map of Italy and the Adriatic. Bologna, Biblioteca Comunale dell'Archiginnasio, Ms. A. 117. Images available online: <http://badigit.comune.bologna.it/books/coppo/panoramica.asp>

Fig. 35: Pietro Coppo, *De toto orbe*, map of the Adriatic. Bologna, Biblioteca Comunale dell'Archiginnasio, Ms. A. 117. Images available online: <http://badigit.comune.bologna.it/books/coppo/panoramica.asp>

Fig. 36: Pietro Coppo, *De summa totius orbis*, chorographic map of Istria. Piran, Pomorski Muzej Sergej Mašera. Photograph available online: <http://www.pomorskimuzej.si/en/coppo>

Fig. 37: The Porta Magna at the Arsenal, Venice. 1460. Wikimedia OpenSource.

Fig. 38: The Arch of the Sergii, Pula. 29-27 B.C.E. Wikimedia OpenSource.

Figs. 28a - d



Fig. 31

Fig. 37

Fig. 23

Fig. 25

Fig. 19



Fig. 16

Fig. 25

Fig. 3

Fig. 33

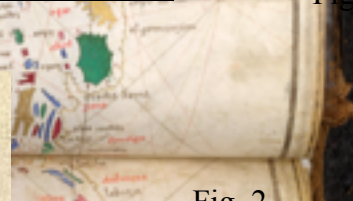


Fig. 21

Fig. 2

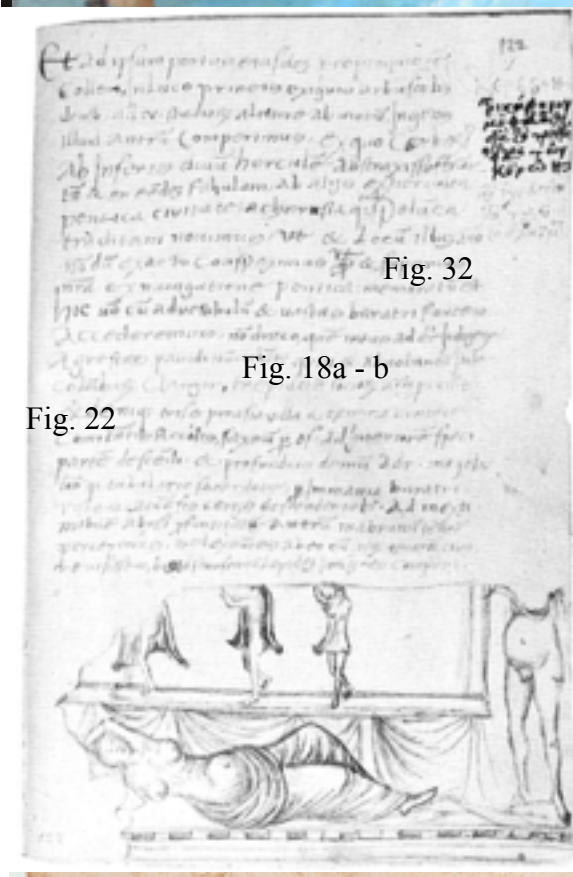
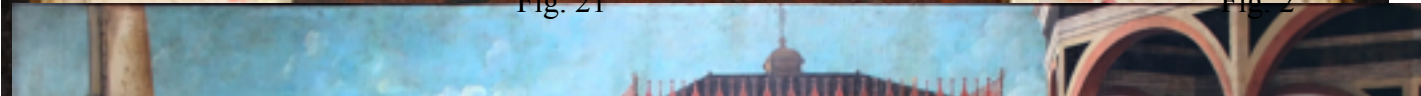


Fig. 32

Fig. 18a - b

Fig. 22

Fig.

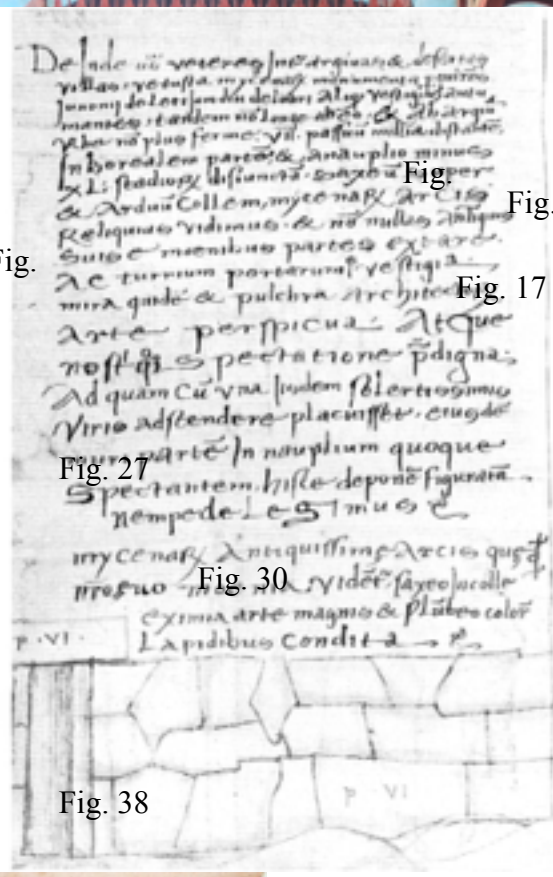


Fig.

Fig. 11

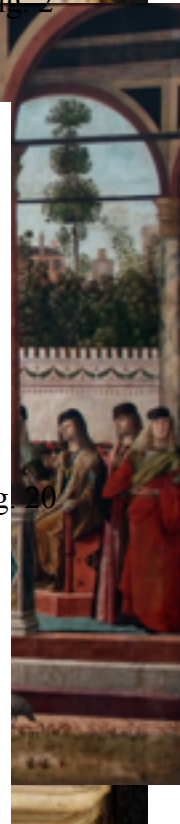
Fig. 17

Fig. 27

Fig. 30

Fig. 38

Fig. 20





Duo Cinquecento cinque e duece
 Tre cinq a po. Al di mulla tre e po. in qñ
 mulla. quilla opus dur pin dñ a dñe l'occe

Al non de le mie rime infime e basse
 venga dñm per venire si gubna
 e cu lo suo deho volentier possie
 Che lo qñel fil mio fara luerna
 de quilla i quat sta. Al dñe mōdina
 dehan che el flauto suo chiaro discerna
 La qual mēto e admirabile e sapena
 e vien da greci. Colosso appellata
 che voltor. Al dñe che el l'io el spina
 Del dñi con veritate qui se trata
 per sta operta de vna parte della
 che il pelago de egro vien nominata
 Me la qual si lapa per mia loquella
 quante mēto. in son picole e grande
 et scogli et torce e citate e castella
 Li luochi iquali le volge aque spande
 chome gia furio e come bota si troua
 e qual venti couerstan le lor bande
 Qual mar sono in picole e qual gia coua
 tute picole a voi sta manifestu
 ne vo che altri dñe offeso sia mia poua
 Chel non ee loco che io non aga petto
 e vangepiato de quanto chel gita
 talor me l'io che io non son sta mēto
 E veduto o anche ognuno in cui errura
 tan dñe che de quide. Al dñe
 e Sperader laper tuto desira
 Potrai anche veder come appiade
 tan. Al dñe che chomo bota se dñama
 e na ca fur. tre finzate de
 Et qual de. Al dñe begne di fama
 et furon aubor qual de l'io. Al dñe
 et qual aubor de dñe l'occe. Al dñe



que pñe un mēto l'acqua ch'esse l'acqua al mēto
 pñe un mēto l'acqua ch'esse l'acqua al mēto



que pñe un mēto l'acqua ch'esse l'acqua al mēto
 pñe un mēto l'acqua ch'esse l'acqua al mēto

Al Dino Cinque-mo cinque e dicte
Let cing a do dddi nalla tre e do vn cito
nalla questa opea dar pta dha alivleuce

Alson de le mie rime infime e bone
venja chun per virtute si guona
e cui lo suo desio volentier palle
Che lo debil stil mio fara lacerna
de quagli i qual sta dhdachina modana
brisan che el fincho suo chiaro discerna
La qual molto e admirabile e seprana
e vien da greci Lofino appellata
che valor dhdodo che ellagio elspina
Del chui con veritate qui se trata
per sta opercia de vna parte bella
che il pelago de ego vien nominata
Ne la quali sapia per mia loquella
quante insule vi son picole e grande
et scogli et sedhe e citate e castella
Li laochi i quali le dolge aque spande
chome gia fumo e come beca si troua
e qual venti costruffan le let bande
Qual mare sono in piede e qual giu coua
tute picole a voi sta manifesto
ne vo che altri cha effeto siama proua
Del non ce loco che io non agia pesto
e varghiegato de quimo chel gira
tuto me lieto che io non son sta mesto
E veduto o anche ognuno in cui remira
ruti cholor che de queste Cicalade
e Sponde: saper tuto delira
Petrui anche veder come appellade
fun da ghinque dromo bona se chiama
e da cui fumo et e signorade
Et qual di quelle son digne di fama
et furon ancho e qual de beni abunda
et qual ancho de esser secote teama

Per rodi

A van de elezione a questa scime
e suoi stranti più i collocati
che sie serene cesse lei non pensi
ma che ami le imperie sancte edue

In questa son le belle reue cline
che col suo degno odor consola il mli
per dui tal nome acquiescila tirati
da reue rodi in greco le venue

A sua citate antiqua già fu albergo
alignot moue lusa minoue
vita ad lo turcha et valse albergo

Perche la fu più nobile e magoue
ma licramet in parte se dico ergo
a crumide sue superbe reue

E sapu in leuoue
Che delictuati come chakra che fia
E volge vn. C. e. vn. . X. e. in. mia

E già vira si ha
Ambra sua aratoria et gillio
Amquamet per durtue auto

Per rodi

Uerto greco e gubino se vellende
agura vno scudo quita lita
piana in sepratione a lotbro rata

molta chakra in lei si se compende
Poma ludo teridimo di alende
dai posto suo d'apan kagio neltrata

validati con alen e rumata
ma d'atama aluata che se intende
Dignita da ruffici palacia

poi ve monte ilmo el suo castello
tour fa nostra dona amoti grata
e la pta de rodi che vn poicilo

X. e. p. in. san giuse da meure
che adai gran multro ogni frugno
e tanti dei giardai intono apare

Ala quel del paradiso nel più degno
in questa poma fa tante delmare
chomo e de le fuacromiche il contegno

E in questa anco vn idol grande fue
X. e. llo che in veder longi aua vrtue

noia r
dipide
a com
orise
que ap
a bennu
traffe
intra
fittig
p. ufulg
ta ee
cora
nardi
nardi
nardi









L. h. D M Pola
Aurela Leucippe coniugi

Eroni Casari Germanici & F. Augusti nep.
dini Augus. pronep.

Lannius. P. F. Vitali sue

D M
AVRELAE
LEVCIPPE
CONIVGI

D	M
Magistra Felicissima	evorbia
Maximus dispensator	evorbia
coniugi bene meriti	

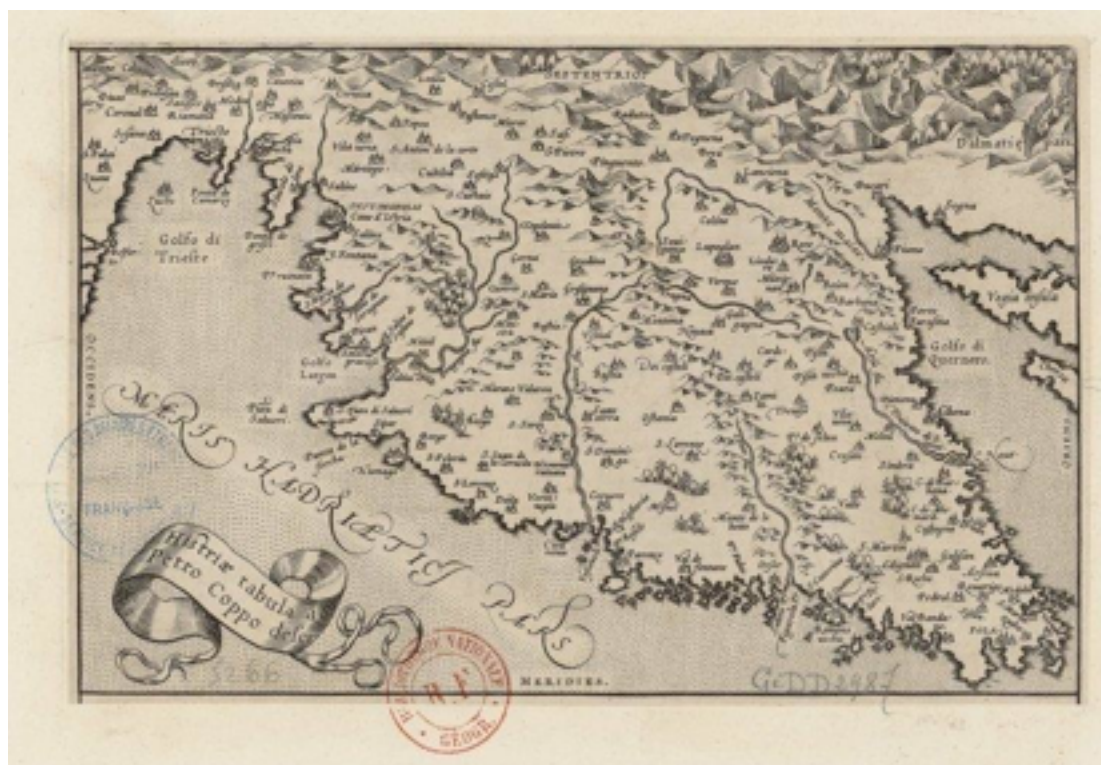
	D.	M.	Max. trib. p. VI. XI. COS. II. PP.
†. ii.	AVRELIA		M. Annib. Enophilus ornatus
	CRESNCEN		iudicio eius equo publ. sa-
	TNA CONIV		cerdos tusculan. Aedil. Pola
	GI. C. V. EPA		cū Menophilo patre lib. Aug.
	PROBITO		N. N. EX. Procurat
	CON. QVO VI		indulgentissimo
	XII. ANNIS		L. D. D. D.
†. ii.	XI DE SVPO		
	SVT B. M.		

3^o *Scaphit. lounis Bembus*
Ventris Cerypt. in ludo
Tornis Mosch. 1498 ms. Augusti

[illegible][illegible]

2

8 D37



Source gallica.bnf.fr / BnF

LIBRI COSMO:

Fo.III.

Geographia.

Eius similitudo



Chorographia quid.

Chorographia autem (Vernero dicente) quæ & Topographia dicitur, partialia quædam loca seorsum & absolute cōsiderat, absq; eorum ad se invicem, & ad uniuersum telluris ambitum comparatione. Omnia siquidem, ac fere minima in eis contenta tradit & prosequitur. Velut portus, villas, populos, rivulorum quoque decursus, & quęcumq; alia illis finitima, vt sunt ædificia, domus, turres, mœnia &c. Finitis vero eiusdem in effigenda partibus loci similitudine consummabitur: veluti si pictor aliquis aurem tantum aut oculum designaret depingeretque.

Chorographia

Eius similitudo







Bibliography

(1) Manuscript and archival sources. All items consulted in person unless otherwise noted.

Archivio di Stato, Venice

Archivio Notarile, Testamenti, atti Giacomo Chiodo, b. 201, n. 68
Collegio, Notatorio, reg. 10 and reg. 11
Archivio Proprio Pinelli, busta 2

Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Munich

CLM 10801 (consulted digitised microfilm)

Biblioteca Ambrosiana, Milan

Ms. G. 149 Inf.
Trotti Ms. 373
Y.72 sup.

Biblioteca Civica Angelo Mai, Bergamo

MA 334

Biblioteca Civica, Padua

Ms. CM 17
Ms. CM 289

Biblioteca Comunale dell'Archiginnasio, Bologna

Ms. A. 117 (consulted digitised manuscript)

Biblioteca Museo Correr, Venice

Port. 5
Port. 12 (not consulted)
Port. 29
Cicogna MS 845

Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana, Venice

Ms. Lat. X 124 (=3177)
Ms. Lat. X 146 (=3391)
Ms. It. IV 9 (=5090)
Ms. It. IV 170 (=5379)
Ms. It. IV 493 (=5077)
Ms. It. VI 19 (=6087)

Ms. It. VI 203 (=5631)
Ms. It. VI 213 (=5982)
Ms. It. IX 188 (=6286) (consulted microfilm)
Ms. It. XI 87 (=7353)

Bibliothèque Municipale, Lyon

MS 179 (consulted digitised manuscript)

Beinecke Library, Yale University, New Haven, Connecticut

MS 327 (consulted partially digitised manuscript)

MS 557 (consulted digitised manuscript)

Bodleian Library, Oxford

Ms. Canon Gr. 48

Ms. Canon Misc. 280

Ms. Canon Misc. 378 (consulted digitised manuscript)

Ms. Douce 390

Ms. Tanner 190

British Library, London

Add. Ms. 18454

Add. Ms. 31315

Add. Ms. 27376

Burney MS 213

Cotton Ms. Titus A. XXVI

Cotton Ms. Vespasian A XIII

Egerton Ms. 73

Egerton Ms. 1900

Egerton Ms. 2855

Harley Ms. 3686

National Maritime Museum, Greenwich

NVT 19

P/13

P/21

Schoenberg Collection, University of Pennsylvania Library, Philadelphia

MS 473 (consulted partially digitised manuscript)

(2) Early printed copies with manuscript annotations pre-1800. All items consulted in person unless otherwise noted. Where multiple copies of the same edition are listed, the ISTC/EDIT16 numbers are listed only once, in the first entry.

Finland

Helsinki, National Library

N. Ink. 73: Bartolomeo dalli Sonetti *Isolario* (Venice, c. 1480). ISTC: ib00183000
(consulted digitised copy)

France

Paris, Bibliothèque nationale

Cartes et plans, GE DD 1989: Bartolomeo dalli Sonetti *Isolario* (Venice, c. 1480)
(consulted partially digitised copy)

Cartes et plans, Res. Yd. 770: Bartolomeo dalli Sonetti *Isolario* (Venice, c. 1480)
(not consulted)

Italy

Florence, Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale

Magl. F. 6. 6: Bartolomeo dalli Sonetti *Isolario* (Venice, c. 1480)
(consulted digitised copy)
Pal. E.2.40: Bartolomeo dalli Sonetti *Isolario* (Venice, c. 1480) (not consulted)

Milan, Biblioteca Trivulziana

Inc. c. 54: Titus Carus Lucretius, *De rerum natura* (Venice: Theodorus de Ragazonibus, 4 Sept. 1495) ISTC: il00334000

Modena, Biblioteca Estense, Modena

Alfa E 5 15: Bartolomeo dalli Sonetti *Isolario* (Venice, c. 1480)

Venice, Biblioteca Museo Correr

Inc. F. 26: Bartolomeo dalli Sonetti *Isolario* (Venice, c. 1480)
Inc. F. 68: Bartolomeo dalli Sonetti *Isolario* (Venice, c. 1480)

Venice, Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana

Incun. 733: Bartolomeo dalli Sonetti *Isolario* (Venice, c. 1480)
Incun. 710: Bartolomeo dalli Sonetti *Isolario* (Venice, c. 1480)

Spain

Madrid, Biblioteca Nacional

Inc/1261: Bartolomeo dalli Sonetti *Isolario* (Venice, c. 1480) (consulted digitised copy)

Seville, Biblioteca Universidad

A. 335/135: Bartolomeo dalli Sonetti *Isolario* (Venice, c. 1480) (consulted digitised copy)

United Kingdom

Cambridge, Trinity College, Wren Library

Grylls 3.355: Bartolomeo dalli Sonetti *Isolario* (Venice, c. 1480)

VI.14.10: Bartolomeo dalli Sonetti *Isolario* (Venice, c. 1480)

Greenwich, National Maritime Museum

912.44 (22) 14:094: Bartolomeo dalli Sonetti *Isolario* (Venice, c. 1480)

London, British Library

84.d.14: Bartolomeo dalli Sonetti *Isolario* (Venice, c. 1480)

G.6587: Bartolomeo dalli Sonetti *Isolario* (Venice, c. 1480)

IA.23056: Bartolomeo dalli Sonetti *Isolario* (Venice, c. 1480)

11421. k. 13: *Librorum Francisci Petrarche Impressorum Annotatio* (Venice: Simon Bevilacqua, 1503). EDIT16: CNCE 33849

London, Royal Geographical Society

MR 265.F.1: Bartolomeo dalli Sonetti *Isolario* (Venice, c. 1480)

Oxford, Bodleian Library

Auct.Q.5.29: Bartolomeo dalli Sonetti *Isolario* (Venice, c. 1480)

United States

Boston, Public Library

Q. H05. 128: Bartolomeo dalli Sonetti *Isolario* (Venice, c. 1480) (consulted partially digitised copy)

New Haven, Beinecke Library, Yale University

Taylor 24: Bartolomeo dalli Sonetti *Isolario* (Venice, c. 1480) (consulted partially digitised copy)

New York, Pierpont Morgan Library

PML 338: Bartolomeo dalli Sonetti *Isolario* (Venice, c. 1480)

PML 45643: Bartolomeo dalli Sonetti *Isolario* (Venice, c. 1480)

Northampton, M.A., Smith College, Mortimer Rare Book Collection

B.183: Bartolomeo dalli Sonetti *Isolario* (Venice, c. 1480)

Urbana-Champaign, University of Illinois

Incunabula 852: Bartolomeo dalli Sonetti *Isolario* (Venice, c. 1480) (consulted partially digitised copy)

(3) Printed sources pre-1800

Alighieri, Dante. *Dante col sito et forma dell'Inferno tratta dalla istessa descrizione del poeta*. Alessandro de' Paganini: Venice, 1515.

Anonymous, *Lo libro chiamato Portolano composto per uno zentilomo veneciano lo qual a veduto tute queste parte anti scrite*. Bernardo Rizo de Novaria: Venice, 1490.

Apianus, Petrus. *Cosmographicus Liber*. D. Ioannis Weyssenburger: Landshut, 1524.

Berlinghieri, Francesco. *Septe giornate della Geographia*. Nicolò di Lorenzo: Florence, 1482.

Biondo, Flavio. *Roma instaurata*. Printer of Statius: Rome, before 1471.

———. *Italia illustrata*. Johannes Philippus de Lignamine: Rome, not before 1474.

Bordone, Benedetto. *Libro...nel quale si ragiona de tutte l'isole del mondo*. Nicolò Zoppino: Venice, 1528.

———. *Isolario* [second edition]. Francesco di Leno: Venice, 1532.

Bracciolini, Poggio. *India recognita*. Uldericus Scinzenzeler: Milan, after 1492.

Breydenbach, Bernhard von. *Peregrinatio in Terram Sanctam*. Erhard Reuwich: Mainz, 1486.

Catullus, *Carmina, cum commentarius Eruditi Ciri Palladii Fusci Patavini*. Johannes Tacuinus de Tridino: Venice, 1496.

Colonna, Francesco. *Hypnerotomachia Poliphili*. Aldus Manutius: Venice, 1499.

Coppo, Pietro. *Portolano*. Augustino di Bindoni: Venice, 1528.

———. *Del Sito de Listria*. Francesco Bindoni and Maffeo Pasini: Venice, 1540.

Coronelli, Vincenzo Maria. *Isolario dell'Atlante Veneto*. Girolamo Albrizzi: Venice, 1696-97.

dalli Sonetti, Bartolommeo. Untitled [*Isolario*]. Unknown printer: Venice, c. 1480-85. Note: annotated copies listed in '(2) Early Printed Copies'.

———. *Carte de mare Egeo, in rime* [second edition]. Venice: 1532

de' Barbari, Jacopo. *Venetie MD*. Anton Kolb: Venice, 1500.

degli Agostini, Frate Giovanni, ed. *Notizie istorico-critiche intorno la vita e le opere degli scrittori viniziani*. Simone Occhi: Venice, 1754. 2 vols.

Fausto, Vettor. *Victoris Fausti Orationes quinque*. Paolo Manuzio [“Aldi filios”]: Venice, 1551.

———. *Aristotelis mechanica Victoris Fausti industris in pristinum habitum restituta ac latinitate donata*. Jodocus Badius: Paris, 1517.

Fosco, Palladio. *De situ orae Illyrici*. Bartolommeo Fonte: Rome, 1540.

Leto, Pomponio. *Pomponius Laetus de Romanae Urbis vetustate noviter impressus*. Giacomo Mazzocchi: Rome, 1515.

Lucretius, Titus Carus. *De rerum natura*. Theodorus de Ragazonibus: Venice, 1495. Note: annotated copy listed in ‘(2) Early Printed Copies’.

Manzuoli, Nicolò. *Nova descrizione della Provincia dell’ Istria di Nicolò Manzuoli...con la vita degli santi*. Giorgio Bizzardo: Venice, 1611.

Mela, Pomponius. *Cosmographia*. Erhardt Ratdolt: Venice, 1482.

Petrarch, Francesco. *Le volgari opere del Petrarca con la espositione di A. Vellutello*. Giovanniantonio & fratelli da Sabbio: Venice, 1525.

———. *Librorum Francisci Petrarche Impressorum Annotatio*. Simone Bevilacqua: Venice, 1503. Note: annotated copy listed in ‘(2) Early Printed Copies’.

Porcacchi, Tommaso. *L’isole più famose del mondo*. Girolamo Porro and Simon Calignani: Venice, 1576.

Pseudo-Aristotle. *Aristotelous Mēchanika*. Aldus Manutius: Venice, 1497.

Ptolemy, Claudius. *Geographia*. Giacomo Pentio de Leuco: Venice, 1511.

Ramusio, Gianbattista, ed. *Delle Navigationi et Viaggi*. Giunti: Venice, 1550.

Sabellico, Marcantonio. *De vetustate Aquileiae*. Antonio de Avinione: Venice, 1482.

———. *Opera*. Albertino de Lisona: Venice, 1502.

Sandi, Vettor. *Principi di storia civile della repubblica di Venezia*. S. Coleti: Venice, 1775-76, 9 vols.

Stephanus of Byzantium, *De Urbibus*. Aldus Manutius: Venice, 1502.

Tatio, Giovanni. *L'immagine del rettore della bene ordinata città*. Giolito: Venice, 1573.

Various authors. *Epistolae clarorum virorum selectae de quam plurimis optimae*. Joannes Gymnicum: Cologne, 1586.

Various authors. *In haec volumine continentur: Marci Antonii Sabellici Annotationes*. Jacopo Pentio de Leuco: Venice, 1502.

Vavassore, Giovanni Andrea. *La vera descrizione del Mare Adriatico*. Venice, 1541.

Zamberto, Bartolommeo. *Euclidis megarensis philosophi platonici...* Johannis Tacuinus de Tridino: Venice, 1505.

(4) Modern editions of early manuscript and printed sources

Alighieri, Dante. *The Divine Comedy*. John D. Sinclair, ed. and trans. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1961), 3 vols.

Anonymous [Beinecke Library, MS 327]. *Zibaldone da Canal: manoscritto mercantile del secolo XIV*. Alfredo Stussi, ed. (Venice: Comitato per la pubblicazione delle fonti relative alla storia di Venezia, 1967).

Anonymous [Beinecke Library, MS 327]. *Merchant Culture in Fourteenth Century Venice: the Zibaldone da Canal*. John E. Dotson, trans. (Binghampton: Medieval & Renaissance Texts & Studies, 1994).

Anonymous [Biblioteca Civica di Padova, CM 17]. *Algune Raxion per Marinieri: Un manulae veneziano del secolo XV per gente di mare*. Ornella Pittarello, ed. (Padua: Il Poligrafo, 2006).

Anonymous [Commissione]. *Ire debeas in rectorem Caneae*. Chrysa A. Maltezou, ed. (Venice: Helleniko Institouto Vyzantionon, 2002).

Anonymous [National Maritime Museum, NVT 19]. *Ragione Antique Spettanti all'Arte del Mare et Fabriche de Vasselli*. Giorgetta Bonfiglio Dosio, ed. (Comitato per la pubblicazione delle fonti relative alla storia di Venezia: Venice, 1987).

Apollonius of Rhodes. *Argonautica*. William H. Race, trans. (Cambridge, M.A.: Harvard University Press, 2008).

Bembo, Giovanni. "Autobiographie des Venezianers Giovanni Bembo (1536)," Theodor Mommsen, ed. *Sitzungsberichten der Kaiserlichen Akademie der Wissenschaften* (Wien, 1861): 1-31.

Biondo, Flavio. *Roma instaurata, Rome restaurée*. Anne Raffarin-Dupuis, ed. and trans. (Les Belles Lettres: Paris, 2005), 2 vols.

———. *Biondo Flavio's Italia Illustrata: Text, Translation, and Commentary*. Catherine J. Castner, ed. and trans. (Binghampton: Global Academic Publishing, 2005).

———. *Italy Illuminated*. Jeffrey A. White, ed. and trans. (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 2005).

Biondo, Flavio, Pietro Coppo, Giovanni Baptista Goineo, Leando Alberti, and Ludovico Vergerio. "Corografie dell'Istria," Pietro Kandler, ed. *Archeografo Triestino*, serie I, vol. II (1830): 13-100.

Boccaccio, Giovanni. "Genealogie deorum gentilium" and "De montibus, silvis, lacubus, fluminibus, stagnis seu paludibus et de diversis nominibus maris," Vittore Branca, Antonio Enzo Quaglio, Alberto Limentani, Giorgio Padoan, eds. In *Tutte le opere di Giovanni Boccaccio* (Milan: A. Mondadori, 1964-1998), vol. 7-8.

Bracciolini, Poggio and Niccolò Conti. "The Travels of Niccolò Conti in the East," J. Winter Jones, trans. In *India in the Fifteenth Century: being a collection of narratives of voyages to India, in the century preceding the Portuguese discovery of the Cape of Good Hope* (London: Hakluyt Society, 1857).

Brasca, Santo and Gabriele Capodilista. *Viaggio in Terrasanta di Santo Brasca 1480 con l'itinerario di Gabriele Capodilista, 1458*. Anna Laura Momigliano Lepschy, ed. (Milan: Longanesi, 1966).

Buondelmonti, Cristoforo. *Description des îles de l'Archipel*. Émile Louis J. Legrand, ed. and trans. (Paris: Leroux, 1897).

———. *Liber insularum archipelagi: Universitäts- und Landesbibliothek Düsseldorf Ms. G 13 Faksimile*. Irmgard Siebert, Max Plassmann, Arne Effenberger, Fabian Rijkers, eds. (Wiesbaden: Reichert, 2005).

Buondelmonti, Cristoforo. *Descriptio insule Crete et Liber insularum*. Marie-Anne Van Spitael, ed. (Iraklion: Syllogos Politistikos Anaptyxeos, 1981).

Cadamosto, Alvise. *The Voyages of Cadamosto and other documents on Western Africa in the second half of the fifteenth century*. Gerald R. Crone, trans. (London: Hakluyt Society, 1937).

Catullus, Gaius Valerius. *The Poems of Catullus*. James Michie, trans. (London: Granada, 1972).

Cippico, Alvise. "Un poemetto di Alvise Cippico sulla guerra di Ferrara ne 1482," Giuseppe Praga, ed. *Archivio storico per la Dalmazia* 10 (1930): 314-339.

Colonna, Francesco. *Hypnerotomachia Poliphili: The Strife of Love in a Dream*. Joscelyn Godwin, trans. (London: Thames & Hudson, 1999).

Coppo, Pietro. "Di Pietro Coppo e delle sue opere: documenti inediti e l'opuscolo *Del Sito De Listrìa* Ristampato Dall' Edizione del 1540," Attilio Degrassi, ed. In *Scritti Vari di Antichità* (Trieste, 1971) IV: 367-423.

———. *Pietro Coppo. Le "Tabulae" (1524-1526)*. Luciano Lago and Claudio Rossit, eds. (Trieste: Lint, 1986), 2 vols.

Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum (Berlin: G. Reimerum and W. de Gruyter, 1862).

Cotrugli, Benedetto. "Il Trattato *De Navigatione* di Benedetto Cotrugli (1464-1465). Edizione Commentata del Ms. Schoenberg 473 con il testo dl MS. 557 di Yale." Piero Falchetta, ed. *Studi Veneziani* LVII (2009): 15-334.

———. *Il Libro dell'arte di mercatura*. Ugo Tucci, ed. (Venice: Arsenale, 1990).

Crijević, Iliya. "De Epidauro," Veljko Gortan and Vladimir Vratović, eds. In *Hrvatski latinisti: Croatici auctores quae scripserunt* (Zagreb: Zora, 1999), I: 449-453.

Cyriac of Ancona. *Cyriac of Ancona: Later Travels*. Edward W. Bodnar, ed. and trans. (Cambridge, Mass. and London: Harvard University Press, 2003).

———. *Cyriacus of Ancona and Athens*. Edward W. Bodnar, ed. and trans. (Brussels: Latomus, 1960).

———. *Cyriacus of Ancona's Journey in the Propontis and the Northern Aegean, 1444-1445*. Edward W. Bodnar and Charles Mitchell, eds. and trans. (Philadelphia: American Philosophical Society, 1976).

Cyriac of Ancona. "Vita Viri Clarissimi et Famosissimi Kyriaci Anconitani," Edward W. Bodnar and Charles Mitchell, eds. and trans. *Transactions of the American Philosophical Society* N.S. 86/4 (1996): 1-246.

dalli Sonetti, Bartolommeo. *Isolario*. Frederick R. Goff, ed. (Amsterdam: Theatrum Orbis Terrarum Series of Atlases in Facsimile, 1972).

degli Uberti, Fazio. *Il Dittamondo e Le Rime*. Giuseppe Corsi, ed. (Bari: G. Laterza, 1952).

Fosco, Palladio. "Palladio Fosco e il suo *De situ orae Illyrici*," Salvatore Sabbadini, ed. *Archeografo triestino*, 3rd ser. 13 (1926): 176-208.

Hesiod. *Theogony and Works and Days*. Martin Litchfield West, trans. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1988).

Inscriptiones Christianae Urbis Romae. Rossi, Giovanni Battista, and Angelo Silvagni, eds. (Rome: Ex Officina Libraria Pontificia, 1922), vol. I-II.

Inscriptiones Italiae. Degrassi, Attilio, ed. (Rome: Libreria dello Stato, 1934-1963).

Livy. *History of Rome*. Rev. Canon Roberts, trans. (New York: E. P. Dutton and Co., 1912).

Michael of Rhodes. *The Book of Michael of Rhodes: A Fifteenth-Century Maritime Manuscript*. Pamela O. Long, David McGee, Alan M. Stahl, and Franco Rossi, eds. and trans. (Cambridge, Mass. and London: MIT Press, 2009), 3 vols.

Miscellaneous. *Calendar of State Papers Relating to English Affairs in the Archives of Venice*. Rawdon Brown, ed. (London: Longman, Roberts, Green, 1869) vol. 3: 1520-1526.

Municipal statutes of Pirano. *Status Piranskega Komuna od 13. do 17. Stoletja*. Morislac Pahor and Janez Šumrada, eds. (Ljubljana: Izdala Slovenska Akademija Znanosti in Umentnosti, 1987), Vol. I and II. [With Italian preface].

Ovid. *Ars Amatoria*. Bertram P. Moore, trans. (London: Folio Society, 1965).

———. *Metamorphoses*. Brookes More, trans. (Boston: Cornhill Publishing Co., 1922).

Petrarch, Francesco. *Sonnets and Shorter Poems*. David R. Slavitt, ed. and trans. (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 2012).

Petrarch, Francesco. *Rime di Francesco Petrarca*. Giacomo Leopardi and Giovanni Nencioni, eds. (Florence: Le Monnier, 1989).

———. *Modelling the Individual: Biography and Portrait in the Renaissance, with a critical edition of Petrarch's Letter to Posterity*. K.A.E. Enenkel, ed. (Amsterdam: Rodopo, 1998).

———. *Petrarch's Guide to the Holy Land*. Theodore J. Cachey, ed. and trans. (Notre Dame: University of Notre Dame press, 2002).

Ptolemy, Claudius. *Geographia: Venice, 1511*. R.A. Skelton, ed. (Amsterdam: Theatrum Orbis Terrarum Series of Atlases in Facsimile, 1969).

Sabellico, Marcantonio. "Un carne consolatio di Marcantonio Sabellico a Coriolano Cippico da Traù (1492)," A. Bacotich, ed. *Archivio Storico per la Dalmazia* XII/69 (1931): 418-449.

Sanseverino, Roberto. *Viaggio in Terra Santa*. Gioacchino Maruffi, ed. and trans. (Bologna: Romagnoli-Dall'Acqua, 1888).

Sanudo, Marin. *Città Excelentissima: Selections from the Renaissance Diaries of Marin Sanudo*. Patricia H. Labalme and Laura Sanguineti, eds., and Linda L. Carroll, trans. (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2008).

———. *Itinerario di Marino Sanudo per la terraferma veneziana nel 1483*. Rawdon Brown, ed. (Padua: Tipografia del Seminario, 1847).

Silvestri, Domenico. "De insulis et earum proprietatibus," C. Pecoraro, ed. *Atti della Accademia di scienze, lettere e arti d Palermo*. Series 4, vol. 14 (1954).

The Reports of the Venetian Baili and Provveditori of Corfu (16th Century). Gerassimos D. Pagratis, ed. (Athens: National Hellenic Research Foundation, 2008).

Virgil. *The Aeneid*. Robert Fagles, trans. (London: Penguin, 2006).

(5) Secondary sources

Aho, James A. "Rhetoric and the Invention of Double Entry Bookkeeping," *Rhetorica* 3/1 (1985): 21-43.

Akerman, James R. "The structuring of political territory in early printed atlases," *Imago Mundi* 47 (1995): 138-154.

Alertz, Ulrich. "The Naval Architecture and Oar Systems of Medieval and Later Galleys," in *The Age of the Galley: Mediterranean Oared Vessels Since Pre-Classical Times*, eds. Robert Gardner and John S. Morrison (London: Conway Maritime, 1995): 142-62.

Allen, W. Sidney. "Kalóyeros: An Atlantis in Microcosm?" *Imago Mundi* 29 (1977): 54-71.

Almagià, Roberto. *Monumenta Italiae cartographica* (Florence: Istituto Geografico Militare, 1929).

———. "Padova e l'Ateneo padovano nella storia della scienza geografica," Appendice II: "Intorno a Benedetto Bordone e alle sue opera," *Rivista geografica italiana* 9 (1912): 502-2.

———. "The Atlas of Pietro Coppo, 1520," *Imago Mundi* 7 (195): 48-50.

Amelang, James S. *The Flight of Icarus: Artisan Autobiography in Early Modern Europe* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1998).

Anderson, Randall L. "Metaphors of the Book as Garden in the English Renaissance," *The Yearbook of English Studies* 33 (2003): 248-261.

Anderson, Roger Charles. "Italian Naval Architecture about 1445," *The Mariner's Mirror* 11 (1925): 135-163.

Andrade, Tonio. "A Chinese Farmer, Two African Boys, and a Warlord: Toward a Global Microhistory," *Journal of World History* 21/4 (2010): 573-591.

Andrews, J.H. "Map as a Language/A Metaphor Extended," *Cartographica* 27/1 (1990): 1-19.

———. "Meaning, Knowledge, and Power in the Map Philosophy of J.B. Harley," in *The New Nature of Maps*, eds. J.B. Harley and Paul Laxton (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Press, 2001): 1-32.

Appuhn, Karl. *A Forest on the Sea: Environmental Expertise in Renaissance Venice* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2009).

Arbel, Benjamin. "Colonie d'oltremare," in *Storia di Venezia dalle origini alla caduta della Serenissima*, eds. Alberto Tenenti and Ugo Tucci (Rome: Istituto della Enciclopedia Italiana, 1996). Vol V, Il Rinascimento: 947-985.

Arbel, Benjamin, Evelien Chayes, and Harald Hendrix, eds. *Cyprus and the Renaissance (1450-1650)* (Turnhout: Brepols, 2013).

Arbel, Benjamin. "Venice's Maritime Empire in the Early Modern World," in *A Companion to Venetian History, 1400-1797* (Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2013): 125-245.

———. *Cyprus, The Franks, and Venice: 13th - 16th Centuries* (Aldershot: Ashgate Variorum, 2000).

———. *Trading Nations: Jews and Venetians in the Early Modern Mediterranean* (Leiden: Brill, 1995).

Armitage, David. *The Ideological Origins of the British Empire* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000).

Armstrong, Lilian. "Benedetto Bordon, 'Miniator,' and Cartography in Early Sixteenth-Century Venice," *Imago Mundi* 48 (1996): 65-92.

———. "The Impact of Printing on Miniaturists in Venice after 1469," in *Printing the Written Word: The Social History of Books, circa 1450-1520*, ed. Sandra Hindman (Ithaca and London: Cornell University Press, 1991): 174-204.

Ashtor, Eliyahu. *Levant Trade in the Later Middle Ages* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1983).

Aslanian, Sebouh David. *From the Indian Ocean to the Mediterranean: The Global Trade Networks of Armenian Merchants from New Julfa* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2011).

Babinger, F. "Notes on Cyriac of Ancona and Some of His Friends," *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* 25/3 (1962): 321-323.

Baernstein, P. Renée and John Christopoulos, "Interpreting the Body in Early Modern Italy: Pregnancy, Abortion, and Adulthood," *Past and Present* 223 (2014): 41-75.

Bahr, Arthur. *Fragments and Assemblages: Forming Compilations of Medieval London* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2013).

Baird, David. *Thing Knowledge: A Philosophy of Scientific Instruments* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2004).

Balard, Michel and Alain Ducellier, *Le partage du monde: échanges et colonisation dans la Méditerranée médiévale* (Paris: Publications de la Sorbonne, 1998).

Balard, Michel, ed. *État et colonisation au Moyen Âge et à la Renaissance* (Lyon: La Manufacture, 1989).

Barbour, Ruth. "A Thucydides Belonging to Cyriac d'Ancona," *The Bodleian Library Record* VI/1 (1954): 9-13.

Barkan, Leonard. *Unearthing the Past: Archaeology and Aesthetics in the Making of Renaissance Culture* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1999).

Baron, Hans. *The Crisis of the Early Italian Renaissance: Civic Humanism and Republican Liberty in an Age of Classicism and Tyranny* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1955).

Barsanti, Claudia. "Costantinopoli e l'Egeo nei primi decenni del XC secolo. La testimonianza di Cristoforo Buondelmonti," *Rivista dell'Istituto Nazionale d'Archeologia e Storia dell'Arte* 56 (2001): 83-254.

Beard, Mary. "Officers and Gentlemen? Roman Britain and the British Empire," in *From Plunder to Preservation: Britain and the Heritage of Empire, c. 1800-1940*, eds. Astrid Swenson and Peter Mandler (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013): 49-62.

Bec, Christian. *Les marchands écrivains: affaires et humanisme à Florence 1375-1434* (Paris: Mouton & Co., 1967).

Bedford, Ronald, Lloyd Davis, and Philippa Kelly, eds. *Early Modern Autobiography: Theories, Genres, Practices* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2006).

Bellabarba, Sergio. "The Square Rigged Ship of the 'Fabrica di Galere' Manuscript," *Mariner's Mirror* 74/2 (1988): 113-130.

Belyea, Barbara. "Images of Power: Derrida/Foucault/Harley," *Cartographica* 29/2 (1992): 1-9.

Bennett, J.A. *The Divided Circle: A History of Instruments for Astronomy, Navigation, and Surveying* (Oxford: Phaidon Christie's, 1987).

Bennett, Tony and Patrick Joyce, eds. *Material Powers: Cultural Studies, History, and the Material Turn* (London and New York: Routledge, 2010).

Benton, Lauren. *A Search for Sovereignty: Law and Geography in European Empires, 1400-1900* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010).

Bessi, Benedetta. "Cristoforo Buondelmonti: Greek Antiquities in Florentine Humanism," *The Historical Review/La Revue Historique* IX (2012): 63-76.

Biadene, Susanna, ed. *Carte da navigar: portolani e carte nautiche del Museo Correr, 1318-1732* (Venice: Marsilio, 1990).

Birnbaum, Marianna D. *Humanists in a Shattered World: Croatian and Hungarian Latinity in the Sixteenth Century* (Columbus: Slavica Publishers, 1985).

Bisaha, Nancy. *Creating East and West: Renaissance Humanists and the Ottoman Turks* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2004).

Black, Robert. "Italian Renaissance Education: Changing Perspectives and Continuing Controversies," *Journal of the History of Ideas* 52/2 (1991): 315-334.

———. *Humanism and Education in Medieval and Renaissance Italy: Tradition and Innovation in Latin Schools from the Twelfth to the Fifteenth Century* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001).

Blair, Ann. "Humanist Methods in Natural Philosophy: The Commonplace Book," *Journal of the History of Ideas* 53/4 (1992): 541-551.

Blason, Mirella. "Il C.M. 17 della Biblioteca Civica di Padova e la rotta veneziana della galee di Fiandra (1428)," *Bollettino del Museo Civico di Padova*, LXXIII (1984): 163-178.

Boese, Helmut, ed. *Die Lateinischen Handschriften der Sammlung Hamilton zu Berlin*, (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1966).

Bondioli, Mauro. "The Art of Designing and Building Venetian Galleys from the 15th to the 16th century," and "The Arsenal of Venice and the Art of Building Ships," in Carlo Beltrame, ed. *Boats, Ships, and Shipyards* (Oxford: Oxbow, 2003): 222-227; 10-13.

Borland, Jennifer. "Unruly Reading: The Consuming Role of Touch in the Experience of a Medieval Manuscript," in *Scraped, Stroked, and Bound: Materially-Engaged Readings of Medieval Manuscripts*, ed. Jonathan Wilcox (Turnhout: Brepols, 2013): 97-114.

Borsari, Silvano. "I Veneziani delle colonie," in *Storia di Venezia*, eds. Giorgio Cracco, Girolamo Arnaldi, and Alberto Tenenti (Rome: Enciclopedia Italiana, 1996), Vol. III: 127-158.

———. *L'Eubea veneziana* (Venice: Deputazione di storia patria per le Venezie, 2002).

Botley, Paul. "Learning Greek in Western Europe, 1476-1516," in *Literacy, Education and Manuscript Transmission in Byzantium and Beyond*, eds. Catherine Holmes and Judith Waring (Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2002): 199-224.

Bourdieu, Pierre. *Distinction: A Social Critique of the Judgement of Taste*, trans. Richard Nice (London: Routledge, 2010).

Bourdieu, Pierre. *The Field of Cultural Production*, trans. Randal Johnson (New York: Columbia University Press, 1993).

Bouwsma, William James. *Venice and the Defense of Republican Liberty: Renaissance Values in the Age of the Counter Reformation* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1968).

Branca, Vittore. "Ermolao Barbaro and the Late Quattrocento Venetian Humanism," in *Renaissance Venice*, ed. John R. Hale (London: Faber and Faber, 1973): 218-243.

Branca, Vittore, ed. *La Sapienza Civile: studi sull'umanesimo a Venezia* (Florence: L.S. Olschki, 1998).

———. "Lauro Quirini e il commercio librario a Venezia e Firenze," in *Venezia: centro di mediazione tra Oriente e Occidente (secoli XV-XVI): aspetti e problemi*, ed. Hans-Georg Beck, Manoussos Manoussacas, and Agostino Pertusi (Florence: L.S. Olschki, 1977): 371-373.

———. *Lauro Quirini Umanista* (Florence: L.S. Olschki, 1977).

———. "L'umanesimo," in *Storia di Venezia*, eds. Alberto Tenenti and Ugo Tucci (Rome: Enciclopedia Italiana, 1996), Vol. IV: 723-756.

———. *Mercanti scrittori: ricordi nella Firenze tra Medioevo e Rinascimento* (Milan: Rusconi, 1986).

Branca, Vittore and Sante Graciotto, eds. *L'Umanesimo in Istria* (Florence: L.S. Olschki, 1983).

Braudel, Fernand. *The Mediterranean and the Mediterranean World in the Age of Phillip II*, trans. Sian Reynolds (Berkeley, C.A.: University of California Press, 1995), 2 vols. Second edition.

Brayman Hackel, Heidi. *Reading Material in Early Modern England: Print, Gender, and Literacy* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005).

Brooke, Irene. "'Per farne poi di esse donation...per lasciar perpetua memoria a i posterì de i nomi di coloro': gifts of ancient coins to Pietro Bembo," in *Una insalata di più erbe: a festschrift for Patricia Lee Rubin*, eds. Jim Harris, Scott Netherdole, and Per Rumberg (London: The Courtauld Institute of Art, 2011): 51-62.

Brotton, Jerry. *Trading Territories: Mapping the Early Modern World* (London: Reaktion, 1997).

Brown, Alison. "The Language of Empire," in *Florentine Tuscany: Structures and Practices of Power*, eds. William J. Connell and Andrea Zorzi (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000): 32-47.

Bruster, Douglas. "The New Materialism in Early Modern Studies," in *Shakespeare and the Question of Culture* (New York: Palgrave, 2003).

Budak, Neven. "Urban Elites in Dalmatia in the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Centuries," in *Città e Sistema Adriatico alla Fine del Medioevo*, ed. Michele Pietro Ghezzi (Venice, 1997): 181-199.

Bühler, Curt Ferdinand. "Variants in the First Atlas of the Mediterranean," *Gutenberg Jahrbuch* 32 (1957): 94-97.

Burckhardt, Jacob. *The Civilization of the Renaissance in Italy*, trans. S.G.C. Middlemore (Kitchener, Ontario: Batoche, 2001).

Burke, Peter. *The Renaissance Sense of the Past* (London: Edward Arnold, 1969).

Burke, Victoria E. "Recent Studies in Commonplace Books," *English Literary Renaissance* 43/1 (2013): 153-177.

Cadorin, Giuseppe. *Dello Amore ai Veneziani di Tiziano Vecellio* (Venice: C. Hopfner, 1833).

Campana, Augusto. "The Origin of the Word 'Humanist.'" *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* 9 (1946): 60-73.

Campbell, Tony. *The Earliest Printed Maps, 1472-1500* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1987).

Carlton, Genevieve. "Making an Impression: The Display of Maps in Sixteenth-Century Venetian Homes," *Imago Mundi* 64/1 (2012): 28-40.

Cassimatis, Grégoire. "L'Humanisme dans la société Venitienne au XVe siècle," in *Venezia: centro di mediazione tra Oriente e Occidente (secoli XV-XVI): aspetti e problemi*, ed. Hans-Georg Beck, Manoussos Manoussacas, and Agostino Pertusi (Florence: L.S. Olschki, 1977): vol. I, 359-368.

Castellani, Giorgio. "Giorgio da Trebisonda, maestro di eloquenza a Vicenza e a Venezia," *Nuovo Archivio Veneto* 11 (1896), I: 123-142.

Celenza, Christopher S. *Angelo Poliziano's Lamia* (Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2010).

Celenza, Christopher S. *The Lost Italian Renaissance: Humanists, Historians, and Latin's Legacy* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2004).

Chambers, David S. "Merit and Money: The Procurators of St Mark and Their *Commissioni*, 1443-1605," *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* 60 (1997): 23-88.

———. *The Imperial Age of Venice, 1380-1580* (London: Thames & Hudson, 1970).

Chavasse, Ruth. "The First Known Author's Copyright, September 1486, in the Context of a Humanist Career," *Bulletin of the John Rylands University Library of Manchester* (1986): 11-37.

———. "The *studia humanitatis* and the making of a humanist career: Marcantonio Sabellico's exploitation of humanist literary genres," *Renaissance Studies* 17/1 (2003): 27- 38.

Chojnacki, Stanley. *Women and Men in Renaissance Venice: Twelve Essays on Patrician Society* (Baltimore and London: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2000).

Ciccolella, Federica. *Donati Graeci: Learning Greek in the Renaissance* (New York: Brill, 2008).

Clough, Cecil H. "The Cult of Antiquity: Letters and Letter Collections," in *Cultural Aspects of the Italian Renaissance: Essays in Honor of Paul Oskar Kristeller*, ed. C.H. Clough (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1976): 33-67.

Cochrane, Eric and Julius Kirschner, "Deconstructing Lane's Venice," *Journal of Early Modern History* 47/2 (1975): 321-334.

Cochrane, Eric W. *Historians and Historiography in the Italian Renaissance* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1981).

Cohen, Thomas V. *Love and Death in Renaissance Italy* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2004).

Colin, Jean. *Cyriaque d'Ancône: le voyageur, le marchand, l'humaniste* (Paris: Maloine, 1967).

Concina, Ennio. *L'Arsenale della Repubblica di Venezia* (Milan: Electa, 1984).

———. "Humanism on the Sea," *Mediterranean Historical Review* 3/1 (1988): 159-165.

Conley, Tom. *The Self-Made Map: Cartographic Writing in Early Modern France* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1996).

Conley, Tom. "Virtual Reality and the *Isolario*," *Annali d'Italianistica* 14: Hodoeporics: On Travel Literature (1996): 121-30.

Connell, William J. "The humanist citizen as a provincial governor," in idem and Andrea Zorzi, eds. *Florentine Tuscany: Structures and Practices of Power* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000): 144-164.

Cooper, Lisa H. "The Poetics of Practicality," in *Middle English*, ed. Paul Strohm (Oxford, 2009): 501-14.

Cormack, Lesley B. "Britannia Rules the Waves? Images of Empire in Elizabethan England," *Early Modern Literary Studies* 4.2/Special Issue 3 (1998): 1-20.

Corner, James. "The Agency of Mapping: Speculation, Critique and Invention," in *The Map Reader: Theories of Mapping Practice and Cartographic Representation*, eds. Martin Dodge, Rob Kitchin and C.R. Perkins (Chichester: Wiley-Blackwell, 2011): Chapter 1.12.

Cortelazzo, Manlio. "La cultura mercantile e marinaresca," in *Storia della cultura veneta*, ed. Gianfranco Folena. Vol I: Dalle origini al Trecento (Vicenza: N. Pozza, 1976): 671-691.

Cortês, Armando. *History of Portuguese Cartography* (Lisbon: Junta de Investigações do Ultramar, 1969-71).

Cosgrove, Denis. "Mapping New Worlds: Culture and Cartography in Sixteenth-Century Venice," *Imago Mundi* 44 (1992): 65-89.

———. "The Myth and the stones of Venice: an historical geography of a symbolic landscape," *Journal of Historical Geography* 8/2 (1982): 145-169.

———. *The Palladian Landscape: Geographical Change and its Cultural Representations in Sixteenth-Century Italy* (Leicester: Leicester University Press, 1993).

Cowan, Alexander. *Marriage, Manners, and Mobility in Early Modern Venice* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2007).

Crane, Mary Thomas. *Framing Authority: Sayings, Self, and Society in Sixteenth-Century England* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1993).

Crouzet Pavan, Elisabeth. *Venice Triumphant: The Horizons of a Myth*, trans. Lydia G. Cochrane (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2002).

Curran, Brian. *The Afterlife of Ancient Egypt in Early Modern Italy* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2007).

d'Avezac, Marie Armand Pascal. *Note sur an atlas hydrographique manuscrit* (Paris: L. Martinet, 1850).

Damen, Giada. *The Trade in Antiquities Between Italy and the Eastern Mediterranean (ca. 1400-1600)*. Unpublished PhD thesis (Princeton: Princeton University, 2012).

Dandeleit, Thomas J. *The Renaissance of Empire in Early Modern Europe* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2014).

Davidson, Nicholas. "The Cultural Relations of Venice and its Dependent Cities," in *Mediterranean Urban Culture, 1400-1700*, ed. Alexander Cowan (Exeter: University of Exeter Press, 2000): 197-214.

Davis, Natalie Zemon. *Trickster Travels: A Sixteenth-Century Muslim Between Worlds* (New York: Hill and Wang, 2006).

Davis, Robert C. *Shipbuilders of the Venetian Arsenal: Workers and Workplace in the Preindustrial City* (Baltimore and London: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1991).

de Ricci, Seymour Montefiore. *Catalogue raisonné des premières impressions de Mayence* (Mainz, 1911).

De Vivo, Filippo. "Ordering the Archive in Early Modern Venice (1400-1650)," *Archival Science* 10/3 (2010): 231-248.

———. *Information and Communication in Venice: Rethinking Early Modern Politics* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007).

Degrassi, Attilio. "Podestà e Vicedomini d'Isola," *Atti e Memorie della Società Istriana di Archeologia e Storia Patria*, n.s. XVII (Venice, 1969): 9-12.

Del Casino, Vincent and Stephen P. Hanna, "'Beyond the Binaries': A Methodological Intervention for Interrogating Maps as Representational Practices," *ACME: An International E-Journal for Critical Geographies* 4/1 (2006): 34-56.

Delano-Smith, Catherine. "Why Theory in the History of Cartography?" *Imago Mundi* 48 (1996): 198-203.

della Dora, Veronica. "Mapping a Holy Quasi-Island: Mount Athos in Early Renaissance Isolarii," *Imago Mundi* 60/2 (2008): 139-165.

———. "Mapping metageographies: the cartographic invention of Italy and the Mediterranean," *California Italian Studies* 1/1 (2010): 1-25.

———. "Performative Atlases: Memory, Materiality, and (Co-)Authorship," *Cartographica* 44/4 (2009): 240-255.

DellaNeva, Joann. "Reflecting Lesser Lights: The Imitation of Minor Writers in the Renaissance," *Renaissance Quarterly* 42/3 (1989): 449-479.

Diller, Aubrey. "The Library of Francesco and Ermolao Barbaro," *Italia Medioevale e Umanistica* 6 (1963): 253-62.

Donattini, Massimo. "Bartolommeo dalli Sonetti, il suo *Isolario* e un viaggio di Giovanni Bembo, 1525-1530," *Geografia Antiqua* 3-4 (1994-1995): 211-236.

Donattini, Massimo. *Spazio e Modernità: libri, carte, isolari nell'età delle scoperte* (Bologna: CLUEB, 2000).

Doumerc, Bernard. "Il dominio del mare," in *Storia di Venezia*, eds. Alberto Tenenti and Ugo Tucci (Rome: Enciclopedia Italiana, 1996), Vol. IV: 113-180.

Du Toit, André. "The problem of intellectual history in (post)colonial societies: the case of South Africa," *Politikon* 18/2 (1991): 5-25.

Duffy, Eamon. *Marking the Hours: English People and their Prayers, 1240-1570* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2006).

Durling, Nancy Vine. "Birthmarks and bookmarks: the example of the thirteenth-century French anthology," *Exemplaria* 16 (2004): 73-94.

Dursteler, Eric R. "Reverberations of the Voyages of Discovery in Venice, ca. 1501: The Trevisan Manuscript in the Library of Congress," *Mediterranean Studies* 9 (2001): 43-64.

———. *Venetians in Constantinople: Nation, Identity, and Coexistence in the Early Modern Mediterranean* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2006).

Eamon, William. *Science and the Secrets of Nature: Books of Secrets in Medieval and Early Modern Culture* (Princeton, 1994).

Edney, Matthew H. "Theory and the History of Cartography." *Imago Mundi* 48 (1996): 185-191.

———. "Brian Harley's Career and Intellectual Legacy," *Cartographica Monograph* 54, vol. 40 (2005).

Edwards, Catharine. *Writing Rome: Textual Approaches to the City* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996).

Eichhorn, Kate. "Archival Genres: Gathering Texts and Reading Spaces," *Invisible Culture* 12 (2008), available online : http://www.rochester.edu/in_visible_culture/Issue_12/eichhorn/eichhorn.pdf.

Eisler, Colin. *The Genius of Jacopo Bellini: The Complete Paintings and Drawings* (New York: Harry N. Abrams, 1989).

Elliott, John H. "A Europe of Composite Monarchies," *Past and Present* 137 (1992): 48-71.

Embricos, Alexandre. *La renaissance Crétoise: Xvie et XVIIe siècles* (Paris: Société d'Édition "Les Belles Lettres," 1960). Vol 1: La littérature.

Faggion, Lucien. "Violence, Rites and Social Regulation in the Venetian *Terra Firma* in the Sixteenth Century," in *Aspects of Violence in Renaissance Europe*, ed. Jonathan Davies (Farnham: Ashgate, 2013): 184-204.

Falchetta, Piero. "Benedetto Cotrugli et son traité *De navigatione* (1464-1465)," *Historical Review/La Revue Historique* vol. IX (2012): 53-62.

———. "Marinai, mercanti, cartografi, pittori. Ricerche sulla cartografia nautica a Venezia (sec. XIV-XV)," *Ateneo Veneto* 183 (1995): 7-109.

———. "The Use of Portolan Charts in European Navigation during the Middle Ages," in *Europa im Weltbild des Mittelalters: Kartographische Konzepte*, eds. Ingrid Baumgärtner and Hartmut Kugler (Berlin: Akademie Verlag, 2008): 269-276.

Fenster, Thelma and Daniel Lord Smail, eds. *Fama: The Politics of Talk and Reputation in Medieval Europe* (Ithaca and London: Cornell University Press, 2003).

Ferreiro, Larrie David. "The Aristotelian Heritage in Early Naval Architecture, From the Venice Arsenal to the French Navy, 1500-1700," *Theoria* 68 (2010): 227-241.

Finlay, Robert. "Fabius Maximus in Venice: Doge Andrea Gritti, the War of Cambrai, and the Rise of the Habsburg Hegemony, 1509-1530," in *Venice Besieged: Politics and Diplomacy in the Italian Wars, 149-1534* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2008): 988-1031.

Fleet, Kate. "Italian Perceptions of the Turks in the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Centuries," *Journal of Mediterranean Studies* 5/2 (1995): 159-72.

Fortini Brown, Patricia. *Private Lives in Renaissance Venice: Art, Architecture, and the Family* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2004).

———. *Venetian Narrative Painting in the Age of Carpaccio* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1988).

———. *Venice and Antiquity: The Venetian Sense of the Past* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1996).

Foucault, Michel. "Governmentality," in *The Foucault Effect: Studies in Governmentality*, eds. Graham Burchell, Colin Gordon, and Peter Miller (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1991): 87-104.

———. "Of Other Spaces," *Diacritics* 16/1 (spring 1986): 22-27.

Frake, Charles O. "Cognitive Maps of Time and Tide Among Medieval Seafarers," *Man* N.S. 20/2 (1985): 254-270.

Freccero, John. "The Significance of *terza rima*," in *Dante, Petrarch, Boccaccio: Studies in the Italian Trecento in Honor of Charles S. Singleton*, eds. Aldo S. Bernardo and Anthony L. Pellegrini (Binghamton: Medieval and Renaissance Texts and Studies 1983): 3-18.

———. *Dante: The Poetics of Conversion* (Cambridge M.A.: Harvard University Press, 1986).

Fries, Waldemar. *The Double Elephant Folio: The Story of Audubon's Birds of America* (Chicago: American Library Association, 1973).

G. Mazzatinti, ed. *Inventari dei Manoscritti delle Biblioteche d'Italia* (Florence: L.S. Olschki, 1890-1997).

Gaisser, Julia H. *Catullus and his Renaissance Readers* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1993).

Garin, Eugenio. *Italian Humanism: Philosophy and Civic Life in the Renaissance* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1965).

Geanakoplos, Deno John. *Greek Scholars in Venice: Studies in the Dissemination of Greek Learning from Byzantium to Western Europe* (Cambridge, M.A.: Harvard University Press, 1962).

Georgopoulou, Maria. *Venice's Mediterranean Colonies: Architecture and Urbanism* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001).

Ghobrial, John Paul. "The Secret Life of Elias of Babylon and the Uses of Global Microhistory," *Past and Present* 222 (2014): 51-93.

Gibson, Roy. "Didactic poetry as 'popular' form: a study of imperatival expressions in Latin didactic verse and prose," in *Form and Content in Didactic Poetry* (Bari: Levante, 1998): 67-98.

Gil Harris, Jonathan. *Untimely Matter in the Time of Shakespeare* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2009).

Gilbert, Bennett, ed. *The Art of the Woodcut in the Italian Renaissance Book* (New York: Grolier Club, 1995).

Gilbert, Felix. "Biondo, Sabellico, and the Beginnings of Venetian Historiography," in *Florilegium historiale: essays presented to Wallace K. Ferguson*, eds. John Gordon Rowe and W.H. Stockdale (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1971): 276-293.

———. "Humanism in Venice," in *Florence and Venice: Comparisons and Relations*, vol. I: Quattrocento, eds. Sergio Bertelli, Nicolai Rubinstein, and Craig Hugh Smith (Florence: La Nuova Italia, 1979): 13-26.

Gingerich, Owen. *An Annotated Census of Copernicus' De Revolutionibus* (Leiden: Brill, 2002).

Gladen, Cynthia A. *The Incanto di Quattro Galere: An Auction of Four Galleys* (Minneapolis: Associates of the James Ford Bell Library, 1997).

Gluzman, Renard. "Resurrection of a Sunken Ship: The remarkable salvage of the Venetian *marciliana* that saved Cattaro from Barbarossa," *Archivio Veneto* (December, 2014), forthcoming.

Godorecci, Barbara J. "Beyond Limits: Time, Space, Language in Machiavelli's *Discourses*," in *The Comedy and Tragedy of Machiavelli: Essays on the Literary Works*, ed. Vickie B. Sullivan (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2000): 159-175.

Goffman, Daniel and Christopher Stroop. "Empire as Composite: The Ottoman Polity and the Typology of Dominion," in *Imperialisms: Historical and Literary Investigations, 1500-1800*, eds. Elizabeth Sauer and Balachandra Rajan (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2004): 129-146.

Gothein, Percy. *Francesco Barbaro: Früh-Humanismus und Staatskunst in Venedig* (Berlin: Verlag Die Runde, 1932).

Grafton, Anthony and Lisa Jardine, *From Humanism to Humanities: Education and the Liberal Arts in 15th and 16th-century Europe* (London: Duckworth, 1986).

Grafton, Anthony. *Defenders of the Text: The Traditions of Scholarship in an Age of Science, 1450-1800* (Cambridge, M.A. and London: Harvard University Press, 1991).

———*Leon Battista Alberti: Master Builder of the Italian Renaissance* (New York: Hill and Wang, 2000).

Gramsci, Antonio. *Selections from Cultural Writings*, eds. and trans. David Forgacs and Geoffrey Nowell-Smith (London: Lawrence & Wishart, 1985).

Green, Richard Firth. "Textual production and textual communities," in *The Cambridge Companion to Medieval English Literature 1100-1500*, ed. Larry Scanlon (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009): 25-36.

Greene, Molly. *A Shared World: Christians and Muslims in the Early Modern Mediterranean* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2000).

———. *Catholic Pirates and Greek Merchants: A Maritime History of the Mediterranean* (Princeton and Oxford: Princeton University Press, 2010).

Greene, Thomas M. *The Light in Troy: Imitation and Discovery in Renaissance Poetry* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1982).

Grenacher, Franz. "The Woodcut Map: A Form-Cutter of Maps Wanders Through Europe in the First Quarter of the Sixteenth Century," *Imago Mundi* 24 (1970): 31-41.

Grendler, Paul F. "Form and Function in Italian Renaissance Popular Books," *Renaissance Quarterly* 46/3 (1993): 451-486.

———. *Schooling in Renaissance Italy: Literacy and Learning, 1300-1600* (Baltimore and London: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1989).

Grubb, James S. "Memory and identity: why Renaissance Venetians didn't keep *ricordanze*," *Renaissance Studies* 8/4 (1994): 375-387.

———. "When Myths Lose Power: Four Decades of Venetian Historiography," *The Journal of Early Modern History* 58/1 (1986): 43-94.

———. *Firstborn of Venice: Vicenza in the Early Renaissance State* (Baltimore and London: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1988).

Grubb, James S. *Provincial Families of the Renaissance: Private and Public Life in the Veneto* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1996).

Guglielminetti, Marziano. "Per un sottogenere della letteratura di viaggio: gl'isolari fra quattro e cinquecento," in *La letteratura di viaggio dal Medioevo al Rinascimento: generi e problemi*, ed. Silvia Benso (Alexandria: Edizione dell'Orso, 1989): 107-117.

Guillén, Claudio. "Notes toward the Study of the Renaissance Letter," in *Renaissance Genres: Essays on Theory, History, and Interpretation*, ed. Barbara Kiefer Lewalski (Cambridge, M.A.: Harvard University Press, 1986): 70-101.

Hall, Catherine. *At Home with Empire: Metropolitan Culture and the Imperial World* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006).

———, ed. *Cultures of Empire: Colonizers in Britain and the Empire in the Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries. A Reader*. (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2000).

Hankins, James. "The 'Baron Thesis' after Forty Years and Some Recent Studies of Leonardo Bruni," *Journal of the History of Ideas* 56/2 (1995): 309-338.

———, ed. *Renaissance Civic Humanism: Reappraisals and Reflections* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000).

Hanna, Ralph. "Miscellaneity and Vernacularity: Conditions of Literary Production in Late Medieval England," in *The Whole Book: Cultural Perspectives on the Medieval Miscellany*, eds. Stephen G. Nichols and Siegfried Wenzel (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1996): 37-51.

Harley, J.B. "Deconstructing the Map," *Cartographica* 26/2 (1989): 1-20.

———. "Maps, Knowledge, and Power," in *The Iconography of the Landscape*, eds. Denis Cosgrove and Stephen Daniels (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988): 277-312.

———. "Silences and Secrecy," *Imago Mundi* 40 (1988): 57-76.

Harley, J.B. and David Woodward, eds. *The History of Cartography* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1987-2007). Vol. 1: Cartography in Prehistoric, Ancient and Medieval Europe and the Mediterranean; and Vol. 3: Cartography in the European Renaissance.

Harris, William V., ed. *Rethinking the Mediterranean* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005).

Hasluck, F.W. "Depopulation in the Aegean Islands and the Turkish Conquest," *The Annual of the British School at Athens* 17 (1910/1911): 151-181.

———. "Notes on Manuscripts in the British Museum Relating to Levant Geography and Travel," *The Annual of the British School at Athens* 12 (1905/06): 196-215.

Hind, Arthur M. *An Introduction to a History of Woodcut* (London: Constable & Co., 1935).

Hobson, Anthony. *Humanists and Bookbinders: The Origins and Diffusion of Humanistic Bookbinding 1459-1559* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989).

Hocquet, Jean-Claude. "La gente di mare," in *Storia di Venezia*, eds. Alberto Tenenti and Ugo Tucci. Vol. XII: Il mare (Rome, 1991): 481-526.

Hodges, Karen A. "Unfolding Sophistic and Humanist Practice through *Ingenium*," *Rhetoric Review* 15/1 (1996): 86-92.

Holmes, John and Frederic Madden, eds. *Catalogue of Manuscript Maps, Charts, and Plans, and of the Topographical Drawings in the British Museum* (London: Printed by Order of the Trustees, 1844-61). 3 vols.

Holton, David, ed., *Literature and Society in Renaissance Crete* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991).

Horden, Peregrine and Nicholas Purcell. *The Corrupting Sea: A Study of Mediterranean History* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000).

Horodowich, Elizabeth. "Armchair Travelers and the Venetian Discovery of the New World," *The Sixteenth Century Journal* 36/4 (2005): 1039-1062.

———. *Language and Statecraft in Early Modern Venice* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008).

———. "The New Venice: Historians and Historiography in the 21st Century Lagoon," *History Compass* 2 (2004): 1-27.

Howard, Deborah. *Venice and the East* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2000).

Howse, Derek, and Michael Sanderson. *The Sea Chart: An Historical Survey Based on the Collections in the National Maritime Museum* (Newton Abbot: David & Charles, 1973).

Ivović, Sandra. "Humanism in schools: Italian humanists as teachers in the 15th-century Ragusa and Dalmatian communes"; published online as part of the *Croatiae auctores Latini* project, and accessible at: <http://www.ffzg.unizg.hr/klafil/dokuwiki/doku.php/z:humanism-eastern-adriatic>.

Jackson Lears, T.J. "The Concept of Cultural Hegemony: Problems and Possibilities." *The American Historical Review* 90/3 (1985): 567-593.

Jacob, Christian. "Toward a Cultural History of Cartography," *Imago Mundi* 48 (2006): 191-198.

———. *The Sovereign Map: Theoretical Approaches in Cartography throughout History*, trans. Edward H. Dahl (Chicago and London: University of Chicago Press, 2006).

Jacoby, David. "The Demographic Evolution of Euboea under Latin Rule, 1205-1470," in *The Greek Islands and the Sea*, eds. Julian Chrystostomides, Charalambos Dendrinos, and Jonathan Harris (Camberley: Porphyrogenitus, 2004): 132-79.

———. "The Eastern Mediterranean in the Later Middle Ages: An Island World?" in *Byzantines, Latins, and Turks in the Eastern Mediterranean World after 1150*, eds. Jonathan Harris, Catherine Holmes, and Eugenia Russell (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012): 93-118.

Jal, Augustin. *Archéologie navale* (Paris: A. Bertrand, 1840), vol. I-II.

Jasanoff, Maya. *Edge of Empire: Conquest and Collecting in the East 1750-1850* (London: Harper Perennial, 2006)

Jovanović, Neven. "Dubrovnik in the Corpus of Eastern Adriatic Humanist *Laudationes Urbium*," *Dubrovnik Annals* 16 (2012): 23-36.

Jurdjevic, Mark. "Hedgehogs and Foxes: The Present and Future of Italian Renaissance Intellectual History," *Past and Present* 195 (May, 2007), p. 241-268.

Kaborycha, Lisa. "Copying Culture: Fifteenth-Century Florentines and their Zibaldoni." Unpublished doctoral dissertation, University of California, Berkeley, 2006.

Kadić, Ante. "The Croatian Renaissance," *Slavic Review* 21/1 (1962): 65-88.

Karmon, David. *The Ruin of the Eternal City: Antiquity and Preservation in Renaissance Rome* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011).

Kay, Sarah. "Original Skin: Flaying, Reading, and Thinking in the Legend of Saint Bartholomew and Other Works," *Journal of Medieval and Early Modern Studies* 36/1 (2006): 35-73.

Kelly, Stephen and John J. Thompson. "Imagined Histories of the Book: Current Paradigms and Future Directions," in *Imagining the Book* (Turnhout: Brepols, 2005): 1-14.

Kemp, Martin. "From 'Mimesis' to 'Fantasia': The Quattrocento Vocabulary of Creation, Inspiration, and Genius in the Visual Arts," *Viator* 8 (1977): 347-398.

Kiel, Machiel. "The Smaller Aegean Islands in the 16th-18th Centuries According to Ottoman Documents," *Hesperia Supplements* vol. 40: Between Venice and Istanbul: Colonial Landscapes in Early Modern Greece (2007): 35-54.

King, Margaret. "The Social Role of Intellectuals: Antonio Gramsci and the Italian Renaissance," *Soundings* LXI/1 (1978): 23-46.

———. "The Venetian Intellectual World," in *A Companion to Venetian History, 1400-1797*, ed. Eric R. Dursteler (Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2013): 571-614.

———. *Venetian Humanism in an Age of Patrician Dominance* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1986).

Kitchin, Rob and Martin Dodge, "Rethinking Maps," *Progress in Human Geography* 31 (2007): 331-344.

Kitromilides, Paschalis M. "Law and Humanism in Cretan Culture: The Evidence of an Early Seventeenth-Century Library Catalogue," in *Pepragmena tou 5 diethnous kretologiou synedriou* (Iraklion, 1985), vol. II: 182-96.

Kohl, Benjamin G., Andrea Mozzato, and Monique O'Connell, eds. "The Rulers of Venice, 1332-1524." (Renaissance Society of America and ACLS: 2005-2008): rulersofvenice.org.

Kokole, Stanko. "Cyriacus of Ancona and the Revival of Two Forgotten Ancient Personifications in the Rector's Palace of Dubrovnik," *Renaissance Quarterly* 49/2 (1996): 225-267.

Krekić, Bariša. "Developed Autonomy: the Patricians in Dubrovnik and Dalmatian Cities," in *The Urban Society of Eastern Europe in Premodern Times* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1987).

Kristeller, Paul Oskar, ed. *Iter Italicum: a finding list of uncatalogued or incompletely catalogued humanistic manuscripts of the Renaissance*, 6 vols. (Leiden: Brill, 1963-1992).

———. "Petrarch's 'Averroists': A note on the history of Aristotelianism in Venice, Padua, and Bologna," *Bibliothèque d'Humanisme et Renaissance* 14/1 (1952): 59-65.

Kristeller, Paul Oskar. *Renaissance Thought and its Sources*, ed. Michael Mooney (New York: Columbia University Press, 1979).

———. *Renaissance Thought: The Classic, Scholastic, and Humanistic Strains* (New York: Harper & Row, 1961).

Labalme, Patricia H. *Bernardo Guistiniani: A Venetian of the Quattrocento* (Rome: Edizioni di storia e letteratura, 1969).

———. “The Last Will of a Venetian Patrician (1489),” in *Philosophy and Humanism: Renaissance Essays in Honor of Paul Oskar Kristeller*, ed. Edward P. Mahoney (Leiden, 1976): 483-501.

Landau, David and Peter Parshall. *The Renaissance Print: 1470-1550* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1994).

Lane, Frederic C. *Venetian Ships and Shipbuilders of the Renaissance* (Baltimore and London: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1992), paperback reissue.

———. *Venice: A Maritime Republic* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1973).

Lazzarini, Lino. *Paulo de Bernardo e i Primordi dell’Umanesimo in Venezia* (Geneva: L.S. Olschki, 1930).

Lefèvre, Wolfgang. *Picturing Machines, 1400-1700* (Cambridge, M.A. and London: MIT Press, 2004).

Lestringant, Frank. *Le livre des îles: atlas et récits insulaires* (Geneva: Droz, 2002).

Lewis, Rhodri. “Francis Bacon and Ingenuity,” *Renaissance Quarterly* 67 (2014): 113-163.

Liang, Yuen-Gen. *Family and Empire: The Fernández de Córdoba and the Spanish Realm* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2011).

Lieberman, Ralph. “Real Architecture, Imaginary History: The Arsenale Gate as Venetian Mythology,” *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* 54 (1991): 117-126.

Loenertz, Raymond-Joseph. *Les Ghisi: Dynastes vénitiens dans l’Archipel 1207-1390* (Florence: Olschki, 1975).

Long, Pamela O., David McGee, and Alan M. Stahl, eds. *The Book of Michael of Rhodes: A Fifteenth-Century Maritime Manuscript* (Cambridge, M.A.: MIT Press, 2009), III: Studies.

Long, Pamela O. *Openness, Secrecy, Authorship: Technical Arts and the Culture of Knowledge from Antiquity to the Renaissance* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2001).

———. “Power, Patronage, and the Authorship of Ars: From Mechanical Know-How to Mechanical Knowledge in the Last Scribal Age,” *Isis* 88/1 (1997): 1-41.

Love, Harold. “How personal is a personal miscellany? Sarah Cowper, Martin Clifford and the ‘Buckingham Commonplace Book,’” in *Order and Connexion: Studies in Bibliography and Book History*, ed. Robin C. Alston (Cambridge: D.S. Brewer, 1997): 111-126.

Lowry, Martin. *The World of Aldus Manutius: Business and Scholarship in Renaissance Venice* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1979).

Luttrell, Anthony T. “The Latins and life on the smaller Aegean islands, 1204-1453,” *Mediterranean Historical Review* 4/1 (1989): 146-157.

Mallett, Michael Edward and John R. Hale, *The Military Organization of a Renaissance State: Venice, c.1400-1617* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1984).

Manners, Ian R. “Constructing the Image of a City: The Representation of Constantinople in Christopher Buondelmonti’s *Liber Insularum Archipelagi*,” *Annals of the Association of American Geographers* 87/1 (1997): 72-102.

Martin, John and Dennis Romano, eds. *Venice Reconsidered: The History and Civilization of an Italian City-State, 1297–1797* (Baltimore and London: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2000).
Martin, Lillian Ray. *The Art and Archaeology of Venetian Ships and Boats* (London: Oxbow, 2001).

Martinović, Ivica. “Unpublished manuscript heritage of the Croatian Latinists in the libraries and archives of Dubrovnik: preliminary report.” Paper given at Euroclassica Congress, Dubrovnik, 29/3-2/4/2005: www.eduhi.at/gegenstand/.../data/Euroclassica_zbornik_Dubrovnik.doc

McClure, George W. *Sorrow and Consolation in Italian Humanism* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1991).

McGee, David. “From Craftsmanship to Draftsmanship: Naval Architecture and the Three Traditions of Early Modern Design,” *Technology and Culture* 40 (1999): 210-236.

McKee, Sally. *Uncommon Dominion: Venetian Crete and the Myth of Ethnic Purity* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2000).

McKitterick, David. *Print, Manuscript, and the Search for Order, 1450-1830* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003).

McLaughlin, Martin L. *Literary Imitation in the Italian Renaissance: The Theory and Practice of Literary Imitation in Italy from Dante to Bembo* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1995).

McManamon, John. "The 'Archaeology' of Fifteenth-Century Manuscripts on Shipbuilding," *Institute of Nautical Archaeology Quarterly* 28/4 (2001): 17-25.

McMurtrie, Douglas C. *Miniature Incunabula: Some Preliminary Notes on Small Books Printed During the Fifteenth Century* (Chicago: privately printed, 1929).

Melville-Jones, John. "Venetian History and Patrician Chroniclers," in *Chronicling History: Chroniclers and Historians in Medieval and Renaissance Italy*, eds. Sharon Dale, Alison Williams Lewin, and Duane J. Osheim (University Park, P.A.: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2007): 197-222.

Meserve, Margaret. *Empires of Islam in Renaissance Historical Thought* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 2008).

Messick, Brinkley. *The Calligraphic State: Textual Domination and History in a Muslim Society* (Berkeley, 1993).

Mignolo, Walter. *The Darker Side of the Renaissance: Literacy, Territoriality, and Colonization* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1995).

Milanesi, Marica. "A Forgotten Ptolemy: Harley Codex 3686 in the British Library," *Imago Mundi* 48/1 (1996): 43-64.

Minnis, Alastair J. "Nolens Auctor Sed Compilatio Reputari: The Late-Medieval Discourse of Compilation," in *La méthode critique au Moyen Âge*, eds. Mireille Chazan and Gilbert Dahan (Turnhout: Brepols, 2008): 47-63.

Mitchell, Charles. "Ex libris Kiriacy Anconitani," *Italia Medioevale e Umanistica* V (1962): 283-299.

Molho, Anthony. "Patronage and the State in Early Modern Italy," in *Klientelsysteme im Europa der Frühen Neuzeit*, eds. Antoni Mączak and Elisabeth Müller-Luckner (Munich: Oldenbourg, 1988): 233-242.

Mommsen, Theodor. "Über die Berliner Excerptenhandschrift des Petrus Donatus," *Jahrbuch der Königlich Preussischen Kunstsammlungen* 4 (1883): 73-89.

Morteani, Luigi. "Isola ed i suoi Statuti," *Atti e Memorie della Società Istriana di Archeologia e Storia Patria* IV/1-4 (1887-8).

Moss, Amanda. "A Merchant's Tales: A London Fifteenth-Century Household Miscellany," *The Yearbook of English Studies* 33 (2003): 156-169.

Moss, Ann. *Printed Commonplace-Books and the Structuring of Renaissance Thought* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1996).

Mousley, Andrew. "Early modern autobiography, history and human testimony: the autobiography of Thomas Whythorne," *Textual Practice* 23/2 (2009): 267-287.

Mueller, Reinhold C. "Aspects of Venetian Sovereignty in Medieval and Renaissance Dalmatia," in *Quattrocento Adriatico: Fifteenth-century Art of the Adriatic Rim*, ed. C. Dempsey (Bologna, 1996): 29-56.

Muir, Edward. "Was There Republicanism in Renaissance Republics?: Venice after Agnadello," in *Venice Reconsidered*, eds. John Martin and Dennis Romano (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2000): 137-167.

———. *Mad Blood Stirring: Vendetta in Renaissance Italy* (Baltimore and London: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1998).

Muthu, Sankar, ed. *Empire and Modern Political Thought* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012).

Nagel, Alexander and Christopher Wood, *Anachronic Renaissance* (New York: Zone Books, 2010).

Najemy, John M. "Machiavelli Between East and West," in *From Florence to the Mediterranean and Beyond*, eds. Diogo Ramada Curto, Eric R. Dursteler, Julius Kirshner, and Francesca Trivellato (Florence: Olschki, 2009), I: 127-45.

Nardi, Bruno. *Saggi sulla cultura veneta del Quattro e Cinquecento*, ed. Paolo Mazzantini (Padua: Antenore, 1971).

Nauert, Charles. "Renaissance Humanism: An Emergent Consensus and its Critics," *Indiana Social Studies Quarterly* 33 (1980): 5-20.

Nederman, Cary J. "Humanism and Empire: Aeneas Sylvius Piccolomini, Cicero and the imperial Ideal," *The Historical Journal* 36/3 (1993): 499-515.

Needham, Paul. "Copy-Specifics in the Printing Shop," in *Early Printed Books as Material Objects*, eds. Bettina Wagner and Marcia Reed (The Hague: Walter de Gruyter, 2010): 9-21.

O'Connell, Monique. *Men of Empire: Power and Negotiation in Venice's Maritime State* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2009).

———. "The Sexual Politics of Empire: Civic Honor and Official Crime outside Renaissance Venice," *Journal of Early Modern History* 15 (2011): 331-348.

Ogborn, Miles. "Writing Travels: Power, Knowledge, and Ritual on the English East India Company's Early Voyages," *Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers*, New Series 27/2 (2002): 155-171.

———. *Global Lives: Britain and the World, 1550-1800* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008).

———. *Indian Ink: Script and Print in the Making of the English East India Company* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2007).

Olivieri, Luigi, ed. *Aristotelismo Veneto e scienza moderna* (Padua: Antenore, 1983).

Ortalli, Gherardo. "Les 'giorni uziagi': Hommes de mer vénitiens et jours néfastes," in *Chemins d'Outre-mer: études d'histoire sur la Méditerranée médiévale offertes à Michel Balard*, eds. Damien Coulon, Catherine Otten-Froux, Paule Pagès, and Dominique Valérian (Paris: Publications de la Sorbonne, 2004). Vol. II: 633-638.

Pächt, Otto. *Venetian Painting in the 15th Century: Jacopo, Gentile and Giovanni Bellini and Andrea Mantegna*, eds. Margareta Vyoral-Tschapka and Michael Pächt, trans. Fiona Elliott (London: Harvey Miller, 2003).

Paci, Gianfranco and Sergio Sconocchia, eds. *Ciriaco d'Ancona e la cultura antiquaria dell'Umanesimo. Atti del Convegno Internazionale di Studio. Ancona, 6-9 febbraio 1992* (Parma: Diabasis, 1998).

Padrón, Ricardo. *The Spacious Word: Cartography, Literature, and Empire in Early Modern Spain* (Chicago and London: University of Chicago Press, 2004).

Patrizio Gunning, Lucia. *The British Consular Service in the Aegean and the Collection of Antiquities for the British Museum* (Farnham: Ashgate, 2009).

Pearson, David. "The Importance of the Copy Census as a Methodology in Book History," in *Early Printed Books as Material Objects*, eds. Bettina Wagner and Marcia Reed (The Hague: Walter de Gruyter, 2010): 321-328.

Pertusi, Agostino. "L'umanesimo greco della fine del secolo XIV agli inizi del secolo XVI," in *Storia della cultura veneta*, eds. Girolamo Arnaldi and Manlio Pastore Stocchi (Venice: Neri Pozza, 1980-1981), III/1: 177-264.

Pesaro, Marco Francesco. *Catalogo della libreria d'un illustre patrizio veneto* (Padova: Stamperia del Seminario, 1805).

Petrovich, Michael B. "Croatian Humanists and the Writing of History in the Fifteenth and Sixteenth Centuries," *Slavic Review* 37/4 (1978): 624-639.

Petrucchi, Armando. "Alle origini del libro moderno: libri da banco, libri da bisaccia, libretti da mano," *Italia medioevale e umanistica* 12 (1969): 295-313.

———. *Writers and Readers in Medieval Italy*. Charles M. Radding, trans. (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1995).

Pigman III, G.W. "Versions of Imitation in the Renaissance," *Renaissance Quarterly* 33/1 (1980): 1-32.

Pincus, Debra. "Venice and the Two Romes: Byzantium and Rome as a Double Heritage in Venetian Cultural Politics," *Artibus et Historiae* 13/26 (1992): 101-114.

Pirenne, Henri. "L'instruction des marchants au moyen âge," *Annales d'histoire économique et sociale* 1/1 (1929): 13-28.

Pon, Lisa and Craig Kallendorf, eds. *The Books of Venice - Il Libro Veneziano* (Oak Knoll Press: New Castle, D.E., 1987).

Powitz, Gerhardt. *Die Frankfurter Gutenbergs Bibel* (Frankfurt: Klostermann, 1990).

Pujades, Ramon. *Les cartes portolanes: la representació medieval d'una mar solcada* (Barcelona: Institut Cartogràfic de Catalunya, 2007).

Purcell, Nicholas and Peregrine Horden. "The Mediterranean and 'the New Thalassology,'" *American Historical Review* 111/3 (2006): 722-740.

Purcell, Nicholas. "Colonization and Mediterranean History," in *Ancient Colonizations: Analogy, Similarity, and Difference*, eds. Henry Hurst and Sara Owen (London: Duckworth, 2005): 115-139.

Queller, Donald E. *The Venetian Patriciate: Reality versus Myth* (Urbana and Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 1986).

Quint, David, Margaret W. Ferguson, G.W. Pigman III, and Wayne A. Rebhorn, eds. *Creative Imitation: Essays in Renaissance Literature in Honor of Thomas M. Greene* (Binghamton: Medieval and Renaissance Texts and Studies, 1992).

Raby, Julian. "Cyriacus of Ancona and the Ottoman Sultan Mehmed II," *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* 43 (1980): 242-246.

Raines, Dorit. *L'Invention di Mythe Aristocratique: L'image de soi du patriciat vénitien au temps de la Sérénissime* (Venice: Istituto Veneto di Scienze, Lettere ed Arti, 2006), I and II.

Ragone, Giuseppe. "Il Liber Insularum Archipelagi di Cristoforo dei Buondelmonti: filologia del testo, filologia dell'immagine," in *Humanisme et culture géographique à l'époque du Concile de Constance*, ed. Didier Marcotte (Turnhout: Brepols, 2002): 177-218.

Reeve, M.D. "Manuscripts Copied from Printed Books," in *Manuscripts in the Fifty Years after the Invention of Printing*, ed. J.B. Trapp (London: The Warburg Institute, 1983): 12-20.

Relaño, Francesc. *The Shaping of Africa: Cosmographic Discourse and Cartographic Science in Medieval and Early Modern Europe* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2002).

Rhodes, Neil and Jonathan Sawday, eds. *The Renaissance Computer: Knowledge Technology in the First Age of Print* (London and New York: Routledge, 2000).

Richardson, Brian. *Manuscript Culture in Renaissance Italy* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009).

———. *Printing, Writers and Readers in Renaissance Italy* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999).

Rieth, Éric. "Les illustrations d'un 'Livre de recettes techniques' d'architecture navale au milieu du XVI^e siècle: le Libro di Zorzi Trombetta de Modon," in *Pour une histoire du 'fait maritime': sources et champ de recherches*, eds. Christiane Villain-Gandossi and Éric Rieth (Paris: CTHS, 2001): 81-104.

Roberts, Sean. *Printing a Mediterranean World: Florence, Constantinople, and the Renaissance of Geography* (Cambridge, M.A. and London: Harvard University Press, 2013).

Romano, Dennis. *Patricians and Popolani: The Social Foundations of the Venetian Renaissance State* (Baltimore and London: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1987).

Rose, Paul Lawrence and Stillman Drake, "The Pseudo-Aristotelian Questions of Mechanics in Renaissance Culture," *Studies in the Renaissance* 18 (1971): 65-104.

Ross, J.B. "Venetian Schools and Teachers Fourteenth to Early Sixteenth Century: A Survey and a Study of Giovanni Battista Egnazio," *Renaissance Quarterly* 29/4 (1976): 521-566.

Rothman, Natalie E. *Brokering Empire: Trans-Imperial Subjects between Venice and Istanbul* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2011).

Rothschild, Emily. *The Inner Life of Empires: An Eighteenth Century History* (Princeton and Oxford: Princeton University Press, 2011).

Rublack, Ulinka. *The Crimes of Women in Early Modern Germany* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001).

Rudy, Kate M. "Dirty Books: Quantifying Patterns of Use in Medieval Manuscripts Using a Densitometer," *Journal of Historians of Netherlandish Art* 2/1-2 (2010): <http://www.jhna.org/index.php/past-issues/volume-2-issue-1-2/129-dirty-books>).

———. "Kissing Images, Unfurling Rolls, Measuring Wounds, Sewing Bandages and Carrying Talismans: Considering Some Harley Manuscripts through the Physical Rituals they Reveal," *Electronic British Library Journal* 12 (2011): <http://www.bl.uk/ebj/2011/articles/article5.html>.

Ruff, Julius R. *Violence in Early Modern Europe* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001).

Ruggiero, Guido. *The Boundaries of Eros: Sex Crime and Sexuality in Renaissance Venice* (New York and Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1985).

———. *Violence in Early Renaissance Venice* (New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press, 1980).

Rundle, David, ed., *Humanism in Fifteenth-Century Europe* (Oxford: Society for the Study of Medieval Languages and Literature, 2012).

Rundstrom, Robert A. "Mapping, Postmodernism, Indigenous People," *Cartographica* 28/2 (1991): 1-12.

Rust, Martha. *Imaginary Worlds in Medieval Books: Exploring the Manuscript Matrix* (New York, 2007).

Sabbadini, Remigio. *Le scoperte dei codici latini e greci ne secoli XIV e XV* (Florence: G.C. Sansoni, 1905).

Sacerdoti, Alberto. "Note sulle galere da mercato veneziane nel XV secolo," *Bollettino dell'Istituto di Storia della Società e dello Stato* IV (1962): 80-105.

Said, Edward. "Culture and Imperialism," lecture delivered at York University, Toronto, 10 February, 1993. Archived online: [http://engres.ied.edu.hk/literature/E-lecture\(Mat\)/Week3\(RudyardKipling\)/Culture%20and%20Imperialism.pdf](http://engres.ied.edu.hk/literature/E-lecture(Mat)/Week3(RudyardKipling)/Culture%20and%20Imperialism.pdf)

Saint-Guillain, Guillaume. "Les Conquérants de l'Archipel: l'empire Latin de Constantinople, Venise et les premiers seigneurs des Cyclades," in *Quarta Crociata: Venezia, Bizanzio, Impero Latino*, eds. Gherardo Ortalli, Giorgio Ravegnani, and Peter Schreiner (Venice: Istituto Veneto di Scienze, Lettere ed Arti, 2006): 125-233.

Schiffman, Zachary S. "Montaigne and the Rise of Skepticism in Early Modern Europe: A Reappraisal," *Journal of the History of Ideas* 45/4 (1984): 499-516.

Scholz, Bernhard F. "Self-Fashioning by Mail: The Letters of a Renaissance Misfit," *Prose Studies: History, Theory, Criticism* 19/2: *Correspondences: A Special Issue in Letters* (1996): 136-148.

Schultz, Juergen. "Jacopo de' Barbari's View of Venice: Mapmaking, City Views, and Moral Geography before the year 1500," *The Art Bulletin* 60/3 (1978): 425-474.

Shapin, Steven and Simon Schaffer, *Leviathan and the Air-Pump: Hobbes, Boyle, and the Experimental Life* (Princeton and Oxford: Princeton University Press, 2011). Second edition.

Shapin, Steven. "Pump and Circumstance: Robert Boyle's Literary Technology," *Social Studies of Science* 14/4 (1984): 481-520.

Slot, Ben J. *Archipelagus turbatus: les Cyclades entre colonisation latine et occupation ottomane c. 1500-1718* (Istanbul: Nederlands Historisch-Archaeologisch Instituut, 1982).

Smyth, Adam. *Autobiography in Early Modern England* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010).

Spence, Jonathan D. *The Question of Hu* (New York: Knopf, 1988).

Spiller, Michael R.G. *The Development of the Sonnet* (London and New York: Routledge, 1992).

Stahl, Alan M. "Michael of Rhodes and the Birth of the Mariner's Manual," *Journal of Early Modern History* 14 (2010): 151-163.

Steinberg, Philip E. "Insularity, Sovereignty, and Statehood: the Representation of Islands on Portolan Charts and the Construction of the Territorial State," *Geografiska Annaler B* 87/4 (2005): 253-65.

Stevens, Henry N. *Ptolemy's Geography: A Brief Account of All Printed Editions to 1730* (London: Chiswick Press, 1908).

Stinger, Charles L. *The Renaissance in Rome* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1998). Second edition.

Stocchi, Manlio Pastore. "Scuola e cultura umanistica fra due secoli," in *Storia della cultura veneta*, III/1, eds. idem and Girolamo Arnaldi (Vicenza: Istituto Federale della Casse di Risparmio delle Venezie, 1980): 93-121.

Stock, Brian. *The Implications of Literacy: Written Language and Models of Interpretation in the Eleventh and Twelfth Centuries* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1983).

Stone, Albert E. "The Sea and the Self: Travel as Experience and Metaphor in Early American Autobiography," *Genre* 7/3 (1974): 279-306.

Subrahmanyam, Sanjay. *Three Ways To Be Alien: Travails and Encounters in the Early Modern World* (Waltham, M.A.: Brandeis University Press, 2011).

Tafuri, Manfredo. *Venice and the Renaissance*. Trans. Jessica Levine (Cambridge, MA. and London: MIT Press, 1989).

Tambling, Jeremy. "Dreaming the Siren: Dante and Melancholy," *Forum for Modern Language Studies* 20 (2004): 56-69.

Tateo, Francesco. "Marcantonio Sabellico e la svolta del classicismo quattrocentesco," in *Florilegium historiale: essays presented to Wallace K. Ferguson*, eds. John Gordon Rowe and W.H. Stockdale (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1971): 41-64.

Tenenti, Alberto. *Piracy and the Decline of Venice, 1580-1615* (London: Longmans, 1967).

———. "The Sense of Space and Time in the Venetian World of the Fifteenth and Sixteenth Centuries," in *Renaissance Venice*, ed. J.R. Hale (London: Faber and Faber, 1973): 17-46.

Thiriet, Freddy. *La Romanie vénitienne au moyen âge: Le développement et l'exploitation du domaine colonial vénitien* (Paris: Boccard, 1959).

Thornton, Dora. *The Scholar in His Study: Ownership and Experience in Renaissance Italy* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1997).

Tolias, George. "The politics of the *isolario*: maritime cosmography and overseas expansion during the Renaissance," *The Historical Review/La Revue Historique* IX (2012): 27-52.

Tonini, Camillo and Piero Lucchi, eds. *Navigare e descrivere: isolari e portolani del Museo Correr di Venezia* (Venice: Marsilio, 2001).

Tracy, James. "From Humanism to the Humanities: A Critique of Grafton and Jardine," *Modern Language Quarterly* 51 (1990): 122-143.

Trencsényi, Balázs and Márton Zászkaliczky. *For the Love of Which Country?: Composite States, National Histories, and Patriotic Discourses in Early Modern East Central Europe* (Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2010).

Trexler, Richard C. "Infanticide in Florence: New Sources and First Results," *History of Childhood Quarterly* 1/1 (1973): 98-116.

Trivellato, Francesca. "Is There a Future for Italian Microhistory in the Age of Global History?," *California Italian Studies* 2/1 (2011): 1-23.

———. *The Familiarity of Strangers: The Sephardic Diaspora, Livorno, and Cross-Cultural Trade in the Early Modern Period* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2009).

Tucci, Ugo. "Architettura Navale Veneziana: Misure di Vascelli della Metà del Cinquecento," *Bollettino dell'Atlante Linguistico Mediterraneo* 5-6 (1963-1964): 277-293.

———. "Il patrizio mercante e umanista," in *Venezia: centro di mediazione tra Oriente e Occidente (secoli XV-XVI): aspetti e problemi*, ed. Hans-Georg Beck, Manoussos Manoussacas, and Agostino Pertusi (Florence: L.S. Olschki, 1977): 335-358.

———. "Ranke and the Venetian Document Market," *The Courier* 22/1 (1987): 27-38.

———. "Tariffe veneziane e libri toscani di mercatura," *Studi Veneziani* 10 (1968): 65-108.

———. "The Psychology of the Venetian Merchant," in *Renaissance Venice*, ed. John R. Hale (London: Faber and Faber, 1973): 346-378.

Turner, Hilary L. "Christopher Buondelmonti and the *Isolario*," *Terrae Incognitae* 19 (1987): 11-28.

Ulivì, Ferruccio. *L'imitazione nella poetica del Rinascimento* (Milan: C. Marzorati, 1959).

Ullman, Berthold Louis and Philip A. Stadter. *The Public Library of Renaissance Florence* (Padua: Editrice Antenore, 1972).

van der Spuy, Patricia. "Infanticide, slavery and the politics of reproduction at Cape Colony, South Africa, in the 1820s," in *Infanticide: Historical Perspectives on Child Murder and Concealment, 1550-2000*, ed. Mark Jackson (Aldershot, 2002): 128-148.

Van Duzer, Chet. "Benedetto Cotrugli's Lost *Mappamundi* Found - Three times" *Imago Mundi* 65/1 (2013): 1-14.

———. "From Odysseus to Robinson Crusoe: A Survey of Early Western Island Literature," *Island Studies Journal* 1/2 (2006): 143-162.

Van Egmond, Warren. *Practical Mathematics in the Italian Renaissance: A Catalog of Italian Abacus Manuscripts and Printed Books to 1600* (Florence: Istituto e museo di storia della scienza, 1980).

Vanin, Barbara. *I Manoscritti Medievali in Lingua Volgare de Biblioteca del Museo Correr di Venezia*, unpublished doctoral dissertation (Università Ca' Foscari, Venice: 2008).

Vickers, Michael. "Mantegna and Constantinople," *The Burlington Magazine* 118/883 (1976): 680-87.

Viggiano, Alfredo. "Note sull'amministrazione veneziana in Istria nel secolo XV," *Acta Histriae* III (1994): 5-20.

Vilfan, Sergij. "Towns and States at the Juncture of the Alps, the Adriatic, and Pannonia," in *Cities and the Rise of States in Europe, AD 1000-1800*, ed. Charles Tilly and Wim P. Blockmans (Boulder, C.O.: Westview Press, 1994): 44-59.

Vine, Angus. "Commercial Commonplacing: Francis Bacon, the Waste-Book, and the Ledger," in *English Manuscript Studies 1100-1700*, vol. 16, eds. Richard Beadle and Colin Burrow (London, 2011): 197-218.

Wallace, William A. "Traditional Natural Philosophy," in *The Cambridge History of Renaissance Philosophy*, eds. C.B. Schmitt, Quentin Skinner, Eckhard Kessler, and Jill Kraye (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990): 201-35.

Weiss, Roberto. *The Renaissance Discovery of Classical Antiquity* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1969).

West, Anthony James. *The Shakespeare First Folio: The History of Books* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001).

Wiggins, Alison. "What did Renaissance readers write in their printed copies of Chaucer?" *The Library*, 7th ser. 9/1 (2008): 3-36.

Williams Lehmann, Phyllis. "Theodosius or Justinian? A Renaissance Drawing of a Byzantine Rider," *The Art Bulletin* 41/1 (1959): 39-57.

Williams, Stephen J. *The Secret of Secrets: The Scholarly Career of a pseudo-Aristotelian Text in the Latin Middle Ages* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2003).

Wilson, Bronwen. *The World in Venice: Print, the City, and Early Modern Identity* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2005).

Wilson, Nigel G. "Vettor Fausto, Professor of Greek and Naval Architect," in *The Uses of Greek and Latin: Historical Essays*, eds. A.C. Dionisotti, Anthony Grafton, and Jill Kraye (London: The Warburg Institute, University of London, 1988): 89-96.

Wilson, Nigel G. *From Byzantium to Italy: Greek Studies in the Italian Renaissance* (London: Duckworth, 1992).

Wolfe, Jessica. *Humanism, Machinery, and Renaissance Literature* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004).

Wood, Denis and John Fels, "Designs on Signs: Myth and Meaning in Maps," *Cartographica* 23/3 (1986): 54-103.

———, *The Natures of Maps: Cartographic Constructions of the Natural World* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2009).

Wood, Denis. "Pleasure in the Idea: The Atlas as Narrative Form," *Cartographica* 24/1 (1987): 24-45.

Woodward, David. *Five Centuries of Map Printing* (Chicago and London: University of Chicago Press, 1975).

———. *Maps as Prints in the Italian Renaissance: Makers, Distributors, and Consumers* (London: The British Library, 1996).

Woolf, Daniel R. *Reading History in Early Modern England* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000).

Wren Christian, Kathleen. *Empire Without End: Antiquities Collections in Renaissance Rome, c. 1350-1527* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2010).

Wright, Louis B. "Intellectual History and the Colonial South," *The William and Mary Quarterly*, 3rd ser., 16/2 (1959): 214-227

Yeo, Richard. "A Solution to the Multitude of Books: Ephraim Chambers' "Cyclopaedia" (1782) as "The Best Book in the Universe,"" *Journal of the History of Ideas* 64/1 (2003): 61-72.

———. "Notebooks as memory aids: precepts and practices in early modern England," *Memory Studies* 1/1 (2008): 115-136.

Zabughin, Vladimir. *Giulio Pomponio Leto: saggio critico* (Rome: La Vita Letteraria, 1909-12).

Zakythinos, Dionysios A. "Corsaires et pirates dans les mers grecques au temps de la domination Turque," *L'Hellenisme Contemporain* 10-11 (April-May, 1939): 695-738.

Zorzi, Marino. "Dal manoscritto al libro," in *Storia di Venezia*, eds. Alberto Tenenti and Ugo Tucci (Rome: Enciclopedia Italiana, 1996), Vol. IV: 817-941.