

# PRINTING A MEDITERRANEAN WORLD



Florence, Constantinople, and  
the Renaissance of Geography

SEAN ROBERTS

I TATTI STUDIES IN  
ITALIAN RENAISSANCE HISTORY



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MEDITERRANEAN  
WORLD

*Florence, Constantinople, and the  
Renaissance of Geography*

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*For Theresa Davidson*



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PRINTING A MEDITERRANEAN WORLD





## Introduction: Gifts From Afar

In the winter of 1483 an apparently unexpected gift arrived in Constantinople at the court of Sultan Bayezid II, son of Mehmed the Conqueror.<sup>1</sup> A Florentine merchant and occasional diplomatic envoy, Paolo da Colle, conveyed a printed Italian book of maps and world description to the Ottoman capital. The following spring, Paolo arrived in the Savoy lands with another copy of the same geographical text, bearing a letter of donation to Bayezid's half-brother Cem.<sup>2</sup> Having fled Ottoman territory after an unsuccessful bid for the throne, the young prince Cem had sought refuge and military aid along the eastern Mediterranean coast. Stopping first at the court of Qait Bey, the Mamluk Sultan in Cairo, and on to Cilicia from there, Cem was driven finally to seek help from the knights of Saint John on Rhodes, the Hospitallers. Eventually the prince found himself transported to Europe in the safekeeping, or, more accurately captivity, of the knights.<sup>3</sup>

The book, which Paolo brought to these Ottoman princes, was the *Septe giornate della geographia*—*The Seven Days of Geography* penned by the Florentine humanist and statesman Francesco Berlinghieri and printed in 1482.<sup>4</sup> Bound between the book's covers were over one hundred folio leaves describing the world in Italian verse, following the order of the Greek geographer

Claudius Ptolemy's second-century *Geography*.<sup>5</sup> Berlinghieri's poem was divided into the seven books or days of its title, framed as the author's week-long odyssey across the known world. While Berlinghieri's was not the first attempt to modernize Ptolemy's description and cartographic methodology in the vernacular, the *Geographia* was the earliest fully realized effort and the first to be widely disseminated by the printing press.<sup>6</sup>

Within the *Geographia*'s pages the potentially dry and encyclopedic project of listing thousands of terrestrial locations was framed within a narrative poem in *terza rima*, the metric form of Dante's *Commedia*. The hills of Fiesole, high above Florence, stand in for Dante's dark wood, while the ancient geographer replaces Virgil as muse and guide.<sup>7</sup> In a dramatic prologue, Ptolemy descends from the clouds to interrupt Berlinghieri and an unnamed companion, offering the scholars a tour of the known world. Engulfed in swirling clouds and dazed by a blinding light, Berlinghieri finds himself addressed by an unfamiliar voice. The poet calls out, unsure whether he confronts a man or a god. The mysterious and as yet unseen speaker identifies himself as Ptolemy, responding that he is neither god nor man but rather "was once a man from Egyptian Alexandria and wrote of the stars and earth while Antoninus Pius reined over the Empire."<sup>8</sup> The two geographers, brought together over a distance of 1300 years discuss etymology, history, and even the proper method for mathematically producing maps.

This narrative encounter establishes the dynamic tension that animates Berlinghieri's poem as a whole. The modern Christian geographer, product of a Florentine literary and philosophical circle that vested antique texts and their authors with exceptional authority, literally confronts that authority. The result is a conversation that confounds scholarly expectation, an initially bewildering oscillation between revolutionary and retrospective knowledge of the world. Though the recovery of Ptolemy's *Geography* was once thought to represent an innovative and defining shift away from an irrational, medieval conception of the cosmos, revisionist historians of cartography have come to emphasize the continuity of Renaissance geography with traditional precedents.<sup>9</sup> Berlinghieri's book proves one of the best examples of this combination of the novel and the archaic, an emblem of a vibrant and hybrid geographic culture that historians are only beginning to fully comprehend.

The *Geographia*'s text performed many of the functions that Renaissance readers had come to expect not only of Ptolemy, but also of geographical

texts, both modern and ancient. Berlinghieri's book included all of the *Geography's* locations and their coordinates, the ancient geographer's theory of cartography and methods of mathematical projection, as well as a set of maps derived from, and recognizable as, those associated with Ptolemy. Yet the poet's imaginative conversations with Ptolemy go a great deal beyond translation or paraphrase. Ptolemy's *Geography*, while of great interest to a select community of humanist scholars, was principally a list of coordinates and place names. Many of these toponyms were unfamiliar to fifteenth-century Italians and quite a few were actually unidentifiable with any location then known. Berlinghieri, drawing on the example of earlier Italian geographers, translated these obscure names into Italian and, more importantly, identified some of Ptolemy's lesser-known locations with modern cities familiar to his readers.<sup>10</sup>

The poet provided his readers with new contexts for understanding often unfamiliar names by integrating Ptolemy's locations with events of recent and ancient history, information taken from travel accounts, pilgrimage descriptions, and the narrative tracts of ancient authorities including Pliny. Pithy descriptions of eminent individuals, including rulers, scholars, and saints associated with these places are also included.<sup>11</sup> These anecdotes were drawn from a range of ancient authors, especially Strabo, but also from more recent (and today less-familiar) geographers including Fazio degli Uberti and Flavio Biondo. The *Geographia* departs from its classical model, embracing philology and history as integral to a conception of geographical knowledge.<sup>12</sup> The Mediterranean world described by the poet was one invested with layer upon layer of historical events and mythic tales.

Berlinghieri's verse drew on Latin poets including Virgil, Propertius, and especially Ovid to imbue the toponyms of Ptolemy's classical world with depth through the addition of mythological, historical, and literary allusions.<sup>13</sup> For Ptolemy, Jaffa (*Ioppa*) is just a name in a long list. The *Geographia's* readers, however, are treated to the tale of Perseus's daring and suspenseful rescue of the princess Andromeda on an epic and poetic scale. Ptolemy directs Berlinghieri to "look in those hills and behold the vast and ancient city of Joppa, where the Egyptian king Cepheus kept his throne, that same husband of Cassiopeia and father of Andromeda who abandoned her on the cliff without any means of sustenance or aid if not for the rescue of Perseus. For she was already in the mouth of that whale and would be torn to pieces, yet

divine aid always comes to the innocent, and not a moment too late he freed her from her chains.”<sup>14</sup> Likewise, drawing on Pliny, Strabo, and the less familiar Pomponius Mela, the mountains of Lycia become the setting for Bellerophon’s encounter with the Chimera who appears to the hero “with the tail of a foul snake, the torso of a hideous goat and the head of a furious lion.”<sup>15</sup>

The *Geographia* was printed in the shop of Niccolò Tedesco, a German immigrant to Florence who rapidly built a reputation for producing innovative illustrated books for humanist authors.<sup>16</sup> Indeed, the very first European books to combine letterpress text and engraved images on the same page, including Cristoforo Landino’s massive commentary on Dante’s *Commedia* (1481), originated in this workshop.<sup>17</sup> Just as Ptolemy guided the geographer, so Berlinghieri’s readers were accompanied by a guide of their own for this journey—engraved maps illustrating the terrain they would traverse. Included were twenty-six regional maps and a world map derived from those conventionally found in European manuscripts of Ptolemy’s work (Figure 1). These prints were rounded out with “modern” representations of Spain, France, and Italy, along with a map of the Holy Land, the first engraved maps including up-to-date geographical information produced in Europe.<sup>18</sup> These thirty-one, double-folio maps represented the largest program of engraving undertaken in Renaissance Florence and must be counted among the most ambitious printing projects of the fifteenth century.<sup>19</sup> These massive prints were probably the first engraved maps that many of Berlinghieri’s readers had ever had the opportunity to view.

When the *Geographia* left Niccolò’s press it was also produced, apparently simultaneously, in at least two spectacular manuscript copies. The first of these manuscripts was presented to Florence’s de facto first citizen, Lorenzo de’ Medici.<sup>20</sup> The second was illuminated for Federico da Montefeltro, the ruler of the city of Urbino, recipient of the book’s printed dedication, and proprietor of one of the most renowned libraries in Renaissance Italy.<sup>21</sup> Both manuscripts included thirty-one lavish maps, painted on vellum by several of the city’s most sought-after illuminators (Figure 2). Dozens of influential European scholars and heads of state including Cristoforo di Giustinopoli, head of the Servite order, Roberto Malatesta, lord of Rimini, and the kings of Hungary and Naples also possessed copies of the printed edition. These printed books were often lavishly illuminated, their maps colored by hand and their opening pages decorated with the arms and devices of their owners.

## The Diplomatic Context of Berlinghieri's Book

Like many printed copies of the *Geographia*, those produced for Bayezid and Cem were significantly modified for presentation to their illustrious recipients. Both include hand-colored maps with gold-leaf borders, fully illuminated incipit pages, letters of donation from Berlinghieri, and full-page frontispieces declaring their ownership by the half-brothers (Figures 3 and 4).<sup>22</sup> Bayezid's copy also replaced the printed up-to-date maps of France and Italy with manuscript examples closely based on these and its map of the world includes exquisitely illuminated wind heads.<sup>23</sup> These impressive copies of Berlinghieri's book have caught the attention of scholars interested in the exchange of worldly goods between cultures in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, serving as exemplars of the multicultural and international origins of the phenomenon we have come to know as the Italian Renaissance.<sup>24</sup>

Undoubtedly, the *Geographia* served as an advertisement for the particular skills of a scholar attempting to ply his trade across international (or better pre-national) Mediterranean boundaries. This seemingly extraordinary circumstance was made possible thanks to the emergence of an enterprising Renaissance print culture in a world still significantly without the borders between East and West that modern readers have come to take for granted.<sup>25</sup> Yet Paolo da Colle's continent spanning delivery of copies of the *Geographia* to Bayezid and Cem in Constantinople and Savoy was not solely initiated by the book's author or printer in a search for patronage. In an article of 1963, the great historian of the Ottoman Empire Franz Babinger uncovered a context for Berlinghieri's book that extends far beyond a poet's hunt for an illustrious dedicatee.<sup>26</sup> For Babinger, the *Geographia*'s presentation to Cem and Bayezid represented not only the goals and aspirations of Berlinghieri, but also those of the Florentine state. Paolo da Colle had frequently served as an agent of Lorenzo de' Medici, not only in Constantinople, but also at the Mamluk Sultan Qait Bey's court in Cairo, and in locations across Europe, and hence he proposed a Florentine diplomatic context for Cem and Bayezid's books.<sup>27</sup> Even when operating ostensibly as a merchant acting out of self-interest, Paolo was a regular correspondent of Lorenzo's, providing accounts of events abroad as, for example, when he reported the death of Mehmed II on June 15, 1481.<sup>28</sup> Gifts like these copies of the *Geographia* could have supported the goals of the Medici regime in fostering closer mercantile and martial ties with the Ottoman Empire in a period of increasing uncertainty across Italy. Part of the

Ottoman fleet had landed at Otranto less than three years prior, massacring half of the Apulian city's population and demonstrating the real possibility of a sustained Ottoman military presence on mainland Italy.<sup>29</sup> Further, in the politically tumultuous aftermath of the so-called Pazzi conspiracy, the assassination of Giuliano de' Medici and attempt on Lorenzo's life, war often isolated Florence from other major Italian powers, especially the papacy and the kingdom of Naples.<sup>30</sup> Some measure of diplomatic cordiality, even if substantially covert, with so militarily powerful a figure as Bayezid would have been desirable.

Francesco Berlinghieri's ability as a poet was matched by his skill as a political operative.<sup>31</sup> He served in Florence's elected government on several occasions. In 1479 he accepted a position as Lorenzo de' Medici's ambassador to the Gonzaga court of Mantua, where he was directly involved in military matters related to ongoing Italian conflicts and may have been in a unique position to initiate diplomatic contact with the Ottoman princes. Further, as an active member of the Florentine political class, Berlinghieri's writings and the maps accompanying them could themselves have been understood as statements of political import. The lines between statesmen and intellectual in Renaissance Florence were exceedingly thin and sometimes broke down all together.<sup>32</sup>

The *Geographia's* selection as objects of intercultural exchange, of course, suggests that Berlinghieri, Lorenzo de' Medici, and his agents believed they would be well received by Cem and Bayezid. It also suggests that the work was highly valued as an intellectual and material achievement. The *Geographia's* currency and resonance as a gift was undoubtedly tied to its perceived significance for the influential intended owners of the manuscript examples, Lorenzo de' Medici and Federico da Montefeltro. The possibility of a diplomatic context for the *Geographia* suggests the need for reevaluation not only of the book's donation to the Ottoman princes but also of its place within the Florentine environment of its origin. Seen in such a context, the book points to the central place of geography and books in Renaissance cultural production. The centrality of Berlinghieri's work and the regard in which it was held by his contemporaries demonstrates that a close investigation of cosmography in fifteenth-century Florence can illuminate not only a constituent achievement of an Italian Renaissance but also the way Renaissance Florentines saw those achievements, viewed themselves, and produced knowledge and understanding of their Mediterranean world and those with whom they shared it.

Nor is it only Berlinghieri's project that calls for such re-evaluation. The centrality of a printed book of maps and world description in diplomatic affairs should alert us as well to the need to look again at Florence's book industry, the earliest products, visual and textual, of the press in Italy, and to the discipline of geography itself. If these are not the elements we immediately associate with Lorenzo de' Medici's Florence it is perhaps on account of our own sense of what a Florentine Renaissance might have meant rather than the estimation of those who participated in this phenomenon.

This book poses a series of questions about geographical knowledge in Renaissance Florence and the embodiment of that knowledge in the visual and material cultures of books and maps. It investigates why Florentines sought to initiate cultural contact with the Ottoman court at this moment. It asks why recent and novel Florentine achievements in book printing, geographical description, and cartographic representation should have been dispatched to represent both their authors and the state. Berlinghieri's *Geographia* was chosen not simply as a representative sample, but as the best example of what Florentine visual, material, and intellectual culture had to offer to a powerful foreign recipient. Lorenzo might have sent bolts of the city's valuable and revered silk. He might have sent rare animals, perhaps prize horses or peregrine falcons. The *Magnifico* himself received just such a gift in the form of a giraffe from the Mamluk sultan.<sup>33</sup> He might, the art historian can fantasize, even have carefully crated and shipped a massive painting like Sandro Botticelli's *Birth of Venus* or a classicizing monumental bronze like Donatello's *David*. Instead Lorenzo and his agents chose a book, Berlinghieri's book, and this study asks what light that choice sheds on the well-worn field of Renaissance Florence.

### The Geographia Between Cultures and Contexts

This study is an emphatically cross-cultural project, but these cultures are not only those of Italy and the Ottoman Empire, or even more generally of early modern Christian and Islamic geography, labels that, in any case, make little sense given the shared intellectual heritage and the rapid development of both in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. They are also cultures of artistic practice and humanist scholarship, of vernacular poetry and its relationship to classical texts, of manuscript illumination and print shop practice. In its historical situation and historiographic fortunes, the *Geographia* has occupied a



position that may best be described as “in between.” Berlinghieri’s book served as a link between Florence’s Medici regime and the Ottoman imperial family, drawing on a Ptolemaic conception of the world with significant historical and intellectual resonance for both parties. Yet the work’s apparent “betweenness” is also convention of modern scholarship and points to the inadequacy of our categories for understanding the geographic and book cultures of the fifteenth-century Mediterranean. Indeed, the extent to which scholarly attitudes have preconditioned our response to Renaissance geography, and especially to the books that served as the discipline’s material components, necessitates that historiography looms large in this study. For example, the *Geographia* has been positioned on what historians of cartography have retrospectively and often reductively recognized as a cusp between a classical conception of the world inherited by the Christian and Islamic middle ages and the re-evaluations in mapping that followed the Atlantic discoveries and Vasco da Gama’s rounding of Africa’s Cape of Good Hope.<sup>34</sup> Similarly, in its chronological and material circumstances—its existence in manuscripts, a printed edition, and hybrid hand-illuminated printed versions—the *Geographia* was situated between cultures of print and manuscript. This book seeks to move the *Geographia* from the margins, challenging us to make sense of an array of contradictory evidence. Berlinghieri’s book serves as the central case study of an interdisciplinary examination of visual and literary culture’s function within the larger dynamics of early modern economies of exchange. Perhaps most importantly I examine the role books played for readers in mediating between the material and intellectual cultures of the Renaissance.

My interest in Berlinghieri and his book was triggered by a desire to understand how the material culture of geography and cartography established connections between early modern Italy and the Islamic world. I wanted, fundamentally, to understand the *Geographia*’s resonance for the elite Ottoman and western European viewers and readers in Cem and Bayezid’s entourages. In coming to an account of this relationship, however, I realized that the book’s efficacy within the realm of diplomatic and cultural exchange could not be separated from its importance and centrality within the local contexts in which it was produced and conceived. The work’s effortless combination of classical and Christian geography and history give us significant insight into Florentine conceptions of terrestrial reality and the uses to which such knowledge was put. For late fifteenth-century Italian reading elites,

works like the *Geographia*, the maps it included, and the cartographic concepts it represented, stood solidly at the center of their understanding of the world. While this orthodoxy, I argue, suggested Berlinghieri's book for diplomatic deployment, it also gave rise to a host of ambiguities that ensured a somewhat ambivalent reception by its Ottoman readers and viewers.

The *Geographia's* function as an object of international exchange cannot be separated from consideration of the heterogeneous contextual orbits in which it was produced and conceived. In its apparent historical and historiographic betweenness, the *Geographia* provides both a case study of intercultural exchange and an opportunity to assess scholarly modes of understanding such encounters. In the process, this book offers significant insight into the ways that both Florentines and Ottomans represented their world in words, maps, and pictures.

Ptolemy's geographical writings, unknown in the medieval West, were brought to Florence by the Greek scholar Manuel Chrysoloras in 1397 and translated into Latin by his Florentine protégé Jacopo Angeli by 1410.<sup>35</sup> By the 1450s, the production of manuscripts based on Ptolemy's work had ballooned into a veritable industry in Florence. By the time of Berlinghieri's writing in the third quarter of the fifteenth century, Florentines viewed the conveyance of the *Geography* to their city as a heroic act in which their city's intellectuals had snatched a classical text from the jaws of the ravaging Turkish beast that consumed Constantinople in 1453. My first chapter "Ptolemy in Transit" focuses on the *Geography* as a salient point of contact for an intellectual and material legacy perceived as common to the Florentine and Ottoman scholars, diplomats, and rulers who might have read Berlinghieri's *Geographia* and viewed its maps. I ask why Berlinghieri's book, as an example of the fifteenth-century fascination with Ptolemy, was sent to the Ottoman princes as a diplomatic gift.

Like their Italian counterparts, Ottoman scholars considered ancient Greek geography to be part of their own intellectual heritage. Bayezid and Cem might well have thought Berlinghieri's emulation of Ptolemy a worthy contribution to geographic knowledge.<sup>36</sup> Their father, Mehmed II, had commissioned an Arabic translation of Ptolemy's *Geography* and owned manuscripts of the text.<sup>37</sup> Cem, moreover, had traveled widely having fled Ottoman territory after a failed bid for his brother's throne. In these travels across the Mediterranean between Asia Minor and Egypt, Rhodes, France, and eventually Rome, the prince would have taken more than an armchair traveler's

interest in the world described by Berlinghieri. I argue that the *Geographia* presented Bayezid and Cem with a visual and poetic image of the world that, in several crucial respects, corresponded closely to those images most familiar to them. Building upon an understanding of Ptolemy's *Geography* as communicative across the early modern Mediterranean world, this chapter further reexamines the impact of this "rediscovered" ancient geography. Above all, I suggest that the visual and material cultures of fifteenth-century Europe were profoundly conditioned by the prevalence and influence of self-consciously Ptolemaic maps.

Chapter 2, "The Renaissance of Geography" delineates the contours of geography in late-fifteenth-century Florence, a wide-ranging discipline that served as a means of knowing about the world and its people, of recalling history and myth, and even of discerning morality and ethics. Berlinghieri's book has until recently been seen as a rather curious entry in the history of Renaissance cartography thanks to its combination of classical geography, mythology, medieval history and legend. The earliest cartographic historians understood Berlinghieri's work as a groundbreaking piece of early modern mapmaking and a number of Florentine manuscripts of the *Geography* were once thought to have been based on Berlinghieri's maps.<sup>38</sup> Gradually, however, the maps of the *Geographia* came to be seen as wholly derivative of earlier examples, and by 1945 Roberto Almagià could write that the *Geographia* did little to advance fifteenth-century cartography and that its author possessed only "very modest" professional knowledge of geography and mapping.<sup>39</sup> R. A. Skelton, in his introduction to the facsimile edition of the *Geographia* published in 1963, largely confirmed that estimation, referring to the "patent limitations of Berlinghieri's geographic culture."<sup>40</sup>

I argue instead that Berlinghieri's only apparently discordant amalgam of sacred history and classical theory, poetic ekphrasis, and mathematical proof is a distinctive quality of Renaissance geography, separating its products from both modern expectations and ancient precedent. The *Geographia* combined hallmarks of medieval geography, including maps and descriptions of the Holy Land, with an antiquarian use of Ptolemy's mapping methods and Strabo's eloquent world description. History, philology, classical mythology, and moral prescription mingle to constitute the rich fabric of Berlinghieri's poem and suggest the range of contexts in which maps were employed. Through close readings both of geographic verse and prose, of author portraits accompanying printed and manuscript texts, and of maps themselves, I demonstrate

that Berlinghieri and his contemporaries understood their project as one that was emulating and inventively re-staging the activities of ancient geographers for a new intellectual and religious world. Measuring the earth, describing its sites and peoples, and creating maps that combined old and new information were all vital components of a wide-ranging knowledge—understood as *geographic*—that both inscribed and pictured the earth. Central to this chapter is the figure of the geographer. I examine the ways in which Berlinghieri's life and work were intertwined and in which world and poem illuminated one another.

The location of geography and humanist book production between the once separated cultures of print and manuscript serves as the focus of Chapter 3, "Making Books, Forging Communities." Conceptions of European print culture recently have undergone remarkable changes. Adrian Johns's *The Nature of the Book* (1998) and Andrew Petegree's *The Book in the Renaissance* (2010) have painted vivid pictures of the chaotic push and pull that buffeted print's fight for legitimacy and the sometimes serpentine path of transition from the authority of manuscript to that of print.<sup>41</sup> Following this shift away from a notion of mechanical reproduction's ability to generate identical and authoritative texts, I explore early printed books as objects tied to traditions of manuscript production. Copies of the *Geographia* contain hand-colored maps, illuminated frontispieces, family coats of arms, and other modifications making each copy a personalized, distinct combination of print and paint. Reconsidering printing's relationship with exactitude and authority by turning to the technology's earliest years, my project situates cartographic books within their immediate, contested territory where the traditions of variable, personalized manuscript production were energetic and ongoing. Following re-evaluations of the importance of coloring on European prints, I argue that hand coloring and illumination were understood by printers, engravers, and viewers as integral parts of the bookmaking process rather than as decorative extras.<sup>42</sup>

Most significantly, these practices of customization and luxuriation speak to an evolving process by which manuscript and printed books came to materially connect geographically distant authors and readers. Through their dedication to eminent rulers, their presentation as gifts to foreign dignitaries, their purchase by influential intellectuals, and their placement in renowned libraries, books like the *Geographia* constituted diffuse and potent communities of readers. While the production and distribution of printed luxury books

were motivated in part by monetary profit, they were equally indebted to economies of personal recognizance, intellectual reputation, gift giving, and diplomacy. Through means ranging from material lavishness, the inclusion of letters of recommendation, and the integration of potential buyers and patrons into printed text, books anchored symbiotic, mutually beneficial relationships between authors, printers, readers and dedicatees.

This chapter examines the role played by these printed books as the material components of what I argue are social and intellectual communities that knit together geographically distant authors and readers. Alterations present in Bayezid and Cem's copies of the *Geographia*, far from isolated occurrences, are typical of presentation copies of printed texts. Illumination in the princes' copies of the *Geographia* includes ancient monuments of Constantinople and Rome. Berlinghieri's letters compare Cem with the "ancient emperors" and address Bayezid as "beneficent emperor of all of Greece and Asia."<sup>43</sup> Such strategies produced common ground between Florentines and Ottoman subjects. Technologically and artistically experimental books served, through their modification for eminent buyers and dedicatees, to construct networks of learned, powerful, and wealthy individuals that spanned the Mediterranean.

Chapter 4, "Printing Tolerance and Intolerance," explores the possibilities and limits of the mutual communicability of printed texts and images in the early Mediterranean. The *Geographia*'s genesis within Florentine geographic, artistic, and book cultures complicates its relationship to the Ottoman princes who formed a central but not exclusive part of its community of intended readers. Certainly, the conveyance of the book to Bayezid and Cem demonstrated a sophisticated understanding by Florentines of the meanings attached to maps, books, and world-description in an Ottoman milieu.

Significant aspects of Berlinghieri's book, however, were less than ideally suited to providing a conduit for cultural tolerance. The Christian orientation of its maps and verse provide an explicit example of content expected by Italian readers and viewers, but potentially problematic for Ottoman princes. The *Geographia* makes frequent reference to biblical history and hagiography, devoting its fifth book to describing the Holy Land. Its map of this territory is drawn from a crusader tract and includes labels ranging from Sodom and Gomorrah to the location of New Testament miracles. Further, Berlinghieri embraced a crusading mentality that characterized many of his compatriots. Many Florentine humanist scholars harbored anti-Ottoman attitudes and regarded the fall of Constantinople to Mehmed II as a calamity

for Christendom. In a contradiction striking to modern readers, the *Geographia* praises crusaders for having “driven back the beastly fire of the Turks.”<sup>44</sup>

I examine the ways in which literary tropes and visual stereotypes of the Ottoman world structured the production, reading, and viewing of maps and geographic texts. Comparative material is drawn from printed crusading tracts, sermons, and orations, and especially printed images of the Islamic world and its peoples.<sup>45</sup> Guillaume Caoursin’s *Description of the Siege of Rhodes*, printed in 1496 in Ulm, circulated widely in Renaissance Europe and, in text and images, presents a radically different vision of the Ottoman world than that suggested by the *Geographia*.<sup>46</sup> This chapter investigates these conflicting Western European images of Ottomans. It probes the contours of a world in which coexistence did not imply tolerance and in which hostility never fully precluded forms of comprehension. I suggest that intercultural exchange in the Mediterranean was characterized by apparently contradictory constellations of tolerance and hatred, cooperation and deception, conviction and political self-interest.

Scholarly constructions of early modern multiculturalism often hinge on a cluster of attributes including the rise of money economies, an expanding transnational trade in the products of material culture, and printing’s advent and rapid ascendancy. Indeed, it is in these very qualities, in the production and exchange of such “worldly goods,” that Lisa Jardine has famously identified the origins of “our own exuberant multiculturalism.”<sup>47</sup> Art historians have also suggested that expanded economic exchange of visual culture lay the groundwork for the flow of understanding among peoples once viewed as rigidly segregated and provided outlets for tolerance between groups previously characterized by mutual hostility.<sup>48</sup> This chapter examines critically scholarly narratives linking intercultural contact to tolerance and mutual intelligibility and explores the potential for early printed books to enforce and police, rather than erode, national and pre-national boundaries.

Over the past two decades, scholars have profoundly re-imagined the Renaissance as a transnational phenomenon that drew not only on the distant classical past but also on the diverse cultures of the Mediterranean basin and knowledge of the world beyond.<sup>49</sup> Historians of visual and material culture have presented exchange of the sort exemplified by the *Geographia* as one means by which influence, understanding, and ultimately tolerance passed between East and West. Yet, in examining texts and images that straddled these boundaries, we have also come to recognize that such interchanges were

more conflicted and contingent than might be supposed. Though circulating within a readership comprising both Christians and Muslims, the *Geographia* relied on and propagated stereotypes derived from still-persistent crusading mentalities. In fact, close attention to the material and ideological circumstances of these transactions suggests that such interchanges were a good deal more conflicted and contingent than might be supposed.

Finally, my conclusion asks what we can learn from the material culture of the Renaissance book. Accustomed as we are to the colloquial binary between “book learning” and “streets smarts” it is sometimes easy for us to approach cultural phenomena like the reinvention of ancient geography under the rubric of intellectual history. Yet we have seen how printers, engravers, and illuminators as much as poets, translators, and readers crafted such revivals. The study of a book like the *Geographia* within the broad range of contexts in which it was conceived, produced, read and viewed can help us to understand a Renaissance that was simultaneously deeply intellectual and materially constituted. I propose here that books can be understood as a “connective tissue” that bound readers and authors across distances as temporally vast as the gap between the fifteenth and second centuries and as geographically removed as Florence and Constantinople. Perhaps most importantly, I suggest that Renaissance books can provide we historians with a connective tissue, linking us materially with our objects of study.

# I

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## Ptolemy in Transit

In recent years, the subfield of Mediterranean studies has seen a marked resurgence.<sup>1</sup> Historians, anthropologists, and scholars of material culture have revived Fernand Braudel's conviction that the region's unique geographic characteristics shaped the common experience of pre-modern Mediterranean peoples.<sup>2</sup> Likewise, notions of shared cultural roots in classical antiquity, first seriously proposed in Henri Pirenne's posthumous *Mohammed and Charlemagne*, have gained traction.<sup>3</sup> Through renewed focus on the region's distinctive physical and cultural geography, Peregrine Horden and Nicholas Purcell's *The Corrupting Sea* (2000) has provided a landmark reassessment both of the Mediterranean basin as an object of knowledge and of the historian's fraught relationship to a world stretching back far beyond Phillip II's reign.<sup>4</sup> Indeed David Abulafia's magisterial and ambitious *The Great Sea* (2011) synthesizes roughly 24,000 years of human interaction, guided by the conviction that these waters, islands, and coasts share a "human history."<sup>5</sup>

Coinciding with (and sometimes predating) this revitalized "Mediterraneanism" is a newfound attention to the movement of visual and material culture between Italy and the Levant in writing on the Italian Renaissance. Museums have treated visitors to exhibitions on topics including "Venice and



the Islamic World” and “Bellini and the East.”<sup>6</sup> Scholars have charted the trade in luxury goods along the Silk Road, and the import and export of all variety of goods between Genoa, Ancona, and Damascus.<sup>7</sup> Venice has occupied a particularly central place in these material histories. The role played by art and architecture within the maritime republic’s colonies throughout the Adriatic and Aegean, the *Stato da mâr*, has been explored, and the Serenissima itself has been reframed in the image of the capitals of the Islamic Mediterranean.<sup>8</sup> The Renaissance, once unapologetically coupled with the epithet “Italian,” is often today framed as an inherently transcultural phenomenon.

Florence has long served as both an origin point and exemplar for Renaissance art and literature. A reader, however, could be forgiven for not realizing that the city on the Arno had a place at this table of intercultural exchange. Of course, historians recognize the role played by the prosperous textile trade of the city and its environs in the Mediterranean economy.<sup>9</sup> Indeed, the so-called “merchant of Prato” Francesco di Marco Datini has stood for decades as a paradigmatic agent of pre-modern trade at large.<sup>10</sup> Likewise the role played by Amerigo Vespucci and his Medici patrons in the so-called voyages of discovery may hardly be considered neglected.<sup>11</sup> Yet when we turn to the painting, philosophy, and statecraft for which the republic remains renowned, we often find the city of Botticelli, Ficino, and Lorenzo de’ Medici described as simultaneously parochial in its cultural aspirations and admirably unencumbered by attachments to crusade.<sup>12</sup> The gift of a printed Florentine book of maps to the Ottoman sultan Bayezid II and his half-brother Cem then may strike readers, even those with an interest in early modern cultural exchange, as surprising. One of the tasks of this book will be to situate not only Florentine politics but also the city’s literary and visual culture within a wider Mediterranean world. Ottoman affairs interested a great many across the Italian peninsula in the latter decades of the fifteenth century, not least thanks to the troubles of individual, turbulent alliances, and Ottoman incursions into Western European territories. Florentines proved no exception.<sup>13</sup>

I will return to these sometimes stubbornly insular conceptions of Florentine culture (if not always economics). I want first to turn our attention to a different question, and one that, above all, animates this study. Given that Florentine intellectuals and politicians had good reason to seek engagement with their Ottoman counterparts, why was a book of maps chosen to make the uncertain trips across the Mediterranean and over the Alps? Why a book of maps based on the work of ancient Greek and Roman geographers? Why,

above all, was it Francesco Berlinghieri's book that met the particular needs of this Ottoman-Florentine encounter?

These questions might not have been as difficult for Berlinghieri's contemporaries as they seem to us. Despite its near total obscurity outside circles of cartographic history, the *Geographia* appears to have made its mark on fifteenth-century Florence. To arrive at an understanding of the book's historical centrality, this chapter begins with an examination of the rich materiality and visual opulence of the *Geographia*, a topic to which this study will frequently return. I then examine long-standing intellectual connections between Florence and Constantinople that were centered on the second-century *Geography* of Ptolemy, one of Berlinghieri's principle inspirations. Having established this pattern of interaction, I explore the ways that Ottoman readers might have used the *Geographia* and how they could have reacted to its appropriation of familiar classical authorities. Finally, I ask what the *Geographia's* privileged place between Florence and Constantinople can tell us about long-standing debates concerning the importance of the revival of antique geography to Renaissance world knowledge.

On the twenty-eighth of November 1495, a special committee of the Florentine assembly, the Signoria, requested "under penalty of every indignity" that a manuscript copy of the *Geographia* "given to Lorenzo de' Medici by Francesco Berlinghieri" be handed over within three days by the friars of San Marco, in whose care the volume had been entrusted at the time of the *Magnifico's* death. It is unclear what the committee, including, amongst others Berlinghieri's mentor Marsilio Ficino, wanted with the work. Perhaps one of these priors sought the codex for himself or perhaps it was to be sent to some foreign dignitary. The description's language, however, leaves no doubt as to the regard with which the committee held the work. Called a "book of cosmography" it is described as "richly illuminated and adorned."<sup>14</sup>

Lorenzo's manuscript, housed today in Milan's Biblioteca Nazionale Braidense, is indeed the richly decorated object described by the committee and is amongst the largest of Renaissance manuscripts.<sup>15</sup> Most of the book's thirty-one maps unfold over two full folio leaves (Figure 2). Together they provide for their viewers a tiny earth teeming with verdant forests, bordered by craggy mountain ranges, and populated with Lilliputian cities. Marginal decoration supplements the text at the beginning of each of the text's seven books and a full-page illumination occupies the first folio (Figure 5). Along with a portrait of the author at work in his study and an array of classicizing

motifs and Medici emblems, this incipit page is decorated with three narrative roundels illustrating the poem's prologue and three depicting a scholar engaged in the practical activities necessary for making maps.

In the first of the narrative roundels, Berlinghieri and another unidentified man, also in contemporary dress, sit engaged in conversation on a hillside, in the shade of a tree, with Florence visible in the valley below.<sup>16</sup> In the next, gray clouds, mere wisps in the previous roundel, nearly fill the sky (Figure 6). From these, Ptolemy's torso and head emerge, the rest of his body still cloaked in clouds. Berlinghieri and his companion are arrested in mid-conversation and crane their necks to take in the miraculous occurrence. Finally, in the roundel at the lower right corner, we find the poet and his colleague seated on either side of Ptolemy in a bank of clouds (Figure 7). With his right hand, Ptolemy gestures to the world below.

Through subtle variations in facial characteristics and a thorough command of anatomy, the author portrait, the ancient and contemporary geographers of the roundels, and even the *putti* that cavort between vines and trophies convey a sense of the solidity and specificity that have been seen as the defining features of Tuscan painting.<sup>17</sup> The high quality of these miniatures, their novel iconography, and the monumental individuality of their figures, point to an origin in one of Florence's premier illuminators' workshops. The elaborate polychrome vine work, the intricate and carefully observed pearls, gemstones, and classical medallions that populate the page have all suggested the hand of Attavante degli Attavanti.<sup>18</sup>

One of Florence's most prolific and sought after illuminators, Attavante produced miniatures for the city's prominent patrons and was a particular favorite of Lorenzo, painting in dozens of manuscripts for the library of Florence's first citizen.<sup>19</sup> Attavante trained under Francesco d'Antonio del Chierco, a one-time assistant of Domenico Ghirlandaio.<sup>20</sup> Francesco, in addition to his work as an illuminator, probably also executed large-scale paintings as a member of Ghirlandaio's shop. Frescoes depicting the life of Saint Martin, produced between 1478 and 1479 for Florence's confraternity of the *buonuo-mini*, have been attributed to the miniaturist.<sup>21</sup> The figures that populate his miniatures have frequently been praised for their monumental quality and clearly take their inspiration from contemporary Florentine fresco and panel painting. It comes as little surprise that many of his best works were long attributed to Ghirlandaio, Botticelli, and other fresco and panel painters by

art historians unwilling to concede such invention to a miniaturist. By the early sixteenth century, his pupil Attavante was fully enmeshed in Florence's artistic life and was among the select group of artists and craftsmen consulted in determining a location for Michelangelo's colossal *David*.<sup>22</sup>

A second equally impressive manuscript of the *Geographia*, today in the Vatican's collection, was produced for one of the most important libraries of the period, that of Federico da Montefeltro, duke of Urbino.<sup>23</sup> Though the duke died just as this manuscript neared completion, the finished work was nonetheless sent to Urbino with a hastily inserted rededication to Federico's heir, Guidobaldo. In addition to its complement of maps and marginal illuminations for each of the seven books, the manuscript intended for Federico also includes a full-page frontispiece, taking the form of a classicizing architectural monument, an innovation introduced to manuscript painting by Paduan and Venetian illuminators, and integrated into Florentine books only a few years earlier.<sup>24</sup> The incipit page of the first book follows a format roughly equivalent to that produced for Lorenzo with an historiated initial G and narrative roundels in the left- and right-hand margins (Figure 8).

Like that for Lorenzo, Federico's *Geographia* was illuminated by a premier Florentine artist associated with the workshop of Francesco d'Antonio. Though his or her name is lost to us, important commissions are known by the hand of this anonymous painter, awkwardly called the Master of the Hamilton Xenophon after illuminations in an exquisite example of the *Cyropedia* produced for Ferdinand of Naples.<sup>25</sup> As with the choice of Attavante for Lorenzo's manuscript, this now anonymous master appears to have been carefully selected to appeal to the known tastes of this copy's recipient. By the early 1480s, Federico could look back on a decades-old relationship between his library and Francesco d'Antonio's shop.<sup>26</sup> Indeed, along with Francesco d'Antonio, Attavante, and Ghirlandaio, the Master of the Hamilton Xenophon had illuminated several codices for the duke.<sup>27</sup> Each of these painters had played a significant role in the creation of Federico's massive Bible, described by the book merchant Vespasiano da Bisticci as being "as rich and as excellent as could be."<sup>28</sup> Though prone to exaggeration, Vespasiano seems not to have strayed far from the mark here, for modern art historians have likewise praised this Bible's illuminators as the most talented available in late fifteenth-century Italy.<sup>29</sup> Any of these painters would have been an impeccable choice for an author seeking to impress upon dedicatees and recipients the expense and importance of his work. The

constellation of these artists involved in the production of manuscripts of the *Geographia* suggests the care taken to ensure its success.

Similarly, as we will examine in much greater detail in Chapter 3, the book's printed edition was the single most labor-intensive, complicated, and, we can speculate, expensive illustrated edition undertaken in Renaissance Florence.<sup>30</sup> The work's engraver remains anonymous, thanks in part to the still murky state of our knowledge about early Florentine printmaking in general. His or her reliance on techniques and tools previously unknown in Italy, however, suggests that Berlinghieri or his printer might even have imported skilled German craftspeople.<sup>31</sup> The very material richness of the *Geographia* in its manuscript and print incarnations points to the fact that if one were to choose a Florentine book to send to the sultan in the mid-1480s, judging by contemporary standards, Berlinghieri's would certainly have made the shortlist.

### Florence, Constantinople and Ptolemy's Geography

The esteem in which the *Geographia* was held by influential contemporaries at home provides some sense of why *this* geographic text was sent to the Ottoman court. But why send a book at all, and why one of geography? A clue is provided for us within the binding of Lorenzo de' Medici's lavish manuscript. The scribe who labeled the ninth map of Europe (that which includes Constantinople) included an inscription unique, so far as I am aware, among fifteenth-century maps (Figure 9).<sup>32</sup> In the right margin, just below the label for the forty-third degree of latitude he noted that Florence and Constantinople—*byzantio*—occupied the same parallel. This was, of course, a geographic coincidence (and, in fact, a manufactured one since the Ottoman capital actually lies between the forty-first and forty-second degrees of latitude). Yet the attention called to this coincidence is anything but accidental. The literal common ground suggested by this map calls our attention to a perceived intellectual legacy and affinity that helped drive the cultural diplomacy represented by the *Geographia*'s dispatch to Bayezid and Cem, indeed a legacy that shaped numerous exchanges and inflected attitudes toward geography around the Mediterranean.

The overlapping intellectual foundations of early modern Europe and the Islamic world are well known to historians of philosophy, astronomy, medicine, and technology.<sup>33</sup> Scholars have diligently traced a shared reliance on

astrological methods and texts that informed the production of both celestial and terrestrial maps across an expanded Mediterranean world, a scholarly community that often included Italian, Ottoman, Persian, and Spanish stargazers and cartographers.<sup>34</sup> Art historians, for their part, have long been aware of the grounding of Italian theories of vision in Arabic optics, especially the work of the tenth-century Iraqi scholar Al-Hazen (Ibn al-Haytham).<sup>35</sup> Though their focus has traditionally been on major commercial gateways like Rome and Venice, or on zones of substantial cultural contact like formerly Muslim Spain, scholars have recently turned some attention to the role played by Florence in these intellectual exchanges. Hans Belting in particular has argued for the centrality of Florence in the preservation and distribution of theories of vision and representation derived from Arabic sources.<sup>36</sup>

It is not a general intellectual debt, however, to which the scribe of Lorenzo's manuscript calls attention in this marginal note. Rather, in the minds of fifteenth-century Florentines, a specific thread connected their city and the Ottoman capital—that of Claudius Ptolemy's late antique *Geography*. Berlinghieri narrated his poetic description of the world as a seven-day journey across the earth. In fact his *Geographia* can be seen as part of a project that stretched back nearly a century and was bound to the intellectual history of Renaissance Italy, the civic pride of the poet's native Florence, and their entwinement with the life of Byzantium and its Ottoman successor through a common material and intellectual connection with Ptolemy.

Ptolemy composed his Greek description of the earth, the *Geography* or *Cosmographia* as it was more frequently known in early modern Europe, from Alexandria in the second century C.E.<sup>37</sup> His terrestrial work was an account of the inhabitable world, what its author called the *ecumene* and Florentines came to call the *habitato*, complete with coordinates of latitude and longitude derived from astronomical observation for each listed location. For centuries, the book served as a major spur to late antique cartography and written world-description. By the fourteenth century, however, the *Geography* was reduced to a shadow and a rumor in the Latin West.<sup>38</sup> Its author was familiar to many readers through the books known as the *Almagest*, Ptolemy's description of the heavens and *Tetrabiblos*, his tract on astrology.<sup>39</sup> His treatise on optics was known only sporadically in the fifteenth century and was quickly eclipsed by the more theoretically exhaustive theories of Al-Hazen.<sup>40</sup> Ptolemy's terrestrial writings were remembered only in the brief citations of medieval authors.

Among the Byzantine Greeks and their Ottoman neighbors, however, this classical tract remained a continuous part of their intellectual heritage throughout the medieval period.<sup>41</sup> Greek manuscripts of Ptolemy's text, including many with maps, survive from the twelfth century. By the fifteenth century, such codices were found in both Byzantine and Ottoman collections. The *Almagest* was even more widely known and consulted as an authority on astronomical phenomena.<sup>42</sup> Indeed, that tract was familiar to medieval and early modern Europeans thanks to its preservation in the libraries of Islamic Spain.<sup>43</sup> Even more significantly, geographic and cosmographic treatises, travel narratives, and maps accompanying both, based to a great degree on those associated with Ptolemy, flourished in Ottoman and Christian libraries alike in the eastern Mediterranean.<sup>44</sup>

For Western Europeans, Ptolemy's *Geography* and its maps of the inhabitable world had been "rediscovered" in Constantinople's monastery of the Chora in the final years of the fourteenth century.<sup>45</sup> The book first made its way west in the hands of the Byzantine émigré scholar Manuel Chrysoloras. Hired by the Florentine patrician and patron of arts and literature Palla Strozzi to tutor illustrious citizens in classical Greek, Chrysoloras brought with him a number of texts previously unknown in Italy.<sup>46</sup> Strozzi came into possession of a Byzantine codex of the *Geography*, likely a manuscript later owned by Federico da Montefeltro and housed today in the Vatican library.<sup>47</sup> The book was among Strozzi's most prized possessions, and his last testament went so far as stipulating that his heirs could not sell it without incurring disinheritance.<sup>48</sup>

The bulk of the text Strozzi so coveted is given over to a description of the world that, even to many committed antiquarians, must have seemed arcane, dry, and hopelessly out of date. While the Greek list of sometimes unfamiliar names and coordinates undoubtedly spurred Florentine humanist scholars to greater interest in the revival of that tongue, it was the visual and theoretical elements of Ptolemy's work that came to exert far greater influence across the Italian peninsula. In the first of his eight books, Ptolemy included a description of how to make maps of the world using his coordinate observations.<sup>49</sup> Perhaps most importantly, the Byzantine manuscripts through which fifteenth-century Italians came to know the work also included extensive sets of either twenty-six or fifty-two regional maps and a world map.<sup>50</sup> That owned by Strozzi contained twenty-six regional maps and set the standard for subsequent versions produced in Europe.<sup>51</sup>

Interest in the *Geography* spread beyond a small group of Florentine readers of Greek almost immediately. Chrysoloras began translating Ptolemy's work into Latin, a task finished in Florence after his death by his student Jacopo Angeli da Scarperia around 1410.<sup>52</sup> Ptolemy and his *Geography* came to hold particular importance for Florentines, on account of the city's role in bringing the work to the Latin world and the engagement of a variety of its intellectuals with the book.<sup>53</sup> The earliest manuscript of the *Geography* produced on Italian soil was probably executed in Padua around 1458.<sup>54</sup> This process was facilitated, however, by another Florentine, Francesco da Lapacino, who translated the Greek place names of the maps, their toponymy, into Latin.<sup>55</sup> And it was through the efforts of Florentine mapmakers and scribes that manuscripts of the *Geography* were soon both known and sought after across Italy, Western Europe, and further abroad.<sup>56</sup>

By the mid-fifteenth century Florence was a thriving center of manuscript production. Booksellers (*cartolaii*) here arranged for the production of choir books and liturgical manuscripts, lavish copies of Greek and Latin poets and historians, and luxury editions of modern authors like Petrarch, Boccaccio, and Dante. Bibliophiles across Italy and Western Europe looked to Florence as a dependable source for manuscripts of the very highest quality.<sup>57</sup> Networks of production, prestige, and intellectual cachet radiated from the *botteghe* of the city's illuminators, bookbinders, scribes, and eventually printers. The production of *Geography* manuscripts was seamlessly absorbed into this flourishing industry. Popes Sixtus IV and Alexander VI, Federico da Montefeltro, the Medici, Matthias Corvinus, and the Angevin kings of Naples all possessed manuscripts of the *Geography* produced by Florentine scribes and illuminators.<sup>58</sup> Vespasiano da Bisticci can hardly be considered an impartial witness when it comes to Florentine regard for their bibliographic accomplishments. All the same, his *Vite di uomini illustri* notes with particular pride that the first Ptolemaic maps translated into Latin by Francesco da Lapicino made their way "as far abroad as Turkey."<sup>59</sup>

Historians of cartography remain divided over whether Ptolemy originally included maps with his text. They universally agree, however, that they were certainly not those known to Renaissance Florentines, which bear all the hallmarks of later Byzantine production. The earliest surviving Ptolemaic maps are likely twelfth- or thirteenth-century Byzantine products, and those familiar to Western Europeans were almost certainly thirteenth- and fourteenth-century examples.<sup>60</sup> Renaissance readers, however, believed these



relatively recent examples to be of unimpeachably classical origin. And why shouldn't they? Certainly the world map of Strozzi's *Geography*, and others very much like it, looked quite different from the images of the globe Florentine viewers were familiar with, whether from surveys, itineraries, or the schematic *mappae mundi* that accompanied medieval tracts by Macrobius or Isidore.<sup>61</sup> Ptolemy's maps likewise presented a radically different globe than that of the anthropomorphized map at Ebstorf on which the earth's geographical features are literally envisioned as the body of Christ.<sup>62</sup> Maps based on those of the *Geography* presented a world conceived as though seen from above. Whether viewers were imagined surveying territory from a mountaintop or, as in Berlinghieri's case, literally taking flight, the curving nature of the earth viewed from a great distance distinguished these new maps from their predecessors.<sup>63</sup> This visual distinctiveness played a key role in establishing the extraordinary primacy of Ptolemaic maps in fifteenth-century Florence.

Though their projective framework imagined a curving world, the Byzantine maps that first appeared in fifteenth-century Italy rely on a highly schematic visual vocabulary. Coastlines appear angular, territories abut one another at regular angles, and rivers follow straight courses across the expansive pages. Mountain ranges are rendered as thick, flat lines of usually green pigment. Florentine manuscript makers adapted their own visual style to these maps. Pictorial details like mountains, forests, and ancient architectural features, including temples, altars, and aqueducts, came to replace the labels and rubrics for these included on Byzantine maps and earlier examples produced in other Italian cities (Figure 10). The illuminators responsible for these landscapes in miniature drew on nearly a century and a half of Florentine commitment to pictorial naturalism. This thirst for cogent detail could be traced back to the panels and frescoes of Giotto, his workshop, and imitators on display throughout the city, and its traditions had been kept alive in the work of muralists and miniaturists alike in the interim.<sup>64</sup> Though we often seek them on the walls of chapels and *palazzi*, these naturalistic details found equally impressive expression in the pictorially rich maps produced around 1450 by the Florentine painter Piero del Massaio and his partner, a scribe of French origin, known in Florence as Ugo Commenelli.<sup>65</sup> The manuscripts produced by this team also added the first modern maps to Ptolemy's work, as well as views of some of the world's most important cities.<sup>66</sup> Deluxe manuscripts of extra-large folio dimensions, including Jacopo Angeli's text and the

maps of Massaio and Commenelli, were commissioned by, and donated to, many of the most significant libraries of the period.

Around 1460, Nicolaus Germanus (often called Donnus), a Benedictine friar of German origin working in Florence, developed a new set of Ptolemaic maps.<sup>67</sup> While he based his maps on those of Massaio and his predecessors, Nicolaus recognized that these models (and their Byzantine antecedents) failed to conform to the cartographic methods Ptolemy prescribed in the *Geography*. Nicolaus and the Florentine illuminators who provided his maps with their finished form put Ptolemy's methodology into practice. They produced maps that fused an antiquarian desire to emulate Ptolemy with the naturalism, variety, and visual impact of earlier Florentine manuscripts.

Like those of Massaio and Commenelli, Nicolaus's maps were also incorporated into lavish manuscripts produced for powerful dignitaries. Nicolaus himself presented a deluxe example to Borso d'Este of Ferrara, one of the most renowned patrons of the early Renaissance.<sup>68</sup> These new maps had a profound impact on mapmakers in Florence and ultimately across Europe and beyond where they were rapidly adopted as the standard visual companion to Ptolemy's descriptions. Nicolaus's maps served as the model for the engravers of two printed editions in preparation simultaneously with Berlinghieri's project, those of Bologna (1477) and Rome (1478).<sup>69</sup> The *Geographia's* own engraved and manuscript maps, and those of editions printed throughout Western Europe, likewise drew directly on these earlier examples by Massaio and Nicolaus. Such printed editions, in turn, served as the framework for atlases until at least the second half of the seventeenth century.

In presenting Ptolemy's cartographic concepts and geographic description in vernacular Italian, in correlating modern place names with ancient ones, in producing up-to-date maps based on ancient models, and in packaging all of these in the finest products of the book trade, Berlinghieri's *Geographia* recalled nearly a century of Florentine achievements including those of Chrysoloras.<sup>70</sup> Perhaps just as importantly, Berlinghieri's rendering of Ptolemy's description into the vernacular would have served to connect his endeavor with the Latin translation executed by his Florentine predecessor Jacopo Angeli, adding a new chapter to the city's historic role in making the *Geography* accessible to Western Europe.

In emulating Ptolemy's descriptive and cartographic methods, as well as the maps associated with his work, the book represented the best of the city's longstanding engagement with the antique past, a reinvigoration of classical

geography. These qualities would have made Berlinghieri's maps an ideal choice for a gift representing Florence to discerning foreign recipients like Bayezid and Cem. Lorenzo de' Medici, Berlinghieri, and other members of the Florentine merchant elite knew that Ptolemy's *Geography* had come to them from Constantinople. They understood, too, that they were sending it back as a book they expected would be recognized and as a lavish material repository of their efforts to perfect it in the interim. What did these copies of the *Geographia* communicate, however, when Lorenzo de' Medici's agent Paolo da Colle carefully handed them to Bayezid and Cem, when the letter and prologue were translated or paraphrased and read aloud to them? Was this connection, so integral to the Florentine desire to send such a book, evident to its Ottoman recipients?

### Ptolemy and Berlinghieri at the Ottoman Court

Several factors dictated that a book based on Ptolemy's *Geography* would provide a meaningful conduit for communication between educated readers and viewers in Florence and Constantinople. In the first place, like their Florentine counterparts, many Ottoman intellectuals of the late-fifteenth century were profoundly interested in what can be broadly construed as the classical past. Bayezid and Cem's father Mehmed had taken a keen interest in the ancient intellectual heritage of the regions he came to govern, especially Greece. Like many rulers across the Italian peninsula, one means by which the sultan sought to aggrandize his own temporal rule was through tracing its legitimacy to the imperial legacy of antiquity. Though his death in 1481 necessitated the creative planning that dispatched copies to both Bayezid and Cem, Berlinghieri's letters to the princes express his original intention to have dedicated the *Geographia* to their father. Berlinghieri and other educated Florentines had every reason to suspect that Mehmed's sons would inherit their father's interest in Greek antiquity.

The sultan's captivation with things antique was widely reported throughout Italy and Western Europe.<sup>71</sup> Modern scholars have long been skeptical of these reports, recognizing that some disparity undoubtedly existed between such rumors and the sultan's actual commitment to antiquarian scholarship.<sup>72</sup> Certainly other rumors circulating in the fifteenth-century Mediterranean regarding the sultan; for example, tales of his supposed secret conversion to

Christianity have been shown to be patently false.<sup>73</sup> Some of this scholarly distrust stems from a naturalization of cultural boundaries that were far from impermeable in the fifteenth century. Yet even if these reports proved to be little more than tall tales, such rumors undoubtedly had a significant effect on encouraging diplomats and scholars alike in their efforts to fashion novel means of communication with representatives of the Ottoman state. Berlinghieri and Lorenzo de' Medici, too, might have been privy to more concrete reports from agents like Paolo da Colle, men personally familiar with the sultan and his advisors.<sup>74</sup>

Geography, moreover, was seen as a part of an elite culture in the Islamic educational tradition. Western language studies of Islamic geography have often reinforced the mistaken impression that Islamic geography and cartography were little more than offshoots of ancient Greek theories and practices. Frustratingly, medieval and early modern Muslim maps and geographical texts have often been studied largely for their role as intermediaries between classical antiquity and the European Renaissance. Despite such exaggerations, Ptolemy and Greco-Roman cartography and geography in general were significant parts of the geographic culture of early modern elites both in the Islamic world and on the Italian peninsula.<sup>75</sup>

David King has called attention to the prevalence of Greco-Roman geographical literacy at court throughout the medieval and early modern Islamic Mediterranean.<sup>76</sup> Throughout this period, geography, in the Islamic tradition, traced its own origins to Greek models and fashioned itself as building from and improving these precedents. Indeed, Ottoman scholars utilized the transliterated Greek term *Djugrafiya* for the discipline of terrestrial knowledge.<sup>77</sup> Thus the very title of Berlinghieri's work would not have sounded particularly foreign (much less "Western") to Bayezid or Cem and would have conveyed a reasonable sense of the book's contents to an educated Ottoman reader.

Although separate from the disciplines of a *madrasa* education, cosmological literacy was seen increasingly as an appropriate form of knowledge for members of the Ottoman ruling elite in the late fifteenth and sixteenth centuries.<sup>78</sup> The library that Bayezid II inherited from his father was accordingly one rich in geographic holdings. Included were Persian, Arabic, and Western European works often lavishly illuminated. Among these was probably the finest surviving copy of the Florentine Cristoforo Buondelmonti's collection

of geographical writings, maps, and city-views, the *Liber Insularum Archipelagi*.<sup>79</sup> Spanish, Portuguese, and Italian navigational charts and sailing itineraries were also available for the young sultan's perusal.<sup>80</sup>

Compared with the fine-grained picture we have assembled of Florentine world knowledge around 1480, our understanding of Ottoman geography at the same moment remains frustratingly cloudy. In part, this is due to the tendency of much English language scholarship within the history of cartography to gather disparate material under the imprecise umbrella of "Islamic" cartography. Still, even nuanced specialist studies admit a certain difficulty in evaluating what we might call the Ottoman geographic imagination. One particularly thorny task has been precisely that of disarticulating "Ottoman" from "Islamic" intellectual culture at this relatively early moment in the empire's formation. Though the sultans would eventually declare themselves heirs to the caliphate, fixing their ambitions on a recognizably Muslim world, the state governed by Mehmed and his sons was one emerging from indigenous traditions and fashioned through imported ideals that only uneasily conform to later taxonomies of East and West.<sup>81</sup> For institutions ranging from administrative offices and tax levies to trade guilds and schools, historians have sought origins in autochthonous Anatolian customs, Byzantine administrative habits, and the conscious emulation of foreign Islamic practices.<sup>82</sup> Thus, while it would be convenient to assume that geographically inclined Ottoman scholars would have looked first and foremost to classical Islamic geography, little evidence supports such a conclusion prior to the later sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.<sup>83</sup>

For the purposes of evaluating the impact of Berlinghieri's book at Bayezid's court, however, one component of fifteenth-century Ottoman geography may be brought into rather clear focus. Though the pre-modern Islamic geographic tradition has been seen as centered to a great degree on the Indian Ocean and its environs, the early Ottoman state retained a fixed gaze toward the Mediterranean *ecumene* of Ptolemy's world map. The sultan's overwhelming naval power, the unique transcontinental location of the new capital, and the consequent control of shipping lanes within the Mediterranean, compellingly explored by Palmira Brummett, account significantly for this frame of reference.<sup>84</sup> As Giancarlo Casale has demonstrated, it was not until the sixteenth century that Ottoman cartographers shifted their attention in earnest toward the Indian Ocean and the "Muslim" world. Late fifteenth-century Florentines and Ottomans alike found themselves turned inward

toward that body of water called simply “our sea” by Berlinghieri and the White Sea by his Ottoman readers.<sup>85</sup>

If the geographic knowledge of fifteenth-century Ottomans remains elusive, we may nonetheless obtain some sense of its likely contours from the texts and maps of the proceeding centuries.<sup>86</sup> The tradition that we encounter in these sixteenth- and seventeenth-century works is one in which Ottoman writers were drawn increasingly into the orbit of classical Islamic geography while yet retaining integral connections to the spatial episteme of the Greco-Roman Mediterranean. One of our best sources on the Ottoman geographic tradition is the Arabic language encyclopedia of Katib Çelebi (1609–1657) also known as Hadjii Khalifa. This massive work takes the form of a bibliographic compilation of major achievements in intellectual history up to its author’s day. Though some hundred and fifty years distant from Paolo da Colle’s arrival in the capital, Katib Çelebi’s work nonetheless provides some sense of a distinctively Ottoman terrestrial imagination that combines Greco-Roman and Islamic sources. While treating topics ranging from moral philosophy to astronomy and hydrology, Katib asserts the importance of geography as a foundation for all other disciplines and devotes substantial attention to the basic tenets of the discipline and its history.<sup>87</sup> Geography, for his Ottoman readers, as for fifteenth-century Italians, was an amalgam of related but hardly internally consistent systems. Among these was that of the climatic zones of the inhabited part of the globe, what the Florentines knew as the *habitato*, an idea that stretched back to at least Pythagoras. Western Europeans, too, would have been familiar with this system through widely available commentaries on Macrobius’ *Dream of Scipio*, through intermediaries like Sacrobosco’s *Sphaera*, and in a less rigorous form from the first book of Ovid’s *Metamorphoses*.<sup>88</sup> Unrelated to these zonal conceptions of the earth were equally prevalent diagrams and descriptions of the planetary spheres, and descriptions and images of heaven and hell.

Yet even in the seventeenth century when Ottoman geographers moved from the general conditions of the habitable world to its specificities, their discussions turned to latitude and longitude, and to the names and number of cities, mountains and other natural features. These descriptions of the known world, their general order, even a great many of the names employed were quite specifically based on Ptolemy. Their coordinates of latitude and longitude were lifted wholesale from Ptolemaic texts. Katib wrote that the *Geography* “became a basic work to which everybody had recourse if he was writing

after him.”<sup>89</sup> Certainly we can attest with greater certainty to the presence of Ptolemy’s text and maps in the fifteenth-century Ottoman world than to that of Arabic and Persian geographies.<sup>90</sup> Mehmed II had received a Greek manuscript of the *Geography* as a wedding gift upon his marriage to his first wife.<sup>91</sup> Now damaged and missing some of its maps, this copy, today in Venice’s Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana, was a fittingly princely illuminated version of the text.<sup>92</sup> The sultan possessed at least one other copy of the *Geography*, a version in Arabic that he was rumored to have translated from the Greek himself.<sup>93</sup> While such tales probably amount to little more than contemporary humanists assigning the sultan undue credit for the fruits of his patronage, there is good reason to believe that Mehmed helped fan these rumors.

Katib observes of the *Geography* that “many of the places [Ptolemy] mentions have become extinct or their names have changed, or their story.”<sup>94</sup> Indeed, the *Geography* was principally a list of coordinates and place names, many of them equally unfamiliar to Florentine or Ottoman readers, and quite a few were unidentifiable with any location then known.<sup>95</sup> Berlinghieri translated these obscure names into Italian and identified some of Ptolemy’s lesser-known locations with modern cities and regions familiar to his readers by drawing on a substantial tradition of geographic writing in verse, including such predecessors as Fazio degli Uberti’s *Dittamondo* and Goro (or Gregorio) Dati’s fourteenth-century *Sfera*.<sup>96</sup> The poet evidently understood that this important aspect of his project might have been something that both Ottoman and Florentine readers desired. His letter to Sultan Bayezid II points out that the poem and maps “not only give the positions of places and regions . . . but also the changes in their names and etymologies.”<sup>97</sup> Berlinghieri might have acted on specific information on Ottoman uses of the Ptolemaic tradition in so accurately targeting his text to this specific problem. More likely, the convergence of interest points to the efforts of geographers from both traditions in grappling with shared source material. Florentine and Ottoman revivals of Ptolemaic geography were far from identical. Yet the concept of a revival of Ptolemy’s *Geography* probably proved mutually communicative around 1480.

Just as Berlinghieri and his Ottoman and Florentine readers held an interest in the ancient world description of Ptolemy, so, too did they share a general belief that geography (like all knowledge) was, at its base, sacred.<sup>98</sup> Maps and world description like those of the *Geographia* would have suggested both for early modern Muslims and Christians notions of cosmology and creation.

Indeed, the very title of Berlinghieri's poem *The Seven Days of Geography* not only described its author's imaginary journey but also presented his narrative in the time frame established by the Genesis account for the earth's creation.<sup>99</sup> As we will explore in much greater detail, the *Geographia*'s verse also explicitly Christianized the places of Ptolemy's globe and interpreted the wonders of the natural world as both evidence of creation and as indices of the benevolence and magnificence of God. Ottoman cosmographic tracts, likewise, frequently proceeded from an account of the world's beginnings and endeavored to inculcate in the reader a veneration for the divinely created earth. Ottoman cosmographies included catalogs of the globe's cities, peoples, and landmarks along with the locations of heaven and hell.<sup>100</sup> Even ostensibly firsthand travel accounts from the sixteenth century, like Mehmed Aşık's description of Anatolia and the Balkans adopt such frames.<sup>101</sup> Both the *Geographia* and contemporary Ottoman texts recognized spatial and temporal components of world description and situated their accounts within eschatological narratives. These spatial eschatologies certainly differed between Christian and Muslim authors, yet both would have recognized the function of geography as a ground for sacred history. Further, this shared cosmology was recognized in Italy and could serve as an explicit platform for producing common ground. In the almost certainly apocryphal epistle from Pius II to Mehmed II, the tract's author points to a shared Christian and Muslim faith in the divine nature of creation and the terrestrial globe's permeation with God's grace.<sup>102</sup> The explicitly Christian orientation of Berlinghieri's world description, ironically, would have helped to bridge the gap between Ottoman and Florentine geographic cultures.<sup>103</sup> On the other hand, some passages, such as those explicitly proclaiming the divine nature of Christ, could have been substantially more problematic for Muslim readers.<sup>104</sup>

Berlinghieri's emulation of classical Mediterranean geography was both recognized and valued by Ottoman princes trained in these very traditions of world knowledge. It would have proved similarly communicative to a broader group of Ottoman diplomats and scholars at Bayezid's court and among Cem's entourage abroad. As we will explore, through the range of models on which it drew, its novel combinations of poetry, narrative illuminations, and maps, the *Geographia* elicited forms of reading and viewing that emphasized these shared geographical conceptions. In the process, the book forged communities linking its author, and Florence, to distant people and places.



Readers may already be objecting, however, to the impression of an unbroken intellectual chain between Florence and Bayezid's capital I have been describing here. For it is a truism known to even the most casual historian that the fall of Byzantine Constantinople to Mehmed's forces in 1453 was framed as among the darkest of days for Christendom by fifteenth-century western European scholars.<sup>105</sup> While Florence had a somewhat more ambivalent attitude toward Ottoman domination of the Eastern Mediterranean than we might expect, the perceived loss of Constantinople nonetheless profoundly shaped the meaning of Florentine intellectual contact with the Ottoman world. Byzantine refugees like Cardinal Bessarion were viewed as having saved the last vestiges of Greek civilization and learning from the barbarian Turkish onslaught through the books that they carried with them to Italy.<sup>106</sup> In Berlinghieri's Florence, the actions of book hunters like Palla Strozzi, once viewed as individual antiquarian endeavors, were in the process of being recast as services to Christendom. By the time of Berlinghieri's writing, Manuel Chrysoloras's conveyance of the *Geography* to Florence was viewed as a heroic act, evidence of a shift in attitude toward Greek artifacts and texts. Once regarded as plunder from a distant land, Byzantine manuscripts came instead to be seen as intellectual repositories, safeguarded by these Tuscan scholars.<sup>107</sup> For many fifteenth-century Florentines, the *Geography* had been snatched in the nick of time from the jaws of a Turkish beast that was both insatiable and intrinsically hostile to culture.<sup>108</sup>

Before they could arrive in the much-modified form of the *Geographia* in Ottoman Constantinople, Ptolemaic maps and descriptions had to arrive as unexpected "gifts" in Florence first. We are faced then with a profound irony. Florentines judged the gift of a book supposedly saved from the Turks a fitting and appropriate diplomatic overture toward them. Leaving aside, for a moment, a clear breach of etiquette in re-gifting, Florentine intellectuals seem to have been capable of a remarkable sort of double-think regarding the Ottomans. On the one hand, Florence, through the transplantation of Greek scholarship including the *Geography*, had become a new Constantinople, a replacement for the city so lamentably lost to the barbarian Turks. On the other, those Ottoman invaders could, when it was diplomatically expedient, be perceived as the legitimate heirs to that same Greek intellectual tradition.

Ptolemy's *Geography* provided a salient point of contact to an admired past perceived as common to both Florentine and Ottoman intellectuals. Yet Berlinghieri's *Geographia*, though based on Ptolemy's text, is hardly the thing

itself. We might well ask if contemporary readers and viewers, especially Bayezid and Cem, would have understood Berlinghieri's book as an extension of Ptolemy's legacy and whether elements of his maps and verse would have been recognized as building a bridge to this shared ancestor. That the work was closely identified with the *Geography* is evident within its parochial Florentine context. A contract for the hand-illumination of a printed copy of the *Geographia* produced for the head of the Servite order, resident at Florence's Santissima Annunziata, provides our only surviving commercial record regarding the *Geographia*. In this ledger, Berlinghieri's book is described as *el toloмео*—"the Ptolemy."<sup>109</sup> This connection was further emphasized by those Florentine craftspeople responsible for ensuring the book's success as a gift to Bayezid and Cem. The illuminator of both of these copies explicitly appealed to the currency of Ptolemy on their frontispieces, which identify the books not only with Berlinghieri but with "Ptolemaeus."

This late fifteenth-century identification between Berlinghieri's *Geographia* and Ptolemy's *Geography* was activated, to a great degree, by the visual properties of the book and its maps. Like examples of the *Geography* produced in Florence since the 1450s, Berlinghieri's book contained a world map, twenty-six regional maps and "modern" maps of Italy, Spain, France, and the Holy Land. For many viewers and readers of the printed edition and certainly for Lorenzo de' Medici and Guidobaldo da Montefelro, these maps would have borne a close resemblance to those found in earlier Florentine luxury manuscripts of the *Geography*. In particular, the cartographic information and their pictorial elements, including the shapes of mountains and the depiction of monuments, correspond with those produced by the illuminator Piero del Massaio and his successors beginning in the 1450s.<sup>110</sup>

The artists who produced these maps utilized and adapted visual traditions developed by illuminators over the course of the previous seventy years. The *Geographia's* world maps, in printed and manuscript examples, are surrounded by skies inhabited with classicizing heads, personifying the major directional winds.<sup>111</sup> In both manuscripts, and in a half-dozen printed copies, these skies are painted a pale blue and augmented with horizontal bands of linear, stylized clouds in gold leaf or darker blue, sometimes with white highlights.<sup>112</sup> These are closely based on world maps found in numerous Florentine manuscripts of the *Geography*. Berlinghieri's illuminators employ a distinctive style for representing mountains, in which ranges appear as strongly contoured, organic shapes resembling natural coral. This method,

too, derived from the manuscripts of Piero del Massaio, and the *Geographia's* engravers were the first to render these into a graphic idiom.<sup>113</sup> These ranges were a particularly striking stylistic element thanks to their prominence on maps like the seventh of Asia. Here the relative lack of place labels combines with a preponderance of mountainous terrain (Figure 11). Also following established precedent, the *Geographia's* maps include monuments described by Ptolemy and rendered perspectively, including the Altar of Caesar on Europe's eighth map, the Columns of Alexander on the second map of Asia, and a temple of Venus in southern France on the third map of Europe.<sup>114</sup> All of these stylistic elements would likely have suggested to contemporary viewers the modern Florentine origin of these maps. This visual distinction would, moreover, have seemed all the greater to an intended viewer like Federico da Montefeltro, familiar with the pictorially austere Greek *Geographies* from which those of the modern Florentine tradition departed. Mountains, for example, appear as thick, dark green lines on the world map accompanying Strozzi's Byzantine codex.<sup>115</sup>

The prominence of Ptolemaic maps in fifteenth-century Italy, and their place within prestigious collections, would have assured that little effort was necessary on the part of Berlinghieri and his book's illuminators and engravers to ensure that the *Geographia's* maps were recognized as part of that tradition. Equally, that recent Florentine manuscripts of the *Geography* were present in the libraries of many of the buyers and recipients of Berlinghieri's book meant that their readers would have recognized the distinctive naturalism of the *Geographia's* maps as up-to-date and based on these models. The mapmaker's reliance on these sources would have been immediately evident, and indeed welcome, to many of the *Geographia's* earliest readers. Lorenzo and Federico both possessed several manuscripts of the *Geography* related to this tradition.<sup>116</sup> Indeed, Federico owned two examples that served as direct sources for Berlinghieri's maps.<sup>117</sup> Likewise, recipients of printed copies of the *Geographia*, including Matthias Corvinus of Hungary, King Ferdinando I of Naples, and certainly Bayezid could have compared these maps to those already in their collections. The skillful placement of the *Geographia* within these libraries through dedication and through tailoring his verse to flatter the proprietors of such collections was a crucial factor in Berlinghieri's use of his book to generate and influence communities of wealthy and powerful readers.

Ptolemy's reputation among learned fifteenth-century readers and viewers would have served to connect Berlinghieri's maps with those of his prede-

cessor, and especially with those that had already found a place in the libraries of influential and powerful readers. The ancient writer was regularly pictured in pictorial and literary groups of illustrious men thanks to his reputation as an eminent astronomer throughout the Middle Ages.<sup>118</sup> Over the course of the fifteenth century, however, Ptolemy came to be pictorially associated not only with the stars but with the terrestrial world as well. He is portrayed in perhaps the most important of these painted series of *uomini illustri*, executed around 1480 for Federico da Montefeltro's *studiolo* at Urbino (Figure 12). There Ptolemy is depicted holding an armillary sphere, an instrument associated with celestial observation. The coordinates of latitude and longitude collected through such observation, however, were also essential in producing maps of the earth. An inscription, now largely illegible but recorded by a contemporary visitor, provides some sense of those qualities viewers associated with his maps: "for his precise measurement of the stars, and because he imposed lines on the earth, for his observations and everlasting toil, Federico gave this."<sup>119</sup> These lines emphatically crisscross Berlinghieri's maps in manuscript and print producing a dramatic Ptolemaic grid. It is possible that even a viewer without significant cartographic expertise, and lacking a copy of the *Geography's* maps to compare them to, would nonetheless have associated the *Geographia's* maps with those of Ptolemy simply on the basis of these coordinate webs. These lines served as a visual cue to their viewers, instructing them that these maps could be read like those of Ptolemy.

Berlinghieri's poetry further ensured this identification between its author and the ancient geographer. As we have seen, the poem framed the potentially dry and encyclopedic task of listing thousands of terrestrial locations in the striking and novel narrative conceit of a week-long journey with Ptolemy serving as his guide. At the beginning of this odyssey Berlinghieri describes being "lifted up from the silt of the earth enveloped in a cloud so that nothing could be seen, but then there appeared before me diverse countries, seas and rivers and not even the alps and other massive, tall mountains could block our path."<sup>120</sup> Looking down on the earth below he is able to make out "people beyond count, their customs and cities, ports, islands and caves, woods, marshes, lakes, ponds and springs."<sup>121</sup> This frame both provides needed distraction from the laundry list of locations that will soon be thrown at the reader and serves to introduce the profound influence of Ptolemy on the text. By assigning Ptolemy to the roles of traveling companion, guide, and most importantly narrator, Berlinghieri puts the words of his poem in the ancient

geographer's mouth. The *Geographia* instructs its readers to "listen now to Ptolemy's *Geography* in seven days, sung in Tuscan."<sup>122</sup> The poet's thoroughly modern verse thus takes up the voice of a recognized and even revered authority. This device initiates a range of conversations, not only between a fictionalized Ptolemy and Berlinghieri but also between the poem itself and its diverse readers. Such conversations—in which books are made to speak to their readers in the voices of their authors and ancient authorities—are a central concern of this study and one that we will examine in greater detail in the next chapter when we explore the potential for books to serve as the foci for communities of readers and authors. For the moment I observe that by a kind of ventriloquism, the *Geographia* determined that readers as diverse as Florentine humanists and Ottoman princes would connect the fifteenth-century work with a familiar classical precedent. This precedent, in turn, provided a touchstone that suggested how they might read Berlinghieri's innovative verse.

### Inventing a Ptolemaic Revolution

Ptolemy's *Geography* and its maps captivated Ottoman and Florentine intellectuals alike, shaping the geographic cultures of both cities in the fifteenth century. For Italian humanists and Ottoman scholars the *Geography* could serve to ground a revitalized cosmography based in the authority of a classical source. Florentines especially produced a coherent narrative of digging in libraries and dusting off, reassembling and perfecting Ptolemy's work, providing a material link between past and present. The tale I have told here, however, is not the one that has dominated accounts of fifteenth-century geography.

Until relatively recently, the rediscovery of Ptolemy's *Geography* around 1400 and its subsequent impact consistently furnished cartographic historians with an apparent start date for the development of systematic, scientific map-making in Europe.<sup>123</sup> Of course, European maps that display a general standard of geographic accuracy predate this revolution by almost two hundred years in the form of *portolani*, navigational charts of the Mediterranean and Black seas probably developed during the thirteenth century. Carefully delineated coastlines and networks of navigational guides known as rhumb lines characterize these charts.<sup>124</sup> Nonetheless, allowing for a few notable exceptions like the so-called Catalan Atlas, an illuminated set of portolan-style

charts, historians of cartography largely held to the belief that such charts suggested no systematic method for mapping the world as a whole.<sup>125</sup> Constructed, it is conjectured, from written sets of sailing instructions and by the observations of seafarers, navigational charts recorded a haphazard, if utilitarian, image of the Mediterranean.<sup>126</sup> In contrast to this empirical and practical method, the maps that accompanied the first Byzantine manuscripts of the *Geography* brought to Italy divided the entire known world into an established number of roughly comparable segments. Their veracity was corroborated by the stars and their system of representation was theoretically capable of expansion even to areas yet uncharted.

For many historians of art and cartography, the coordinate grid of latitude and longitude disseminated through Ptolemaic maps provided late-medieval Europeans with one of the core precepts of the Renaissance—a means, for the first time, of constructing a rational and, it has been assumed, secular image of the world around them.<sup>127</sup> This new conception of space has even been posited as the spur to the perspective experiments of Filippo Brunelleschi and their codification in works like Leon Battista Alberti's *On Painting*.<sup>128</sup> In such a view, the revival of classical cartography helped usher in the naturalism that came to characterize Italian Renaissance painting. Further, the recovery, translation, and dissemination of the *Geography* have been seen as concrete evidence of proto-scientific elements of the humanist enterprise.<sup>129</sup> Through the revival of classical learning, it was thought, a coherent science of description came to supplant a superstitious medieval cosmology. Jean de Villiers, addressing London's Royal Geographical Society in 1914, summarized a view held by many early twentieth-century historians of cartography concerning Ptolemaic mapping's revolutionary nature:

During the thirteen centuries that separate the actual drafting of these Ptolemean [*sic*] Maps and the production of the comparatively beautiful copies we have just had before us the science of cartography had sunk to a low ebb, and with some rare but eminent exceptions the maps drawn as late as the middle of the fifteenth century were mostly of a legendary type and of little geographic value.<sup>130</sup>

Several widely read surveys of early modern cartography promoted this view of a radical split between Ptolemaic maps and “legendary” medieval ones to general audiences during the first six decades of the twentieth century.<sup>131</sup>

Over the course of the past few decades, however, scholars have persistently whittled away at this triumphal vision.<sup>132</sup> One potent criticism of the Ptolemaic Revolution has been occasioned by the recognition that, for modern scholars, much of the cachet of these fifteenth- and sixteenth-century maps was derived from their perceived role in the voyages of discovery that led to the European colonization of the Americas.<sup>133</sup> The rationalization of space provided by Ptolemy's grid of latitude and longitude, it was thought, introduced a worldview that made travel over the vast empty spaces of previous maps not just possible but inevitable.

Ptolemy's significant underestimation of the size of the earth, some argued, suggested to Columbus and others that circumnavigation of the globe might prove an expedient alternative to long and sometimes treacherous land routes to the east.<sup>134</sup> Such an estimation of Ptolemy's importance gained particular currency among nineteenth- and twentieth-century Italian nationalists eager to insert their emerging country's intellectual heritage into a narrative dominated by the Spaniards, Portuguese, and English. Such nationalism has presented a particular temptation to partisans of Florentine cartography and intellectual history since their *patria*, though conventionally regarded as the birthplace of the Renaissance, played little material role in the discoveries that epitomize historical cartography's golden age.<sup>135</sup> As scholars have increasingly come to focus attention on the less than triumphant consequences of these discoveries, indeed "discoveries," and their colonial aftermath, economic and ideological motivations have largely replaced intellectual and technological ones as explanations for these journeys' origins. Maps of these new worlds have accordingly been reframed as indicative of constructed social realities rather than as reflective of static geographic and geological phenomena.<sup>136</sup>

Even more crucially, a paradigmatic shift has occurred in the way scholars conceive of the history of science in all its varieties and attendant disciplines. Following on the groundbreaking work of sociologist Bruno Latour, scholars including Loraine Daston and Peter Galison have worked to historicize the once universal concept of objectivity.<sup>137</sup> Prominent voices in the histories of medicine, astronomy, and cartography, including those of Anthony Grafton, Paula Findlen, and Brian Ogilvie, have revolutionized our understanding of the relationship between pre-modern techniques of knowledge and the narratives of progress into whose service those disciplines were traditionally pressed.<sup>138</sup> Scholars of Renaissance geography have worked within this

broadly revisionist frame to disconnect early modern maps from a teleology of modern cartographic exactitude.<sup>139</sup> David Woodward's indispensable contributions to the discipline called attention to maps as visual and material phenomena, works fashioned and manipulated by human hands, tools, and technologies.<sup>140</sup> J. B. Harley likewise pioneered the understanding of maps as instruments of territorial control, embedding political fantasies and aspirations rather than earnestly reflecting historical knowledge of geographic features.<sup>141</sup> And literary scholars, Tom Conley foremost among these, have emphasized the interplay between mapping and the development of the early modern self within a varied written tradition that formed an expansive cultural cosmos.<sup>142</sup> Much of the impetus to detach Renaissance cartography from such a teleological schema derives from a broad recognition by cartographic historians that even modern maps dependent upon demonstrable standards of accuracy cannot be exhaustively understood solely through analysis of their progressive empirical content. As a result of these interventions, historians of cartography today populate a radically transformed field invested in the historical specificity of period conceptions of the world.

This revised and reinvigorated history of cartography has recently turned its attention to Ptolemy and his impact on Renaissance Europe. In his recent study of Ptolemy's reception in Europe, Patrick Gautier Dalché has argued that many of the concepts traditionally thought to characterize a Ptolemaic revolution—ranging from notions of improved cartographic “projection” to the supposed novelty of the coordinate system—are either anachronistic impositions of modern historians or were never really “new” to those European readers who first approached the *Geography* in the fifteenth century.<sup>143</sup> Far from the forerunners of an elusive objectivity, a “modernism” never fully achieved, the *Geography* and its maps are now acknowledged as containing a great many archaisms, already recognized as outmoded by the time of their introduction.<sup>144</sup> The fact that, as early as the mid-1450s, manuscripts of the *Geography* contained “modern” maps, explicitly contrasted with those of Ptolemy, has suggested that the Alexandrian's cartographic innovations were not generally regarded as the bold leap forward they had been seen as by modern scholars.<sup>145</sup> Latitude and longitude, for example, the keys to Ptolemy's systematic rationalization of space, were already understood prior to the *Geography*'s introduction to Western Europe, in part thanks to the interest in Ptolemy's better-known *Almagest*. Further, well into the sixteenth century the coordinate system remained more pertinent to astrology than to matters



terrestrial.<sup>146</sup> Indeed, prior to the development of techniques for the accurate measurement of longitude (especially at sea), the coordinate system held limited utility for way finding or the mapping of new territories.<sup>147</sup> Nearly a century and a half after the *Geographia's* composition, John Donne relied on the continued difficulty of determining longitude musing "But absence tries how long this love will bee; to take a latitude/ Sun, or starres, are fitliest view'd/ At their brightest, but to conclude/ Of longitudes, what other way have wee,/ But to marke when, and where the darke eclipses bee."<sup>148</sup>

Scholars have also come to recognize the willingness of fifteenth-century geographers, mapmakers, printers, and readers to integrate Ptolemaic knowledge of the world with longstanding precedents.<sup>149</sup> The geographic products of fifteenth-century Europe have come to seem a great deal more hybrid, and continuous with maps of the preceding centuries, than revolutionary.<sup>150</sup> Hagiography, pilgrimage narratives, and other material once generally described as "medieval lore" were integrated into works that also contained Ptolemaic maps. Such apparent contradictions seem to have met with few period objections. Indeed, significant demand for books like the Roman edition of the *Geography*, which included a lengthy description of Christian marvels and wonders, suggests that many readers sought precisely such integration.<sup>151</sup> Revisionist responses, then, have rightly downplayed Ptolemy's novelty and narrowed the gap between his geographic conceptions and those already familiar to fifteenth-century readers.

Berlinghieri's *Geographia* provides a platform for evaluating this paradigm of cartographic progress and revisionist approaches to it, since it has seemed to many scholars largely out of step with proposed trajectories of Renaissance mapping's influence on that of the modern world. That the most important geographical treatise produced in Florence failed to correspond to such notions of a revolution appears to lend strong support to revisionist arguments. While its maps and coordinate index tables substantially mirror those of contemporary Ptolemaic works, the *Geographia's* text was often viewed as transitional at best and embarrassingly eclectic at worst. Composed in vernacular verse, combining descriptions of the world with anecdotal history, mythology, and etymology, the poem struck many scholars as ill suited both to its own canonically Ptolemaic maps and to its position as the only version of the *Geography* printed in fifteenth- and sixteenth-century Florence.<sup>152</sup> Still less has it made sense as a gift representing Italian cartographic culture abroad. Above all, the *Geographia's* radical departure from the mimetic economy of its ancient model opened

the door to its derision as a curious anachronism, a relic of a cosmographic culture that more orthodox versions of Ptolemy's text were rapidly supplanting.<sup>153</sup> The *Geographia's* place, however, alongside Ptolemy within some of the most prominent libraries of the period, as well as its deployment as a high-profile gift to dignitaries as far a field as Constantinople and Hungary, all suggest a more central place for Berlinghieri's work (and perhaps Ptolemaic cartography) within the geographic culture of its day.

The reevaluation of Ptolemy's place in the history of Renaissance cartography, the recognition that the newly recovered *Geography* stood alongside and was integrated into existing medieval geographic traditions, suggests an avenue for fresh appraisal of the *Geographia's* significance. The benefits of disconnecting early modern cartography from an inevitable narrative of progress toward the putative ideological objectivity of later maps cannot be overestimated. We must be careful, however, that in separating Renaissance map-making and world description from the teleology to which they have long been hitched that we do not ignore them as vital parts of the material and intellectual cultures of their day. For there can be little question that, regardless of its "revolutionary" character or lack thereof, the Renaissance fascination with Ptolemy's *Geography* had a profound impact on those cultures.

As a stimulus to existing knowledge and a catalyst for the production of new kinds of maps and texts, Ptolemy's *Geography* proved particularly potent, and one task of this book is to suggest why. I have proposed here that for fifteenth-century Florentines, the pivotal character of Ptolemy's rediscovery was in its looking back and, in doing so, pointing a way forward.<sup>154</sup> Alexander Nagel and Christopher Wood have recently offered the category of the "retrospective monument" as a tremendously important one in Renaissance European visual and material culture.<sup>155</sup> It was this very retrospective quality, moreover, that made the *Geography* so potent when first read and viewed by Florentine intellectuals and when transported to an Ottoman milieu. Nor is it surprising that the history of cartography has, until recently, failed in evaluating the importance of this shift. The revival of Ptolemaic geography, of which Berlinghieri's tract is but one example, was a mode of terrestrial understanding that privileged the past to an even greater degree than nineteenth- and twentieth-century histories of cartography expected it to privilege the future. Though the production of books like the *Geographia* have been seen as the fruits of rediscovery, it may be more productive to consider them as part of a process of reinvention.<sup>156</sup> The transplantation of a second-century

book from Constantinople to Florence was less a process of passive reception of an ancient authority or dazzling lost idea than a constitutive act of refabrication entailing the efforts of poets, painters, scribes, and printers.

The influence of Ptolemaic maps and description can everywhere be found in the cosmographic products of fifteenth- and sixteenth-century Europe and can be neglected only at the risk of ignoring texts and images that Renaissance readers and viewers placed at the center of their conceptions of the globe. It is worth pointing out, in this respect, that many of the earliest maps of the Atlantic discoveries were appended to copies of the *Geography*. An especially lavish example is the early sixteenth-century world map inserted in a mid-fifteenth-century manuscript of Ptolemy's text, originally a part of Federico da Montfeltro's library.<sup>157</sup> The Florentine image of Ptolemy's *habitato*, likewise remained the basic picture to which discoveries were frequently added. The humanist scholar Paolo Giovio, for example, owned a sixteenth-century manuscript of navigational charts including a world map that retains the contours of Ptolemy's Mediterranean while adding detailed coastlines of the Americas and trading centers along the shores of Africa.<sup>158</sup> The image of the world reinvented by the humanist engagement with Ptolemy was a powerful one that conditioned world-knowledge for over a century.

Above all, this re-invented geography is evident in the sheer preponderance of Renaissance *visual* material derived in some part from the *Geography*. Nowhere was this more evident than in Florence. The first Latin copies of the *Geography*, produced for a handful of interested scholars around 1410, contained no maps.<sup>159</sup> By the midpoint of the fifteenth century, however, the production of manuscript maps based on those of Ptolemy had blossomed into a prestigious and prolific industry, particularly in Florence.<sup>160</sup> Vespasiano da Bisticci wrote in the 1460s of the "*infiniti volumi*" of *Geographies* illuminated in his city.<sup>161</sup> By 1482, deluxe Florentine manuscripts of Ptolemy's work had become a staple of Italy's most prestigious libraries. Most importantly, the demand for these manuscripts entailed the production of huge, double folio maps that were among the fifteenth century's most expensive manuscript illuminations.

In the twelve-year period between 1460 and 1472 alone, Florentine artists produced at least fifteen extant manuscripts of the *Geography*.<sup>162</sup> These required the fabrication of 450 painted double-folio maps and twenty-seven city views.<sup>163</sup> We can assume that quite a few more have been lost to us in the intervening five centuries. Only the most lavish of *Bibles* presented individual

patrons with the opportunity to own costlier and more prestigious books and only certain liturgical manuscripts challenged illuminators to create larger or more complex images.<sup>164</sup> The advent of printing brought, at least initially, more rather than less work for the Florentine illuminators who supplied these deluxe books. Over a dozen copies of the printed edition of the *Geographia* survive with hand illumination. These products of the fifteenth century's vibrant book culture include hand-colored maps and decorative marginal illumination as well as elaborate painted frontispieces and historiated letters. As we have seen, these books offered their readers not just more maps but fundamentally different maps from their predecessors. They included city-views, modern representations of Europe, and most importantly richly naturalistic Ptolemaic maps populated with tiny cities, rough and twisting mountain ranges, and winding rivers whose mouths open onto seas and lakes.

It is thus unsurprising that art historians and map room curators have been amongst the staunchest supporters of the continuing importance of Ptolemy for the Renaissance, despite a steady devaluation of the text's intellectual luster. Those most attentive to the material progeny of this "rediscovery," that is, have formed a rather different impression than those principally concerned with its intellectual legacy. Wholesale subscription to the notion of a Ptolemaic revolution in early modern cartography is indeed highly problematic if we imagine that its salient contribution lay in paving the way for modern cartography, for Gerardus Mercator's sixteenth-century atlas, and eventually for global information systems and Landsat imaging. Similarly, an art historical tradition that has traced an unbroken trajectory from Ptolemy's (and Nicolaus Germanus's) so-called "projections" to the experiments of artists like Paolo Uccello and Filippo Brunelleschi relies on anachronistic evaluations both of the *Geography's* importance and of the fundamental nature of mathematical perspective.<sup>165</sup> Yet products like the *Geographia* were assuredly part of a major shift, a visual, material and intellectual one, especially in the local environment of Florence, and our challenge as historians is to create a model of change that allows retrogression and reinvention to replace revolution. Fifteenth-century Florence was a place reinventing its own classical heritage, imbuing the remnants of the past with novel meaning. Surely this process was also a familiar one in the formerly Byzantine capital that Bayezid II had inherited from his father. Scholars are often inclined today to speak of early modern cartography.<sup>166</sup> This rubric can be valuable in that it highlights the position of contemporary scholars and

suggests our unavoidably retrospective engagement with past modes of geographic understanding. In the following chapter, however, I will instead discuss Renaissance cosmography; a vision built not upon looking toward an undiscovered future but on a world reassembled from the voices and images of the distant past.

## The Rebirth of Geography

### The Renaissance Geographer

The earth, worried the fifteenth-century Florentine Leon Battista Alberti, had grown weary, no longer producing either geniuses or giants.<sup>1</sup> His native city's widespread fascination with the past, however, meant that the bones of these titans could nonetheless be dug from beneath the pavement of Florence's *piazze* and reanimated, often through the equally potent forces of humanist scholarship and Christian belief.<sup>2</sup> This chapter asks how this process of reanimation, what has usually been called the Renaissance, shaped the way Florentine intellectuals viewed the world they inhabited. I aim to produce here an account of Renaissance geography, a phrase used unapologetically to suggest a discipline that aspired to bring back to life an activity perceived as dormant for over a millennium.

If I have given the impression of a necromancer assembling and reanimating the gargantuan bones of Ptolemy and Strabo, the picture painted instead will be one of a far more orthodox variety of resurrection, steeped in the Christian belief that made such return from the dead a possibility and in a civic pride that made such intellectual labor a fitting diplomatic representation of Florence

abroad. Though a committed antiquarian, the geographer was not necessarily a keeper of esoteric knowledge, a shut-in alchemist, or devotee of pagan rites. In the case at hand, he was, in fact, an ambassador, the proprietor of a successful family business, and even a tax collector. He was also actively involved with Florence's lay confraternities. The facts of Francesco di Niccolò Berlinghieri's life and the circle of patrons, mentors, and friends he moved within can shed light both on Renaissance geography and on the ways in which we study early modern writing and mapmaking.

The *Geographia* commences by situating its narrative action in the life of its author through Berlinghieri's encounter with Ptolemy in the Florentine hills. Taking its cue from this framing device, this chapter begins with an examination of the geographer's life. The intellectual and spiritual communities in which Berlinghieri participated suggested, to a large degree, the kinds of sources and models his life's work drew upon. I then examine the *Geographia*'s text and sources in detail, elucidating how the poet sought to restage a living classical past for fifteenth-century readers. Of central importance here are translation, emulation, and how the voice and authority of the geographer are situated in relation to these modes of composition. One of the most distinctive attributes of that living tradition was an amalgam of didactic, moralizing geography with sacred history and even theology. Perhaps most importantly, I conclude by examining the problematic relationship between the often separated activities of mapmaking, geometry, poetic composition, and collaborative book production in fifteenth-century Florence. Drawing on the diverse facets of practice and theory, I elucidate a conception of the Renaissance geographer as a distinctive blend of mathematician, poet, and mapmaker.

Biography, it may fairly be said, does not enjoy the best of reputations among contemporary scholars. For historians and art historians alike, monographic studies of the lives of artists, eminent thinkers, and heads of state are often seen as indicative of an outdated mode of inquiry that maintained an overly rigid focus on the intentions, agency, and impact of canonical figures. For literary scholars, such methods too often call to mind mechanistic and facile transpositions of biographical data onto the interpretation of texts. Indeed, it might be safer to avoid the word biography altogether. Only scant sleight of academic hand would be needed to replace the troublesome term with a more palatable substitute, such as "micro-history" or even to place my interest in Berlinghieri's life under the rubric of New Historicist self-fashioning.

Yet it is precisely upon the biographical, on the terrain between the writing of the geographer's life and his writing of place that this chapter is situated.

Investigating what he characterized as "the sudden birth and growth" of early modern mapping, Tom Conley proposed that, along with a range of accepted factors, including the recovery of Ptolemy and the invention of mathematical perspective, the "new importance afforded to the emerging *self*" be weighed among the conditions that made this cartographic expansion possible.<sup>3</sup> For Conley, an integral component of this self was a developing cartographic drive—"a drive to locate and implant oneself in a named space, a drive to imagine necessary connections between the 'I,' the locale of its utterance, and the origins of its birth . . ."<sup>4</sup> Similarly Stephen Greenblatt's *Will in the World* explores the ways in which the mundane facts of biography are both imbedded within Shakespeare's created world and serve as indispensable conditions for the creation of that cosmos.<sup>5</sup> Crucially, Greenblatt and Conley explore how the intersection of life and works, self and world, provide the reader and historian with a kind of emergent understanding of both.

Without dropping into a morass of circularity, I am interested here in how the life of a Florentine intellectual shaped the geographic text he composed, how the writing of the *Geographia* and the assembly of its sources shaped the life of that poet, and what both tell us about Renaissance geography more broadly. In verse and images, the *Geographia* situated its author prominently in the middle of things. Berlinghieri appears as a world traveler, a divinely inspired poet, and as a kind of conduit not only between his native Florence and distant environs, but between the classical past and the fifteenth-century present. The poem's narrative fairly demands that we approach the geographer, at least in part, with an awareness of his "cartographic subjectivity," his desire to delineate the far regions of the earth through his own imaginative and privileged position in the air above them.

The *Geographia's* author was born in September of 1440. He came, in time, to act as the head of a large and prosperous household, including his wife Alessandra, a son and daughter, as well as the families of two of his brothers, Giorgio and Antonio, and the crippled widow of his oldest brother Benedetto. In addition to the family's townhouse in the parish of San Simone, around the Franciscan church of Santa Croce, Francesco also oversaw two family properties in the Florentine countryside, one in the Mugello, the other "near the church of San Giorgio a Ruballa" in Bagno a Ripoli.<sup>6</sup> All of this was



financed by the family's long-standing involvement in silk manufacturing and sales.<sup>7</sup>

The Berlinghieri were a family with over two hundred years of involvement in Florentine political affairs. Raniero Berlinghieri had helped to broker a significant treaty between the city and neighboring Siena in 1201.<sup>8</sup> Members of the family served as Priors of the Signoria thirty-one times from the mid-fourteenth to early-sixteenth centuries.<sup>9</sup> Francesco di Niccolò, like others of his clan and Florentine men of his class, was selected for a variety of governmental offices, including Prior of the Signoria and Conservator of the Laws, between 1471 and his death in 1500.<sup>10</sup> An oration on justice that the poet delivered before the Signoria had a modest afterlife. It appeared in a pamphlet of 1495 and was reprinted in a collection of exemplary speeches.<sup>11</sup> That same year, we have seen, the Signoria officially sought to obtain a lavish manuscript example of the *Geographia*. Berlinghieri's political aspirations and participation, as well as his commitment to steering a steady course for Florentine civic life, would have been admirable and unexceptional by contemporary standards.

Significantly for the *Geographia*'s conveyance to Bayezid and Cem, Berlinghieri had, from his school days, cultivated a friendship with Lorenzo de' Medici. A number of letters between the two young men attest to their familiarity throughout the 1460s and 1470s.<sup>12</sup> Theirs was a close relationship that seems to have begun when both were students of Cristoforo Landino. Parts of their letters might be read as quite formal, including ritualized protestations of Berlinghieri's humility and servitude before the *Magnifico*. If Lorenzo gave "the slightest sign," Berlinghieri would depart immediately "taking neither hat nor cloak nor horse."<sup>13</sup> Such passages might also, however, be read as evidence of a joking familiarity between the two young friends, and in another missive Berlinghieri pointedly addresses Lorenzo as his "equal and companion."<sup>14</sup> Elsewhere, the author certainly demonstrated a real familiarity with Lorenzo, often inquiring as to the well-being and affairs of family members, and emphasizing his close connection with Lorenzo's father Piero.<sup>15</sup> He was also a friend of the poets and Medici panegyrists Luca and Luigi Pulci and a correspondent of Bartolomeo Scala.<sup>16</sup>

The year 1479 saw Berlinghieri appointed as Florence's ambassador, or "orator," at the court of Federico Gonzaga in Mantua. Resident ambassadors were a relatively new feature of Italian diplomatic culture, but such positions had already become an important part of many political careers by the 1470s.<sup>17</sup> From his letters to Lorenzo, it is clear that the poet provided both cultural

and more properly diplomatic services for the *Magnifico* while in Mantua. He was entrusted, for example, with bringing to Florence objects from Cardinal Francesco Gonzaga's renowned collection of antiquities purchased by Lorenzo.<sup>18</sup> Following the Pazzi conspiracy, Francesco was directly involved in strategic concerns for Florence's campaigns against Naples and the pope as a matter of his day-to-day ambassadorial duties in Mantua. In a letter of 1479, he apprised Lorenzo of Milanese troop movements in Northern Italy, and his brother Antonio was similarly engaged in the Florentine military effort, inspecting fortifications in Tuscany.<sup>19</sup>

The geographer's political influence both outlived the Medici regime and extended beyond its immediate reach. He served on the Great Council of the Florentine republican government established under Girolamo Savonarola. He was also elected as one of the eight supervisors of the Dominican theorist's new tax, the *decima* or "ten percent" fixed on all goods. The tax was administered by two representatives, aged forty or over, from each of the city's four *Quartieri* and Francesco was chosen to represent the *Quartiere di Santa Croce* from 1498 until his death in 1500, at the age of sixty-one.<sup>20</sup>

A student of the poet Cristoforo Landino, Berlinghieri was part of one of Florence's most significant intellectual circles.<sup>21</sup> While he probably studied Latin and vernacular poetry with Landino, he may also have dabbled in Greek under the guidance of John Argyropoulos, the Byzantine émigré scholar who remained in Florence from 1456 to 1471.<sup>22</sup> Perhaps most importantly, he was also a close companion of the philosopher Marsilio Ficino, who dedicated Book Seven of his collected letters to Berlinghieri.<sup>23</sup> This represented no small honor since other volumes were dedicated to Mathias Corvinus, king of Hungary, and Giuliano de' Medici, co-ruler of Florence. In his commentary on Plato's *Timaeus*, Ficino singled Berlinghieri out for praise as a mathematician and cosmographer.<sup>24</sup> It is fitting that Ficino chose to honor his friend in the *Timaeus*, an explicitly cosmographic work laying out Plato's conception of the heavens and their relationship to the earth and its inhabitants.<sup>25</sup> He also provided the geographer with a recommendation to Federico da Montefeltro that appeared both in the duke's manuscript and in the printed edition of the *Geographia*. Ficino's letters to Berlinghieri include an admonition to the poet to execute carefully his responsibilities in political office as well as a considerably less formal epistle advising Francesco on choosing a husband for his beloved daughter.<sup>26</sup> Berlinghieri put up a substantial sum to finance the printing of Ficino's Latin translation of the works of

Plato and also served as a proofreader for the scholar's tract *De Christiana Religione (On the Christian Religion)*.<sup>27</sup> Berlinghieri's involvement in his city's intermingled intellectual and political lives points toward the centrality of geography and the geographer in fifteenth-century Florentine culture.

We have seen that a persistent historiographic myth long held that the rediscovery of Ptolemy's geography paved the way for the establishment of a novel understanding of space that was fundamentally secular. Renaissance geography, too often, has been seen as supplanting legend, superstition, and above all Christian faith with a mathematical and empirical globe. In fact, Renaissance geography was an emphatically Christian discipline, and this orientation both determined the broad contours of its cosmography and permeated the details of terrestrial description. Its practitioners were often prominent and committed members of the church. In particular, Berlinghieri was part of Florence's vibrant Dominican community. Francesco's cousin Giovanni Carlo dei Berlinghieri (1429–1503), better known to scholars as Giovanni Caroli was a prominent friar whose *Vitae fratrum*, a collection of the biographies of eminent Dominicans, included a dedicatory prologue addressed to Francesco Berlinghieri's friend and mentor Landino. Caroli dedicated that collection's life of Giovanni Dominici, a Florentine envoy in Constantinople, to his cousin Francesco.<sup>28</sup> Berlinghieri was also praised by Giorgio Benigno Salviati, prior of the Franciscan convent of Santa Croce, in his *Propheticae Solutiones*, an impassioned defense of Savonarola's preaching.<sup>29</sup>

While very little of his writing survives, apart from the *Geographia*, Berlinghieri composed devotional sermons. Two of these are preserved in manuscripts collecting exemplary sermons, perhaps as models for students in the composition of their own examples.<sup>30</sup> The poet presented these orations to the confraternity of Saint Vincent Martyr and possibly to the Confraternity of the Magi at the parish church of San Lorenzo. In this respect Berlinghieri was solidly within the mainstream of Florentine intellectual life. Landino similarly presented such confraternal sermons.<sup>31</sup> For those fifteenth-century Florentines most concerned with the revival of antique world knowledge that endeavor went hand in hand with an avowedly Christian vision of the globe described therein.

We have seen that Berlinghieri worked to conflate his endeavor with that of Ptolemy and that the book could even be taken as a version of the *Geography* to significant advantage for its purpose as a diplomatic gift to the Ottomans. Understandably then, scholars once routinely characterized the poem as a retrograde and ponderous literary exercise in translating Ptolemy's words

into vernacular Italian.<sup>32</sup> The *Geographia* included all of Ptolemy's toponyms, relied on his maps, and sometimes followed his order of describing the world. It also translated his theoretical discussion on mapmaking. Yet it departed markedly from this prototype in almost every other way. The poet integrated recent events, ancient history, and classical myth. He praised rulers, scholars, and saints associated with locations around the Mediterranean world. Within a handful of verses, the poet often moved seamlessly from pilgrimage and crusade literature to elegiac poetry and Roman history.

Emulation of Ptolemy's project was a significant part of Berlinghieri's self-fashioning as a geographer. This represents, however, only one aspect of the poet's presentation, one that drew on verse and painted portraits, maps and verbal description, to produce an image of the Renaissance geographer that both echoed the familiar images of ancient geographers and vastly exceeded their mere imitation. Simultaneously, then, Berlinghieri was constructing an autonomous image of the geographer and his enterprise in words and pictures. Those images of Berlinghieri that would have been familiar to his readers and patrons were illuminations found on the opening pages of manuscript and some printed copies of the *Geographia*. Circumscribed by the initial G of the poem's prologue, Berlinghieri appears on the incipit of Lorenzo de Medici's manuscript as a young man in his late twenties, clothed in a red mantle, with long brown hair flowing from beneath a red cap (Figure 13).<sup>33</sup> This attire is that of a Florentine scholar of means, familiar from countless frescoes and panel paintings produced by Berlinghieri's contemporaries, including Domenico Ghirlandaio.<sup>34</sup> The writer labors diligently in his *studiolo*, seated at a built-in box seat and table topped with a portable writing desk, pens at the ready.<sup>35</sup> His books and letters surround him. A mechanical clock on the study's wall suggests the passage of minutes into hours, and hours into weeks, months, and years as he tirelessly composes his poem. For many readers, portraits like this one came to stand in for the author, providing a kind of anchor for material and intellectual networks centered around the book. Simultaneously, this image served as a representation of Berlinghieri's "geographic self" and conditioned the way in which readers made use of the *Geographia* by demonstrating the sort of scholarship the verse and maps were predicated upon.

The geographer's portrait drew on those of the evangelists and patristic writers that had adorned manuscript incipits for centuries.<sup>36</sup> Such representations flourished in late fifteenth-century Florence, thanks both to a vibrant book industry and the spur of Ghirlandaio and Sandro Botticelli's influential

frescoes depicting the scholarly saints Jerome and Augustine at the church of the Ognissanti in 1480.<sup>37</sup> Ghirlandaio's Jerome, like his counterpart in the *Geographia*, sits at a double-tiered desk, allowing him to read from one text while writing in another, an ideal arrangement for tasks like translation, annotation, and commentary. The accoutrements expected of fifteenth-century scholars surround both saints. Augustine's *studiolo* is furnished with an armillary sphere, clock, and numerous tomes. Jerome's desk includes two attached inkwells, scissors, and a measuring stick. The walls of Augustine's study, like those of the one in which Berlinghieri labors, are painted the distinctive and tranquil blue-green *terra verde* common to Renaissance *studioli* and libraries.<sup>38</sup> Such *studioli* were, by the 1480s, also commonly employed as settings for portraits of classical writers. The transplantation of ancient writers into contemporary *studioli* echoed the growing importance of these ostensibly secluded, yet emphatically displayed, spaces in fashioning scholarly identities.<sup>39</sup> Following conventions for depicting Petrarca and Dante, modern authors too were portrayed according to this type.<sup>40</sup> Florentine chancellor Leonardo Bruni is so depicted on the incipit of a fifteenth-century manuscript of his *History of the Florentine People*.<sup>41</sup>

Berlinghieri's portrait drew on these antecedents, yet it would have been unprecedented for the translator, commentator, adapter, or even "Platonizer" of a text to be given the sort of visual prominence accorded here to the scholar in this image. The illuminators of manuscript and printed examples of Landino's translation of Pliny's *Historia naturalis* pointedly reserved the place of the author portrait for the ancient historian rather than for the contemporary Florentine poet.<sup>42</sup> Departing decisively from previous iconography for translators and commentators, the *Geographia*'s illuminators ensured that viewers recognized Berlinghieri as the work's author. Likewise, his poem would have been read as an autonomous text, a composition on a rather different order than Landino's commentary on Dante's *Commedia* or Ficino's translations and commentaries on Plato.

For fifteenth-century viewers, this would have been especially recognizable since a stable iconographic tradition existed for translators of Ptolemy's *Geography*. Manuscripts of the work often included the translator Jacopo Angeli's dedication to Alexander V, embellished with the initial A of the Pope's name, framing a vignette of the scholar presenting the pontiff with his book. This same format was adopted in the manuscripts produced by Nicolaus Germanus in which he appears before Paul II, pope at the time of the completion of his

revised maps.<sup>43</sup> This image was an addition to, rather than substitute for, an author portrait and appeared before the first page of Ptolemy's text, on which the ancient geographer was depicted. Berlinghieri's illuminators knew such images of Germanus and Jacopo as they were included in manuscripts that served as sources for the *Geographia*.<sup>44</sup>

We know that Berlinghieri, rather than his ancient forerunner Ptolemy, is represented in these painted *studioli*. Ptolemy appears in author portraits accompanying most Italian manuscripts of the *Geography*.<sup>45</sup> Without exception, the ancient geographer wears a beard in these images, an attribute the *Geographia*'s scholar lacks.<sup>46</sup> Additionally, Ptolemy is typically clothed in voluminous robes, usually with a fur collar. Often, he wears a hat of a type generalized from representations of Byzantine Greeks. This recognizable costume suggested Ptolemy's temporal and spatial distance from contemporary Florentine viewers like Vespasiano da Bisticci who believed that Greek clothing had not changed "for the last fifteen-hundred years."<sup>47</sup> Such representations were familiar to the illuminators who worked for Berlinghieri since portraits of Ptolemy in Byzantine dress were found in manuscripts that served as sources for the *Geographia*'s author and illuminators.<sup>48</sup> Likewise since many of his readers also owned copies of the *Geography*, they, too, would have quickly made the distinction. One such reader was Guidobaldo da Montefeltro—recipient of the manuscript produced for his father Federico since the duke's famed library also included several manuscripts of the *Geography*.<sup>49</sup>

Images of Ptolemy of this sort appear on the incipit pages made for Lorenzo and Federico, alongside the author portrait of Berlinghieri. Here, the illuminators relied on standard iconographic formulae in depicting Ptolemy in the roundels illustrating the poem's prologue. They depict Berlinghieri and a companion in the hills above Florence, the sudden materialization of Ptolemy from the heavens, and the voyage of the three companions above the world on a cloud (Figures 6 and 7). The ancient geographer appears bearded here, wearing a flowing green and gold robe and a fur-trimmed Byzantine style hat. His costume and physiognomy are distinct from those of the author portrait's scholar or the contemporary Florentines who share these roundels.

The *Geographia*'s illuminators and readers would also have been familiar with representations of Ptolemy as a king. This iconography was the result of a case of mistaken identity by medieval Europeans who believed the geographer to have been a member of Egypt's Ptolemaic dynasty.<sup>50</sup> Ptolemy appears prominently crowned in a lavish mid-fifteenth-century *Geography*, found

today in Venice's Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana and, most famously, in Raphael's *School of Athens*.<sup>51</sup> In Federico's own *studiolo* at Urbino's ducal palace, Ptolemy appeared similarly crowned in the cycle of *uomini famosi* that adorned the chamber's upper walls (Figure 12).<sup>52</sup>

The juxtaposition of figures in Florentine and "Greek" costume by these illuminators represented a calculated effort to separate the contemporary poet from his ancient model. Explicitly invoking the familiar portrait conventions for representation of the ancient geographer and drawing upon the maps intimately associated with him, yet visually asserting his own authorial role, Berlinghieri presented his project as an emulation and re-staging of Ptolemy's world-describing endeavor. As we shall see, this strategy accorded well with attitudes held by scholars of Berlinghieri's circle, especially those of Landino and Angelo Poliziano, who sought to draw on an expansive classical tradition through the emulation and integration of a variety of disparate sources. These carefully fashioned images of the geographer prepared readers like Lorenzo and Federico for the sort of book opened before them as they turned from the painted marginalia to the broad columns of poetry within.

### Translation, Emulation, and Autonomy

R. A. Skelton described the *Geographia* as "a characteristic product of the humanistic scene in Florence in the time of Lorenzo de' Medici." The cartographic historian continued however with the damning caveat that "If Burckhardt's general judgment that 'in the intellectual field Lorenzo's patronage was for the most part given to mediocrities' is doubtless too severe, it receives some support from the patent limitations of Berlinghieri's geographical culture."<sup>53</sup> Berlinghieri's presentation of classical geography in vernacular verse and his endeavor to update Ptolemy's toponyms have often seemed clumsy and unsatisfying. His project has seemed, even, to mystify and complicate rather than to clarify already distant and esoteric texts through the inclusion of a jarring array of supplementary material. Further, printed nearly three-quarters of a century after the *Geography's* translation into Latin, Berlinghieri's poem has seemed a rather late addition to European terrestrial knowledge, situated at the tail end of serious interest in Ptolemy's revival.

The shift away from assumptions of progress on the part of historians of cartography and geography has paved the way for Berlinghieri's work, at the very least, to shake off charges that it was anachronistic and irrelevant in the

later fifteenth century. Indeed, for some scholars the *Geographia* has traded its place as a cultural oddity for one as a synthesis of Renaissance geographic knowledge and as part of a thriving humanist enterprise. Marica Milanesi especially has emphasized the poem's blending of disparate traditions including Strabo's descriptive chorography, replete with legend, myth, and history, with Ptolemy's spare mathematical cosmography.<sup>54</sup> Sebastiano Gentile and recently Patrick Gautier Dalché have suggested that Berlinghieri's verse be read as an attempt to "Platonize" or allegorize the *Geography*, much as the poet's teacher Cristoforo Landino worked to Platonize Pliny's *Historia naturalis*, Virgil's *Aeneid*, and Dante's *Commedia*.<sup>55</sup> The commentary on the *Commedia* was written roughly contemporaneously with the *Geographia*, and Niccolò Tedesco printed both books.<sup>56</sup>

In the broadest possible sense, the *Geographia* certainly drew on themes construed as Platonic by Renaissance readers. First and foremost, both Landino and Berlinghieri's works sought, at least in part, to imbue the terrestrial sphere, its inhabitants and natural features with metaphysical meaning. Both, that is, encouraged the contemplation of the divine and eternal through observation of the temporal, terrestrial, and imperfect.<sup>57</sup> Certainly, as well, Berlinghieri's conception of his poem as a *divina visione*—one activated by the influence of celestial bodies—drew directly on Ficino's understanding of Plato's poetic frenzy elaborated in the *Phaedrus*.<sup>58</sup> As we have seen, Berlinghieri shared a close friendship and intellectual connection with Ficino, the leading proponent of Platonism. Indeed addressing the philosopher within his poem, Berlinghieri dubs him "the Platonic Ficino."<sup>59</sup> The publication of the *Geographia* is coincident with the proposed height of this movement, and if the idea of a Platonic academy has been convincingly exposed as an historiographic fiction, Ficino's engagement with Plato and the philosopher's influence on this immediate circle of Florentine intellectuals cannot be disputed.<sup>60</sup>

To read the *Geographia* principally as an attempt to "Platonize" Ptolemy, however, is to artificially limit the poem's scope and to rein in its possible applications. If Berlinghieri's work is now appreciated as something more than a botched translation, the contours of the knowledge it presents, the discipline of Renaissance geography, remain only loosely delineated and the poet's place within it far from set. It is important that we do not establish an overly neat correspondence between Berlinghieri's poem and Landino's commentaries on Dante and Virgil, or his translation of Pliny, since the *Geographia*



departs far more radically from its supposed model, Ptolemy's *Geography*, than those works from theirs.

A reader picking up the *Commento sopra la commedia* finds at her fingertips not only Landino's musings, but the complete text of Dante's poem. Likewise, approaching his translation of Pliny, the Renaissance author's voice is distinct from and supplemental to the venerable authority of Pliny. The *Geographia*, instead strays far from Ptolemy's text (which is not included), and, in truth, leans rather more heavily on Strabo and Pliny for the bulk of its anecdotes and on Pomponius Mela's *Chorography* [*De Chorographia*] for much of its structure.<sup>61</sup> Plato, moreover, is hardly an abiding presence in Berlinghieri's verse. The ancient philosopher is mentioned only twice—fewer than the number of references enjoyed by Aristotle and Thomas Aquinas.<sup>62</sup> In comparison Strabo is mentioned over a dozen times and Pliny on five occasions.<sup>63</sup> More importantly, the poem relies in no significant way on any specific knowledge of Plato or "Platonic" texts but, as we shall see, adopts a rather more catholic approach to antique sources. Further, such a concept of the poem all but ignores its most significant deviation from its ancient models by treating the *Geographia*'s narrative structure as incidental, downplaying the dialogic (and especially diachronic) contrast that arises in the conversation between the pagan Ptolemy and his Renaissance counterpart. Perhaps most significantly, dismissing the text as a Platonized translation of Ptolemy ignores the claims for authorship, autonomy, and poetic originality staked emphatically by the author portraits and narrative illuminations of the manuscripts.

We might ask, then, what kind of a poem Berlinghieri produced. In one sense this is an easy question, since the poet establishes the parameters of his project for readers at the outset. He invokes Apollo and the muses to bring to his lips "the entire inhabited world in rhyme and verse."<sup>64</sup> As the next lines show, this is more complicated than it might seem and tells us about the assumptions of the poet and his readers. For what most distinctly separates Berlinghieri's work from that of Ptolemy is its narrative form. Having completed his invocation beseeching the divine aid of Apollo, the Christian God, and His angelic choirs in the composition of his poem, Berlinghieri is engulfed in swirling clouds, blinded by sacred light, and finds himself addressed by an unfamiliar voice. The poet is at first unsure whether he is being addressed by "man or a spirit [*divo*]." The mysterious speaker responds that he is neither, but was once a man "from Egypt's Alexandria, and wrote of the stars and the earth under the empire of Antoninus Pius."<sup>65</sup> The *Geographia*'s readers would

have immediately recognized this as an emulation of the events of the first Canto of the *Inferno*, in which Virgil appears to guide the lost and despairing Dante. Berlinghieri's query as to the nature of the figure before him closely echoes Dante's own uncertainty "qual che tu sia, od ombro od omo certo."<sup>66</sup> Similarly, Ptolemy's response follows the formula laid down by Dante's Virgil, who somewhat cryptically describes his Mantuan origins, his birth under the reign of Julius, and finally the subject of the writings for which he was remembered. Berlinghieri, in fact, recalls this passage of the *Inferno* later in the *Geographia* where he introduces Mantua "from whence came the Latin poet, who was none other than that Virgil who exceeds all other poets."<sup>67</sup>

Berlinghieri's verse presents his encounter with Ptolemy in the form of an abstract invocation and an interiorized "divine vision . . . of all the earth and every known region."<sup>68</sup> The *Geographia*'s illuminators expanded this visionary encounter into a series of narrative episodes imagined in the roundels of the incipit page's right-hand margin.<sup>69</sup> The third of these images depicts Berlinghieri and Ptolemy's flight above the earth. While this roundel is badly damaged in Lorenzo's manuscript, the version produced for Federico da Montefeltro includes the Mediterranean and its shores beneath the companions, with Italy plainly visible (Figure 7). Through these illuminations, Berlinghieri's prologue, relatively short in comparison to the vast descriptive text that follows, is given significant emphasis for the work's recipients and viewers. In the process the itinerary framework is brought to the fore.

Like Virgil in the *Commedia*, Ptolemy serves as the poet's guide, here on a journey around the terrestrial globe. This device makes for a somewhat awkward transition into the theoretical material that dominates the *Geographia*'s first book and continues into the beginning of the second. The reader, however, is encouraged to read this initial day's musings as an oration delivered by Ptolemy and the remaining *giorni* are structured as an itinerary.<sup>70</sup> This narrative frame is reinforced throughout the poem by the near constant reliance on the mode of direct address. Since Ptolemy presents the world to Berlinghieri, lines are frequently initiated by "*ascolta*"—"listen", framing etymology, terrestrial description, and historical anecdotes as speech and song directed at Francesco.<sup>71</sup> Descriptions of the time of day at which the travelers view the globe's various locations also reinforce this narrative. Occasionally, the conversation between the two geographers is brought to the fore, as when Ptolemy playfully suggests of the Portuguese island of Berlengas (*Berlingha*) that "maybe the name of your family and the first Berlinghieri originate here."<sup>72</sup>

This journey brought the poet and his readers, first and foremost, into contact with a Mediterranean world saturated with classical myth and history. Greece sprawls before the traveling companions, nearly every spot full of mythological significance. On the Peloponnesus we learn of Trypia “deserted today, but where fair-faced Callisto was transformed into a bear and set among the stars by the will of Jupiter.”<sup>73</sup> On Crete we approach “Knossos which was nest and cradle to the Minotaur, Phaedra, and Ariadne.”<sup>74</sup> Describing Asia Minor we see Scepsis “remarkable for the flight of Aeneas and Antenor from Troy” and then “on to Harpagia, from whence it is thought Ganymede was abducted to serve at the table of the Gods.”<sup>75</sup> With Ptolemy and Berlinghieri we “behold Mount Ida and that pastoral resting place where the three goddesses judged by Paris set in motion the Trojans’ fatal end.”<sup>76</sup> The labors of Hercules, himself a famous traveler, are spread across these lands. We learn that Tenario [Taenarum] “includes the cave where Hercules snatched Cerberus in defiance of the underworld, that place of perpetual weeping and sighs.”<sup>77</sup> Finally, Mount Etna becomes “where Hercules departed this life and the place of his pyre and tomb, where through death he attained life everlasting.”<sup>78</sup> The Argonauts similarly allowed a terrestrially minded poet ample opportunity to embellish the Mediterranean coast with heroic tales.<sup>79</sup>

Nor is this classical Mediterranean world exhausted by mythic description. The *Geographia* includes not only these fables but also the birthplaces of classical writers and spots of significance to their works. Clazomene [Klazomenae] is known for its countryman Anaxagoras and his writings on physics while Hesiod’s home is located at Ascra in the foothills of Mount Helicon.<sup>80</sup> Following one of Guarino da Verona’s suggestions, Berlinghieri believed Knossos on Crete to have been Strabo’s native city. After concluding a lengthy retelling of Theseus’s slaying of the Minotaur, Strabo is praised for his “lofty genius, the light and splendor of geography.”<sup>81</sup> Likewise, Alexandria could hardly have been passed over without mentioning Ptolemy’s origins and the library of Philadelphus, “that great armory of books.”<sup>82</sup> Athens seems to have overwhelmed the poet, for here he resorts to collective praise of “the beloved home of so many philosophers, countless brilliant poets of celestial fame, the land of so many worthy leaders, so many students and kings, land of so many precious things, of so many Greek citizens.”<sup>83</sup>

As we might expect considering that the book was tailored, at least in part, for military leaders like Federico and the sultan, martial anecdotes are very common throughout. While perusing the account of Spain readers are asked

to “turn your face now to Betulone [Baecula—present day Santo Tomé] known for the war against the prideful Carthaginians, and here it is said that the great Scipio vanquished the son of Gisgo and the invincible Hannibal’s brother Magon with righteous ire.”<sup>84</sup> Moving from the hot springs responsible for its name, Berlinghieri’s account of Thermopylae describes how “with six hundred [sic] men Leonidas withstood the fierce Persians, defending in death as in life the pass where his praise is sung eternally.”<sup>85</sup> These are just a few among scores of such tales, a great many of which focus on the campaigns of Alexander the Great.<sup>86</sup>

Any geographic treatise must, of course, describe the contours of the natural world and Berlinghieri’s poem is replete with accounts of lakes and mountains, the relative locations of cities and towns, and the courses of rivers and streams. Descriptions of exotic animals especially predominate in the fifth book, which treats Africa. Ethiopia holds “tigers, rhinoceroses, and elephants of tremendous strength, white and spotless.”<sup>87</sup> Natural resources and products typical of cities and regions are also included ranging from precious metals and gemstones to crops and spices. The African island of Meroë “produces ebony, silver, gold and copper in abundance.”<sup>88</sup> The flora, fauna, and minerals of Taprobane (modern Sri Lanka) are likewise cataloged in book seven.<sup>89</sup> Nor would any account of distant lands be complete without warnings about cannibalism, as when the Scythians are described as people who “sacrifice human beings whose murdered flesh they eat, using their skulls in place of cups.”<sup>90</sup> Manmade wonders are also encountered along the way. Knidos is remarkable not only for the historian Ctesia but for the city’s renowned sculpted Aphrodite. Similarly, Praxiteles’ famed Eros marks Thespiac.<sup>91</sup> Ancient architectural wonders like the mausoleum of Halicarnassus and the pyramids of Egypt too are included.<sup>92</sup>

Few of the anecdotes and diversions that populated Berlinghieri’s world were invented out of whole cloth by the poet. Nor is the poet’s itinerary apparently influenced by personal acquaintance with the places he described. Though Francesco actively participated in Florentine intellectual and political life, there is no indication that he ever traveled any further from his native city than Mantua. Having never left the Italian peninsula, perhaps never stepping foot on the deck of a ship, the geographer’s travels were consigned to his books, and ancient and modern prose and verse served as his lens onto the wide world. Though we lack an inventory of the poet’s library, the *Geographia* provides a good sense of many of the works its author relied on,

since his intention was not to so much to obscure his borrowings as to draw on their cachet and to challenge his readers to identify the dense amalgam of raw material from which he composed.

For topographical description Berlinghieri drew, first and foremost, on the relatively spare accounts of Pomponius Mela and, of course, Ptolemy, who the poet utilized in Angeli's Latin translation. Though Berlinghieri may have dabbled in Greek, there is no indication in his poem that he utilized any Greek texts unavailable in Latin translations in fifteenth-century Florence. In identifying significant events of classical history, for descriptions of people and forms of government, and for the locations of myths and legends he relied heavily on Guarino da Verona's Latin translation of Strabo's *Geography*.<sup>93</sup> Roman history is augmented by information from Livy (filtered through Petrarca and Leonardo Bruni) as well as Plutarch, who, like Plato and Ptolemy, served as a particular point of contact with the Greek tradition for Florentine intellectuals.<sup>94</sup> The poet was also familiar with Lorenzo Valla's translation of Herodotus and may have known Thucydides in Valla's translation as well.<sup>95</sup>

Classical poets also provided Berlinghieri with a wealth of source material. Homer (again known in Latin translation and from commentaries) serves as a source both for the mythic creatures encountered by Ulysses and for the heroes and battles of the Trojan War. Such tales are supplemented by Virgil, who is also called upon to flesh out Rome's fabulous origins. Hesiod, Plautus and Propertius all contribute to the cumulative fabric of Berlinghieri's classical world.<sup>96</sup> Ovid's *Metamorphoses*, especially served to imbue Strabo and Ptolemy's locales with mythic and poetic depth.<sup>97</sup> Observations about natural resources and descriptions of animals and their habitats are drawn almost exclusively from Pliny, particularly as the travelers move south and east into India and Africa. Anthropological discussions, for example the lengthy digression on ancient Egyptian religion and the identification of cannibals on African islands, closely echo passages of the *Historia naturalis*.<sup>98</sup> Descriptions of antique monuments are also indebted to Pliny. Knidos is "famous for the mother of cupid, the worthy work of Praxiteles, which was mistreated by carnal desire."<sup>99</sup>

Of course, such classical sources were of no use in providing the more recent historical and political material integrated into the descriptions of Europe and especially Italy. For the Italian peninsula, the humanist Flavio Biondo's *Italia Illustrata*, only a few decades old when Berlinghieri began his poem, was tremendously influential.<sup>100</sup> The Florentine traveler Cristoforo

Buondelmonti's *Liber insularum Archipelagi* served as a repository of recent and historical information on the islands and coast of the Adriatic.<sup>101</sup> Of course, these Latin models could not supply the wealth of modern toponyms required for versified, vernacular geography. For these, Berlinghieri turned especially to a fellow Florentine's work, Fazio Degli Uberti's *Dittamondo*. Composed in *terza rima* in the mid-fourteenth century, the *Dittamondo* helpfully provided Ptolemaic toponyms rendered in Tuscan for the entire *habitato*.<sup>102</sup> Likewise, Goro Dati's fourteenth-century *Sfera* provided a vernacular source in rhyming verse for geographic description.<sup>103</sup> One of the most important sources and one that Berlinghieri strove to create a recognizable connection with was Dante's *Commedia*.<sup>104</sup> Though hardly encyclopedic, the work provided a wealth of raw material for the poet, especially relevant to Florentine readers and like those of Fazio and Dati was conveniently in vernacular verse. The *Commedia*, most significantly, provided the premier example of a narrative of human salvation and self-discovery in the form of a descriptive itinerary. This connection with Dante was visually reinforced in the illuminations for Lorenzo and Federico's copies of the *Geographia*. For fifteenth-century Italian viewers, the scenes of Berlinghieri's encounter with Ptolemy, situated outside of Florence, would unquestionably have recalled illustrated examples of Dante's text.<sup>105</sup>

Berlinghieri also drew on Dante's sense of astronomical and terrestrial specificity to impart a sense of precision to the journey. Landino's commentary on Dante concerns itself with just these matters, speculating on the size and location of heaven, hell, and purgatory, and analyzing the poet's descriptions of celestial phenomenon to determine times and dates within the narrative.<sup>106</sup> Writing in July of 1500, Amerigo Vespucci described his first look at the stars in the southern hemisphere. Vespucci's point of reference for the constellations he observed was the *Purgatorio*. Having recalled the poet's description of the (imaginary) stars of the Southern Hemisphere, the navigator reflected "and even now I have no doubt that what he [Dante] says is true."<sup>107</sup> Berlinghieri would have understood the *Commedia* in specifically terrestrial terms and his explicit references to Dante served to ground the *Geographia* in this tradition. Berlinghieri's own work, in fact, situates the action of the narrative prologue as taking place as "As the chariot of the sun brightens Eastern Sagittarius with its burning flames, carrying with it the bright day to almost everyone in the world."<sup>108</sup> Indeed, his "divine vision" is sparked by "that chaste companion of Endymion [the Moon] who bathed me in her rays and milk."<sup>109</sup>

By the time Berlinghieri's text left the press, an image of Dante adorned the nave of Santa Maria del Fiore. The city's native poet had, of course, become an emblem of civic pride, but his work also served as model for the ways in which knowledge of the earth and the heavens, of cosmology, could guide readers. Michelino's fresco for the Duomo depicts the poet proudly holding his *Commedia*. Behind him, in splendid topographic detail, are the mountain of purgatory and the chasm of hell. The sky above, populated with golden constellations, provides a map of the concentric circles of the aerial paradise. At the poet's left hand, ensuring the credibility of this imaginative cosmography, is a view of Florence's walls and skyline, Brunelleschi's dome, and the tower of the Palazzo della Signoria.<sup>110</sup> Florentines adopted Dante not only as a model of a revered local authority who had rivaled the ancients but as a guide in decoding the fabric of the earth, in conveying its meaning for contemporary readers.<sup>111</sup>

For fifteenth-century readers and viewers Berlinghieri's journey around the world would also have suggested a range of forerunners that provide insight into the author's aims and expectations. Several of these prototypes are considerably less familiar to modern readers than the *Commedia*. Probably most importantly, Fazio degli Uberti's *Dittamondo* described a fictional journey around the world with the poet guided by the shades of illustrious ancient writers including Pliny and Gaius Julius Solinus.<sup>112</sup> Solinus, a Roman geographer of the third century c.e., was himself associated with an itinerary in Medieval Europe, a *Collectanea rerum mirabilium*.<sup>113</sup> Fazio's poetic itinerary was widely popular. The text survives in fifty-seven fourteenth- and fifteenth-century manuscripts and was first printed in Vicenza in 1474.<sup>114</sup> Florentine readers would have understood the *Geographia*'s verse form and narrative framework as drawing from this highly regarded local model.<sup>115</sup>

Not only terrestrial but also celestial journeys, in which the stars and other heavenly phenomena were described as an itinerary informed Berlinghieri's poem. The mysterious Marcus Manilius's Latin *Astronomica* of the first century c.e. was one such vividly imagined flight through the heavens narrated by its author.<sup>116</sup> Like Ptolemy's *Geography*, the *Astronomica* had been rediscovered by a Florentine, Poggio Bracciolini and hence, like Ptolemy, served as a potential point of local pride from which the poet could draw.<sup>117</sup> Berlinghieri was far from unique in looking to such astronomical verse as an inspiration. Roughly contemporaneously, in Naples, the humanist poet Giovanni Pontano

was at work on his *Urania*, a stellar itinerary in Latin hexameter.<sup>118</sup> The dramatic narrative of soaring above the world that animated both the *Geographia* and sources like the *Astronomica* drew on the widespread poetic conceit of the “flight of the mind,” the notion that human intellect could carry the author, especially a poet, on a journey to distant places and even distant epochs and that physical barriers were no match for the motility of erudition.<sup>119</sup>

The concept of a didactic poem that endeavored to explain the physical world would also have suggested another ancient model, though one never explicitly indicated within the text.<sup>120</sup> Alison Brown has recently demonstrated the wide currency enjoyed by Lucretius’s *De Rerum Natura* in Renaissance Florence, including among scholars of Berlinghieri’s circle. Further, as Brown has shown, Lucretius was felt to have particular insight into the terrestrial world and was adopted as one of the primary rubrics for making sense of the new world discoveries.<sup>121</sup> *De Rerum Natura* also served as a principal model for the *Astronomica* and, at the very least, Berlinghieri absorbed the Lucretian model through this intermediary.<sup>122</sup> It could be argued that a didactic poem endeavoring to describe the physical world in 1482 could as easily be seen as an attempt to “Lucretianize” Ptolemy as to Platonize him.

A full-length study of Berlinghieri’s sources, both classical and modern, would be welcome.<sup>123</sup> An overly narrow focus, however, on the work’s sources also serves to obscure a great deal of the *Geographia*’s poetic impact and its encyclopedic character since the hunt for citations, though valuable, disarticulates dense webs of material that the poet aspired to seamlessly synthesize.<sup>124</sup> The location of myths like that of Ganymede and the judgment of Paris are most frequently drawn from Strabo. These represent little more than toponyms attached to familiar names, however, for the ancient geographer. Berlinghieri builds upon and amplifies these anecdotes with narrative strength through his verse retelling.<sup>125</sup> Rather than name authors where their work is employed, Berlinghieri tends rather to inventively signal his sources in locations related to those authors’ lives. Thus, though Pliny is unnamed at the numerous points of description drawing from the *Historia naturalis*, the Neapolitan coast includes “Mount Vesuvius where Pliny was extinguished by fire, attempting, perhaps, to see Acheron.”<sup>126</sup> His poetic synthesis is much more than the sum of its (considerable) classical borrowings. Indeed Berlinghieri’s initially baffling admixture of citations might be read as a vernacular stab at something like Poliziano’s *docta varietas* or “learned variation.”<sup>127</sup>



Crucially, to focus exclusively on the disarticulation of the *Geographia*'s amalgam of classical references ignores the poem's most significant and novel feature. Through vernacular poetry, Berlinghieri sought not principally either to pass off classical anecdotes as his own or to mummify these as relics of a distant past, but rather to produce a living geography on the ancient model—a poem about the world not just as it was, but as it is. The narrative action of the *Geographia* takes place in the fifteenth-century present, embedding the classical past in a contemporary journey. This diachronic focus often centers on the conversation between Berlinghieri and Ptolemy. Thus the Alexandrian geographer often identifies place names with the descriptor *vostrì*—"yours"—to signify their contemporary names. *Oggi*—"today" and *ora*—"now"—often distinguish ancient place names from their fifteenth-century equivalents. Some of Ptolemy's phrases explicitly separate the classical from modern epochs as with *nel presente giorno* and the more evocative *età novella* and *nuova etate*.<sup>128</sup>

Berlinghieri also included scores of modern writers, statesmen, and military leaders in his description of Europe and especially of Italy. We will examine Berlinghieri's treatment of his contemporaries in detail when we turn to the networking potential of the *Geographia* in the next chapter. For now, a couple of examples will suffice to demonstrate this aspect of the project. At Forlì we read both of the city's successful defense against the late-thirteenth-century siege by Pope Martin IV and also of "[Flavio] Biondo who wrote of Italy, restoring it to view."<sup>129</sup> These are most effective when they are mixed together as at Verona "which furnished the origins of both Plinys, Catullus, [Emilio] Macro, and your Francesco [Petrarca]."<sup>130</sup> In such passages time accretes on spatial locations and the potential of geography as an encyclopedic endeavor is fully realized. Historical strata rest one upon the next yet are simultaneously accessible, anchored to a name in the text and a toponym on a map.

His language was perhaps the poet's greatest tool in bringing classical geography back to life and up to date. Berlinghieri emphasized his embedment in Florentine literary traditions in referring to his verse as being "sung in the Florentine tongue" and separating toponyms from their ancient counterparts by designating them as "in the Tuscan language."<sup>131</sup> *Terza rima* was an extremely common poetic mode for Tuscan writers, particularly in Florence thanks in part to Dante's association with the city.<sup>132</sup> There can be little doubt that Berlinghieri saw the *Geographia* as his entree into this literary canon and, through text and image, he frequently emphasizes his emulation of Dante's model.<sup>133</sup> He also makes direct reference to Dante in his descrip-

tion of Ravenna, identified as the site of “the bones of that excellent poet, your famous citizen Dante, whose genius none can these days attain.”<sup>134</sup>

While the verse form served to connect Berlinghieri’s text to earlier Florentine literary traditions it may also have served as a mnemonic device, giving digestible form to a potentially cumbersome array of material.<sup>135</sup> In an age lacking many of the information technologies taken for granted today, poetry could serve to make subjects as diverse as family history, mathematical formulae, hagiography, and world description easily accessible to students, scholars, merchants, and clerics.<sup>136</sup> Even the most disorienting of geographic discoveries were rendered comprehensible to Florentine readers through *terza rima* poetry, demonstrated by the versified accounts of Columbus’s voyages printed within the city.<sup>137</sup>

By composing in the vernacular the poet integrated his restaging of ancient geography into a distinctly contemporary literary context. While Berlinghieri was certainly widely literate in Latin, he displayed a preference for expressing himself in the vernacular whenever possible. His letters to Lorenzo de’ Medici, his confraternal sermons, and his oration on justice all employ the “lingua toska.” Berlinghieri was part of a close-knit community of Florentine writers who were actively engaged in the production of learned and poetic musings in the vernacular.<sup>138</sup> This group included the brothers Luigi and Luca Pulci, Landino, Poliziano, and Lorenzo himself. This use of the vernacular, the *Toscana idioma* of the poem, was not only a stylistic choice but also one with ethical consequences. In his dedication to Federico the poet defended his choice of Tuscan, proclaiming that the vernacular “day by day acquires more splendor for its elegance and for its erudition, for which it is more worthy of honor and achieves immortality.”<sup>139</sup> These aspirations for vernacular erudition are visually reinforced on the illuminated incipit of Lorenzo’s manuscript. Here, interspersed among vines, trophies, and cavorting *putti* one of the *Magnifico’s* personal *imprese* appears, a flowering branch bearing the inscription “*le tems revient*,” meaning roughly “the great age returns.”<sup>140</sup> As Charles Dempsey has shown, Lorenzo’s reinvigorated age was one associated especially with a vernacular eloquence intended to rival and ultimately surpass the authority of Latin.<sup>141</sup> Berlinghieri expresses this sense of a world reborn through virtuous erudition in the dedication observing: “It is marvelous that in an age of iron, lead astray by vice, Duke Federico should come forth, restoring the golden age.”<sup>142</sup> The poet also employs the notion (given far fuller treatment in Landino’s *Commento sopra la Commedia*) that modern

works can rival the fame and virtue of their ancient models. Thus in his only reference to a contemporary artist the sculptor Antonio Rossellino is favorably compared with Praxiteles.<sup>143</sup>

Vernacular descriptions of the world would have been of interest to a larger reading community than those seeking a Florentine poetic style or sharing Berlinghieri's intellectual commitments. For at least some readers it could also have served to make a range of previously impenetrable texts, including Strabo and Ptolemy's *Geographies*, accessible. A demand for texts of geographic importance in the vernacular certainly existed during the fifteenth century.<sup>144</sup> Buondelmonti's Latin *Liber Insularum*, for example, found its way into print in three separate fifteenth-century translations into Italian.<sup>145</sup> Such translations conferred the distinct advantage of presenting the reader with toponymic nomenclature familiar to him or her. As we have seen, this would have been a particularly important factor for readers of Ptolemy. Not only were the majority of the *Geography's* place names rather obscure, but a great many were simply transliterated from the Greek by Chrysoloras and Jacopo Angeli, without regard to whether such names held any significance for modern readers or whether these locations might productively be identified etymologically or historically with contemporary geographical locations. Further, in addition to its connections with the Florentine literary tradition, the *terza rima* form was frequently employed in the composition of verse descriptions of current events ranging from the outcome of Christian battles against the Ottomans to foiled plots against Italian rulers. Such poems found their way into print in the form of pamphlets that made up a substantial part of some fifteenth-century Italian printers' output.<sup>146</sup> The *Geographia's* poetic form was one of the means by which its author brought ancient geography conspicuously up to date.

This remodeling had a visual component as well. Just as the *Geographia's* illuminators had taken care to distinguish Ptolemy and Berlinghieri through their distinctive costume, so too did their close attention to details of the narrative setting reinforce the contemporary character of the project.<sup>147</sup> Perhaps most strikingly, through the illuminators' imagining of Berlinghieri's encounter with Ptolemy, the ancient geographer is literally brought up to date, making his appearance in the hills overlooking modern Florence. The unmistakable view of the Duomo and Giotto's *campanile* securely anchors the geographer's meeting with his classical counterpart in the contemporary experience of the book's readers and viewers. Berlinghieri's use of the vernacular, his

deployment of traditional elements of cartographic style, and his literal transplantation of Ptolemy onto the soil of the Florentine countryside all served to make the *Geographia* an emphatically contemporary image of the Mediterranean world.

In fact, Berlinghieri did more than any previous interpreter of ancient geography to make that tradition immediately accessible and relevant to contemporary readership, to bring classical knowledge of the world back to life. While the poetic merits of the *Geographia* have long been denigrated, the work reads with remarkable facility when compared to Ptolemy's own, laundry-list style recitation of locations that constitute the bulk of his text.<sup>148</sup> Likewise he provided a careful editing of Strabo's vast and unwieldy encyclopedia, rendering his sterile anecdotes with poetic flare. Returning to Hesiod's home on the slopes of Mount Helicon, for example, Berlinghieri wrote that the poet was "born of his seed—*seme*" a bewildering statement at first in that his father is not identified and that it might generically be said of anyone. One is at first tempted to dismiss it as the poet laboring to find a two-syllable counterpart for "preme," which concludes the first line of the *terzina*. In fact, we have a clever pun, a reminder that Hesiod's father was thought to have hailed from Cyme in Asia Minor.<sup>149</sup> If Renaissance geography truly was knowledge of the whole world, Berlinghieri's was the most comprehensive endeavor to meet that lofty goal for fifteenth-century readers.

### Geography Resurrected

In the introduction to the first book of the *Geographia*, Berlinghieri explicitly lays out for his reader the spheres of knowledge on which a thorough understanding of the terrestrial globe could have an impact. He begins with examples of geography's influence on military fortunes, including its role in the defeats of Xerxes and Darius. The text quickly moves on, however, to note the import of the kind of knowledge contained in the book for geography "feeds not only military skill but also philosophy, the writing of history and the recitation of poetry, the good life of agriculture, medicine, and the art of animal husbandry. In sum, the knowledge of the earth that informs these disciplines is truly no less useful to every other faculty."<sup>150</sup> Such an ambitious intellectual program was calculated to have tremendous appeal for readers like Federico da Montefeltro, whose *studiolo* at Urbino likewise aspired to serve as a repository of universal knowledge.<sup>151</sup>

Most of us are comfortable with geography's application to history. The grade school discipline of social studies, it might be argued, shares a great deal in common with the aims of Berlinghieri's verse. Less familiar to most modern readers is the *Geographia's* participation in what Giorgio Mangani has identified as an expansive strand of "moral geography" in which terrestrial knowledge served to ground not only historical events, but more importantly, ethical judgments and Christian faith.<sup>152</sup> The benefits of geographic understanding suggested in Berlinghieri's poem and Federico's *studiolo* echoed those expressed through the letters of dedication that accompanied fifteenth-century copies of Ptolemy and Strabo's *Geographies*, produced for patrons across Europe.<sup>153</sup> In emphasizing the notion of the soul's improvement through the acquisition of wisdom, Berlinghieri emulates Ptolemy, who observed in his introduction to the *Almagest* that knowledge of the stars "causes the person who patiently learns it to love this celestial beauty, it leads him to persevere in divine studies, it binds him to that which is similar to his own soul as regards its goodness of form, and it likens him to his creator."<sup>154</sup>

An explicit connection between terrestrial knowledge and virtue was not only a fact of Renaissance geography but was also a commonplace of the Florentine vernacular literary tradition inherited from the fourteenth century. Dante served as a significant reference point for a tradition that understood the description of the terrestrial world as the literal grounding for the poetic elaboration of history, morality, and self-knowledge.<sup>155</sup> Alison Cornish has explored Dante's astronomical specificity and argued that such an attention to the details of the physical world serves to "illustrate, support, or dramatize the poetic, moral, theological, or philosophical problems at issue in the context in which they appear."<sup>156</sup>

One concrete indication of the *Geographia's* potential utility is provided by the use Berlinghieri himself made of his poem. On January 15, 1478, before a group of Florentine patricians, the poet delivered his oration on justice. The speech was of an entirely conventional genre, given in Florence on the occasion of new government officials taking up office.<sup>157</sup> In this case, it probably coincided with the poet's selection as Lorenzo de' Medici's ambassador to Mantua. Nonetheless, it seems that Berlinghieri's was well received, for it found its way into print as a pamphlet published in 1495.<sup>158</sup> The geographer appears in a woodcut here, apparently in the course of instructing a pupil, an aspiring young patrician, in the justice and liberty of the republic. The oration was printed again, this time for a considerably wider public, in Francesco

Sansovino's *Delle orationi volgarmente scritti da diversi uomini illustri* (1584), indicating the relevance and continued applicability of its themes.<sup>159</sup> In the course of an extended warning against the dangers of tyranny, Berlinghieri integrates several passages from his *Geographia*, a work in progress at the time of the oration. These are drawn from his description of Rome, which he prefaces with the caveat that that quantity of "inventions, arts, and trades perfected in this place, its sheer might and power, are beyond my ability to describe." Berlinghieri moves on, however, to single out one event to best summarize the eternal city. "But for me, it sings only of the sacred memory of both Brutuses, of Cassius and Silla, who assured Rome's liberty and though they spilled a statesman's blood it was for the good of all, for liberty, extinguishing every spark of tyranny. Oh fortunate, even blessed souls!"<sup>160</sup>

While the poet's rehabilitation of those tyrannicides whom Dante had cast into the very mouth of Satan might have been controversial for some Florentines it was a strain of thought with eminent ancestors including Leonardo Bruni.<sup>161</sup> What is important is the simple fact that, in an oration on the theme of just government, Berlinghieri (and evidently his listening audience) felt geography a suitable framework in which notions of virtue could be imbedded. Indeed the author goes on to allude yet again to his work later in the oration, this time in contrasting the despotic legacy of Alexander the Great's lieutenants to the ideal republican government of Florence.<sup>162</sup> For fifteenth-century Florentines, the description of the world was anything but value neutral.

In this oration, and throughout his poem, the globe serves as a stage for the events of world history to unfold, offering up to the reader edification of a moral and political nature. Some anecdotes were mythological; others martial, and still others were examples of contemporary politics. Bologna, for example, appears to the travelers as the place "where the infamous conspiracy came together—that is, where Augustus, Anthony, and Lepidus divided the entire world in three parts, the memory of which stings Italy even today."<sup>163</sup> Verona is known both for Can Grande della Scala, called a tyrant and said to "have shamed and stained the city with his eternal infamy" and for Ezzelino III da Romano whose massacre of Paduan forces is marshaled as an example of cruelty beyond measure.<sup>164</sup> In contrast, the early fifteenth-century Holy Roman Emperor Sigismund is praised as "beloved of Minerva" and placed in the company of Constantine and Theodosius.<sup>165</sup>

It might, of course, be argued that it is simply an unavoidable fact of

Florentine intellectual life, or indeed to the “humanist” enterprise, that knowledge should be intricately connected to particular notions of virtue. The pursuit of self-enrichment, after all, was an absolutely essential part of fifteenth-century erudition. Yet is hardly a foregone conclusion that all forms of knowledge could equally contribute to this ideal project. We need only look to the danger that some of Berlinghieri’s contemporaries saw in the “Epicureanism” of Lucretius, an early affection for which Ficino had prudently recanted in later life, for confirmation.<sup>166</sup> Following Petrarca’s crisis of conscience dramatized in his *Secretum* erudition itself was far from immune to scrutiny in the humanist tradition.<sup>167</sup> More generally, poetry was a contested and often suspected medium for conveying knowledge. A tradition stretching from Hesiod’s *Theogony* and Plato’s *Republic* to the goddess Philosophy driving out the muses in Boethius’s *Consolation of Philosophy* had emphasized the deceptive, distracting, and lascivious dangers of poetry.<sup>168</sup> Aristotle’s charitable view that poetry was more useful than history since it treated the general rather than the particular, in contrast, provided defenders of verse with a powerful ally in their struggles.<sup>169</sup> Surely the most laudatory appraisal of verse and song was presented in Ficino’s *De Vita*, in which Berlinghieri’s mentor describes the poet’s ability to interact with the world spirit and to transmit vital power to his audience.<sup>170</sup> It is not possible here to summarize the sheer range of positions that fifteenth-century writers staked in their defenses of, assaults on, and attempts to define the poetic. In the broadest possible sense, however, it is worth acknowledging that Berlinghieri’s decision to describe the world in vernacular verse represented a polemical, rather than reflexive or instinctive choice. Following Landino, Berlinghieri thus proposed not only geography but also poetry as virtuous, moralizing, and consequently useful.

As we have seen, this knowledge was grounded not only in the classical world, but in the modern one in which the poet lived. Likewise that world was hardly a secular one. Ptolemy’s *Geography* was long opposed to medieval mappae mundi precisely on the grounds that its text and maps provided a radically secular description and vision of the known world all but totally alien to the late medieval West. Yet Berlinghieri, at the heart of the humanist enterprise to revive ancient geography, understood sacred history not to be simply compatible with but to be inextricably bound to a contemporary description of the world. Scholars of Florentine humanism long cited Palla Strozzi’s last testament as an example of the extraordinary regard for ancient scholarship by the city’s elites. In this document, the patrician bequeathed his copy of

Ptolemy's *Geography* to his children on the strict condition that it not be sold or leave the family.<sup>171</sup> Far less frequently remarked on, however, are the equally elaborate provisions made for the preservation of his manuscript of the four gospels in Greek.<sup>172</sup> In fact, the desire to revive and understand the original language of many of the patristic authors, not simply the study of classical texts, served as a crucial spur to humanist Greek scholarship in Italy.<sup>173</sup>

Berlinghieri, like other humanists, was part of an active community of Christian faith and understood his learning as a part of this endeavor. Renaissance knowledge, far from a segregated aspect of the scholar's personality, was frequently employed in service of faith.<sup>174</sup> His confraternal sermons provide one example of this integration of faith and erudition.<sup>175</sup> Berlinghieri's orations focus on the adoration of the cross and the theme of penitence, both wholly conventional subjects for a confraternal context. The "Brief Exhortation to Penitence" may have been intended for the Confraternity of the Magi since it appears in a manuscript including other sermons presented to that group.<sup>176</sup> His "Exhortation to Kiss the Cross" was composed for delivery to the Confraternity of San Vincenzo.<sup>177</sup> This group met at the Dominican church of Santa Maria Novella where they patronized a side chapel and altar dedicated to the saint.<sup>178</sup> Berlinghieri's sermon contains references to the writings of Ambrose, the epistles of Paul, as well as to the thought of Saint Vincent himself.<sup>179</sup> But the poet also cites Socrates and Plato, eloquently bolstering his argument with the rhetorical force of classical philosophy.<sup>180</sup> Such syncretism was a commonplace of late fifteenth-century Florentine sermons, causing an exasperated Girolamo Savonarola to observe "up here in the pulpits one says and quotes nothing but Aristotle and Plato and a thousand nonsenses. These days up here one says nothing but: Plato, that divine man. I tell you, one should sooner be in the house of the Devil."<sup>181</sup>

The fashionable synthesis that so irked the Dominican is everywhere apparent in the *Geographia*. Berlinghieri's account of Erythrea begins following Strabo in describing that region's sibyls, the first unnamed and the other known as "Athenais." The poet continues, however, by identifying the sibyl here as having "foretold the coming of the almighty Savior" a concept inherited from Isidore and Augustine.<sup>182</sup> Nowhere is the desire to unify Christian and pagan learning more apparent than in Berlinghieri's description of the Holy Land. Like numerous manuscripts of the *Geography* produced in Florence starting around the mid-1450s, the *Geographia* includes a map titled, in the printed version and the manuscript for Lorenzo "Palestina Moderna et



Terra Sancta” and in Federico’s example, “Tabula di Terra Sancta.”<sup>183</sup> Despite the former title, the map is in fact a representation of the ancient Holy Land replete with a wealth of inscriptions imparting biblical history and hagiography. Mapmaker Pietro Vesconte originally produced these types of maps for inclusion in the Venetian Marino Sanuto’s *Liber Secretorum Fidelium Crucis Super Terrae Sanctae*—*Secrets of the True Crusaders* (1321), a tract that described the Holy Land.<sup>184</sup> By the mid-1460s, when Berlinghieri probably began the composition of his work, the inclusion of a map based on Vesconte’s had become a standard addition to manuscripts of the *Geography* produced in Florence and eventually elsewhere. Following Berlinghieri’s lead, it would soon also become a commonplace of early printed editions of Ptolemy, appearing in the *Geography* printed at Ulm in 1482 and in many subsequent editions of the text.<sup>185</sup> By the sixteenth century, maps based on Vesconte’s were also appended to printed Bibles.<sup>186</sup> What might appear extraordinary about the *Geographia*, however, is Berlinghieri’s attempt to integrate this map into the fabric of pagan descriptions of the world.

Ptolemy’s account of ancient Palestine appears in the seventh book of the *Geography*. In Jacopo Angeli’s Latin translation, it amounts to a paltry seventeen lines of descriptive verse and an index of forty-nine locations with their coordinates.<sup>187</sup> Berlinghieri’s account of the same region, called “The Holy Land of the Hebrews” requires eighty-six terzine, for a total of 258 lines, roughly the equivalent of two of Dante’s cantos.<sup>188</sup> These chapters, further, are drawn not principally from ancient authors like Strabo but from the Christian geographers like Fazio degli Uberti, historians including Orosius, hagiographic texts like Voragine’s *Golden Legend*, and most significantly from scripture.<sup>189</sup> The *Geographia* provides biblical information for the places Ptolemy included, recounting the crucifixion, for example in its description of Jerusalem and Jesus’ appearance before his disciples at Emmaus.<sup>190</sup> Berlinghieri adds numerous sites of Christian import ignored by Ptolemy, Strabo and other ancient geographers for whom small Hebrew towns and ruins held no interest. These include Bethlehem, Nazareth, Cana, Sodom and Gomorrah, and the general territorial divisions of the tribes of Israel.<sup>191</sup> In describing such places, Berlinghieri includes events of Old and New Testament importance narrating, for example, the changing of water into wine at Cana and the transformation of Lot’s wife into a pillar of salt near Sodom.<sup>192</sup> Just as in his retellings of myth and fable, so in recounting Christian history the author often demonstrates an engaging sense of poetic invention. Bethany, for example, is poignantly

remembered as the place where “the Lord, with his mighty words, called Lazarus’ soul back to his flesh.”<sup>193</sup>

In describing the Holy Land, moreover, Berlinghieri does not simply revert to earlier source material. Rather, demonstrating a genuine desire to integrate the Christian and the pagan, the Old and the New Testaments, the poet inserts not only Biblical history but also events of classical history and mythology. Joppa, as we have seen, is associated with Perseus’ liberation of Andromeda, but Berlinghieri quickly moves on to recount Peter’s resurrection of the widow Tabitha there.<sup>194</sup> Such syncretism is perhaps most emphatically voiced in the poet’s retelling at Caesarea of the conversion of the Roman centurion Cornelius who “here was rescued from the old religion and came to place great faith in the crucifixion of the eternal God and true Jupiter.”<sup>195</sup>

The poet also uses the geography of the Holy Land to state theology, profess his faith, and to vividly recount Christ’s sacrifice. His readers are called on to “behold Bethlehem, a place full of the splendor of the birth of the eternal word, who took the form of bread, and descended from Heaven above saying ‘I am the bread of life.’”<sup>196</sup> The crucifixion narrative vividly transports the reader to “Mount Calvary where the Word of God endured his suffering. How many accounts are told of this place, where your Messiah took up his precious and solitary sacrifice? And look also on the Mount of Olives, where just before the Son of the Virgin gave his blood, he received no aid or reprieve, for the ignorant, cruel, and cowardly throng were calling for his death.”<sup>197</sup>

Nor does the *Geographia*’s integration of sacred history end with the description of Palestine. Christian iconography serves as a shared point of reference for the poet and his readers. Thus, the hair of women on the island of Taprobane “forms a kind of natural gown, covering them almost completely, like that of the Magdalen while she walked the earth.”<sup>198</sup> More significantly, throughout his itinerary, Berlinghieri seldom fails to note the events of Christian, as well as classical, antiquity that characterize his sites. His account of Damascus, for example, focuses on Paul’s conversion before the walls of the city.<sup>199</sup> Similarly, the poet’s description of Alexandria makes reference not only to its eponymous founder, and to Ptolemy himself, but also to the tomb of the evangelist Mark.<sup>200</sup> Moving from the Arabian peninsula we reach the spot “where smiting the Red Sea Moses produced an open road, and where like a poisonous snake Pharaoh and his whole host were drowned by almighty God to rescue his flock.”<sup>201</sup> As we have seen, the title of Berlinghieri’s poem was itself a reference to the sacred narrative of creation. A

long standing convention in writing about image-making compared the fashioning of painting and sculpture with God's creation of the world as in the prologue of Cennino Cennini's *Libro dell'Arte*.<sup>202</sup> Berlinghieri could have drawn on this tradition, finding a parallel between divine creation and the *Geographia's* description of that creation in verse and maps. Such an interpretation is particularly attractive given that Ptolemy's work (and that of his Latin translators) is divided into eight books, making Berlinghieri's division of his work into seven a conscious decision that necessitated significant organizational effort.

The information included was not limited to the people and events of the biblical or patristic past. Like his narrative itinerary, the integration of Christian material into the poem's fabric also enhanced the sense that this was a new, fresh, and living geography. Important members of the fifteenth-century clergy are praised throughout the poem. The *Geographia's* description of Pavia, for example, includes praise of Cardinal Jacopo Ammannati. The cardinal was the personal secretary of Pius II, former tutor of Donato Acciaiuoli, and an avid antiquarian whom Berlinghieri describes as "adorning [his native city] with celestial virtue."<sup>203</sup> Renaissance popes are regularly included in descriptions of their birthplaces. Thus Pius II joins a list of illustrious Siense and "Savona, which was also called Sabatio, is adorned by the magnanimous Sixtus IV, who leads all the clergy."<sup>204</sup> Likewise relatively recent saints (and especially Dominicans) as well as early Christian examples are integrated throughout. Aquino is not only the birthplace of the poet Juvenal and the imperial usurper Pescennius Niger but also of "Thomas, whom God almighty greatly blessed" and "upon whom Divine light was bestowed."<sup>205</sup> Siena is likewise remembered for "Catherine and divine Bernardino" while Norcia is known both for the Roman hero Quintus Sertorius and for "Benedict who renounced his wealth for the sake of the Church."<sup>206</sup> On several occasions, cities are included solely for the benefit of their famous Saints as with Bari, identified as sacred to "Saint Nicholas shining with so much divine grace" and Francis's Assisi.<sup>207</sup>

The *Geographia* demonstrates that, for Berlinghieri, the modern and the Christian were one and the same. For it was precisely the events of Biblical history that separated the world that he and Ptolemy toured from the classical one that the ancient geographer's text describes. This temporal aspect of Christianity is made explicit when the poet introduces belief in the crucifixion and resurrection as rescuing a believer from the "antica testamento."<sup>208</sup>

Ancient toponyms are also contrasted in Ptolemy and Berlinghieri's conversations with those employed "today" and the poet has his antique narrator contrast Latin names with vernacular ones "as Christians call them."<sup>209</sup>

Drawing on standards like Voragine's *Legenda aurea* and Isidore of Seville's *Etymologiae*, the *Geographia* frequently posits Christian meanings for the modern names of ancient places.<sup>210</sup> Thus the ancient Forum Cornelius, founded by Sulla, is identified with Imola, whose name, Berlinghieri suggests, serves as a reminder of the Christ's sacrifice, or "immolation."<sup>211</sup> Probably most importantly, Berlinghieri puts all of these words into Ptolemy's mouth, and the geographer emphasizes the differences between his own time and Berlinghieri's by referring to Christian events and places as "yours." Thus in his description of Calvary, Ptolemy asks: "how many accounts of this place have clearly demonstrated that it was here that your [*vostrò*] Messiah made his holy sacrifice?"<sup>212</sup> Ptolemy, like Dante's Virgil is brought to the very edge of a Christian pantheon of virtuous pagans by retrospectively recognizing the significance and divinity of Christ.

Berlinghieri's poem synthesized terrestrial knowledge, religion, and virtue, in the process integrating ancient geography with Christian cosmography. Though his solution was a novel one, the desire to achieve such integration was hardly a unique or even anomalous project. When the *Geography* printed at Ulm in 1482 was reprinted four years later, its new publisher, Johan Reger added two texts of a less than antique provenance. The first of these was an alphabetical register, allowing the reader quick reference to any of Ptolemy's locations. The second was *De locis ac mirabilibus mundi* a collection of the world's miracles and marvels adapted from an earlier fifteenth-century French text, *La mappemonde spirituelle*.<sup>213</sup> Both provided information on pilgrimage shrines, the burial places of saints, and events of biblical history. Readers evidently found these tracts an attractive addition to the *Geography*; numerous copies of the earlier 1482 edition survive in which these texts have been bound and early readers sometimes annotated these supplements considerably more extensively than Ptolemy's own text.<sup>214</sup> Indeed, these texts were also added to the Roman *Geography* of 1490, otherwise a reprint of the edition printed by Conrad Sweynheim and Arnold Pannartz in 1478.<sup>215</sup> Both the register and *De locis ac mirabilibus mundi* supplied Ptolemy's work with an additional level of Christian history and legend; the sorts of information conveyed correspond thematically with the sacred material Berlinghieri used to supplement his own verse.

The integration of Christian history into the Ptolemaic tradition also influenced Florentine manuscript makers' inclusion of a series of city views in copies of the *Geography* produced from around 1455.<sup>216</sup> These views are absent in surviving Byzantine examples and appear to have been a part of the project of familiarizing and adapting Ptolemy to the particular geographic sensibilities of readers in the Latin West. Such images would have appealed to viewers familiar with works like Buondelmonti's *Liber insularum* and Sanuto's *Liber Secretorum*, linking the *Geography* to the familiar and comfortable genres of travel itinerary and pilgrimage narrative. Views of contemporary Venice, Rome, Florence, and Milan served to integrate the modern world with the ancient one described by Ptolemy.<sup>217</sup> For a patron like Federico da Montefeltro, such integration even entailed the inclusion in one *Geography* of a double-folio spread of the city view of Volterra, a reminder of the condottiere's glorious and brutal siege of the city on behalf of Florence.<sup>218</sup> The inclusion of cities like Damascus, Jerusalem and Alexandria, on the other hand, might at first glance seem to satisfy a demand for pictures of distant and exotic locales.

A certain measure of visual exoticism no doubt informs these images through the fantastic and largely unidentified architectural motifs that form the fabric of these Eastern cities. Principally, though, these Eastern Mediterranean cities would have held religious historical interest for the fifteenth-century viewer.<sup>219</sup> Jerusalem, of course, is fairly covered with inscriptions that draw attention to sites of biblical import. Important pilgrimage shrines, including the Holy Sepulcher and the Temple of Solomon dominate the topographer's imagery. Alexandria and Damascus are similarly presented as Christian cities. Only three labels, for example, are included on the map of Damascus and these are of explicitly religious import; the spot where Cain killed his brother Abel, the place of Saul's conversionary encounter, and a house where Saul had previously persecuted the city's Christians. Alexandria includes the tombs of Saints Catherine and Mark. Even the arguably more familiar eastern metropolis of Constantinople is presented as an emphatically Christian city, one that Mehmed II's conquest of 1453 had seemingly not wrested from the hands of the Byzantine faithful.<sup>220</sup> Such images of Constantinople found their principal pictorial sources in manuscripts of Buondelmonti's *Liber insularum*.<sup>221</sup>

The level of toponymic detail accompanying these maps varies proportionately according to the familiarity and proximity of the potential reader and viewer to the place represented. Alexandria includes only four labels, all of

historical import, while views of Florence and Venice each include dozens, largely of contemporary buildings.<sup>222</sup> Yet even on these views of modern cities, ecclesiastical edifices including churches, hospitals, and pilgrimage foundations dominate the urban topography. We need hardly propose an intentional program of the Christianization of geography to explain the density of these locations. Churches overwhelmed nearly every other sort of structure in the fabric of most fifteenth-century Italian cities. Nonetheless, their prevalence in these images gives us some insight into the characteristics that their producers and viewers understood to typify the modern urban center. The preponderance of ecclesiastical buildings also points to the potential use of these maps in planning pilgrimages and could have served as veritable checklists of must-see places for aspiring pilgrims with access to these lavish books. Such views also functioned as mnemonic devices to recall previous journeys.<sup>223</sup>

The images of Rome and Jerusalem, naturally, suggest such a peregrine application. Views of Venice and Milan however, might have proved no less useful to the potential pilgrim. Peregrine narratives of the fifteenth century frequently include accounts of visits to Milan and extended sojourns in Venice while would-be pilgrims awaited sea transport across the Mediterranean.<sup>224</sup> The Milanese condottiere Roberto da Sanseverino similarly visited a host of ecclesiastical edifices over the course of an eleven-day stay in Venice during March of 1458 preceding his voyage to the Holy Land.<sup>225</sup> Felix Fabri, a Dominican pilgrim from Ulm, spent an entire month of 1483 in Venice prior to his second pilgrimage and maximized the spiritual benefit of this layover by visiting dozens of churches and cult sites.<sup>226</sup> A Florentine pilgrim likewise spent the better part of a month in Venice in 1489 while awaiting passage.<sup>227</sup>

One important use for deluxe books, including the *Geographia*, might have been in the planning of such pilgrimages and of organizing and recalling the experience upon return. Indeed, Fabri cites the *Geography* as one of his principle sources for knowledge of the world for his accounts of travel to the Holy Land, finished around 1483.<sup>228</sup> Similarly, the Florentine pilgrim Antonio da Crema mentions Ptolemy on eleven separate occasions in the account of his journey to the Holy Sepulcher in 1486, suggesting that no contradiction was understood between the revival of classical geography and its application to explicitly Christian ends.<sup>229</sup> Berlinghieri also mentions sites of peregrine significance as at Santiago da Compostela “where every year foreigners visit in fulfillment of their vows.”<sup>230</sup>

The revitalization of classical geography in fifteenth-century Florence required the adaptation of pagan sources to a world whose contours were eminently sacred. In doing so, Renaissance geographers could draw on a tradition of the Christian co-opting of pagan history stretching back to late antique authors like Orosius and Augustine who had grounded sacred history in ancient geography.<sup>231</sup> More crucially, this required the rehabilitation of Pagan authorities (here Strabo and especially Ptolemy), for which the *Geographia* drew on the precedent of Petrarca but especially Dante. Unquestionably, this rehabilitative enterprise found fertile ground in the intellectual circle of Ficino and Landino. In Berlinghieri's poem this endeavor took on a new poetic intensity and a form that both concealed and revealed its amalgam of sources to create the appearance of building with effortlessness on the bones of both Christian and pagan giants. Drawing on specific notions of antiquity that originated in the intellectual circle around Ficino, and in the vernacular poetic revival of Landino and Poliziano, Berlinghieri's Christianization of geography served as one means by which emulation could definitively surpass ancient models. No doubt this explicit alteration of Ptolemy's description caused some specific problems for Bayezid and Cem when their copies arrived. Yet, as we have seen, the general framework of a sacred geography would have been quite familiar and probably even comforting to Ottoman readers and viewers.<sup>232</sup> The double-edged nature of Berlinghieri's sacred geography is just one example of an ambivalence we will be examining in the chapters that follow.

Ptolemy's rapid rise to prominence as the preeminent geographical authority of early modern Europe was not without a sacred component. The *Geography* survived not principally thanks to antiquarian humanists but due to Greek monks who preserved it, not out of intellectual curiosity but as a relevant image of the world.<sup>233</sup> Just as the *Geography* had weathered the centuries in the keeping of Byzantine monastic institutions, so, too, were the products of the Ptolemaic revival often deposited in the monastic libraries of Western Europe. Nicholas Germanus, responsible for the set of revised Ptolemaic maps that served as the prototype for most copies of the *Geography* produced after 1460, was, in fact, a Benedictine monk.<sup>234</sup> Germanus dedicated his improved *Geography* to Paul II, and manuscript illuminations and printed images, like the woodcut accompanying the 1482 edition of Ptolemy printed in Ulm, portray Nicholas in the habit and tonsure of his order. In Florence the libraries of Santa Maria Novella, San Marco, and Santissima Annunziata all possessed copies of Ptolemy's work.<sup>235</sup> The Dominican friars

of San Marco took an interest in Ptolemy's work, acquiring a copy of the *Geography* printed at Ulm in 1482.<sup>236</sup> This geographic interest was hardly confined to Ptolemy. The works of Strabo and Mela (to say nothing of the kinds of sources that geographers drew on including Pliny and Ovid) as well as modern geographies like that of Berlinghieri all found their way into monastic libraries.<sup>237</sup> The collected manuscripts and printed texts of Dominican and Franciscan friars provide a microcosm of Renaissance Florentine knowledge. Where modern readers might be tempted to see contradiction between the sacred and secular period intellectuals saw a harmonious synthesis that together produced living and relevant knowledge of the world.

### Painting the World: Mapmaking and Vision

Of course, the component of the *Geographia* that most immediately (and literally) provided readers with an updated image of the world was its novel set of maps. Ugolino Verino, in his *De Illustratione Urbis Florentiae* of c. 1500, a collective eulogy of famous Florentine statesmen, scholars, clergy, and artists lauded Berlinghieri for having "painted the world."<sup>238</sup> This description of Berlinghieri as a world painter may seem surprising to historians of cartography and even to readers of this book. That this was meant metaphorically, rather than literally, is clear. For despite increasing regard for Berlinghieri as a poetic proponent of the humanist geographic tradition, Roberto Almagià's over sixty-year-old claim that Berlinghieri was "was not actually much of a cartographer" and that "his knowledge of cartographic material was very modest" has never been seriously challenged.<sup>239</sup>

On a practical level there is little to dispute this evaluation. The *Geographia's* maps are cartographically very similar to those of an earlier Florentine manuscript tradition associated with Ptolemy's *Geography*, close enough, I have argued to be taken for them by Ottoman viewers and probably by a great many Italian ones as well.<sup>240</sup> Yet this separation of the verbal and visual, the notion that Berlinghieri wrote a poem to which Ptolemy's maps were appended was quite alien to Florentine cosmography. Instead, Florentines saw geography as a synthetic activity, combining verbal description with visual imagination, poetry with precise measurement, a discipline incomplete without both species of representation.

In the prologue to his satirical *Driadeo d'amore* of 1483, the Medici panegyrist Luca Pulci, a friend of Berlinghieri, praised Florence's cosmographers and described their endeavor as drawing or organizing the universe—*disegnar*



*l'universo*.<sup>241</sup> Art historians will immediately recognize this word as one intimately associated with Florentine visual imagination and craft thanks to Giorgio Vasari's reliance on the term some six decades later.<sup>242</sup> Such associations are not wholly out of place, despite their anachronism. For Florentines like Pulci and Berlinghieri, the practice of world description was an explicitly *geo-graphic* one, entailing a kind of visual skeleton or core aptly conjured by *disegno's* familiar associations. I want here to revisit the image of Berlinghieri and his project with an eye to this visual component suggested by Pulci and Verino. Berlinghieri's poetic language, as well as painted author portraits and narrative miniatures, suggest that an active campaign of imaging by Berlinghieri, the book's printer Niccolò Tedesco, and the illuminators who worked for them presented the author as not only a poet but also a mapmaker. He appears as the legitimate heir to Ptolemy's mapmaking, as the author of a genuine and creative endeavor requiring not only verbal wit but also mathematical skill and representational acumen.

In part the connection of knowing about the world and vision was an attitude inherited from the ancient sources familiar to fifteenth-century Florentines. Plato's *Timaeus*, a text closely associated with Berlinghieri and his intellectual circle ties vision explicitly to observation of the world around us proposing that "Vision is the cause of the greatest benefit to us, inasmuch as none of the accounts now given concerning the universe would ever have been given if men had not seen the stars or the sun or the heavens." Through the observation of natural phenomena we "learn the harmonies and the revolutions of the universe, thereby making the part that thinks like unto the object of thought."<sup>243</sup> Even more fundamentally, despite the potential for sight (and indeed the senses) to be understood as deceptive within both Classical and Christian traditions, Aristotle, in his *Metaphysics* set vision apart since "we prefer seeing to everything else" as it "makes us know and brings to light many differences between things."<sup>244</sup> The scholarly enterprise that Berlinghieri most closely emulated, Ptolemy's own mapmaking, was described in the *Studiolo* of his reader Federico da Montefeltro as dependent upon "observation."

The notion of the Florentine poet as a cartographer is, from the point of view of the modern history of cartography, absurd. As we have seen, the *Geographia's* maps were derived with remarkable fidelity from known Florentine precedents. Attention has unsurprisingly focused on who might have copied these maps, which models they might have relied on, what pictorial

elements and flourishes were added, and who might have engraved these designs on copper.<sup>245</sup> Yet the careful attention of art historians and cartographic experts to the craftsmen who drew, engraved, and painted these maps sidesteps a crucial aspect of their authorship. Both visual and textual evidence associates Berlinghieri, and no one else, with their making. It is crucial that we work toward understanding assumptions about the authorship of these maps active within their own cosmographic culture, assumptions often shaped by an understanding of not only Ptolemy but also his successors as both writers and mapmakers. This culture resisted the separation of the verbal from the visual and took Ptolemaic maps as visually novel and powerful since their introduction at the start of the fifteenth century.

We have seen that in Lorenzo's manuscript Berlinghieri is associated, first and foremost, with the act of composing his poetic globe. Three additional roundels on this page, however, connect Francesco with the theoretical and practical elements of mapmaking. In these roundels a scholar, again in contemporary Florentine costume, measures celestial and terrestrial globes and compares those measurements to a map on the wall of his *studiolo*. These images reinforce Berlinghieri's understanding of the theory and method of Ptolemaic mathematical cartography, the subject of the first books of both the *Geographia* and the *Geography* and those elements that principally separated Ptolemy's *Geography* from the range of other ancient and modern sources available.

Berlinghieri's connection with mapmaking is given even greater visual prominence on the incipit page of the manuscript destined for Federico (Figure 8).<sup>246</sup> Though this page follows a visual arrangement similar to Lorenzo's, with three roundels in each of the left and right margins, the initial historiated G is ceded here to a profile portrait of the duke. The image of the author in his study is thus relegated to one of the miniatures in the left margin. The scene of the scholar taking measurements from a celestial globe remains largely unchanged, while the vignettes featuring the terrestrial globe and wall map are conflated as a single composition. In presenting the textual component of the geographer's activity on the same scale as its cartographic elements, the illuminator gives comparable prominence to the "world painting" aspect of the geographer's undertaking emphasized by Verino.

Berlinghieri steps unambiguously into the role of mapmaker in an image from a printed copy of the *Geographia*, hand-decorated for Florence's Pucci family.<sup>247</sup> Here the printed incipit page has been entirely transformed by

the illuminator on the model of the manuscript produced for Lorenzo (Figure 14).<sup>248</sup> As in that manuscript, Berlinghieri is inscribed in the letter G and roundels depict the scholar engaged in the practical activities necessary for mapmaking. In contrast to its model, however, the author is depicted in the central image, not writing, but producing a map roughly the size of those accompanying the *Geographia* itself. The miniature lacks sufficient detail to determine whether Berlinghieri is meant to be drawing the map or adding labels to it, but he is certainly engaged in an activity suggesting a much closer relationship to cartography than that proposed by modern scholars. The author is thus awarded, in the eyes of its owners, responsibility for the maps as well as the text of his book.

Considering his place within a scholarly culture that understood poetic geography as a nearly encyclopedic endeavor it should come as no surprise that Berlinghieri considered his maps as an integral part of that undertaking. In 1476, six years prior to their publication, the poet was already engaged in a search for engravers to produce his maps. We know from a now lost letter from Berlinghieri to Bartolomeo Scala that he contacted Conrad Sweynheym, the German printer responsible along with his partner Arnold Pannartz for the edition of Ptolemy's *Geography* published in Rome in 1478.<sup>249</sup> To realize his graphic aims, Berlinghieri ultimately hired arguably the only printer in Florence (and one of the few in Europe) capable of rising to the challenge of producing these massive maps. In the process, as we shall see, the geographer indelibly expanded the limits of what was possible in print.

The poet also utilized his text in cementing the connection between his descriptive geography and the maps that accompanied it.<sup>250</sup> Throughout his verse, Berlinghieri refers his readers to the accompanying maps (variously called *tavola* and *tabula*).<sup>251</sup> More importantly in the theoretical portions of the first and seventh books, which describe the use of geometry to make maps, it is *disegno* that stands for the active process of cartographic representation. The production of the world map is thus introduced as "the way in which we draw the habitable part of the globe."<sup>252</sup> The conflation of these maps with the itinerary undertaken by the travelers is cemented by Ptolemy's description of their voyage as "following my design [*disegno*]."<sup>253</sup> Here a double-meaning cleverly suggest both that their itinerary follows the ancient geographer's order and that it conforms to the maps by which his work was most immediately recognized by Florentines.

One of the strongest pieces of evidence for Berlinghieri's active role in

conflating the verbal and visual elements of his project appears in the letter of dedication accompanying Bayezid's copy of the *Geographia*. Here, Berlinghieri claims responsibility for any errors "*nel testo o nelle tabule*" "whether in the text or maps" of his book.<sup>254</sup> While this might be read as a matter of rhetorical deference to a high-ranking dignitary, it is surely of significance that Berlinghieri specifically gathers the maps under the aegis of his authorial responsibility. There can be no doubt that Berlinghieri intended the sultan to understand his labor as equally literary and cartographic by advertising himself as a maker of maps. This claim was not merely a matter of self-promotion but rather emphasized the synthetic nature of geography, a concept he clearly felt his Ottoman readers shared, and the poet's command of this discipline.

The *Geographia's* narrative frame served to emphasize further the visual, and by extension graphic, elements of geo-graphic knowledge and to reinforce the integration of maps and text. Common verbs including "look" *vedi*, "behold" *appressi*, and "perceive" *scorgere* reinforce Ptolemy's role as narrator, but more significantly dictate that the description is understood as part of an interactive process combining verbal and visual representation. Likewise, the Holy Land "unfolds before the eyes" of the travelers as it must have before the eyes of readers as they opened the massive map spread across two folio sheets.<sup>255</sup> The reader is frequently instructed to look "to the right" and "to the left" as though he or she were peering down on the earth.<sup>256</sup> This device is given graphic expression in one of the roundels of Lorenzo's incipit (Figure 7). Here, Ptolemy gestures toward the earth below, directing the attention of his fellow travelers. The work's central conceit of a seven-day voyage is frequently recalled through reference to the time of day that Ptolemy and his companions arrive at their various destinations in a clever integration of the temporal measurement of latitude and longitude. In the poet's hands, the device is often compelling as when "Syria first appeared to us by the fading light of Phoebus."<sup>257</sup> Berlinghieri's poetic language emphasized the visual qualities of geographic understanding, a fact reinforced when a reader turned the page, moving from verse to the literally unfolding world in miniature represented on his maps.

Too often we see a map as the end point of creative and mimetic processes rather than as a performative tool for the geographical understanding of the world. In fact, the maps appended to works like the *Geographia* served both to visualize cartographic theory and ground the geographic description of their texts. Such knowledge often bridged the gap between the sacred and the secular, the rational and the fantastic, the visual and the verbal, and, of course,

the modern and ancient. In the fifth book, as the companions hover above Smyrna, Ptolemy instructs Berlinghieri to “gaze now over the curving earth and see the hot springs, temple, and cave sacred to Apollo, the twisting and winding river Meles.”<sup>258</sup> It is easy to imagine Lorenzo de’ Medici, Guidobaldo da Montefeltro, and countless readers of the printed edition doing precisely this as they looked upon the bending grid of the *Geographia*’s double-folio world map (Figures 1 and 2). This grid was intensified not only by the curved projection but by the bending of the map across the fold of the book as readers turned the pages. In this way the material properties of books helped to structure reading as a kind of surrogate experience for the world travel described in the poem.

The visual and directional emphasis of Berlinghieri’s narration, significantly, is not characteristic of Ptolemy’s text, the Latin translation of Angeli, nor for that matter of Strabo or Pliny. Through the book’s novel combination of Ptolemaic maps with a narrative itinerary, readers found themselves swept up into the clouds with Berlinghieri and Ptolemy as their guides. The result was a dynamic “eyewitness” account of the world from a poet who had never traveled further than Lombardy. Such tropes served also to reinforce the conceit, fundamental to the book’s efficacy, that the reader was drawn into a conversation with Berlinghieri and Ptolemy.

In calling attention to Berlinghieri’s textual and pictorial claims on the authorship of the maps, my intention is not to assert that the poet served as a cartographer in any practical sense. His maps were the products of manuscript illuminators, draftsmen, and engravers drawing on decades of tradition. Rather, I mean to point to the inadequacy of such a definition of the geographer’s enterprise in the context of fifteenth-century knowledge of the world, based as it was on an understanding of Ptolemy’s unification of theory and practice. The conflation of Berlinghieri’s poetic achievement with the graphic and theoretical endeavor of cartography was one that the poet and the artists that worked for him sought to propagate through explicitly connecting the writer with the act of mapmaking. Through Berlinghieri’s presence within the poetic narrative and through visualizing the process of mapmaking in illumination, the *Geographia* presented its maps to readers both as a surrogate for the poet’s own visual apprehension of the world as seen from above and as guarantors of his geometric expertise.

Berlinghieri associated himself with the endeavor of mathematical map production because this was essential to his project of emulating and rein-

vigorating ancient geography rather than simply translating its descriptions and anecdotes. At a moment in which scholars lauded Ptolemy as both geographic writer and mapmaker, it could hardly have been otherwise. Ptolemy's re-discovered *Geography* was so revered by Florentines in large part because, unlike the predominately anecdotal works of Strabo or Pomponius Mela, it provided a concrete method for producing maps through geometric formulae and bore maps understood to illustrate this process.<sup>259</sup> Though his written world-description leaned more heavily on Mela and Strabo, on poets like Ovid and the histories of Pliny and Livy, and even on more recent Italian writers like Fazio degli Uberti, Berlinghieri followed Ptolemy's lead by devoting the *Geographia's* first book to an explanation of the theoretical underpinnings of mapmaking, what the poet has Ptolemy call the "theory and practice" of geography.<sup>260</sup> Berlinghieri demonstrated an interest in and understanding of matters such as geometric formulae for mapmaking and topics ranging from the circumference of the earth to distinctions between modes of mapping and description.<sup>261</sup> Indeed it is this section of the poem that, though populated with imaginative examples of Berlinghieri's own invention, comes closest to deserving the appellation of a vernacular translation of the *Geography*.

Here also he distances his mathematical geographic efforts (and those of Ptolemy, in whose voice the speech is written) from those of chorography, an endeavor that he equates with "painting only one of Acheloo's horns, one of Midas' ears, or but one of the hundred eyes of Argus."<sup>262</sup> Geography, in contrast "reflects, as in a mirror, the entire known world in its proper measure and proportion."<sup>263</sup> This interest in ratios and distances is a distinctive characteristic of the *Geographia* and has significant bearing on the way that readers would have interacted with the text and its maps. To this end geometric explanations and even diagrams for cartographic projection are presented as poetry in the language of Dante. The creation of a rectangle with twice the length of its height, the initial step in the first projection method, is described by Berlinghieri in this way: "*Tal tavola con lectere notate/ a b c d di quattro anguli recti /quasi due quadrature collegate/Quasi il doppio due lati sien piu strettil/ allo aguaglio del lato inferiore/ tronco equalmente incanti piu perfecti.*"<sup>264</sup> Likewise the poet fits Ptolemy's list of parallels and meridians to be included on the world map into his rhyme and meter describing, for example, the thirteenth parallel: "*Tre hore & quarto il tredesimo pianta/ distantie & lontan farsi un dodeno/ sopra aquaranta & tre firenze admanta.*"<sup>265</sup> Berlinghieri thus fashioned

himself as a mathematical cartographer—neither a mere describer of disorganized topographical features nor solely a poet but one with a view from above grounded in timeless mathematical principles, an expert in the complicated projective geometry required for mapping a spherical earth on the flat paper and vellum of his book.

This self-fashioning proved particularly successful. Marsilio Ficino, for his part, was convinced. He saw the *Geographia*'s achievement as one of applied mathematics and world description. In the commentary to his translation of Plato's *Timaeus*, the philosopher remarked on Berlinghieri's cosmographical aptitude and compared his proficiency in geometry to that of Leon Battista Alberti.<sup>266</sup> Ficino would have had in mind the theory of geometric solids present in the *Timaeus*. Also included in Ficino's list of luminaries is Pier Leone di Spoleto, also an acquaintance of the poet who had lectured on Manilius at Florence's university. It is tempting to speculate that Pier Leone might even have introduced Berlinghieri to the *Astronomica*.<sup>267</sup> Geography was not only a visual discipline but also a mathematically precise one that depended on the accuracy, as well as the eloquence, of its practitioner.

Berlinghieri's maps, of course, were not intended for navigation or way finding, nor would they have been of much use for these activities. Yet assurances of precision and observational accuracy nonetheless played a crucial role for readers and viewers. Modern scholars have grown accustomed to cataloguing and distinguishing different varieties of maps from one another. "Medieval" *mappaemundi* and portolan sea charts for navigational use, for example, have often seemed as different as night and day. While map historians once denigrated *mappaemundi*, focusing attention principally on the progressive accuracy of early modern maps, more recent formulations have been a great deal more charitable.<sup>268</sup> Medieval map users, no longer understood as naïve and credulous, have instead been described as seeking from their maps something quite different from what modern (and even early modern) viewers expected.<sup>269</sup> Medieval maps have often been thought to be invested in the conveyance of "sacred geography," a term meant to describe a kind of terrestrial knowledge invested principally in the allegorical rather than observational significance of the world.<sup>270</sup>

Renaissance viewers, however, while undoubtedly capable of recognizing differences between various sorts of cartographic representations, understood all of these as maps, a fact underscored by the near interchangeability of the terminology employed for these divergent objects. Fifteenth-century Italian

sources often use terms like *carte de navigare*, *portolani*, and *mappamundi* indiscriminately.<sup>271</sup> Maps of varying sorts were also frequently referred to as *pittori*—pictures—emphasizing their origins in the workshops of painters and printmakers who produced a wide variety of image types. When Vespasiano da Bisticci referred to the translation of Ptolemaic maps into Latin, for example, he called these manuscript maps *pittori*.<sup>272</sup> Dati called attention to the cartographic images within his *Sfera* on two occasions, referring to these as a *disegno*—a drawing or diagram—and a *carta*.<sup>273</sup> The maps of Ptolemy's *Geography* were regarded as *tabule*, *picture*, and *mappaemundi*. Berlinghieri's *Geographia* conformed to these traditions and its author frequently referred to the accompanying maps as *tabule* and *tavole* as well as *carte* and *pittori*.<sup>274</sup> This conflation was not merely one of linguistic convenience. Rather all of these sorts of maps were understood to shed light on knowledge of the world. The insistence on the indexicality of these maps should not be surprising given the primacy of the concept of exegesis in the scholarly traditions of the Middle Ages and Renaissance. Just as truths of a spiritual, moral, or eschatological nature were necessarily grounded in the literal text of scripture, so geographical information, even that which we today regard as principally sacred, was grounded in the locations of the physical world.<sup>275</sup> Medieval maps, like medieval images in general, were not unconcerned with real places—in fact they relied on these for the effectiveness of their interpretive frames.<sup>276</sup> There existed, in short, no sacred geography to which a more prosaic geography was opposed.

The geographic culture of the late fifteenth century insisted on the integration of word and image in accurately and adequately describing the world. Geographers, in turn, were understood to be broadly proficient in both verbal and graphic skills. As cartographic historians have long demonstrated, no such discipline as cartography existed in the early modern world, whether for fifteenth-century Florentine readers and viewers or for authors and printers with a vested interest in promoting their own wide-ranging authority over texts and images. Rather, following Ptolemy's own unification of theory and practice, description and drawing, as well as medieval precedent, the production of maps was considered an integral part of the geographer's endeavor. Both Verino and Pulci certainly understood Berlinghieri's endeavor to have been a partially visual one. If we are to understand Renaissance geography we would do well to take seriously the claims of Berlinghieri and the illuminators of his book. Those who first gazed upon Florentine maps in the fifteenth



century understood their makers to be taking up Ptolemy's mantle as geographer, as describer of the world in words and pictures.

This image of the geographer as mathematician, poet and mapmaker was promoted by Berlinghieri's verse and by the brushes of the illuminators who brought the poem to life on the vellum and paper of luxury copies. All of this could not have been accomplished without the efforts of printers, mapmakers, engravers, painters, and scribes working within a flourishing Florentine book industry. Equally, it was dependent on a network of readers, patrons, and dedicatees who were, in various ways, especially suited to appreciate this material. In the following chapter we turn to the material production of the *Geographia* and begin to consider the network of readers and viewers among whom these books circulated.

## Making Books, Forging Communities

Renaissance poets described the process of literary creation as a flight of the mind, a divine vision, and a Platonic frenzy. Geographers likewise wrote of “drawing the earth” and delineating its contours through pure geometry. Yet several messier and more prosaic steps were necessary before verse and maps found their way into the hands of readers and onto the shelves and benches of libraries and *studioli*. It is to these processes and their objects, the early printed humanist book, that this chapter attends. I want to turn here from the intellectual culture of geography to the material culture of making maps and books exploring the currency of printed books at this moment and their multifaceted, and sometimes unexpectedly rich, relationship with manuscripts.

I first examine the visual and material qualities of printed copies of the *Geographia*'s text and maps with an eye toward their conformity and divergence from modern expectations about humanist luxury books. I then locate those departures in emerging and contested techniques, materials, and tools in fifteenth-century Florence. In the process, scholarly attitudes toward early printing are interrogated. Crucially, I suggest that some of the apparent anomalies of these books, especially their symbiotic use of hand-illumination, color, and print made them ideal anchors for communities of printers, readers,

recipients, buyers, and authors. This was possible, in large part, because early humanist books were often conceived by their printers and authors as projects for multiple, individuated books rather than as uniform editions. Finally, I will explore how Bayezid and Cem were integrated into just such a community through the inclusion of hand-painted maps, illuminated frontispieces, and other visual and material modifications. Exploring the possibilities and limitations of fifteenth-century book and map production requires that we (like the humanist writers who turned to the burgeoning technology of print) get our hands dirty and examine less understood, yet essential, components of the book industry ranging from the tools and skills of engravers to the paper on which these texts and images were impressed.

### Printing Humanist Books

Writing in the second edition of his *Vite* in 1568, over a century after the events he described, Giorgio Vasari made the bold claim that engraving on copper was the invention of a Florentine master, Maso Finiguerra. This claim has long been regarded as fantastic, a tale that at least some readers saw through even in Vasari's own day. Even many Italian viewers recognized both the higher quality and chronological precedence of Northern Italian and especially Northern European engraving.<sup>1</sup> In fact, so-called Florentine printmaking was enmeshed from the very moment of its inception with, and in crucial ways dependent upon, migrant technology from north of the Alps. David Landau, for example, has shown that the most significant shift in the style of fifteenth-century engraving, that from the so-called fine manner to the broad manner, was the result of the importation of new technology, specifically a novel type of burin, from Northern Europe.<sup>2</sup> Tools and workshop practices cannot migrate on their own, and they were seldom committed to writing in any comprehensive way. Instead itinerant artists carried such knowledge with them, and the Florentine print industry came to be home for many Northern European craftspeople. Indeed, early modern practice rarely corresponds with the comfortable nationalism that has dominated scholarly taxonomies of art for the past two centuries.<sup>3</sup>

No better example of the entwined histories of Northern and Florentine printmaking can be found than the *Geographia*'s printer variously known as "Nicolo Tedesco" and "Nicolaus Todescho" from the colophons of his vernacular imprints and as Nicolaus Laurentii d'Alamagna to his Latin readers.

We know very little about the printer, a situation that has been exacerbated by scholars' frequent confusion between him and the mapmaker Nicolaus Germanus.<sup>4</sup> As his name indicates, Niccolò was a German immigrant. He was most likely a native of Breslau where he was active in the print trade early in his career. There he participated in the shop operated by nuns of that city's Dominican convent.<sup>5</sup> Over the course of the 1470s and 1480s, the northerner became one of Florence's most prolific printers. His shop produced many of the city's best-known humanist editions including Marsilio Ficino's *On the Christian Religion* (1476) and Leon Battista Alberti's *De Re Aedificatoria* (1485).<sup>6</sup> Niccolò, however, ran a fairly diversified operation and produced a wide range of books, including a large number of devotional tracts and collections of sermons.<sup>7</sup> The last known book to leave his press was a vernacular translation of Gregory the Great's commentary on the *Book of Job*, dated to June of 1486, and nothing is known of the printer after this time.<sup>8</sup>

One broad theme unites a large number (though by no means all) of Niccolò's imprints. His shop was distinctive for its early promotion and experimentation with costly and technically difficult illustrated books.<sup>9</sup> Humanist and monastic writers alike turned to the printer when their work required the technology of copperplate engraving. The *Geographia* ambitiously entailed producing the first modern engraved maps in Europe and possibly the first maps of any sort engraved in Florence. The book unquestionably represented the largest such undertaking in the history of the city's print industry. Berlinghieri's book, however, is only one indication of Niccolò's pivotal place in the history of Florentine bookmaking and printmaking. The first book with engraved illustrations produced in Florence, *The Monte Santo di Dio* (1477) of the Siensese clergyman Antonio Bettini was likewise produced in this shop.<sup>10</sup> Undoubtedly the best known of Niccolò's works was Cristoforo Landino's commentary on Dante's *Commedia*. Produced nearly simultaneously with the *Geographia* in 1481, Landino's work was among the most complicated and lavish of early printed books. Here the printer worked to combine engraved illustration with multiple fonts for text and marginal comments on the same page.<sup>11</sup>

Turning from Niccolò's impressive resume of illustrated books, however, to their reputation among modern scholars, we face a surprising conundrum. The *Geographia*, and along with it several of the printer's most important imprints have routinely been saddled with the criticism that they are poorly produced. In Berlinghieri's case his book's engraved maps have often drawn the censure

and faint praise of bibliophiles and map historians. Paolo Veneziani, author of the most thorough study of the work's printing history, described the *Geographia* as "an edition celebrated for its beauty, but, in reality, badly written and even more poorly printed."<sup>12</sup> Claims that the *Geographia* was poorly written, oddly retrograde, or out of step with revolutionary changes in early modern geographic conception are, we have seen, the result of discrepancies between the expectations of fifteenth-century Florentines and those of modern historians of cartography. The claims, however, that the edition is badly printed and poorly engraved, indeed that fifteenth-century Florentine books generally manifest such problems, are somewhat more difficult to dispel. Indeed it is important that we ask why the books of Niccolò and Berlinghieri, the best representatives of flourishing geographic and print cultures should appear so fraught to some modern eyes.<sup>13</sup>

The products of the Florentine press have seldom garnered the sort of praise associated with the city's humanist intellectual accomplishments or the soaring achievements of the visual arts at the same moment. In contrast to Rome, Venice, or even Ulm, the city on the Arno is rarely thought of as a place of great importance to the history of printing.<sup>14</sup> Indeed the products of that print culture have frequently been seen as messy, the works of sloppy or flatly untalented craftspeople. The dispatch of printed books as diplomatic gifts to Ottoman dignitaries, however, must have indicated not only a degree of satisfaction with the production of the specific book chosen but also a high estimation of Florentine book culture generally. I seek here to bridge the gap between the critical judgments that scholars have passed on the developing print culture of fifteenth-century Florence and the regard for the products of that culture demonstrated by influential and prominent contemporaries.

A number of characteristics might be pointed to in justifying the claim that Berlinghieri's book was "badly printed." Cartographic and print historians have called particular attention to the carelessness of the *Geographia's* engraver in littering these plates with numerous errors and an apparent inability to amend glaring mistakes in the labels.<sup>15</sup> One prominent example is provided by the ninth Ptolemaic map of Europe, which was mistakenly engraved with the title "TABULA NONA D'ASIA"—"The Ninth Map of Asia" (Figure 15). Having realized this error, or perhaps having had it pointed out, the cutter, in an only partially successful attempt at correction, then interposed the letters "EUROPA" between those of "ASIA," leaving the viewer with a nearly illegible jumble of Roman capitals.<sup>16</sup> A similar problem occurs

on the printed edition's map of modern Spain, errantly having been labeled "GALLIA" by an engraver who apparently mistook it for a map of France. When Berlinghieri's readers turned from his fifth book to the map of the Holy Land to locate Perseus's daring rescue of Andromeda or the site of Cornelius's conversion they might have found themselves rather confused (Figure 16).<sup>17</sup> When the label for Joppa on that map was incorrectly placed on an island directly to the west, the engraver incised the label again, this time on the nearby peninsula. The original misleading inscription, however, was not removed, leaving the viewer to determine which of the two plots was an impostor. Throughout the maps, the printmaker employed unfilled circles as markers for cities. Yet on the map of modern France several of these appear without any attendant location labels. Conversely, other maps included location names without corresponding circles.

The places, legends, and illustrious people of the Italian peninsula represent the lengthiest section of Berlinghieri's poem, and we can assume that many of his readers would have had a particular interest in their own environs. The modern map of Italy would have been one that these readers turned to regularly (Figure 17). Yet when we open the *Geographia* to this presumed showpiece, we confront a bewilderingly organized image. Here the engraving seems to have been based on a model somewhat larger than its plate could accommodate. The map significantly overlaps the border, engraved on the plate first, particularly at the image's top edge. As a result, no space was left for a title inscription in the usual place above the map, forcing the engraver to intersperse his letters amidst a dense network of mountains. The vast number of toponyms demanded by Italian readers of their *patria* congeals here into a nearly indecipherable jumble of letters. This toponymic disarray adds to an already graphically perplexing image in which figure and ground, mountains and lakes, even ocean and *terra firma* are not adequately distinguished from one another by the engraver's burin. Manuscript maps, including those in copies of the *Geography*, relied to a significant degree on color to distinguish land from water and various types of terrain from one another. The *Geographia's* engraver substituted patterns for these colors and had access to only a limited range of these patterns in his or her repertoire; for instance, both the Mediterranean and the Apennines are rendered with similar systems of short horizontal dashes. The result is a map whose hundreds of locations and general topography can only be discerned after great visual effort.

More immediately striking to modern viewers, perhaps especially to art

historians, than these toponymic discrepancies is the preponderance of distracting plate scratches that mar the surface of these impressions. Any large expanse of blank paper visible within these maps is susceptible to this phenomenon. A particularly egregious example is provided in the upper-right corner of the modern map of Italy in which the area labeled “SCLAVONIA” is crisscrossed by hundreds of such scratches (Figure 17). Nor are unscratched plate surfaces immune from visual problems. Moving from one map to the next, or even from the center of a single sheet to its edges, the viewer is stuck by the wide tonal range from deep blacks to the faintest of grays. More problematic still, areas intended to remain blank are often lent a visible gray tonality that makes the labels even more difficult to read. Finally, the margins of many of these maps are saturated with fine, dark black lines that vein their way across the surface of the page.

These graphic problems are perplexing, and scholars attempting to grapple with them have tended to focus on a lack of skillful engraving as their probable cause.<sup>18</sup> Indeed, for Berlinghieri’s plates the question most frequently asked is what master might have engraved these and why an engraver without sufficient skill was employed.<sup>19</sup> Yet what art historians refer to by the shorthand of skill, or even talent, is actually a complex set of aptitudes requiring not only innate ability and diligent practice but certain kinds of technical know-how. As Pamela Long and others have shown, these technical skills, even ones that we have come to understand as rudimentary to a process like engraving were often jealously guarded in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries as trade secrets.<sup>20</sup> Such techniques sometimes received legal protection though the issuing of privileges. These, however, were notoriously difficult to enforce and were (even theoretically) geographically limited by the authority granting the privilege.<sup>21</sup> As a result, printers, engravers, and block cutters often took such matters into their own hands, not least through watchful attention to equipment and the careful control of oral transmission of techniques from master to apprentice.

Many art historians will be familiar with Andrea Mantegna’s supposed role in having contracted a gang of thugs to beat a rival engraver to within an inch of his life. Generally it has been assumed that this was a dispute over intellectual property, and that Mantegna was driven into a rage by an upstart printmaker who was copying his designs and distributing them under his own name.<sup>22</sup> Ronald Lightbown, however, first suggested that the artist’s apparently rash actions might in fact have been a calculated move against

industrial espionage.<sup>23</sup> Our knowledge of the incident comes from necessarily sparse legal documents, but no evidence specifies that these disputed engravings were based on Mantegna's designs.<sup>24</sup> Instead, it is at least possible that the painter considered elements of the engraving process itself to be technical secrets that he alone could ply in Mantuan territory.<sup>25</sup> While careless or untalented engraving and sloppy printing might explain the condition of the *Geographia's* plates, it seems more likely that a significant lack of technical know-how on the part of the artists and printer account for such unexpected complications. That is, much of what we might consider to be careless only appears so to a modern viewer who assumes the unimpeded availability of certain techniques and tools.

Let us return briefly to a few examples of these problems evident in the printed edition. Haste and insufficient proofreading might explain the doubled labels at Joppa (Figure 16). In fact, the truth is stranger. Engraving errors are usually corrected through a combination of burnishing, hammering, and sanding. The burnisher is used to push the displaced metal of an errant line back into the groove. The back of the plate is then hammered to ensure even distribution before the area is polished and sanded so that it can be re-engraved. Careful attention is then needed so that the new incisions match with those in the unburnished area at its perimeter. While this might seem a basic component of engraving, we have ample evidence that at least some fifteenth-century printmakers, including the *Geographia's* craftsmen, lacked this ability to erase misplaced marks. Likewise, the inability to erase lines explains the surfaces marred by plate scratches on maps like that of modern Italy (Figure 17). Further, while such scratches might have resulted from the careless treatment of plates, this is hardly the only possibility. Even an organized and well-supervised printer might have mixed overly coarse ink in which solids (like particles of charcoal) could have scraped soft copper when applied to the plate. In an era that long predated any sort of standardized and uniformly produced supplies, the ratios and recipes for optimal inks also represented trade secrets.<sup>26</sup> A wiping cloth that was too coarse or insufficiently clean might likewise have caused these scratches.

Unlike most figurative engravings, maps presented yet another vexing demand for engravers on account of the large number of inscriptions they generally required. This was especially problematic because, just as block cutters tended to be trained as woodworkers, engravers were generally trained as goldsmiths and metalworkers rather than as scribes or painters.<sup>27</sup> The process



of engraving requires that the burin be pushed across the surface of the copper to create grooves. As any printmaker can attest, this is an exacting and laborious activity that is wholly dissimilar from writing. In order to facilitate the production of labels, especially on early printed maps, many cartographic engravers adopted letter punches. These metal forms could be hammered into the plate to create uniform labels. Niccolò's engravers, however, did not possess such tools.<sup>28</sup> Each of the thousands of inscriptions appearing on the *Geographia's* maps needed to be engraved by hand, and mistakes could not be corrected.<sup>29</sup> This resulted in many of the errors that have so irked modern viewers and must also have dramatically increased the expense, both in time and money, for the book's printer.

Proprietary knowledge of tools and techniques was not limited to engravers and extended to the printers and assistants involved in illustrated book production as well. As we have seen, the work's printer also, apparently, had little control over the range of value present in these engravings. The nearly image-obscuring grayness evident in many impressions is known by printmakers as plate tone. In the case of these maps, it might have resulted from a less than fastidious wiping of the inked plates before they were sent through the press. Such a task was likely delegated to a relatively unskilled printer's assistant. On the other hand, plate tone can also occur on account of overly viscous ink, yet another risk of experimenting with such formulae. The dark, black, vein-like lines that appear at the edges of many impressions of these maps are another example of a technical and material problem that confronted Berlinghieri and Niccolò.<sup>30</sup> These are the result of using copper plates that were too thin for several of the maps, suggesting either that the printer and engraver were unaware of the necessary thickness or that the scarcity and expense of copper caused them to cut corners.<sup>31</sup> All of these deficiencies are evident when the *Geographia's* maps are compared with those of its closest contemporary, the Ptolemy printed in Ulm in 1482. Here the more familiar and reliable technology of the woodcut was utilized to produce maps with a quite uniform range of value and a clean, high contrast relationship between figure and ground.<sup>32</sup>

The visual confusion characteristic of the modern map of Italy is the result, in part, of the engraver or draftsman's inability to express sufficiently the complexity demanded by this dense map in the graphic medium. It may also suggest a lack of familiarity with the process by which drawings were transferred to the plate and with techniques for enlarging or reducing drawings

during their transcription.<sup>33</sup> Once again, these are trade skills assumed by scholars, but which had to be learned by oral transmission from a master during workshop training. If these engravers were trained, for example, as metal workers (whether in Florence, elsewhere on the peninsula, or even in Northern Europe) rather than painters, they may well have lacked this sort of apparently rudimentary knowledge.

Apart from the skill of available engravers, some scholars have suggested that a lack of sufficient organization on the part of the printer might account for these problems. Others have posited that Berlinghieri's project was not prioritized within Niccolò's shop. The general sense of the casual, almost haphazard, nature of the *Geographia's* printing and engraving has been amplified by the claims that the work's text and maps were not printed at the same time. R. A. Skelton observed that while all of the book's text pages were printed on paper bearing a cardinal's hat watermark, the maps were instead printed on a number of paper stocks carrying a variety of marks, none of them corresponding to that of the text. From this, he surmised that the maps were printed separate from, and perhaps somewhat earlier than, the text pages.<sup>34</sup> Veneziani described a similarly disjunctive typographic history for the book, identifying three separate typefaces in the work. These distinct sets of movable type were utilized by Niccolò Tedesco over the course of several years and suggested that the *Geographia* was plagued by delays.<sup>35</sup> He conjectured that such disorganization might represent a relative lack of priority accorded to Berlinghieri's work in comparison with other, more prestigious projects of Niccolò's press, especially Landino's commentary on Dante's *Divina Commedia*.<sup>36</sup>

Suzanne Boorsch has worked to dispel these negative evaluations, arguing that, "the thirty-one maps in the aggregate do not present such a large number of errors" and suggesting that the Florentine engraver Francesco Rosselli produced these plates.<sup>37</sup> Yet it *is* hard to deny that the *Geographia* (and other products of Niccolò's shop and of Florentine book illustration at this moment) do appear rather worse off than at least some of their contemporaries. A glance at the crisp and clean woodcut maps accompanying the *Geography* printed at Ulm in 1482 or the delicately shaded and modeled ones engraved for Bolognese and Roman editions of 1477 and 1478 suggests that these errors would have been evident to at least some period eyes. Even if we were tempted to concede that modern aesthetic standards are largely responsible for the underwhelming appearance of the *Geographia's* maps, one sure sign remains that

Renaissance viewers shared these aesthetic concerns. In his letter of donation to Bayezid, Berlinghieri himself apologized for “mistakes, whether in the maps or the text.”<sup>38</sup> Young sultans, of course, require apologies. As historians we require instead an explanation, a context that can make sense of these unexpected intrusions. We need to understand why a book full of such undeniable “mistakes” achieved the kind of contemporary prominence we have observed, made its way across the Mediterranean Sea, and put its author in the company of Leon Battista Alberti according to Ficino.<sup>39</sup>

### Emergent Properties between Manuscript and Print

The immediate commercial fate of the *Geographia* seems, at first glance, to support the impression that the edition was seriously flawed. A large number of copies of the work went unsold during Berlinghieri’s lifetime and the active career of its printer. These “remainder” copies were acquired by another printer, likely the Florentine Filippo Giunti or his successors, and reissued, probably sometime after 1516.<sup>40</sup> At this time, the blank recto of the work’s first folio had a new title page printed on it, in red ink, reading, “The Geography of the Florentine Francesco Berlinghieri in Tuscan *terza rima* with his maps of the various sites and provinces described in the book and arranged according to the order of Ptolemy’s maps.”<sup>41</sup> This addition was likely intended to update the general look of the work, which might have appeared antiquated to prospective sixteenth-century buyers with a blank first page. Verso title pages were the norm for late fifteenth-century Florentine luxury manuscripts. These verso pages were employed only briefly, however, in printed works, a practice that quickly gave way to the recto version still in wide use today.<sup>42</sup>

The reissue of Berlinghieri’s book appears to have fared no more successfully than its predecessor. Extant copies of the *Geographia* are overwhelmingly of this second issue, suggesting that sluggish sales at the time of the work’s issue in 1482 might account for this imbalance and that many more copies of the work were remaindered than were sold by Berlinghieri or his printer.<sup>43</sup> The *Geographia* was still available for purchase in a 1603 catalog of the Giunti shop’s offerings described as “a verse Ptolemy in folio, written in the vernacular and printed in Florence.” From this catalog and from the great number of these “remainder” copies extant, it might be surmised that Berlinghieri’s work failed to appeal both to fifteenth- and sixteenth-century buyers.

Might it be possible that Renaissance readers and book-buyers passed on Berlinghieri's book to purchase the more textually faithful printed *Geographies* produced in Bologna and Rome?<sup>44</sup> This solution can, I think, easily be dispensed with. Such a proposal relies on a misunderstanding of the aims of Renaissance geography. Fidelity to Ptolemy's text was hardly the quality most sought by readers of geographic verse or viewers of maps. As we have seen, many readers instead demanded the addition of miracles and registers of modern places to ancient geographic texts.<sup>45</sup> Fifteenth-century book buyers purchased and read dozens of editions of the *Geography* that added greater and greater numbers of modern maps. Even the earliest Italian manuscripts of Ptolemy's text supplemented and modified its utility and scope through the addition of city views.<sup>46</sup> Moreover, though we know little about the commercial success of the Bolognese edition, the Roman one proved a definitively poor investment for its printers and financiers.<sup>47</sup>

The Giunti catalog and the breakdown of extant copies, however, may not tell the whole story. Prints and printed books are fragile objects. We are sometimes tempted to forget this simple fact, steeped as we are in a book (and more lately digital information) culture that assumes a causal relationship between the multiplicity and reproducibility of media and the indestructible nature of the message.<sup>48</sup> Of course, historians of the book and art historians of early printed material are well aware that adverse conditions can erase the permanence of the printed word and the pictorial statement. Prints and books can be destroyed by damp, fire, and insects, and those that are subjected to frequent use are considerably more likely to meet such untimely ends than those that linger on a *cartolaio's* shelf for decades. Yet our judgments and assumptions are often nonetheless conditioned by associations between the technology of the press and the permanence of the printed page.<sup>49</sup>

Some second-issue copies of the *Geographia* remained in the keeping of printers and booksellers until at least the early seventeenth century. This is significant, and print scholars, including David Landau, Peter Parshall, and Rainer Schoch, have drawn attention to the often-inverse relationship between the use of printed books and their rate of survival.<sup>50</sup> Those prints most likely to have been produced in the largest print runs—pamphlets, indulgences, and decrees often survive in single copies if at all. In contrast, expensive luxury editions, produced in small print runs, were often treasured by their owners, locked safely away from light, mildew, and dust in cabinets and passed down for generations like Strozzi's *Geography*. In short, such printed

books were often cared for in the way that their manuscript predecessors had been.

It is tempting to imagine the early printing of humanist luxury books as an enterprise of emerging venture capitalism. In contrast with the laborious and personalized copying and illumination of manuscripts, fifteenth-century printed books might be seen as daring first stabs at production on spec for anonymous buyers and readers. There are several strong reasons to treat this impression as suspect. Foremost, scholars of print have taken a pin to this early modern capitalist bubble, suggesting that these projects were more akin to what we would today refer to as products of the vanity press—funded principally with their authors and associates acting as financial backers and manufactured for the benefit of relatively small groups of likeminded intellectuals.<sup>51</sup> Many early humanist printed books, and particularly illustrated luxury tomes including Ptolemy's *Geography*, appealed to a relatively small number of erudite and wealthy readers. While individual copies of books could thus command relatively high prices, the simultaneous limitations imposed on the number of potential readers by these prices meant that the sale of even modest print runs was far from assured.

In the short run many such projects were unlikely to generate a significant profit for their producers.<sup>52</sup> The German printers Conrad Sweynheym and Arnold Pannartz established Italy's first press in Subiaco in 1467. The partners printed prestigious editions of important classical works during the 1460s and 1470s, and the products of their press have been praised as amongst the most important and impressive works issued in Renaissance Italy. The intellectual importance of their printing of Greek texts has been seen as a crucial spur to humanist scholarship, a precursor to Aldus's far more famous operation in Venice.<sup>53</sup> Such accolades notwithstanding, these pioneering printers were saved from bankruptcy only by an infusion of cash from the coffers of Pope Sixtus IV.<sup>54</sup> In other words, though their products appealed to Renaissance humanists (and those who rely on such texts for the confirmation of our interpretive hunches) their commercial viability was often only part of their allure.

A didactic poem in rhyming verse based on ancient models and demonstrating a virtuosic blending of modern and classical sources ranging from history to mythological verse must have had tremendous appeal for an influential coterie of European humanists. Yet it was also the very sort of project that was most likely to confront the problems faced by the printers at Subiaco.

The exclusivity that anchored Berlinghieri's intellectual network, and from which it derived much of its prestige, simultaneously cut against the work's attractiveness to many not in the know. While this presented no significant challenge to manuscript making, the novel technology of the press, the relative ease with which many copies could be made, sometimes encouraged the production of print runs that were larger than this limited pool of readers could sustain.

It comes as little surprise then that extant copies of the first issue of the *Geographia* suggest that it was at once participating in both a commercial economy and more expansive forms of exchange linked to patronage, gift-giving, and personal recognizance. Several copies of the work were produced with the specific aims and expectations of its author, printer, and a small group of influential dedicatees, recipients, and potential buyers in mind.<sup>55</sup> In sharp contrast with those copies bearing the title page added by the Giunti, examples of the book sold in the late-fifteenth century show evidence of use, care, and often-prestigious ownership. Of the nineteen copies of the first variant I have examined, fifteen have hand-coloring of the maps, hand-illumination of the frontispiece and text, the addition of family coats of arms and individual mottos and devices, or some combination of these elements. In contrast, Skelton's observations on the work's printing and engraving were based on three copies of the *Geographia* held today by the British Library all of which were "remainder" copies including the sixteenth-century recto page sold by the Giunti.<sup>56</sup> These copies bear no hand-illumination or coloring. Their maps are printed on a variety of divergent paper stocks bearing a variety of watermarks, none of them the cardinal's hat employed exclusively for the text pages.<sup>57</sup>

Skelton, like numerous scholars before him, made the assumption, perfectly reasonable by the bibliographic standards of the day, that one copy of a printed book from a single edition was, more or less, quite the same as the next. Yet for many early printed works, including the *Geographia*, this was simply not the case. While copies of this second issue, including examples in the national libraries of Florence, Milan, and Rome conform to his findings, examples lacking the Giunti's additions exhibit quite different characteristics.<sup>58</sup> First-issue copies employing varying degrees of customization, including those at the Biblioteca Laurenziana, the Biblioteca Riccardiana, and the Biblioteca Civica in Pavia, exhibit a homogeneity absent from those described by Skelton. In these, the maps are printed on a uniform and sturdier stock bearing the

cardinal's hat watermark, and most tellingly all three were illuminated for purchase by, or presentation to, eminent recipients.<sup>59</sup> Still other copies include maps printed on heavy weight stock, some pages with the cardinal's hat mark and others with a limited variety of other marks.<sup>60</sup> One example of this latter group is that produced for Roberto Malatesta and his wife Elisabetta da Montefeltro, daughter of Federico.<sup>61</sup> Malatesta, a mercenary general, fought both on behalf of and against the Florentines over the final quarter of the fifteenth century and might have received this copy of the work while in the city's employ.<sup>62</sup> Although only the maps survive from this example, these are of remarkable quality. All thirty-one are carefully hand-colored and have had scrolls painted around their titles and most significant labels. The world map is particularly lavish, including a hand-painted blue sky with white swirling flourishes of cloud, serving as the backdrop for Berlinghieri's *habitato*.<sup>63</sup>

Further, the copies made for Bayezid and Cem, as well as copies presently in the Biblioteca Nazionale of Naples, the Newberry Library in Chicago, and the Vatican library, have their maps printed on uniformly sturdy paper bearing a ribbon watermark.<sup>64</sup> We can be relatively sure that Berlinghieri's maps were not reprinted since the intricate patterns of plate scratches that play across the surface of these images exhibit no variation from impression to impression. Rather, it seems that sets of the *Geographia's* maps were printed on several paper stocks, roughly contemporaneously with the printing of the text. It seems a distinct possibility, then, that a number of more expensive copies of the book were planned, at the time of their printing, for eventual hand-illumination and sale or gift to prestigious recipients.

Though our own relationship to book culture has accustomed us to think in terms of editions, early printed editions were often divided by levels of quality representing distinct tiers of potential readership and reception. Such distinctions were common for luxury books in the late fifteenth century and presentation copies were occasionally even printed on velum. Copies of the Roman *Geography* of 1478 as well as of Landino's commentary on the *Commedia* survive in such examples.<sup>65</sup> The *Geographia* may be best understood as a carefully planned project for the production of hundreds of individual books. In this sense, some of the qualities of the work's printing that have struck us as anomalous might be better understood as the distinctive attributes of an emerging class of objects in which new technologies and materials were rapidly combining with existing ones. The *Geographia* can serve as a

model for approaching the study of other illustrated humanist books as we work to revise our assumptions about and expectations for fifteenth-century book and print cultures.<sup>66</sup>

In contrast with those of the first issue, the maps bound into the so-called “remainder” copies of the *Geographia*, those that came to make up the second issue, were printed on a variety of cheaper, perhaps left over, paper. Such copies were not produced, apparently, to fill advance orders or for use as gifts, but were probably sold off the shelves of a *cartolaio*’s shop, perhaps by Niccolò. It was not at all unusual for a number of partners in the production of an expensive and complicated printed book, including printers, authors, and financiers, to divide up copies for eventual sale.<sup>67</sup> Unfortunately, no contracts have survived for the *Geographia*’s printing. We do, however, know that its author presided over the sale of at least some copies of the book, as demonstrated by the Servite account ledger recording arrangements for the illumination of Cristoforo di Giustinopoli’s copy.<sup>68</sup>

By the time of the *Geographia*’s “reissue” after 1516, the poem and its attendant maps no longer served as quite so up-to-date an image of the earth as their author had undoubtedly intended when he began its composition some four decades prior. Contact with the Americas and the rounding of the Cape of Good Hope during the preceding decades, both highly publicized in Florence, would have been the most obvious discrepancies between these maps and many of the printed maps available to early sixteenth-century Florentines. Fundamental revisions of the earth’s extent and divisions are evident in comparison between Berlinghieri’s world map and those engraved just a few decades later (Figure 1). The *Geographia* presents its viewers with a world centered on the Mediterranean Sea, hemmed in by the continental masses of Asia, Europe, and Africa. Early sixteenth-century planispheres, like the one produced by Francesco Rosselli in 1506, instead, posit a *habitato* in which the familiar globe of Ptolemy’s *Geography* is thrillingly and disconcertingly dwarfed by a substantially expanded Africa and displaced by a New World to the West.<sup>69</sup> The expectations of many viewers of the sixteenth-century map, however, had also shifted in other, more subtle ways.

While Ptolemy’s *Geography* remained the standard framework around which sixteenth-century world descriptions continued to be hung, modern maps like those that Berlinghieri had first introduced to print came to occupy increasingly greater prominence within these tomes. By 1548 an edition of



Ptolemy's *Geography* printed in Venice contained thirty-four modern maps, now outnumbering their twenty-seven Ptolemaic counterparts.<sup>70</sup> The *Geographia's* modern maps were crucial parts of an evolving geographic framework through which modern maps and even information from nautical charts were being integrated into the basic organization of Ptolemy's world scheme. Though his cartographic sources were fairly limited, Berlinghieri's maps were nonetheless highly significant in introducing up-to-date maps into print.<sup>71</sup> Such relatively minimal inclusions could hardly hope to compete with atlases like that planned, but never finished, by Rosselli in which a Ptolemaic world map is paired with one derived from a navigational chart, demonstrating convincingly the previous decade's radical shifts in perception of the earth.<sup>72</sup> The *Geographia*, with only four modern maps, and these somewhat antiquated, might have seemed a relic of another era to some later sixteenth-century viewers. Yet it would certainly have remained recognizable within an ongoing process and format of world-mapping.

The way in which the *Geographia's* maps both anticipated the developing format of world atlases while looking back at century-old traditions speaks to the work's distinctive place between cultures of manuscript and print. This apparent temporal marginality explains, to a large degree, the book's lack of conformity to the expectations of viewers and readers. Those expectations are not only those of modern scholars looking back but may well represent the misgivings of some fifteenth-century readers bewildered by new techniques and forms. Prejudice against early printed luxury books is attested to by some evidence from the period, supplied by individuals like the manuscript seller Vespasiano da Bisticci who had a vested economic interest in printing's failure.<sup>73</sup> Shared by Vespasiano and some modern viewers is a concern that the technology of early print was unable to produce books that effectively met the needs and expectations of the book cultures to which they were best acclimated. For the fifteenth-century bibliophile, printed books seemed to threaten both the prestige and quality that were seen as hallmarks of the Florentine book trade.

For modern readers and viewers, in contrast, the *Geographia* lacks the degree of uniformity expected as a basic attribute of printed books and seems to display mistakes of a bewilderingly basic nature. The ability to produce uniform letters and, more importantly, to correct toponymic mistakes and erase errant marks might seem to modern readers defining characteristics of the medium of print. Letter punching, for example, requires only a set of

sharp metal forms and is substantially more efficient than engraving letters freehand with a burin. Similarly, stray lines and scratches are removed relatively quickly by burnishing.<sup>74</sup> Such techniques have often seemed to historians of print to be essential characteristics of the medium, those qualities that separated the new technology from that of the manuscript and led, ultimately, to the triumphant primacy of modernity's print culture. Scholars have always understood the traditional incunable period as one of transition in which printed materials displayed a great deal of variation and experimentation. Nonetheless, the essentially repeatable and easily mutable nature of print was largely assumed, if not as a constant characteristic then at least as a developmental goal toward which printers strove.<sup>75</sup>

Our conception of early modern print culture, however, has undergone some remarkable changes over the past decade or so. William Ivin's famous characterization of the print as an "exactly repeatable pictorial statement" no longer looks quite so exact, and the printing press has been shaken, though not wholly dislodged, from its pedestal as Elizabeth Eisenstein's great "agent of cultural change."<sup>76</sup> In part, this shift is the fruit of revisionist scholarship. Works such as Adrian Johns' *The Nature of the Book* (1998) have painted a vivid picture of the chaotic push and pull that buffeted print's fight for legitimacy and the sometimes serpentine path of transition from the authority of manuscript to that of print. More recently, Andrew Pettegree and Joseph Dane have elaborated on these assessments and have shown that many of the qualities of print long held to be essential characteristics of the medium were, in fact, emergent properties that accrued to print over the course of its history.<sup>77</sup> Like other once essential characteristics—such as improved accuracy or "fixity" in relation to mutable manuscripts or the ability to correct errors easily—the rapid production of captions and labels for images should be set aside as only tangentially relevant to the printed book at the time of its origin.<sup>78</sup> In fact, as we have seen, burnishers, letter punches, and other seemingly indispensable tools were in fact closely guarded trade secrets for the practitioners of fifteenth-century engraving.<sup>79</sup>

Comparison with Landino's commentary on Dante's *Commedia* printed by Niccolò using movable type that had perhaps just weeks before been employed for the first batch of Berlinghieri's text, provides some sense of the *Geographia's* conformity to and divergence from the expectations of many fifteenth-century readers and viewers. Of course, such a gauge of readers' expectations is necessarily insufficient since the experiences of individual

readers varied tremendously. Bayezid and Cem probably had little prior occasion to engage with a printed luxury book of this type. Berlinghieri's examples may also have been the first printed maps the princes had encountered. Nonetheless, comparison with other books from Niccolò's shop provides an important metric for grasping the novelty and imagination of these new humanist books.

At first glance, Landino's *Commento* appears a significantly more uniform production than the *Geographia*. All of the book's copious text was set in a single set of typefaces and apparently printed at the same time. Such uniformity led Paolo Veneziani to characterize Landino's edition as "one of the most beautiful Florentine editions of the Quattrocento."<sup>80</sup> In other ways, however, the *Commento* of 1481 offers close parallels to some of the technical problems that Niccolò and his assistants faced in printing the *Geographia*. Like Berlinghieri's book, Landino's commentary presented its printer with an ambitious scheme combining letterpress text and engraved images, in this case on the same page. The *Commento* demonstrates the gap between the ambition of authors and financiers and the technical skills and experience necessary for printers and engravers to realize these lofty goals. Indeed, Berlinghieri and Landino's books were only the second and third attempts, respectively, to illustrate a book using engraving. The first, Antonio Bettini's *Monte Santo di Dio* (1477), like the *Geographia*, was plagued by errant burin marks and frequent plate scratches despite the small size of its images.<sup>81</sup> When the work was reprinted in 1491 the new printer abandoned engraving entirely, employing a woodcutter to translate the illustrations of the problematic first edition into that medium.<sup>82</sup> Each of these projects was printed by Niccolò suggesting that, when it came to combining letterpress with engraved images, his was the only game in town. This fact goes some way toward confirming that such engraving techniques indeed represented trade secrets at this moment. Landino's commentary was planned to include one illustration for each of Dante's hundred cantos. Even the most complete extant examples, however, bear only twenty-one engravings, and of these only the first three are actually printed on the same page as their accompanying text. The rest were printed on separate sheets, cut out, and affixed on the page in the space left for them, the process of aligning the sheets to be run through the press a second time having proved an apparently Herculean labor.<sup>83</sup> In the majority of surviving copies, the frustrated printer and his assistants simply conceded defeat, leaving blank the spaces left for the engravings after the third canto.<sup>84</sup>

Sandro Botticelli executed the designs for these engravings, though the painter seems to have had no hand in the transfer of his elegant drawings to print. The prints are the work of an anonymous engraver working within the so-called fine manner, and they have sometimes been attributed to Baccio Baldini, a supposed early follower of Florentine pioneer Maso Finiguerra.<sup>85</sup> Like his enigmatic forerunner Maso, however, no signed works survive by Baccio, who is known only through a passing mention by Vasari. The attribution of these engravings to him, while convenient, is without solid foundation.<sup>86</sup> Indeed the work's impressive artistic pedigree has sometimes blinded scholars to the fact that these engravings were executed without any more technical proficiency than those of the *Geographia* or the *Monte Santo di Dio*. Scratches, distracting tone, and errant lines go unremedied here, too. The engraver's reliance on a single pattern of dense cross-hatching to model both figures and landscape further tends to obscure both the depth and striking figure-ground relationship of Botticelli's drawings. Clearly, this engraver, whether Baccio Baldini or not, was incapable of adequately translating his models' elegant economy of line into a graphic idiom. Like the *Geographia*, the *Commedia* of 1481 was a prestigious edition, but also one in which the abilities of its printer and engraver appear, to modern eyes, singularly ill suited. Like its counterpart, Landino's book is also extant in several precious copies with manuscript additions intended for, or illuminated at the request of, wealthy and influential owners.<sup>87</sup> The copy presented to the Signoria featured a hand-illuminated frontispiece and incipits and was housed in an elaborate binding inlaid with narrative medals.<sup>88</sup> Such costly, customized additions no doubt partially compensated for the manifest flaws of the still experimental printing process and the rather suspect quality of these engravings. Further, it is likely that certain "flaws" may have been tolerated by fifteenth-century book buyers precisely because printing was understood as technologically innovative. Rather than an aesthetic of the clean black and white line, an aesthetic value of print linked to its novelty should be considered.

### Painting Maps

Among the most vibrant and ubiquitous components of the later fifteenth-century symbiosis of manuscript and print were hand-colored printed maps.<sup>89</sup> A great number of surviving fifteenth- and sixteenth-century printed maps bear such manuscript additions, and this coloring is especially prominent

among the maps accompanying printed copies of Ptolemy's work. The most successful fifteenth-century printed editions of the *Geography*, at least in terms of sheer numbers, those printed by Johan Reger at Ulm in 1482 and 1486, survive overwhelmingly in hand-colored examples. These exhibit a remarkable degree of uniformity, and were, it seems, colored at the time of their printing by painters employed by the books' publisher.<sup>90</sup> So pervasive was the practice of hand-coloring such maps that the contract for Ptolemy's *Geography* printed in Bologna in 1477 specified that the finished books be delivered to its financier *uncolored*.<sup>91</sup> It would not be an exaggeration to state that the majority of potential buyers of large, relatively expensive books like the *Geography* around 1480 would have expected some form of hand-coloring or would have made plans to provide for this themselves. The popularity of color on printed maps was not limited to the fifteenth century. In fact, colored maps remained ubiquitous throughout the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries and cannot be said to have truly disappeared until techniques for the mass production of color prints eclipsed such time-consuming labor.<sup>92</sup> Hand-coloring became obsolete only once color lithography provided an easy means of producing polychromatic maps.<sup>93</sup>

As with other forms of hand painting, a variety of purposes and functions were served by these additions to the printed image. Hand-illumination of maps allowed for the individuation of objects that might otherwise prove interchangeable and anonymous. Painted maps undoubtedly also added prestige and value to the books in which they appeared. They also served as part of the process of personalization that helped to cement relationships between authors and readers. Certainly the transformation of the printed book into a luxury good was a principle impetus for the most prestigious hand-painted examples of the *Geographia*'s maps, including those produced for Bayezid and Cem. The hand-colored and painted maps that accompany copies of the *Geographia*, however, like those found in other geographic treatises of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, differ significantly from copy to copy. These range from copies in which major lakes and oceans are washed in pale-green and mountains in yellow watercolor to establish a clearer figure-ground relationship to those of the Pucci family's example, bordered in gold leaf, and carefully painted with a variety of opaque pigments.<sup>94</sup> This lack of standardization in the appearance of these objects probably points to corresponding variations in the purposes of such additions to the printed image and the stage of production at which they were included.

Numerous examples of the *Geographia's* maps, painted in watercolor and without further manuscript additions, survive. Some of these copies were probably colored by their buyers, while others may have been painted by booksellers or printers' assistants. In either case, it is clear that the goal of such coloring was not only to enhance the prestige of the object but also to aid their viewers by clarifying the graphic relationship between water and land. A number of other engraved fifteenth-century maps, including a set of modern maps by Francesco Rosselli, also survive similarly colored, their oceans awash in pale-green or yellow.<sup>95</sup> That this color scheme seems to find its origin in a number of the earliest manuscript copies of the *Geography* produced in Florence, including one preserved today in the Biblioteca Laurenziana, may tell us something about the impetus for such coloring.<sup>96</sup> Fifteenth-century viewers, it might be argued, were accustomed to reading colored maps and expected the dichotomy between figure and ground, ocean and land, established in such maps. As in many early modern prints, color also served the very practical purpose of enhancing the legibility of these maps by establishing visual contrast and by comforting viewers with the familiarity of the image before them.<sup>97</sup>

This expectation of color in printed maps is just one indicator of a thriving late-fifteenth-century book culture in which manuscript and print each adapted and evolved to compensate for the benefits and flaws of the other; that is, symbiotically. The advent of printing brought not just more books but a greater demand for these books and growing expectations for their wide availability. And certainly increased access to illustrated books like the *Geography* and its offshoots brought a level of familiarity that fostered formal novelty. Printed luxury books walked a tightrope between the expectations of readers and rapidly changing techniques and processes. The results were new aesthetics that reconfigured the relationship between printing and hand-production. The copy of Berlinghieri's *Geographia* produced for Bayezid II is undoubtedly one of the best examples of this distinctive relationship. Within a single binding, this work contained an illuminated frontispiece, incipit, and letter of donation, printed text enhanced with historiated initials and marginal friezes, hand-colored printed maps and even manuscript maps of Italy and France in place of those that usually accompany the printed edition.<sup>98</sup>

Another example of such a cartographic product of this book culture is a set of manuscript Ptolemaic maps in Parma's Biblioteca Palatina. Produced in the last quarter of the fifteenth century and now devoid of any text, it seems likely

that they were painted as a companion to a copy of the edition of the *Geography* printed at Vicenza in 1475.<sup>99</sup> Berlinghieri's maps of the *habitato* sometimes found themselves as parts of just such emerging products of book and manuscript culture. In the so-called Wilton Codex and Wilzeck Brown Codex, printed examples of the *Geographia's* world map, affixed to sheets of vellum, serve as the first map in a series of illuminated Ptolemaic maps.<sup>100</sup> Both of these volumes were probably compiled in the sixteenth century, suggesting that this amalgam of print and manuscript culture persisted well beyond the traditional limits of fifteenth-century trial and error.<sup>101</sup> The symbiotic relationship between print and manuscript, far from a momentary transitional aberration, proved instead to be a lasting and viable visual mode.

So prominent is hand-coloring and hand-illumination in copies of the *Geographia* of the first issue that it makes little sense to discuss the work as a printed product separate from its potential for accommodating such additions. Understanding these maps as objects expressly planned to include such hand-coloring explains a number of the supposed deficiencies of the printed edition and may account for the lack of apparent complaints among early viewers. The grayness of many impressions of the first issue, for example, may be explained by the expectation that these maps would eventually be painted. The errant lines of such faint impressions, and particularly the unwanted plate scratches, seem far less obtrusive when they are disguised with pigments.

This is the case even in copies to which booksellers, printers' assistants, or even the work's owners applied transparent watercolor to the oceans and mountains.<sup>102</sup> The addition of painted borders and the use of opaque pigments in the edition's more prestigious copies even made masking far more egregious problems possible. Paint applied to the page effectively obscured the telltale signs of thin, distressed copper; for example, on those maps in the copies produced for Bayezid and Cem. Some impressions also show the use of white heightening to remove not only unwanted tone and scratching, but also the plate mark, separating the printed image from the paper around it.<sup>103</sup> The confusion between mountains and lakes on the modern map of Italy becomes considerably less problematic in hand-colored examples.<sup>104</sup> An engraver who conceived these maps as objects that would eventually include hand-coloring might have understood such surface pattern quite differently from modern audiences. Rather than serving to differentiate land from water, or mountain from plain, in colored examples, these patterns take on the appearance of texture, adding volume, and drawing attention to these forms. Even the most

glaring of errors could be compensated for with hand-illumination. The ninth map of Europe with its illegible label is re-inscribed using gold leaf in Cem's copy.<sup>105</sup> Surviving copies of the first issue of the *Geographia* demonstrate the symbiotic relationship between print and paint that characterized the production of many fifteenth-century books and shaped their readers' expectations of these objects.

The sensitivity of illuminators to this delicate visual balance greatly enhanced the effectiveness of these books. In the copy produced for the friars of San Marco, the painter utilized the printed text of the maps' titles to serve as a "shadow" for new titles added in gold.<sup>106</sup> The result is an image in which letterpress text and hand-painted script play off one another to create a sense of depth native to neither. Comparison of the incipit page for Cem's example, in which high-quality painting covers every inch of the margins, filling all available space, with an unilluminated version of the same page demonstrates just how transformative such techniques could be (Figure 4). The world maps produced for Roberto Malatesta, the Pucci family, and the Ottoman princes similarly demonstrate the seamless borderland between manuscript and print created in these objects (Figure 3). Drawing on manuscript Ptolemaic examples, the painters here turn the margins of Berlinghieri's map into an aerial environment. The engraved wind heads are set against a painted backdrop of atmospheric bands and arabesque flourishes of cloud. Through the skillful coloring of these wind heads, the artists allow the engraver's marks to serve as intricate modeling for these now transformed faces. This skillful attention provides for a quality of line arguably exceeding that of many of its manuscript predecessors. Images like this, emphatically in between the cultures of paint and print, perhaps suggest what it was that the *Geographia's* author sought from engraving and why he was willing to risk his life's work to the largely untried technology.

Given that he was seeking an engraver for his maps by 1476, it seems certain that Berlinghieri had come into contact with Florence's so-called fine manner engraving of that decade. Though the only printed maps available to him were surely woodcut impressions, the poet recognized the unrealized potential of copper engraving for producing maps of a complexity exceeding that of woodcut. It is even conceivable that the poet had come into contact with Andrea Mantegna's prints while serving as Lorenzo's ambassador to Mantua, an occasion that could have intensified his interest in the medium and expanded his expectations of engraving's technical and affective qualities.



Berlinghieri might well have had dealings with Mantegna, who served as the Gonzaga's artistic ambassador, since we know from one of his letters to Lorenzo that the geographer was entrusted to transport back to Florence a number of antiquities from the much sought after collection of the late Francesco Gonzaga.<sup>107</sup> Niccolò, the book's printer, had almost certainly encountered a range of technically accomplished figurative engraving, probably first in Breslau and later in Florence. We shall see that both Berlinghieri and Niccolò recognized the potential of print technology to produce books that participated in organizing and maintaining communities of authors, patrons, diplomats, and dignitaries.

### Making Communities with Renaissance Books

The book aesthetic produced by novel projects like the *Geographia* was unquestionably one still negotiated through and sometimes constituted within earlier manuscript traditions. What is required of us, as historians of early printing and its products, is a certain flexibility of thought, a willingness to evaluate the old and the new and to describe their confluence in a distinct class of objects. On the one hand, luxury books that left a shop like Niccolò's can be approached through the familiar categories of bibliographic study; they belong to distinct editions and thus share certain qualities. Variations from one edition to another and between the editions of one printer and those of his competitors remain salient distinctions. Yet we must also acknowledge the modifications, additions, and variations present in copies of books assigned to a single edition.<sup>108</sup> Such an approach, of course, affects our understanding of the basic technical data concerning early printed books. Yet it also has significant implications for the study of how such books were read and viewed, bought and sold, given and received. The prevalence of illumination and coloring in printed copies of the *Geographia* intended for, gifted to, or purchased by eminent recipients and buyers points to an emerging material culture of the book, one not yet our own but neither that associated with "scribal" culture. It is a material culture that requires elaboration on its own terms because it activated possibilities for the use of books that are distinct both from the use of manuscripts and from attitudes toward modern (or even later sixteenth-century) editions.

The printed edition of the *Geographia* left Niccolò Tedesco's shop sometime after April of 1482 and before the winter of 1483 when Paolo da Colle

departed for Constantinople on his diplomatic mission to Bayezid.<sup>109</sup> Its maps, some printed on the same paper as that of the text, likely came off the press at roughly the same time as the final pages of verse, containing the dedication to Federico and Ficino's letter of recommendation. Taking into account Berlinghieri's letter to Bayezid and the circumstances surrounding the modern maps for Federico's manuscript, it can be deduced that these maps were engraved shortly before their printing, likely some time in mid-1482. Many of these copies were earmarked for prestigious owners, and their distribution allowed Berlinghieri to insinuate his work into a community of prominent and influential individuals. At roughly the same time, Attavante and Francesco d'Antonio, along with now anonymous illuminators, scribes, and mapmakers labored to produce the presentation manuscripts that would come to rest on the shelves of Federico and Lorenzo's private, though emphatically visible, libraries. None of these copies can be described as exactly like the others, and this lack of standardization is an intentional, rather than incidental, component of their production.

Copies of the *Geographia*, then, are only imprecisely described as representatives of a single printed edition of 1482. Rather, these numerous copies can be conceptualized as part of a complex, enormously expensive project for the production of many books for a variety of individuals and purposes. These various copies, their maps, frontispieces, incipits, and marginalia represented, to reformulate Williams Ivins's famous claim, *inexactly* repeatable pictorial statements. By necessity and design, the production of books like Landino's *Commentary*, Berlinghieri's *Geographia*, or Sweynheim's edition of the *Geography* allowed for the creation of unique and individualized objects that often functioned in ways quite different from what we have come to expect of printed books. As objects that found their impetus in an expressly limited and targeted endeavor, rather than only in the priorities of commercial success, these books diverge fundamentally from commonplace notions of the relationship between mass production and material prestige. Instead, through their wide distribution, whether by gift or purchase, to some of the fifteenth-century Mediterranean's most important figures in the nebulously intertwined spheres of erudition and temporal power, these books served to enhance the cultural capital of texts and the intellectual reputation of their authors. In the case of the *Geographia*, Berlinghieri seems to have personally coordinated this endeavor, and he reaped its greatest rewards. Such projects also necessitated the contributions of printers, illuminators, proofreaders,

mapmakers, scribes, and engravers. All such contributors might be counted amongst the “authors” of early printed books. Yet, as we have seen, all were subsumed under the authorial identity of the geographer, the principle beneficiary of the community of readers and viewers that the book activated.

If we have sometimes failed to appreciate the expense, labor, and planning that underpinned the production of printed luxury books, this is perhaps because we have extrapolated their worth from isolated and uncharacteristically uniform examples rather than from the examination of the corpus of extant copies. In the aggregate, these books served to establish a substantial material community, the fruits of which were mutually beneficial for both the book’s buyers and recipients and the work’s author and producers. Such community building entailed the customization of books in order to enhance their status as luxury and display objects cherished by their readers and owners. Such customization further suggested individual and unique connections between authors and recipients, patrons, and dedicatees. The attempt to draw the sultan and his half-brother into that community indicates Berlinghieri’s and Lorenzo de’ Medici’s recognition of the diplomatic potential that could be vested in such printed books.

One of the most common practices for customizing printed luxury books was the addition of *stemmi* and *imprese* to their bindings and incipit pages. In the most lavish of examples, these devices were enhanced by the addition of painted marginalia or even entirely hand-painted initial pages. Of course, such hand-illumination also allowed printed volumes to meet certain expectations that were derived, at least in part, from long-standing traditions of manuscript ownership and display.<sup>110</sup> The manuscript of the *Geographia* intended for Federico da Montefeltro’s library is, like countless other books originally part of that collection, fairly inundated with personalized flourishes. Its incipit page is adorned with a bust-length portrait of the duke, his *stemma*, and a wide variety of his devices. Included here are references to chivalric orders that counted Federico among their members.<sup>111</sup> The incipit of Lorenzo’s costly presentation manuscript of the *Geographia* is fairly encrusted in Medici devices (Figure 5). The family’s diamond ring emblem serves as a frame for one of the marginal roundels and the flowering green branch, a personal device of Lorenzo, is interspersed with vines and putti in the margins.<sup>112</sup> The family *stemma*, the *palle*, or golden balls, also appear not only on this page but throughout the maps. The *palle*, for example, adorn an aqueduct

on the second Ptolemaic map of Asia.<sup>113</sup> Later owners, French nobility of Savoy, effaced a great many more *palle* when they had the *fleur de lis* painted on a blue field over the original *palle* that appeared at the ends of the furled title scrolls at the top of many of the maps. These pictorial devices served to individualize books, emphasizing their recipients' ownership of these precious objects, providing a direct and personal connection, and perhaps even proprietary dominion over, the learned text and maps contained therein.

Such *stemmi*, mottos, and devices are ubiquitous, too, on printed copies of the *Geographia*. They appear in the books produced for the Ottoman princes, Roberto Malatesta and Elisabetta da Montefeltro, rulers of Rimini, Matthias Corvinus of Hungary, Cristoforo di Giustinopoli the general of the Servite order, as well as for the Dominican library at San Marco.<sup>114</sup> This copy includes hand colored maps, initials and an illuminated architectural frontispiece.<sup>115</sup> These additions could have been executed either by the monks themselves, by nuns at their Dominican sister convent of San Jacopo, or by other professional illuminators. Indeed, just as monastic libraries were important purchasers of early printed books, monastic illumination of those volumes constituted a significant part of the late fifteenth-century Florentine book trade.<sup>116</sup>

A particularly lavish example was made for a member of the Pucci family, and copies survive bearing the arms of the Rucellai, Colonna, and other families as well.<sup>117</sup> Another carefully illuminated example, for an as yet unidentified patron, is found in Ancona's Biblioteca Civica.<sup>118</sup> A copy in the Biblioteca Nazionale at Naples bears hand-painted maps and illuminated incipits for each of the work's chapters. Unfortunately, this example now lacks its first twenty folios, and with them, undoubtedly, the *stemma* or devices of its owner. Berlinghieri's praise of Ferdinand I, king of Naples and Sicily, within the *Geographia's* description of Italy, however, suggests that this copy may well have been produced for that monarch.<sup>119</sup> Alternately, Alfonso II of Naples (then duke of Calabria), similarly lauded by the poet, might have been the intended recipient. This would have represented both a personal networking opportunity and a political one since Alfonso had fought on behalf of Florence following the Pazzi conspiracy. Thus that place "is called Calabria in the present day, and its name signifies the good things produced there in abundance. Oh how well-suited to its Duke, who beat back the Venetian forces that our liberty should shine all the brighter. I can not pass in silence over the magnanimity, clemency, and so many gifts that nature has consigned to

him.”<sup>120</sup> Alfonso or Ferdinand’s ownership is further supported by the addition, in the pen of a fifteenth- or sixteenth-century owner on the Ptolemaic map of Italy, of several castles within Neapolitan territory.<sup>121</sup>

Other lavish presentation copies of the work were certainly produced that have not survived. While a copy inscribed to the painter Correggio is not extant, there is at least some indication that it may have been illuminated, since his early biographer calls it a “*codice*.”<sup>122</sup> While it is possible that a third, now lost, manuscript may have been produced, it is more likely that Correggio’s was a luxurious printed copy similar to those produced for Bayezid and Cem. Further, it is nearly inconceivable that such a hand-illuminated printed copy was not sent to the Gonzaga, given the poet’s attention to that family within his poem and his diplomatic appointment at the Mantuan court. It is almost certain that those copies now in Arezzo and Naples were also originally accompanied by illuminated incipits, frontispieces or both, now lost to us.

Berlinghieri’s book continued to function as a gift into the sixteenth century and beyond. Correggio was presented with his copy of the *Geographia* as a token from the humanist and physician Giovanni Battista Lombardi, inscribed with the date June 2, 1513. Lombardi apparently gave the precious book to the artist as a sign of his gratitude for a portrait Correggio had painted of him.<sup>123</sup> Lombardi was not alone among intellectuals of subsequent generations in his admiration for the work. Berlinghieri remained sufficiently well known in the sixteenth century for his oration on justice to be included in Francesco Sansovino’s *Delle Orazioni volgarmente scritte da diversi uomini illustri* printed in Venice in 1574. Sansovino was a prolific writer of popularizing history and a strident partisan of Italy’s vernacular literature.<sup>124</sup> An example of the second-issue of the *Geographia*, now at Padua’s Biblioteca Civica, seems to have roused a later owner’s interest; its text is virtually covered in annotations, apparently in a seventeenth-century hand.<sup>125</sup> Another copy bears a note on its title page indicating that it had been given as a gift to cardinal Francesco Barberini, nephew of Pope Urban VIII and founder of the Barberini library, in 1639.<sup>126</sup> Even in the eighteenth century, the *Geographia* retained some measure of intellectual cachet. King George III of England (1760–1820) had a copy of the book purchased as part of his massive public library.<sup>127</sup> Such circulation of Berlinghieri’s books forged new communities that its author could never have conceived, anchored by readers sharing a revered text or rediscovered gem with the uninitiated. Yet it is certainly also the case that the production of a community of readers that would outlive the

author must have been one of Berlinghieri's goals in composing and printing the *Geographia*. The attainment of lasting fame was a significant goal for many humanist writers, and we should not imagine such posthumous communities as purely accidental or secondary ones.

As we have seen, the means by which books served as tools of community formation were not limited to material alterations and additions. Equally effective was the consideration Berlinghieri gave to potential readers in composing his poem. The geographer included on his maps and in his description locations of interest to those whose patronage was close to his heart and purse strings and openly praised patrons and dedicatees. Lorenzo was not explicitly addressed, but the poet's description of inspiration moving him from "beneath a green laurel"—*d'un verde lauro*—is almost certainly a reference to the Medici patronage he enjoyed.<sup>128</sup> The poet's dedication to Federico heaps praise on the duke of whom, "few can be said to be exalted above in military skill, prudence, strength, justice and temperance. Oh famous duke! Oh famous exemplar of every virtue which this world has been so shorn, to you we are driven."<sup>129</sup> Within his description of Italy, Berlinghieri identifies the Roman forum of Sempronius with Fossombrone, a territorial holding of Urbino before moving on to flatter Federico, as a "wise duke" whose city provides a home for "the Greek and Latin muses."<sup>130</sup> Similarly, through the inclusion of Mantua, "adorned by four generations of Gonzaga," Berlinghieri praises the hosts of his tenure as ambassador from 1479 to 1480.<sup>131</sup>

Berlinghieri's printed text was also innovative in encouraging potential aristocratic and influential readers to feel at home. Throughout his description of Italy, the author praises not only the Gonzaga but Roberto Malatesta, Federico da Montefeltro, Ferrante of Naples, and Alfonso V of Portugal.<sup>132</sup> The poet includes numerous non-Ptolemaic sites, like Ferrara, and praises their illustrious contemporary rulers, in this case Ercole d'Este.<sup>133</sup> Ercole surely would also have appreciated Berlinghieri's description of the river Po "once named the Eridano, for Phaeton who lent it that name by his fall."<sup>134</sup> This mythic identification was a particular point of pride for the Este and a mainstay of visual and literary self-fashioning for that dynasty.<sup>135</sup> The Servite general Christoforo di Giustinopoli's home is identified as "the esteemed city and cape of Istria, where Christoforo was born, who among others reached the highest peak."<sup>136</sup> Gabriele Malaspina, Marchese of Fosdinovo, is included as "a faithful friend, overflowing with courtesy."<sup>137</sup> Sometimes Berlinghieri puts such adulations in Ptolemy's words as when the ancient geographer

observes that “Ganymede’s visage was as beautiful as that of Paolo Emilio in your own day,” flattering that humanist historian from Verona.<sup>138</sup> Some of these individuals, like Cristoforo di Giustinopoli, were certainly already acquainted with Berlinghieri. Their inclusion within the poem might even have represented a kind of quid pro quo, a situation that became increasingly common as early modern editions came to be funded by subscription. Berlinghieri also utilized his verse to repay intellectual favors and to give credit to his mentors and teachers. He wrote of the “Platonic Ficino” and lauded Landino as “in manners and in learning like a mirror to the rising sun.”<sup>139</sup> Berlinghieri also singled out Ugolino Verino for praise, complimenting his epic *Carliade*, then a work in progress.<sup>140</sup> Verino, of course, returned the favor when he penned his *De Illustratione Urbis Florentiae*.<sup>141</sup>

Many members of the nobility and European royalty were probably included in an attempt to elicit their favor and to encourage them to acquire a copy of Berlinghieri’s book. Still others were probably incorporated by the author with the premeditated intent of sending lavishly illuminated gift copies when the work was finished. The poet mentions Mathias Corvinus, king of Hungary, for example, in his verse and a lavish copy of the *Geographia* with hand-colored maps and the king’s devices survives in Paris.<sup>142</sup> Pope Sixtus IV was likewise probably included not only out of spiritual concern but also in the hope that he might be drawn into the network of the book’s readers and owners.<sup>143</sup> Portugal, we read, “today has a king [Alfonso V] worthy of eternal fame. His great endeavor to probe nature for lands yet unknown exceeds all others.”<sup>144</sup> At Paris, Louis XI of France is addressed as “wise king, whose skill with the lance, in speech and in intellect may, without flattery, be said to be gifts from God to the world. The empire will return under your reign on account of your might and your most serene countenance, without any blemish or stain.”<sup>145</sup> Berlinghieri’s community of readers almost certainly expanded imaginatively beyond simply those who possessed the *Geographia*. Including kings and princes to whom copies of the book were not given would also have proved beneficial to those who did receive or purchase the *Geographia*. Thus owners like the Gonzaga family or the Servite general might have been flattered by the elite company into which they were placed.

Prestigious copies of the *Geographia* served to fashion communities of eminent individuals and institutions, connecting the wealthy and learned with the work and its author, drawing readers into the orbit of the book’s

author. The production of manuscripts and hand-illuminated copies of the *Geographia*, a process over which the author appears to have exerted a significant degree of control, often served much the same purpose.<sup>146</sup> Nor did the poet miss the opportunity to remind his readers and viewers of his authorial presence. This was accomplished through the basic framework of inserting the work's author as narrator and traveling companion of Ptolemy and was emphasized both in the work's illuminations and through references throughout the text. Berlinghieri evidently understood quite clearly the possibilities afforded to the author by the reproduction and dissemination of books, both manuscript and printed.

The relationships centered on the *Geographia* did not conform to any one type or even fall within so broad a single category as "economic" or "intellectual." Rather, through a combination of manuscripts and printed books at several levels of expense and prestige, diverse readers interacted with these books in a variety of ways. Equally, one reader, owner, or recipient might find multiple kinds of relationships activated by their viewing and reading. These relationships share in common, however, a kind of symbiosis. They proved mutually (though not equally) beneficial for Berlinghieri and his readers. While the dedication of books was one means to establish these relationships, it was far from the only such strategy. Most copies of the *Geographia* do not appear to have been actually dedicated to their recipients.<sup>147</sup> Indeed, with the exception of those sent to Bayezid and Cem, the printed hand-illuminated copies known to me all contain the dedication to Federico da Montefeltro.<sup>148</sup>

Some of these relationships may be described as those of patronage. Renaissance patronage, though often hierarchical, was not simply a matter of the lowly artist (or in this case author) prostrating him or herself before a benefactor in the expectation of concrete financial remuneration.<sup>149</sup> The manuscript produced for Lorenzo proves an excellent example of this sort of open-ended and symbiotic relationship, probably representing, in part, Berlinghieri's intention to thank his patron for benefits already bestowed in the form of his appointment as the Florentine ambassador to Mantua. The production and giving of the lavish manuscript of the *Geographia* suggests Berlinghieri's desire to reinforce and strengthen the ties of mutual favor and obligation inherent in his relationship with Lorenzo. Crucially, the communities that centered on these books were neither exclusively linked to them nor necessarily initiated by them. Books like the *Geographia* amplified existing bonds.

The dedication of the printed edition to Federico da Montefeltro may have



been an attempt to initiate a patronage relationship on Berlinghieri's part. Yet it functioned, too, in ways that break from that model, no matter how expansively defined. The donation of the manuscript to the library at Urbino established, of course, a personal connection between giver and receiver. Yet it also emphasized that connection through its advertisement in the printed dedication. Perhaps more importantly, the dedication drew a vital connection, for many readers, between Berlinghieri's novel geographic synthesis and Federico's library as repository of the Ptolemaic heritage on which it drew. For the duke and his heirs, the dedication amplified the already substantial fame of his library and further cemented his connection to the intellectual community centered on Marsilio Ficino, not least through the inclusion of the philosopher's letter of recommendation. Ficino's letter demonstrated the esteem in which he held not only Berlinghieri but also Federico. Finally, the printed dedication and letter may have given the appearance of the duke's magnanimous patronage at no actual cost to Federico.

For a reader like Cristoforo di Giustinopoli, mentioned within Berlinghieri's poem, an obvious personal connection was drawn between reader and author. Of course, we would imagine that such a relationship was substantially more beneficial to the poet than for such readers, since Berlinghieri would have included himself within a community of men with substantial political status and influence. Yet this, too, was far from a one-way exchange. Quite apart from simple flattery, men like the Servite General would, through their inclusion, have found themselves in the company of their own social betters—men like the duke of Mantua or the king of Naples. Likewise, for a family like the Pucci, who may well have purchased their *Geographia* from Niccolò's shop, their possession of a lavishly hand-illuminated copy of the book would have served to connect them not only with those singled out within the text, but also with the duke of Urbino, and most importantly with Lorenzo de' Medici. Indeed, the close correspondence between the format of the Pucci's illuminated incipit page and that of Lorenzo's manuscript, a manuscript held in high public regard by the Signoria, would have reinforced such a relationship.

Though the communities produced and reinforced by the *Geographia* were not first and foremost those between seller and customer, many retained an economic component.<sup>150</sup> Many readers undoubtedly reimbursed Berlinghieri for the printing and illumination of their copies, and some purely economic expectations, if only speculative ones, must have informed its printer's involve-

ment with the project. Still, the poet already conceived of the work as a project accompanied by printed maps from 1476 at the latest, when he sought engravers from Conrad Sweynheym, the printer of the Roman Ptolemy.<sup>151</sup> The author was certainly engaged in the composition of his verse even prior to this, as early as 1460 if we are to believe Berlinghieri's own (perhaps exaggerated) claim.<sup>152</sup> A project whose composition, engraving, and printing occupied as many as seventeen years could not reasonably have been expected to recoup even its own expenses through the sale of printed copies when the value of its author's labor is accounted for.<sup>153</sup> There is no indication that anyone other than Berlinghieri himself funded the project. Though contracts for the *Geographia's* printing do not survive, we can at least say that its author was in good financial standing at the time of the work's publication. Berlinghieri's *Catasto* record for 1480 demonstrates ownership of three separate properties: a familial home in Florence and two more dwellings in the surrounding countryside. This document also demonstrates that Francesco was, at this time, the head of a substantial household of an extended family including his two younger brothers Antonio and Giorgio, his wife Alessandra and son Luigi, as well as the children and spouses of his brothers.<sup>154</sup> It is worth noting that like most of us, fifteenth-century Florentines tended to under rather than over report their wealth when filing taxes.<sup>155</sup>

We also know that, at roughly the same time, in 1483, Berlinghieri fronted a substantial sum for the publication of the first printed edition of his friend and mentor Marsilio Ficino's Latin translation of the works of Plato, published by the Ripoli press.<sup>156</sup> He acted as Ficino's proofreader for the edition and was thus familiar with some of the day-to-day concerns of producing a printed book.<sup>157</sup> Berlinghieri further served as one of the principle editors of Ficino's *De Christianae Religione*, also published by Niccolò Tedesco in 1476.<sup>158</sup> And Berlinghieri was personally involved in the illumination of printed copies of the *Geographia*, even years after it came off the press.<sup>159</sup> A final testament to Francesco's involvement in the printing process is provided by the work's colophon, which notes that the book was "emended with the greatest diligence by its author."<sup>160</sup>

To state again; the *Geographia* challenges us to look past commonplace distinctions between manuscript and print and between books produced for the market and those made for individual patrons, dedicatees, and recipients. Instead, we must turn our attention to these books as the material component of this web of influence. Printing, in this context, was not simply a faster way

of producing books (though it surely was that). Certainly, the printing press cannot be understood as having made authors independent of patrons, dedicatees or financiers, nor was such independence desirable. Rather, through facilitating the production of books, printing amplified one of luxury manuscripts' most important functions—that of connecting authors to influential readers, and fledgling book producers to those learned and wealthy enough to support their often unprofitable undertaking.<sup>161</sup> In an early-modern Mediterranean world divided, as Ronald Weissman has observed, between “friends and strangers,” the *Geographia* functioned, like many products of this expanding system of exchange, “to convert all neutral relations, all necessary contacts with strangers, into ties of obligation, gratitude, and reciprocity.”<sup>162</sup> The relationships fostered by the *Geographia*, then, were ones that combined elements of patronage, diplomatic contact, commercial distribution, and personal gift exchange.

For Berlinghieri, who planned for and financed illuminated and colored copies of the *Geographia*'s first issue, the hand painting of printed books served several separate but complementary purposes. It allowed for the relatively rapid production of precious objects that could be widely distributed to a variety of illustrious individuals across the Mediterranean world. Like manuscripts, these books were frequently personalized and served to establish and amplify the reputation of Berlinghieri and his work amongst a community of carefully selected recipients. Equally important, hand-coloring integrally completed the printing process by supplying a degree of visual legibility that these maps otherwise lacked and which the author and his viewers no doubt expected. Indeed, the fortuitous marriage of engraving and hand-coloring could produce images of unique and powerful visual qualities. These emergent visual properties were crucial means by which the Ottoman princes were integrated into this community of readers.

### The Ottoman Princes as Readers and Viewers

The copies of the *Geographia* sent to Bayezid and Cem, housed today in Turin and Istanbul, were lavishly modified to enhance their prestige.<sup>163</sup> Among the numerous hand-illuminated examples of Berlinghieri's book, these represent the most completely luxuriated versions. Both include lavishly illuminated title pages, letters of dedication, manuscript additions of borders and incipits

at important points in the text, as well as hand-colored maps (Figures 3 and 18).<sup>164</sup> Each of these copies is also prefaced with a hand-painted architectural frontispiece proclaiming its recipient's ownership of the work. In both volumes, gold-leaf borders have been added to all thirty-one maps. Oceans, rivers, mountains, and important landmarks have been colored by hand, and decorative scrolls have been added around inscriptions and map titles. The visual effect, as with other hand-colored and illuminated printed maps, is one both of increased legibility and enhanced prestige. Additionally, the copy in Istanbul replaces the printed maps of modern France and Italy with hand-painted examples on par with those appearing in Florentine manuscripts of Ptolemy's *Geography*.<sup>165</sup>

One important component designed to appeal to Ottoman readers were the manuscript letters of dedication accompanying Bayezid and Cem's copies of the book. Though copied by a professional scribe in a humanist hand, the epistles are presented as the words of the book's author. In the first instance, as we would expect, the letters praise the potential sultans in no uncertain terms, emphasizing the extent of Ottoman dominion and the skill and renown of their father Mehmed both in his wisdom and in all matters martial. Berlinghieri's letter to Cem refers to Mehmed's "many and almost unbelievable qualities" and calls him "emperor of the greater part of the earth."<sup>166</sup>

The text of the poem also provides several unmediated overtures toward its recipients. In his description of Constantinople, moreover, Berlinghieri praises the sultan, observing that the city "today is a subject of the glorious crown of the lord of vast kingdoms," and Ptolemy calls Mehmed "Berlinghieri's [and perhaps the Florentines'] friend, it is publicly said."<sup>167</sup> Such passages suggest both that Berlinghieri sought to utilize his verse to endear his project to its Ottoman recipients and that he finished its composition only after a determination had been made to utilize the work as such a gift.

As we have seen, a book of maps and world-description would have been particularly appropriate for dedication to the Ottoman princes (or indeed to their father Mehmed) and seems to suggest a desire to provide a gift that would be well received and comprehensible to the recipients. Berlinghieri's letter to Bayezid, in fact, praised his father for his "facultate studiosissimo" and both fifteenth-century humanists and later scholars have assumed geography to have been an integral part of this studious nature.<sup>168</sup> And whether Berlinghieri, Paolo da Colle, Lorenzo de' Medici, or some other intermediary

suggested the *Geographia* as a gift to the sultan and his half-brother, it was certainly chosen to appeal to this widely reported and genuine interest in classical geography.

Further, illuminated books were ubiquitous within Ottoman diplomatic circles as gifts considered appropriate on the occasion of signing treaties and trade agreements.<sup>169</sup> Sources on Ottoman books are rather meager in the fifteenth century, though the role of manuscripts in patterns of Islamic gift-giving in general are better understood.<sup>170</sup> We know that books played a prominent role as objects exchanged between Western European dignitaries and visitors and the Ottoman sultan. The Venetian painter Gentile Bellini, less than five years prior to the *Geographia's* arrival in Constantinople, had presented Mehmed with a book of drawings produced by his father Jacopo. Mary Fournier has argued that this should be understood not as a personal gift exchange but as an overture of diplomatic greeting from the Venetian senate to the sultan.<sup>171</sup> It is not inconceivable that the *Geographia's* author might have known something of these exchanges. He would certainly have been aware of the currency of books as diplomatic gifts within Italian political culture on account of his own service as an ambassador to the Mantuan court. Of course, the political potential for books within Ottoman imperial networks would have been well known both to Lorenzo de' Medici and to those like Paolo da Colle who made a profession of negotiating the particularities of foreign courts.<sup>172</sup>

In providing the gift of maps, including the modern and putatively strategically valuable ones of Italy, France, and Spain, the *Geographia* catered to the known tastes of its recipients and further accorded Bayezid and Cem positions of relative equality to Italian heads of state (Figure 18). Cartographic historians, especially J. B. Harley, have exhaustively explored the ability of maps to confer dominion over depicted space on their makers and users.<sup>173</sup> They have also shown that maps and geographic knowledge were often considered highly privileged forms of information in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. Such conflation of cartographic representation and territorial control was shared by Ottoman and Italian mapmakers and viewers alike.<sup>174</sup>

The designation of knowledge as privileged, the sense that access to such information should be limited, serves in large part to construct distinctions through inclusion and exclusion.<sup>175</sup> Re-evaluations of the concept of secrecy by William Eamon and Karma Lochrie have pointed to the often-conventional nature of early modern secrets. The huge number of "books of secrets" printed

throughout Europe and England in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, their title pages emblazoned with promises of arcane wisdom and cryptic remedies, aptly demonstrates this process of conspicuous inclusion and exclusion.<sup>176</sup> The *Geographia's* modern maps, despite their wide availability in print, might nonetheless have been regarded as conveying privileged knowledge. That the importance of these modern maps was to be emphasized in their diplomatic gifting to the sultan is signaled by the inclusion of manuscript examples replacing the printed ones in Bayezid's copy. This modification was not included in any other surviving copy of the printed edition, though it was not without precedent in other early printed versions of Ptolemy's work.<sup>177</sup>

Berlinghieri's work may have provided Bayezid or Cem with pragmatically advantageous information—the text makes reference, for example, to the natural resources and manufactured products characteristic of key European regions, which could then be easily located on the modern maps since the author uses their vernacular nomenclature. Of the British Isles, Berlinghieri observes that, “they produce in these parts milky, large, round pearls although these are somewhat inferior since there is less light at this latitude. These are found in great abundance as are other precious metals also.”<sup>178</sup> Though Scottish river pearls are unlikely to top our list of precious adornments they represented a significant luxury commodity in the late fifteenth century.<sup>179</sup> Another industry likely to grab the sultan's attention would have been the production of iron in southern Italy, of which Berlinghieri assures his readers, “Vulcan could do no better at his own forge.”<sup>180</sup> Indeed the *Geographia's* author explicitly states that his work contains “the positions of regions, seas, islands, mountains, peoples, rivers, lakes, caves, swamps, springs, cities, bridges, countries, and cliffs,” which would be advantageous to the potential sultans in “times of peace and war.”<sup>181</sup> Such rhetoric compares favorably to the considerable Ottoman tradition of integrating geography into the tradition of “advice for kings.”<sup>182</sup> Of course, Berlinghieri's information was largely conventional, and as we have seen much of it was drawn from works like Pliny's *Natural History*.<sup>183</sup> Indeed some of it was, by the time of Berlinghieri's writing, patently false since it reiterated sources of production identified by Strabo some 1400 years earlier.

All such information would have been substantially less specific than the sort of reconnaissance Bayezid could rely on from courtiers at his capital like the Venetian Alvise Gritti.<sup>184</sup> The sultan also received regular dispatches from his own agents operating in Italy and Northern Europe.<sup>185</sup> Cem likewise could

have relied on his traveling companions (and to a certain degree his hosts and jailers) for rumors and news. Nicholas Vatin has shown that some fifteen Ottoman subjects accompanied the prince in his exile.<sup>186</sup> A man like Berlinghieri with diplomatic experience himself would surely have known this. There can be little doubt, though, that the books would have provided an image of the known world of very real relevance (if not necessarily utility) to their Ottoman recipients, both thanks to Bayezid's frequent military campaigns and to Cem's travels across the Mediterranean world. Even if Berlinghieri's text were to prove wholly conventional, however, it would still serve to include its dedicatees within an elite company of the knowledgeable. The *Geographia* was presented as a semi-exclusive communication, something perhaps not for the sultan's eyes only, but certainly limited to those who, like Bayezid and Cem, held political power, education, and intellectual discernment.

Another means through which the *Geographia* includes its Ottoman readers in such a community is through its reliance on a shared vocabulary, visual and verbal, of classical heritage. Berlinghieri's text is replete with allusions to Greek and Roman history and myth, particularly on matters of military interest. The deeds of Alexander the Great are explicitly compared with those of Sultan Mehmed II in the *Geographia* and the dedicatory letters compare their recipients to "the ancient emperors."<sup>187</sup> Such historical material, especially anecdotes from the life of Alexander, is extraordinarily prevalent in the *Geographia* and might even have been added with this mutual interest in mind. Like the work's basis in a shared classical geographic heritage, this common interest in martial history would have been broadly communicative around European and Mediterranean centers.

A visual appeal to shared classical community is marshaled forcefully and immediately through the illumination of the incipit page of Cem's copy. With its twisting vines and cavorting putti, this page bears a formal resemblance to Attavante's incipit for Lorenzo de' Medici's manuscript and was probably produced by an assistant in that shop, though we cannot rule out the master's involvement. The decision to employ Attavante's shop was particularly apt, renowned as it was for its compelling antique imagery. Here, in the historiated initial G, we see a cityscape populated with suggestively classical monuments (Figure 19). Scholars have variously identified this scene as representing Rome, Constantinople, or a purely imaginary classical city.<sup>188</sup> The Coliseum, Trajan's Column, and an unidentified triumphal arch appear to be present. On the other hand, the column might reasonably be inspired by

Greco-Roman monuments present in the Ottoman capital. The most likely possibility is the column of Arcadius.<sup>189</sup> Dismantled in the eighteenth century, but known through illuminations, drawings and prints, the column, located in Constantinople's forum of Arcadius, closely imitated those of Trajan and Marcus Aurelius in Rome. The monument had served not only as a sign of the eastern capital's Roman past, but as a potent symbol of "pax imperium," imperial harmony, in Byzantine Constantinople.<sup>190</sup> The poet might have known of this symbol from the Italian humanist Cyriacus of Ancona, who had himself worked for Mehmed and whose writings were available in Mantua.<sup>191</sup> Berlinghieri could also have learned of the monument and its imperial associations in the antiquarian environment of the Gonzaga court or through maps of Constantinople accompanying Buondelmonti's *Liber Insularum*, an important source for Berlinghieri's description of the Greek islands.<sup>192</sup>

The obelisk visible behind and to the right of the Coliseum has generally been identified as one of the numerous imported Egyptian artifacts of Rome that fascinated Italian humanists and rulers alike.<sup>193</sup> Constantinople, however, was not without its share of Egyptian obelisks, and the one depicted here could well recall one of the two famous examples of the hippodrome.<sup>194</sup> An imperial connotation, in particular, might have been suggested by the obelisk of emperor Theodosius. The carved late antique base for this monument depicts the transport and erection of the obelisk by Theodosius in the fourth century. It also includes relief vignettes of the Emperor offering a wreath of victory to winning charioteers, and perhaps most importantly, the submission of barbarian enemies of the empire on its west side. The obelisk of Berlinghieri's incipit page might have called to mind not only the recognition of a familiar landmark but associations between this landmark and the legitimate imperial power of the sultan.

These references to both Rome and Mehmed's capital would have been specific enough to evoke associations of both cities in the eyes of Bayezid and Cem. This cityscape thus serves to connect the Ottoman and Roman Empires, suggesting a common imperial heritage for the author and recipient of his books.<sup>195</sup> For Ottoman as well as European viewers in the late fifteenth century cityscapes had the potential to convey a range of values. Such images were seldom purely mimetic, instead evoking historical events, recalling illustrious residents of such urban centers, and evoking a palpable sense of civic pride in local viewers.<sup>196</sup>



The pictorial strategy employed on this incipit page is characteristic of a widespread attitude toward the Ottoman state that Mehmed took a hand in constructing and propagating himself. Mehmed had assumed the title of emperor of the Byzantines upon conquering Constantinople in 1453 and had established the former Roman capital as the new capital of his own transcontinental empire.<sup>197</sup> In so doing, he followed a long-standing Ottoman and Greek tradition of establishing capitals in the cities of conquered subject peoples. Mehmed was well aware of the powerful associations of classical imagery in the minds of western European scholars and rulers and harnessed the visual vocabulary of his new classical capital in his material relations with Christian lands.<sup>198</sup> Further, as we have seen with the Ottoman geographic imagination, so, too, the developing visual culture of the sultan's state demonstrates a certain elasticity that defies easy categorization as "Islamic" or "Western." As Gülru Necipoğlu has convincingly demonstrated of the architectural culture of Sinan, it would be a profound mistake to consider Mehmed's classicism purely as a case of appropriation.<sup>199</sup>

Thus it was not only for Christian and Western European rivals and allies that Ottoman sultans drew on a classical aesthetic of empire. The concept of empire was fundamental to early Ottoman expansion and as Palmira Brummett has shown Ottoman claims on a classical past were "not restricted to the caliphate or to Muslim antecedents; they ranged across wide spaces and the multitude of famous monarchs who inhabited mythologies of the Afro-Eurasian world (Ardeshir, Solomon, Alexander, and Caesar). . . ." <sup>200</sup> Certainly by 1483 many Ottomans had come to recognize the obelisks, columns, and former churches of Constantinople as their own. Çigdem Kafescioglu has recently called attention to the seamless appropriation of Byzantine architecture within the new capital as an explicitly imperial mode of address, adopted by Mehmed to set his military achievement in conquering Byzantium apart from those of his predecessors.<sup>201</sup> In building his new palace overlooking the sea, the sultan drew, often literally, from the Byzantine fabric of the city. Columns and capitals taken from structures throughout Constantinople were integrated into the Topkapi palace. Indeed, Mehmed's architectural contributions to his new capital, where they can be discerned under five hundred intervening years of renovation, often display an apparently eclectic mix of Byzantine and "Islamic" elements.<sup>202</sup>

Such stylistic strategies were hardly limited to Mehmed or to Constantinople. That city was far from the first Greek holding transformed into a center

for the Ottoman ruling elite. Bayezid was himself raised in another appropriated Byzantine palace and, from his earliest memory, Mehmed's heir would have been steeped in a visual tradition that art historians have too often designated as "Western." The *Geographia's* appeal to a shared vocabulary of classical empire was hardly only imaginary for Cem or Bayezid. Just as Berlinghieri's maps would have been familiar to them from their own Ptolemaic geographies, so, too, could they have recognized the basic look of the illuminated incipit pages of Attavante and his collaborators. Their vines, scrolls, coins, and trophies might have reminded the princes of incipits from a wealth of Greek and Western European illuminated manuscripts integrated into the sultanate collections through gift and conquest. Likewise, the mosaic floors of the Byzantine palaces occupied by the sultan and his brother might, like that in Istanbul, have included twisting vegetal motifs and playful *putti* along these same lines.<sup>203</sup> In fact, Bayezid, like most early Ottoman rulers had not participated in the Haj when he received his copy of the *Geographia*.<sup>204</sup> The young sultan had very little background at all in what we tend to think of as "Islamic" art and architecture. The environment in which the prince was raised was an amalgam of Byzantine and Turkic elements, a style that, as yet, bears no name.<sup>205</sup>

Even that source material most likely to be viewed as culturally alien to the classical tradition, the Qur'an itself actually provided points of continuity that could have reinforced the message conveyed by Berlinghieri's illuminated page. Included is the verse: "The Romans are vanquished in a near land, and they, after being vanquished, shall be overcome." Drawing on long-standing traditions of elite Islamic culture, the sultan embraced imperial motifs for self-promotion within Ottoman territory, promoting the notion that Muslim empire, the caliphate, had defeated and superseded its Byzantine precedent.<sup>206</sup> Significantly, this scripture was explicated in fifteenth-century Ottoman sources as prophesying (and later recording) the defeat of the Greek heirs of Rome at the hands of Mehmed.<sup>207</sup> Cem similarly made reference to Byzantine-Roman imperial traditions, justifying his claim to his father's throne on the basis that he had been "born into the purple." That is, unlike his older half-brother Bayezid, the prince had been born while Mehmed was reigning sultan, a notion that would have tremendous utility for future Ottoman rule but that was derived from several centuries of Byzantine practice.<sup>208</sup>

Medals, drawing on the precedent of Roman coins and popular amongst

Italian rulers with aspirations to classical grandeur became a mainstay of Mehmed's artistic production, giving visual emphasis to these continuous imperial traditions.<sup>209</sup> Such medals were struck at the sultan's behest by some of Italy's most talented artists, including Gentile Bellini. Costanzo da Ferrara's undated medal of Mehmed follows Italian conventions in depicting the sultan in a profile bust on the obverse. The reverse features Mehmed on horseback against a rocky landscape, recalling not only the monumental equestrian figures of classical antiquity but also Pisanello's medal of the Byzantine Emperor John VIII Palaeologus. This strategy reinforced Mehmed's claims to the Greek throne.<sup>210</sup> Such equestrian images of the emperors would have been familiar to Ottoman viewers from Byzantine coins especially, many of which remained in regular use in the later fifteenth century.<sup>211</sup> While Ottoman interest in the antique is most closely associated with Mehmed's patronage of European artists and his adoption of the trappings of classical empire, such references did not end with his reign. Though Bayezid eschewed some elements of his father's visual rhetoric, both Selim I (1512–1520) and Suleiman I—the Magnificent (1520–1566) had similar medals produced.

Further we might read Bayezid's avoidance, rather than Mehmed's drawing on these traditions, as the anomaly (and one that has been greatly exaggerated).<sup>212</sup> While scholarly emphasis has been placed on Western European reception of these objects, their comprehension throughout Mehmed's state is nearly assured.<sup>213</sup> They speak to the sultan's broader aims of territorial dominion and a desire to communicate with current and potential subjects and vassals. Like printed books, their multiplicity allowed for a wide distribution and for their disparate viewers to approach them with varied interpretations. Further, like books, medals were often signed by their makers and could stand in both for those who produced them and especially for those portrayed upon their faces. They advertised not only imperial authority but relationships between rulers and those who produced their public images.

While flattering the sultan, appeals to classical empire by Italian humanists and craftsmen also served to make the Ottomans more comprehensible and familiar to the Christian rulers who interacted with Mehmed. This appeal to the imperial heritage of the Ottomans is famously exemplified by the epistle from Pope Pius II to Mehmed that circulated widely in the second half of the fifteenth century in both manuscript and print. In this tract, actually of indeterminate origin, the pseudo-Pius calls on the sultan to convert to Christianity and offers to transfer the title of Holy Roman Emperor to him as an

incentive.<sup>214</sup> This strategy was applied pictorially not only in the wealth of surviving medals of the sultans but also in a wide variety of Christian manuscript illumination. Ladislas II of Hungary commissioned one such work, a *Genealogia Turcorum imperatorum*.<sup>215</sup> This genealogy, probably executed around 1491, takes the form of a long parchment roll upon which are painted eight large and thirty-one smaller roundels depicting important Ottoman sultans and culminating with the image of Bayezid II.<sup>216</sup> Stylistically, the portraits owe a great deal to the classicizing portrait medals popularized by Mehmed and his European artisans. Printed books, including Paolo Giovio's exceptionally popular *Vitae virorum illustrium* of 1549, carried on that tradition.<sup>217</sup> The continued currency of such classicizing and intentionally imperial images of the sultans in the early modern period undoubtedly owes something both to European strategies of familiarization and comprehension and to the efficacy of imperial imagery from the point of view of Ottoman elites.<sup>218</sup>

Such appeals to imperial antiquity should not, I think, be read as an Ottoman appropriation of "European" pictorial and rhetorical tropes. Historians of the early modern Ottoman state, most notably Cemal Kafadar, have pointed to the culturally assimilative character of the administration and its flexibility not only in adopting the cultural traditions of subject states but in integrating these into a distinctly Ottoman identity.<sup>219</sup> In contrast with a longstanding historiographic tradition, which has seen an essential Islamic and Turkish core of Ottoman identity, Kafadar understands this identity as fluid, performed, and very much under construction in the fifteenth century.<sup>220</sup> Further, claims to classical empire were as fantastical and appropriative for western Europeans as they were for Ottomans in the fifteenth century. They were, as Christopher Wood has shown, effective and imaginative forgeries.<sup>221</sup> Certainly they were less purely imaginative for the sultan than for men like Sigismondo Malatesta, lord of the tiny state of Rimini, a petty warlord who prolifically styled himself on imperial precedent.<sup>222</sup> Unquestionably, even Cem had greater claim to imperial lineage than Berlinghieri's one-time patrons the Gonzaga of Mantua, whose modest painted audience hall was surmounted by a pictorial genealogy of the Roman emperors. The assumption that classical tropes were deployed by the Ottomans only toward "Western" viewers and readers reinforces a binarized vision of Europe and an Islamic world. Such a view ignores the European situation of the Ottoman capital, the heterogeneous subjects of the burgeoning Ottoman state, and the variety of visual traditions that informed both Italian and Ottoman classicisms.

Early modern classicisms were imaginative, effective, and aspirational reinventions. The appeal to such attitudes through literary tropes and painted imagery within copies of the *Geographia* was one of the most significant means by which Bayezid and Cem were drawn into a relationship with the book, its author, and other eminent readers. Yet, the very fact that Berlinghieri's book was tailored not for a unified audience but for a range of individual recipients, viewers, buyers, and readers also dictated that strategies of inclusion pitched at some readers could sometimes alienate others. The collision of such exclusive interests is most plainly evident in the way that elements of the *Geographia's* maps and poetry also cut against the evocation of a trans-Mediterranean classicism so vital to the book's presentation to Ottoman readers. In the following chapter, I turn to these apparent obstructions and contradictions, investigating the presence within Berlinghieri's book of crusade invective and hostile stereotypes. I explore unexpected configurations of tolerance and intolerance, ideology and pragmatism, inclusion and exclusion that course through the *Geographia's* verse and maps.

## Illustrations



FIGURE 1. *World Map*  
Engraving on Copper. From Francesco Berlinghieri, *Geographia* (Florence, 1482)  
Milan, Biblioteca Nazionale Braidense. Ministero per i Beni e le Attività Culturali.



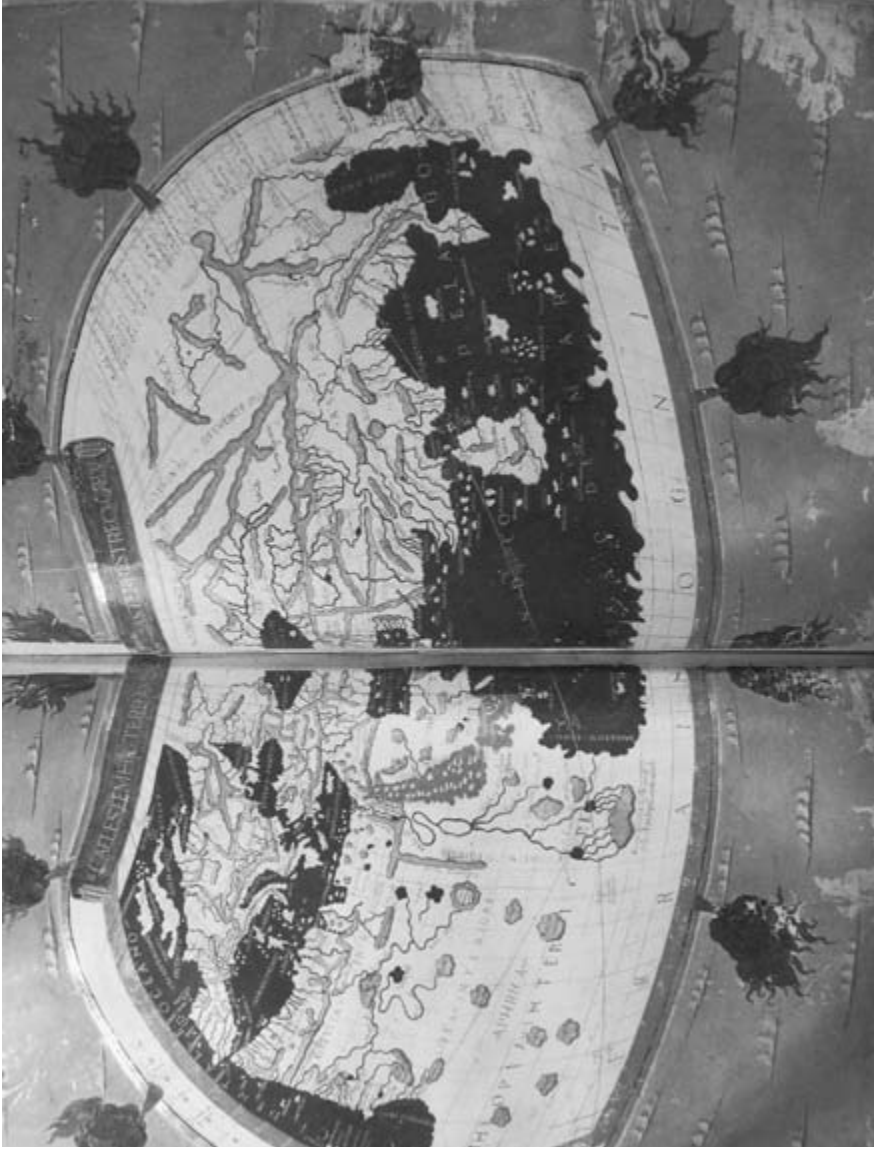


FIGURE 2. *World Map*  
Paint on Vellum. From Berlinghieri, *Geographia* (Florence, 1482). Milan,  
Biblioteca Nazionale Braidense. Ministero per i Beni e le Attività Culturali.



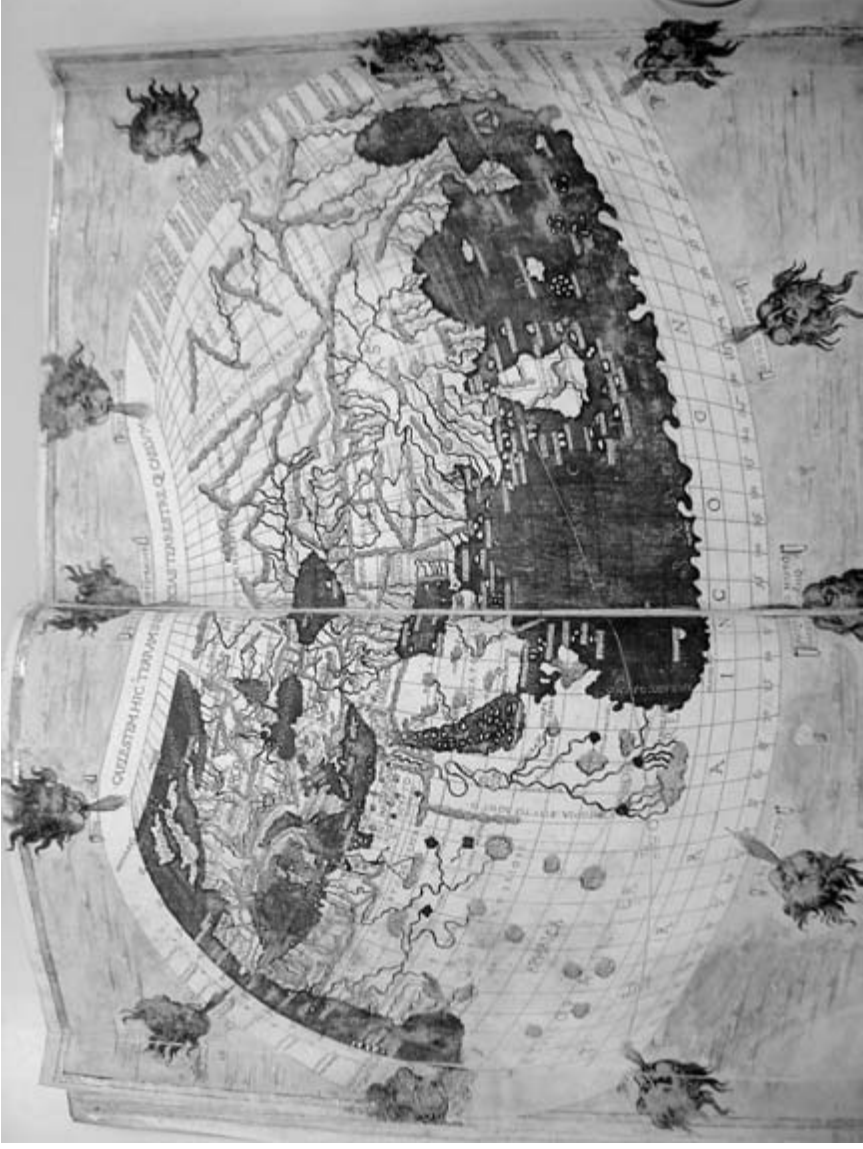


FIGURE 3. *World Map*  
Hand-Colored Engraving on Copper. From Berlinghieri, *Geographia* (Florence, 1482).  
Torino, Biblioteca Nazionale Universitaria. Ministero per i Beni e le Attività Culturali.



CUSEP

GEOGRAPHIA DI FRANCESCO  
BERLINGHIERI TORINENSE  
AVV. ILL. V. N. R. S. S. M. G.  
GIULIA SVETIAN



La lauriga di Titano  
adoro. El lagittario  
terra orientale  
Desiamme acco.  
carreggiando il giorno  
Candida quali cotta  
ogni mortale  
la casta amica  
anchor d'endimione  
percoesta

gli raggi et collo strale  
Quando nella diuina unione  
molte dun uerde lauro el girne canto  
d'ogni terretre et nosa regione.  
Segui dipoi o muse o sacro lancto  
diuino appollo nella cui balia  
e posto l'uniuerso immenso tanto:  
De ipira quella angelica armonia  
per le mie labbra qual ti se uincente  
di marcia audace et di sua melodia  
Prendendo ad racconcar ch'ose al presente  
con tutto lo habitato inrima en uerso  
da far marauigliar ciaschuna gente:  
Pero chel canto mio non fia diuerso  
da te fulgente Apollo ma conforme  
manifestando tutto l'uniuerso  
Quale ignorare e chosa troppo enorme  
tua patria essendo et libuom simile rende  
usurato a morti et ueggliando a chi dorme  
Qualunque di se stesso cura accende  
o che el priuato o el publico governa  
mal puo se tal doctrina non apprenda:  
Volgera la celeste luce eterna  
dinuorno all'uniuerso cho me appare  
perche ei li mira col suo lume et uerna  
Quante ruine et manifeste et chiare  
per la ignorantia delle parti sole  
non che del tutto posso adnumerare  
Risponda cyro a quelle mie parole  
lyumaco passanto et dario lustro  
cambye in echopia onde ei li dole.  
Quanto el tuo uolo o Xerxe fue finit.  
o ma uoi romani et uoi cartagina  
et chi passo el meandro et poi l'caystro

PRATINCA

Sanza parlar de piu lungi paesi  
ma tra il seno adriatico et tra il sardo  
dite quanti error quindi sien compresi.  
Ma perche intanti esempi ne ritardo  
di chi la magna copia na fatica  
che piu ne ueggio il mudo quido il guardo  
Ne sol la militare arte nuernica  
ma la philosofia et la scriptura  
historica et poetica lo dica  
Lo dolce uita della agriscultura  
la medicina et l'arte quale ha in seno  
della animanti in prima la natura  
In somma la notitia del terreno  
siccome questa ogni altra facultate  
non ha bisogno ueramente meno  
Ne pure all'huomo e di necessitate  
neria tal ma a qualunque animante  
che altra sia uera il uero, alia leitate  
O altro palco o che del rido errante  
si parte schiri nati dipoi quando  
trociato ha leica torna in uno instante  
Quel che a sola una parte distando  
e coeteno non e dispartil allora  
che naturale instinto mena errando  
Ma quanta dignita quanto decoro  
attai non si comprende seco adduce  
per la grandezza di si bel lauro  
Che chome el sol piu che ciaschuna luce  
splende chosi chi tal doc. rina acquista  
all'u piu che gl'altri huomini riluce:  
Et io solo una chosa mi contrista  
si dare sono et persuasio et uincio  
che mirare hora io non lo posso in uista  
Io ueggio ben risposte che io son pinco  
ad tantato camin ma senza aiuto  
diuin non puoffi chome uoio distincto  
O padre eterno donde e proceduto  
l'uniuerso per farne libuom capace  
et chi per lui tu sia piu conosciuto  
Se la domanda mia non fuisse audace  
preta a noi figli tuoi qualche fauore  
per ueder quello et per lui la tua pace  
Di subito ecco in maximo splendore  
in una nauolezza quel che appena  
peggiare ardite retere idore  
Et l'fretta sua canto serena  
l'aspetto uenerando si che l'alma  
fu di dolcezza et marauiglia piena.  
Siccome quel che dalla greue salma  
delle te mperbe in porto li ritira  
di loro hauendo gloriosa palma

FIGURE 4. Incipit of Book One  
Paint on Printed Page. From Berlinghieri, *Geographia* (Florence, 1482).  
Torino, Biblioteca Nazionale Universitaria. Ministero per i Beni e le Attività Culturali.



FIGURE 5. Incipit of Book One  
Paint on Vellum. Francesco Berlinghieri, *Geographia* (Florence, 1482).  
Milan, Biblioteca Nazionale Braidense. Ministero per i Beni e le Attività Culturali.





FIGURE 6. Incipit of Book One (detail)

From Berlinghieri, *Geographia* (Florence, 1482).

Milan, Biblioteca Nazionale Braidense. Ministero per i Beni e le Attività Culturali.



FIGURE 7. Incipit of Book One (second detail)  
From Berlinghieri, *Geographia* (Florence, 1482).  
Milan, Biblioteca Nazionale Braidense. Ministero per i Beni e le Attività Culturali.



FIGURE 8. Incipit of Book One (third detail)  
 From Berlinghieri, *Geographia* (Florence, 1482).  
 Milan, Biblioteca Nazionale Braidense. Ministero per i Beni e le Attività Culturali.

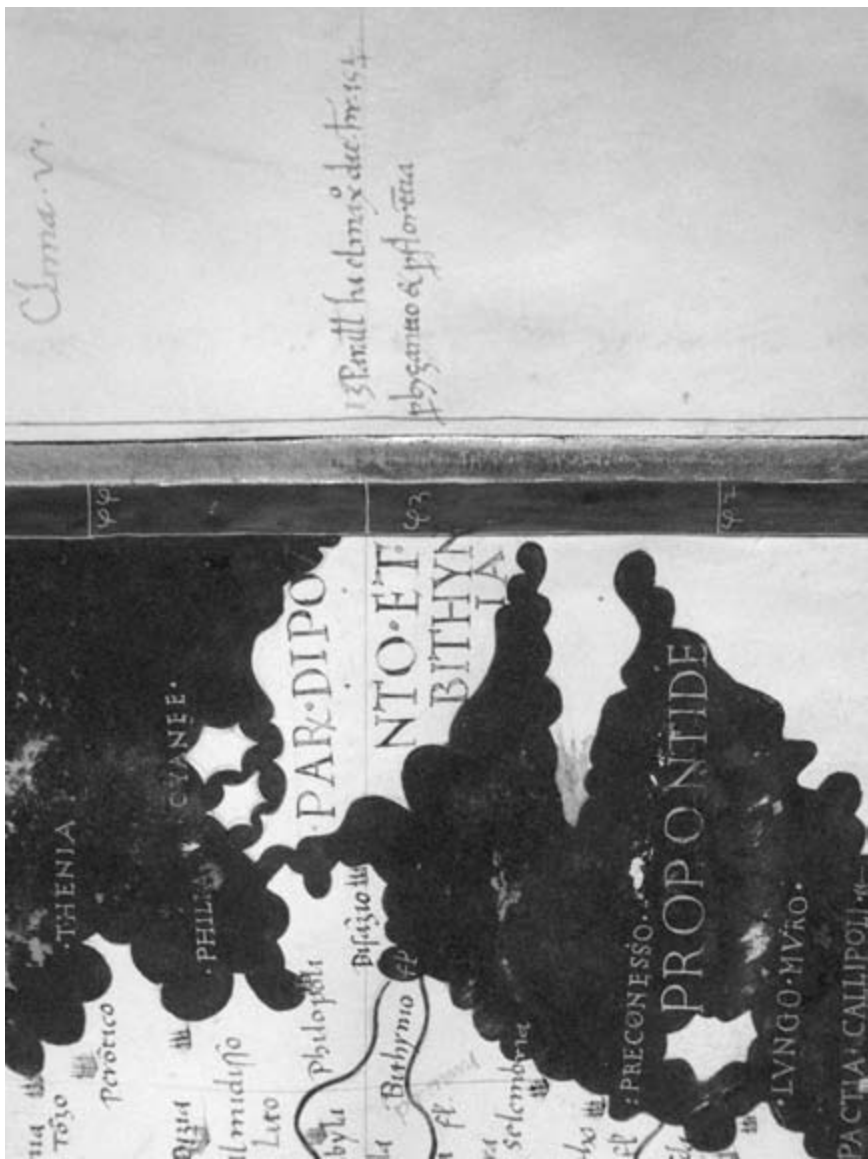


FIGURE 9. Ninth Map of Europe (detail)

Paint on Vellum. From Berlinghieri, *Geographia* (Florence, 1482).

Milan, Biblioteca Nazionale Braidense. Ministero per i Beni e le Attività Culturali.





FIGURE 10. Map of Modern France (detail)  
Paint on Vellum. From Berlinghieri, *Geographia* (Florence, 1482).  
Ministero per i Beni e le Attività Culturali. Milan, Biblioteca Nazionale Braidense.



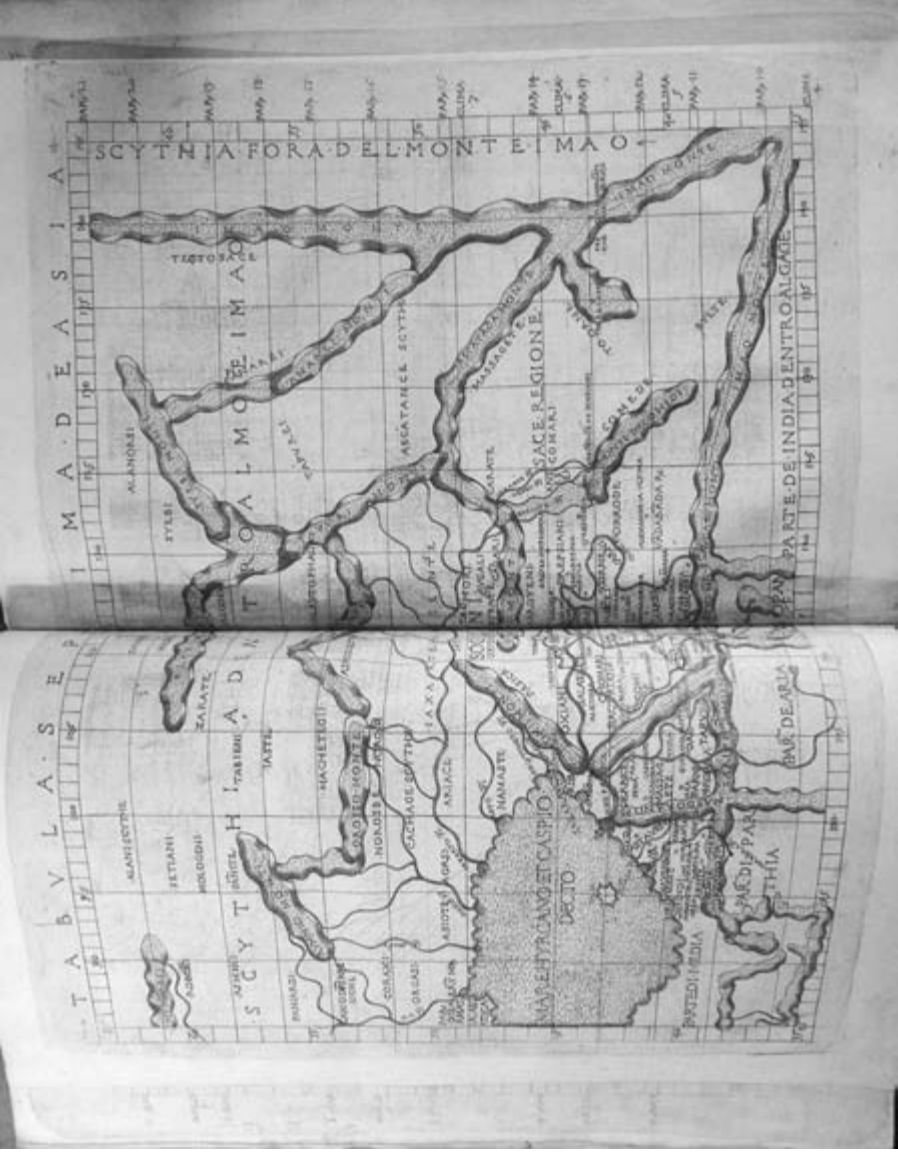


FIGURE II. Seventh Map of Asia  
 From Bertinghieri, *Geographia* (Florence, 1482).  
 Milan, Biblioteca Nazionale Braidense. Ministero per i Beni e le Attività Culturali.



FIGURE 12. Ptolemy  
Justus of Ghent. Oil on Panel, c.1480. Paris, Musée du Louvre. ©Art Resource, New York.



FIGURE 13. Incipit of Book One (detail)  
Paint on Vellum. From Berlinghieri, *Geographia* (Florence, 1482).  
Milan, Biblioteca Nazionale Braidense. Ministero per i Beni e le Attività Culturali.

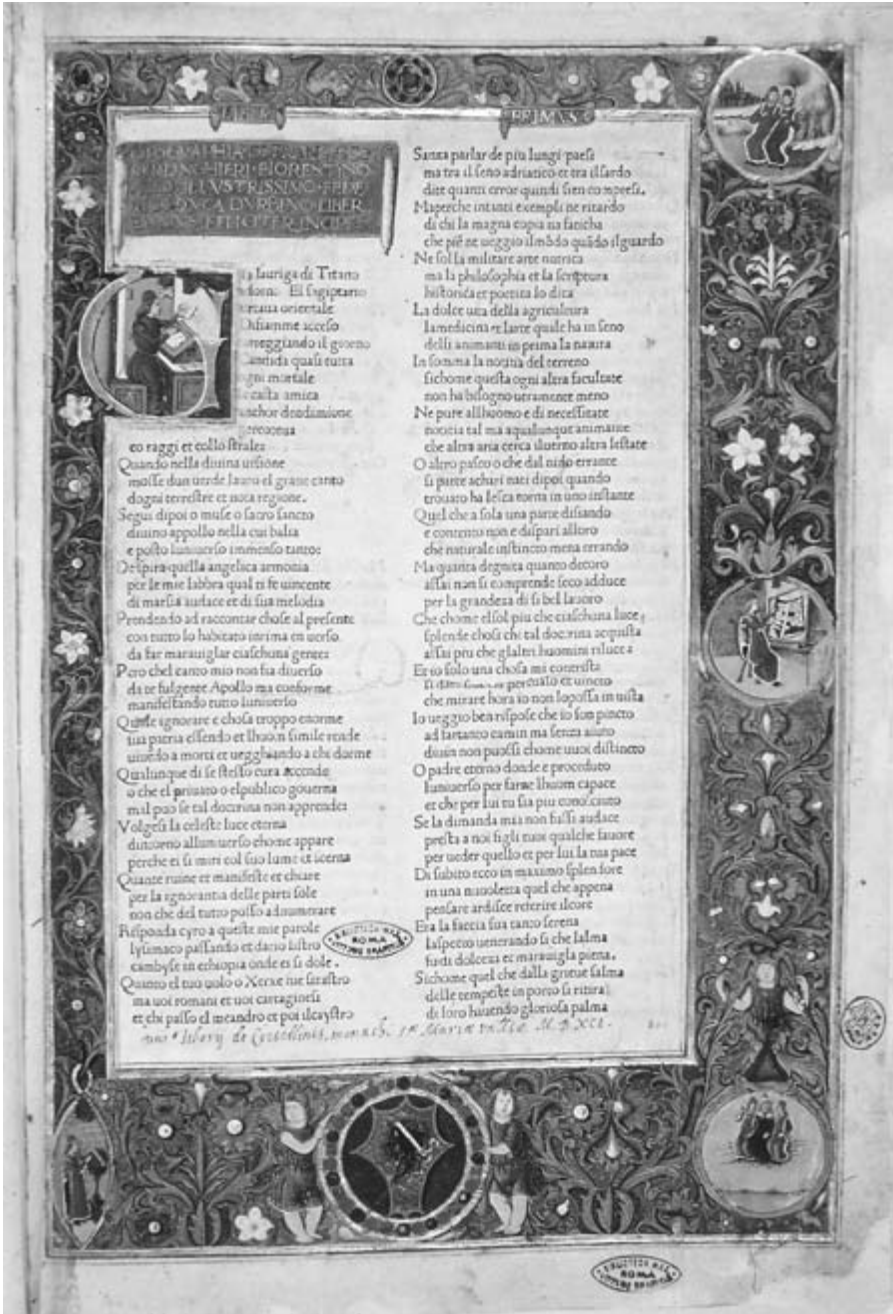


FIGURE 14. Incipit of Book One

Paint on Printed Page. From Berlinghieri, *Geographia* (Florence, 1482).  
 Rome, Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale. Ministero per i Beni e le Attività Culturali.



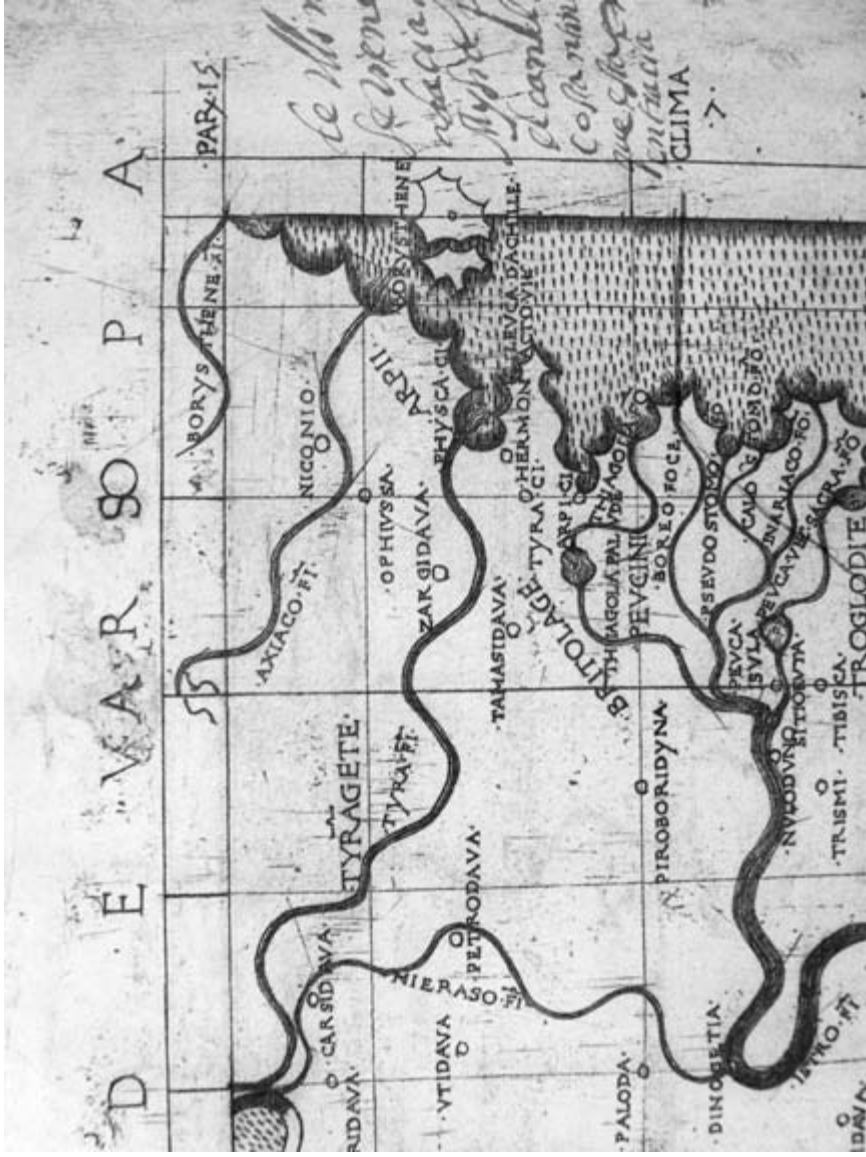


FIGURE 15. Ninth Map of Europe (detail)  
Engraving on Copper. From Berlinghieri, *Geographia* (Florence, 1482).  
Milan, Biblioteca Nazionale Braidense. Ministero per i Beni e le Attività Culturali.

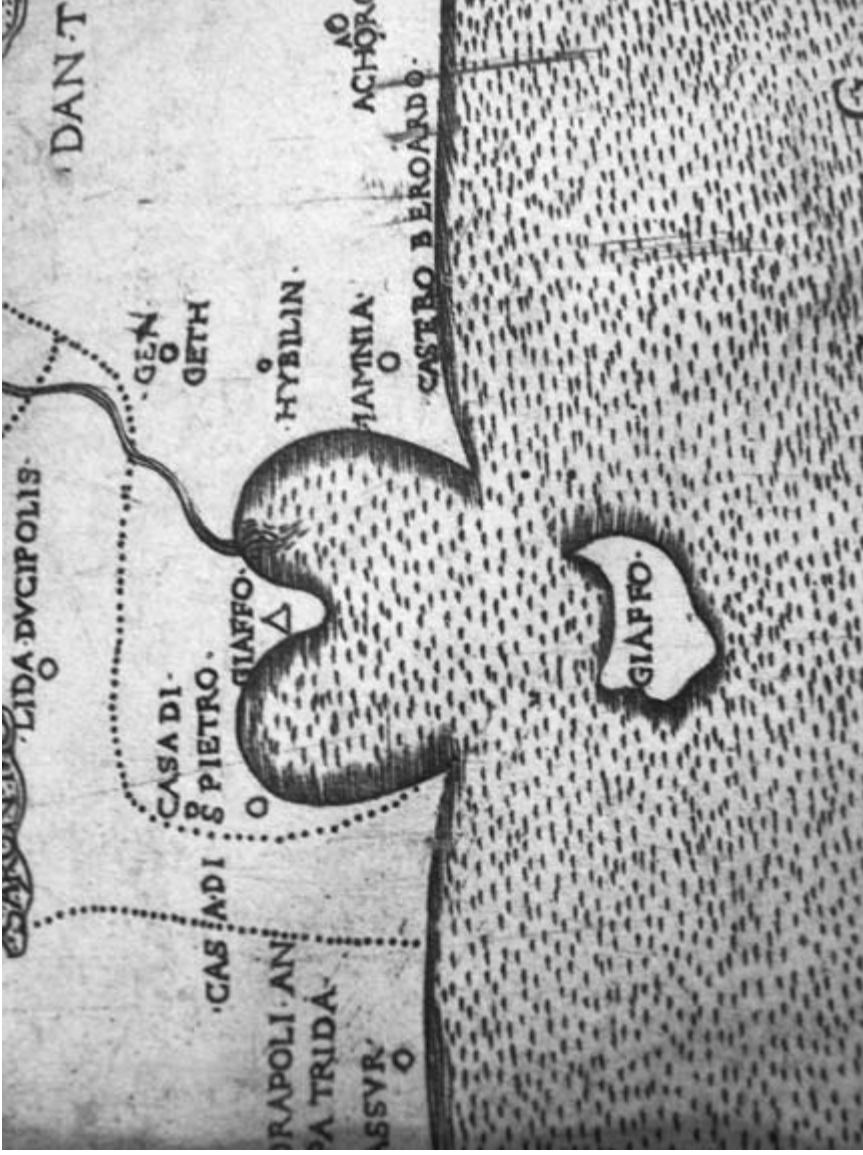


FIGURE 16. Map of the Holy Land (detail)  
Engraving on Copper. From Berlinghieri, *Geographia* (Florence, 1482).  
Milan, Biblioteca Nazionale Braidense. Ministero per i Beni e le Attività Culturali.

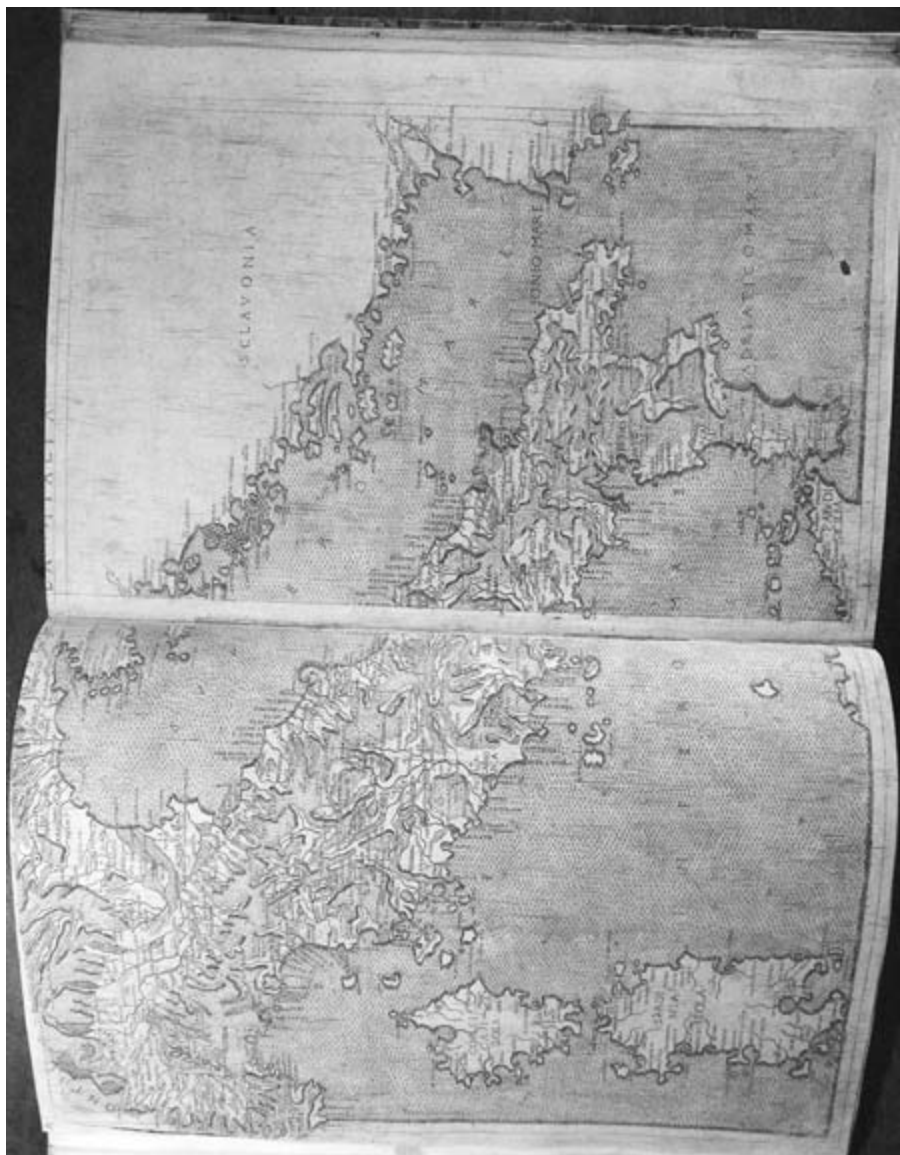


FIGURE 17. Map of Modern Italy  
Engraving on Copper. From Berlinghieri, *Geographia* (Florence, 1482). Milan,  
Biblioteca Nazionale Braidense. Ministero per i Beni e le Attività Culturali.

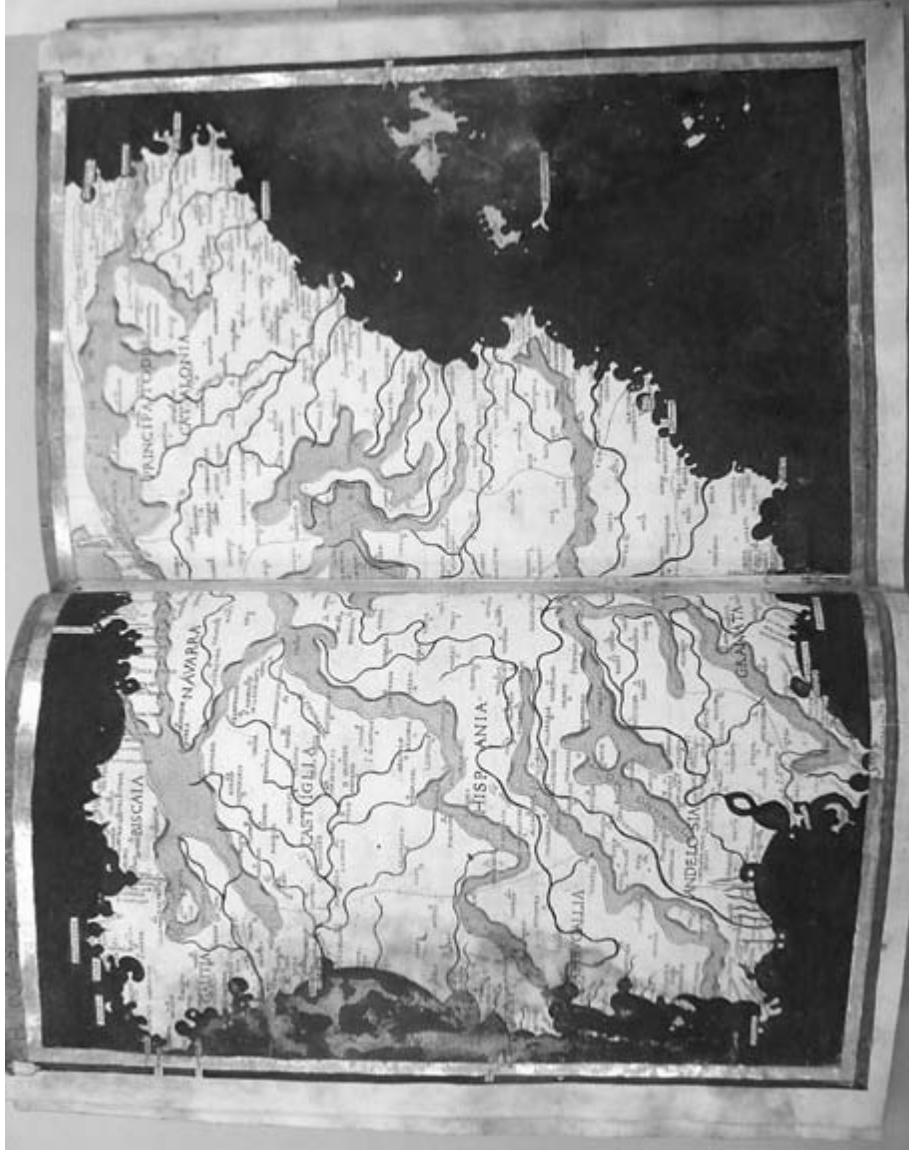


FIGURE 18. Map of Modern Spain  
Hand-Colored Engraving on Copper. From Berlinghieri, *Geographia* (Florence, 1482).  
Torino, Biblioteca Nazionale Universitaria. Ministero per i Beni e le Attività Culturali.





FIGURE 19. Incipit of Book One (detail)

Paint on Printed Page. From Berlinghieri, *Geographia* (Florence, 1482). Torino, Biblioteca Nazionale Universitaria. Ministero per i Beni e le Attività Culturali.

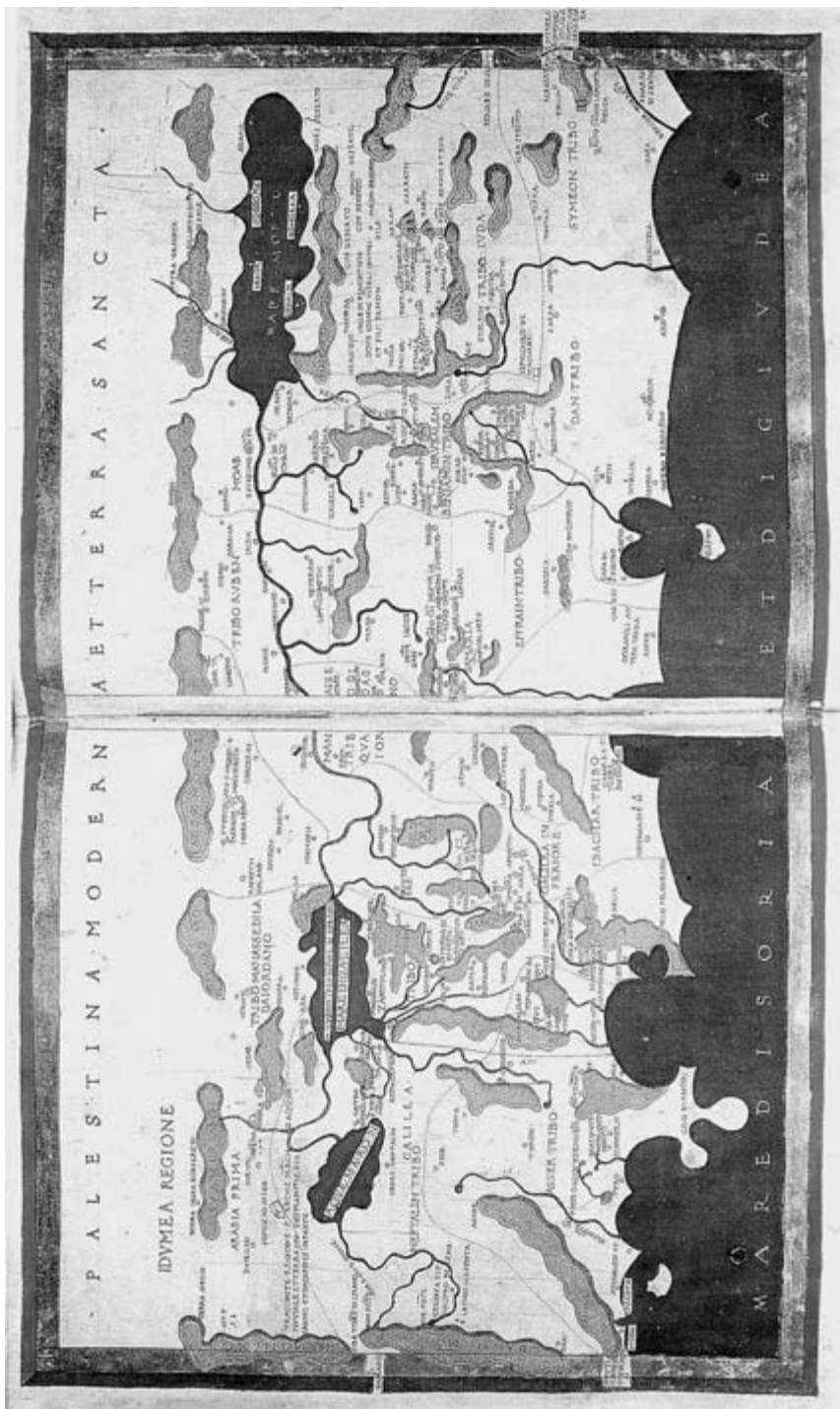


FIGURE 20. Map of the Holy Land Hand-Colored Engraving on Copper. From Berlinghieri, *Geographia* (Florence, 1482). Torino, Biblioteca Nazionale Universitaria. Ministero per i Beni e le Attività Culturali.

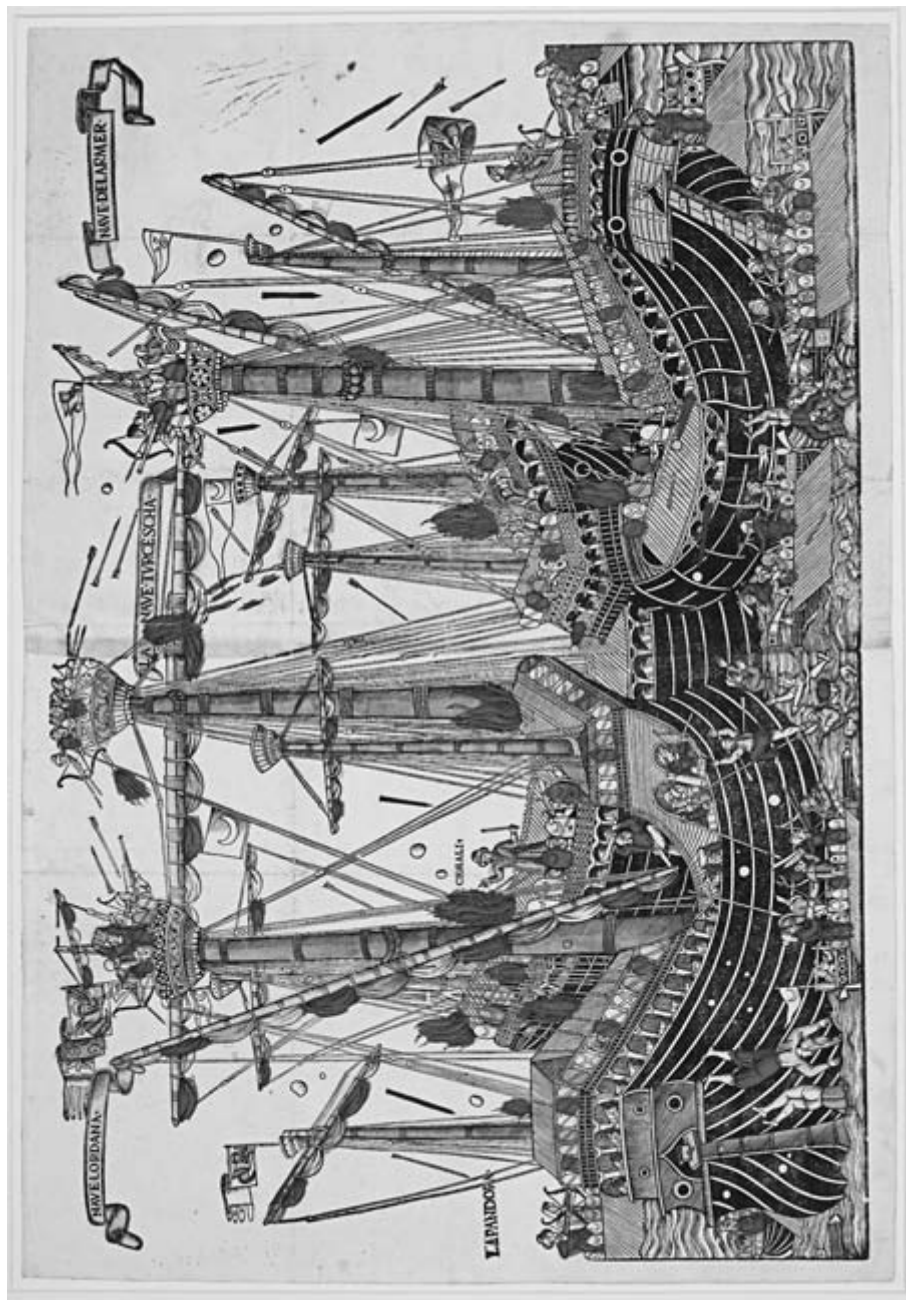


FIGURE 21. Anonymous  
*Battle of Zonchio*. Hand-Colored Woodcut. Early Sixteenth Century. London, British Museum. © Trustees of the British Museum.





FIGURE 22. Cem Prays at the Tomb of the Prophet  
Woodcut. From Caoursin, *Description of the Siege of Rhodes* (Ulm, 1496). San  
Marino, CA, Huntington Library. By Permission of the Huntington Library.



FIGURE 23. Death of Mehmed II

Woodcut. From Caoursin, *Description of the Siege of Rhodes* (Ulm, 1496). San Marino, CA, Huntington Library. By Permission of the Huntington Library.



FIGURE 24. Cem and Bayezid Engage in Battle  
Woodcut. From Caoursin, *Description of the Siege of Rhodes* (Ulm, 1496). San Marino,  
CA, Huntington Library. By Permission of the Huntington Library.





FIGURE 25. Antonio Pollaiuolo  
*Battle of Nude Men*. Copperplate Engraving, c. 1470. London, British Museum. © Trustees of the British Museum.

## Printing Tolerance and Intolerance

Through both commercial distribution and shrewd dispatch as gifts, printed books served as effective tools for their printers, financiers, and especially authors to constitute and situate themselves within communities of intellectual and social prestige. We have seen here the role played by copies of the *Geographia* in just such a community, and one with exceptional geographic range, spanning the breadth of Europe and the early modern Mediterranean world. I want to turn our attention, however, to elements of these books that do not conform to our ideas of tolerance and to the sometimes overtly hostile environment they occupied. Despite points of intellectual and material convergence, such communications could equally be characterized by mistrust, misunderstanding, hostility, and even outright hatred. Printed books like the *Geographia* did not circulate in a vacuum. Rather, in their voyage across the Mediterranean and into the north, these books scaled slopes made slippery by stereotypes and alliances, and they floated across seas stirred by crusade and propaganda.

One question has not yet been posed here, perhaps surprisingly given Francesco Berlinghieri's evident involvement in the conveyance of his book to Bayezid and Cem. What was the geographer's attitude toward the Ottoman



recipients of his book? I have argued that the geographer's poem and maps are elucidated in their relationship to his lived experience. What position, then, does the *Geographia* take toward the Ottomans? In exploring these questions, this chapter first examines the ways in which the *Geographia* conformed to and departed from the attitudes that Florentine intellectuals are generally supposed to have adopted regarding the Ottomans. This will require a brief consideration of recent re-evaluations of Christian Western-European (and especially humanist) ideas about the Islamic Mediterranean in the Renaissance. I will then examine what the decision to send the *Geographia* to Ottoman readers might tell us about assumptions linking diplomacy and commercial exchange with ideological understanding. Of particular concern is the role played by printed books within a material culture of contact. Finally, I will suggest how these findings can help us to look with fresh eyes at the place of material culture in a rapidly changing Mediterranean world. The sometimes unexpected attitudes embedded within the *Geographia* can, I suggest, tell us a great deal about an ideological environment in which books and maps circulated.

### Of Turks and Trojans

Scholars once made a habit of dividing Italian humanists, politicians, and artists along the lines of "Turcophobia" and "Turcophilia."<sup>1</sup> That is, fifteenth- and sixteenth-century Italian literati were largely understood either as portraying Ottomans as barbarian enemies of civilization or as the legitimate heirs of classical empire. On the one hand, the present-day Ottomans represented the descendants of the animalistic Scythians, an attitude supported by Pius II in his geographical tracts.<sup>2</sup> On the other hand, like many believed of the Italians themselves, the Ottomans represented a remnant of the Trojans, those lucky few who escaped the Greek siege of their city to found a new and flourishing civilization elsewhere.<sup>3</sup> Along with producing taxonomies that assigned Renaissance intellectuals and artists to one or the other of these camps, scholars asked which of these general attitudes should be considered prevalent within fifteenth-century Italian visual and literary culture.<sup>4</sup> The question, succinctly posed, was whether Renaissance Italians basically saw Ottomans as a natural enemy.

Re-evaluations of these poles, however, have worked to account for the significant ambiguities and points of overlap between positions once thought

strictly divided. The continued prevalence of crusading tracts in the *oeuvres* of fifteenth- and sixteenth-century humanists, and the application of both positive and negative associations with classical history, for example, have served as sites for producing a more nuanced reading of Renaissance reactions to the Ottomans.<sup>5</sup> Certainly this reevaluation has benefited from our attention to the Renaissance as a fundamentally Christian phenomenon in Italy that did not exclusively privilege classical knowledge. Above all, we have come to acknowledge the frequent ambiguity of Italian attitudes and to recognize that shunting Renaissance intellectuals into distinct camps proves counterproductive since apparently contradictory attitudes prevail in the works of a single poet, painter, or diplomat.<sup>6</sup> It is this assumption of ambiguity, a sense that such apparent contradictions represent the rule rather than the exception that animates the discussion that follows. Allowance for such ambiguity can help us to reconsider the range of possible communication activated by diplomatic gifts. The possibility of such ambivalence can be easy to forget in an age when diplomacy so often excludes conversation with adversaries, in which the banality of diplomatic contact is assumed.

Scholars have, understandably, seen little ambiguity in Berlinghieri's attitude toward the Ottomans princes who received copies of his book. The geographer has been characterized as a "philo-Turk," a tolerant and pragmatic individual interested in currying the sultan's favor and a case study in the need to reframe the Renaissance as a transcultural phenomenon.<sup>7</sup> In part, these solutions are derived from the assumption that the most productive contact occurred amongst those sending and receiving commercial and luxury goods and that these individuals exhibited a greater understanding of and empathy towards their others.

Berlinghieri assuredly had a vested interest in cultivating an expansive network, including Bayezid and Cem, and we might expect the poet to conform rather closely to the traditionally philo-Turkish attitudes described by scholars of Renaissance humanism. As we have seen, his attempts to include the Ottoman princes within a framework of classical empire relied on such attitudes. On the whole, however, the *Geographia* points to not only the complicated but also the somewhat conflicted attitudes of even the most supposedly philo-Turkish Italian intellectuals vis-à-vis the Ottomans. While the work displays several characteristics generally associated with a pro-Ottoman mindset, in other places it embraces ambivalent and even hostile attitudes toward Ottomans and other Muslim peoples.

In many respects, Berlinghieri's project was well suited to the kind of diplomatic use to which it was harnessed. It is perhaps surprising, then, that other elements suggest that its producers' imagined relationship to Bayezid and Cem and the Ottomans was somewhat more complex. These are, in part, indicative of the ways in which Florentine humanists and their readers understood geography as embedded within Christian history and linked to didactic and moralizing aims. Surely, it is worth remembering that a great many of the potential readers for a book like the *Geographia* understood the Ottomans as a significant military and spiritual threat. Yet it is also the case that diplomatic expediency and even developing conceptions of religious pluralism simultaneously tempered and revised hostility toward the Ottomans for some of these same readers.

One significant barrier to a meaningful account of the attitudes displayed toward the Ottomans within the *Geographia* is an anachronistic conception of the book's "audience." We are accustomed to the idea that a text might be directed toward a group of readers sharing more-or-less common attributes. As we have seen, the *Geographia* is probably better considered as a related group of individual books that produced a community of readers through their deployment as gifts, their dedication to eminent individuals, and their placement within renowned libraries. A subtle but significant consequence of this view may be that we are better served by asking what position Berlinghieri's books might have taken in relationship to individual readers and groups of readers than by asking what attitudes they convey to their audience.

Several elements of the printed work might have proved to be significant impediments for Ottoman readers—apart, of course from the basic fact that it was not written in particularly accessible language, even for many fifteenth-century Italians outside of a distinct intellectual circle. Most noticeable of these is the addition of a map of the Holy Land to Ptolemy's canonical twenty-seven maps (Figure 20). As we have seen, this was not just any map but one based on a type first produced by Pietro Vesconte around 1321 for inclusion in Marino Sanuto's *Book of Secrets for the True Crusaders*, a strident call for Christians to retake the Holy Land.<sup>8</sup> Maps inspired by Vesconte's example had been appended to manuscripts of the *Geography* since the late 1450s or early 1460s, serving as the standard geographical representation of the Holy Land familiar to most educated Italians.<sup>9</sup> Crusade, as well as pilgrimage, remained foundational components of fifteenth-century world knowledge and retained their hold over the cartographic imagination for centuries to come.<sup>10</sup>

To viewers and readers already intimately familiar with Ptolemy's text and maps (yet unfamiliar with the Florentine tradition) such an inclusion might prove striking. Mehmed II and his sons were just such individuals. Mehmed possessed at least one Byzantine example of Ptolemy's *Geography* and an Arabic version that he was rumored to have translated from the Greek himself.<sup>11</sup> Had Mehmed lived to receive his copy of the *Geographia*, being familiar with Ptolemy's work (whether in Greek or Arabic), he might have immediately noticed something that has largely eluded modern scholars; Berlinghieri's integration of the Christian scriptural and apocryphal events found on Vesconte's map into the fabric of the *Geographia's* text.

The book's description of the Holy Land owes a debt to Sanuto's text and map, suggesting that the author made use of this in composing his own work.<sup>12</sup> Berlinghieri's verse description of the Holy Land refers to the supper at Emmaus and the miracle at Cana, both of which figure prominently in Sanuto's account.<sup>13</sup> Neither are particularly uncommon events in retellings and popularizations of the Gospel narratives. Still it is striking that both Berlinghieri and Sanuto include them at the expense of events and places generally more central in pilgrimage and crusade narratives. Further, while Christ's revelation to his disciples at Emmaus is mentioned by Sanuto it is not included on Vesconte's map, nor apparently on those maps following this tradition, and seems to have been added by Berlinghieri's map makers—in both print and manuscript—in an effort to unify the map and text. If it is the case that the author drew directly on Sanuto as a source, the copy utilized by Berlinghieri and his mapmakers would likely have been quite similar to two copies known to have been in Florence by the fifteenth century and now in the Biblioteca Laurenziana and Biblioteca Riccardiana. In addition to double-folio maps, the Riccardiana manuscript bears text pages augmented with marginal illumination depicting crusader battles in the Holy Land, prominently displaying Frankish routs of their Saracen foes and the siege of Muslim cities.<sup>14</sup> In adapting material drawn from these sources not only to the *Geographia* but to Florentine manuscripts of Ptolemy's *Geography* as well, illuminators and mapmakers digested this bellicose visual representation of the lands their paintings represented. Polemic attitudes toward the Islamic world were rekindled and reinforced through a material culture that reminded and instructed new generations of scholars, readers, and artists. Similarly, the intellectual tradition that Berlinghieri drew on also included works that bore the stamp of hostility and helped to fan these flames. Fazio degli Uberti's

*Dittamondo* included a virulently apocryphal history of Islam, which the geographer certainly read. The majority of that work's fifth book, a major source for Berlinghieri's description of the Holy Land and Africa, is given to refuting the various "heresies" of the Muslim faith.<sup>15</sup>

As we have seen, Berlinghieri uses "Christian" as a synonym for "modern" throughout his text when differentiating contemporary toponyms from the antique nomenclature of Ptolemy.<sup>16</sup> While this technique served as an effective means of bringing ancient geography into the world of contemporary Christian readers, it also rendered the ideological underpinnings of Renaissance geography abundantly clear. For fifteenth-century Florentines like Berlinghieri, not only time but also belief separated modern from ancient geography, a leap away from "the old faith," which the poet emphasized in Cornelius's conversion and Ptolemy's recognition of Jesus's crucifixion.<sup>17</sup>

Probably most starkly at odds with modern expectations (and equally least welcome from an Ottoman perspective) is Berlinghieri's overt praise throughout the text for Christian military leaders in their struggles against threats from Muslim adversaries. The Emilian city of Borgo Tossignano is remembered as the place where Pope John X "expelled the cruel [*acerbo*—literally 'sour'] Saracen host from Italy smiting them both head on and from their flank."<sup>18</sup> Some of these are directed pointedly at Ottoman power. Varna, in present day Bulgaria, is described as a "land that has many times withstood Turkish assault."<sup>19</sup> When Berlinghieri and Ptolemy reach the Adriatic coast they arrive at "Glorious Venice where it is said nothing ever changes, and which alone stands unafraid of the Grand Turk."<sup>20</sup> The Italian mercenary general Filippo Scolari, who fought the Ottomans in Hungary, is lauded for having "twenty-two times driven back the beastly fire [*fiero ardore*] of the Turks."<sup>21</sup> It could be argued that we have here simply an account of a battle with a description of the ferocity of Ottoman military might. The word used, however, (*ardore*) carried a specific and problematic connotation for Italian humanists. Berlinghieri employs "ardore" on several other occasions in the *Geographia*. He extols Naples's role in having "extinguished the barbaric fire of the Saracens from Italy," ostensibly a description of Neapolitan military successes in the tenth century but almost certainly also a reference to the expulsion of the Ottoman expeditionary force from Otranto in 1481.<sup>22</sup>

Hannibal's forces, the barbarian enemies of Rome, as well as those of Attila are also described in this way, unflattering comparisons sure to be familiar to Bayezid and Cem.<sup>23</sup> Berlinghieri's use of "*fiero ardore*" to describe

the Ottomans is unambiguous, an epithet applied to barbarian military forces and one with an impeccable humanist pedigree. Petrarch had, most notably, used it to describe the armies of Xerxes and it had entered Italian humanist writing with just this inflection.<sup>24</sup> In contrast, Berlinghieri praises Christian and Roman military leaders for their *arte* “skill” and *forza* “strength” throughout the poem.<sup>25</sup> Even when the Romans are enraged, as during Scipio’s campaign against Hannibal’s lieutenants it is *con giusta ira* “with righteous ire.”<sup>26</sup> Other references to an Ottoman presence in the Mediterranean are somewhat more ambiguous, such as Berlinghieri’s passing mention of the fortresses of Europe and Asia, built by Mehmed and his father Murad on the Hellespont, without further elaboration.<sup>27</sup>

Such ambiguity also informs the visual rhetoric of the copies of Berlinghieri’s work produced for Bayezid and Cem. While, on the one hand, the title page of Cem’s book demonstrates a desire to connect its Ottoman recipient to a shared classical tradition, it fails, on the other hand, to offer evidence of true familiarity with or intimate knowledge of its dedicatee (Figure 4). Following a format used by many illuminated and hand-colored books of the period, a coat of arms is prominently displayed in a central roundel at the bottom of the page. In most cases, this stemma represents that of the recipient, patron, or buyer of the book. Here, however, without knowledge of the personal *impresa* or devices of Cem, the illuminator falls back on a suggestive but fictitious coat of arms consisting of a gold crescent on a nine-pointed blue shield.<sup>28</sup> Crucially, this generalized crescent device was frequently employed in European images as visual shorthand designating Islamic military forces. It appears, for example, on the flags identifying Ottoman ships in an early sixteenth-century woodcut depicting the Venetian clash with the Ottoman fleet at Cape Zonchio in 1499 (Figure 21).<sup>29</sup> The emblem is employed in over a dozen woodcuts illustrating battles between the hospitallers and Ottoman forces accompanying the edition of Guillaume Caoursin’s *Description of the Siege of Rhodes* printed by Johan Reger of Ulm in 1496 and is repeated in the copy of the *Geographia* sent to Bayezid.<sup>30</sup> We can speculate that such a generic indicator probably signified more for its Italian producers than it did for its Ottoman recipients. Further, what it signified was military presence, a history of conflict, and a visual tradition that expressed this tense relationship.

A roundel in the right-hand margin of this page presents an equally ambiguous image. Here, set against a mountainous landscape, a winged dragon prepares to engage in battle against a rampaging lion. A convincing interpretation

of this vignette has never been posited. Both Franz Babinger and Sebastiano Gentile have suggested that it should probably be viewed “allegorically” yet stopped short of offering such an interpretation.<sup>31</sup> It is possible that the lion here could refer to the city of Florence, since the animal was an important symbol of the Republic. In fact, live lions were sometimes kept in cages outside the city hall during the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries.<sup>32</sup> The dragon, in such a scenario, could be taken as an attribute of Cem, recipient of the book.<sup>33</sup>

Both lions and dragons were also employed as emblems of kingship within Anatolian art and culture and could be employed as emblems of the Ottoman sultans.<sup>34</sup> Bayezid and Cem might, for example, have recognized the combined imperial motifs of the lion and dragon from the twelfth-century bronze door-knockers of the great mosque at Cizre, housed today in Istanbul’s Museum of Turkish and Islamic Art.<sup>35</sup> Cizre, believed to have been founded by Noah at the base of Mount Judi where the ark had come to rest, was an important Ottoman pilgrimage site in the fifteenth century. Mehmed II visited the mosque, and his sons might have done so also. Possibly then, since both animals could be associated with Ottoman kingship, these two beasts, rearing up against each other represent the battle for the Ottoman empire underway between Cem and Bayezid.

Another possibility, much less flattering to the sultan and his brother should also be mentioned, though. The lion and the dragon, as images of ferocity, beastliness, and unrestrained violence, were also used as metaphors for Ottoman aggression within fifteenth-century Florentine art and literature. Berlinghieri’s friend Marsilio Ficino, in fact, wrote in a letter to Pope Sixtus IV about the Ottomans as “a roaring lion” and “a noxious dragon,” and it is possible that this image served as a covert attack against the very recipient of this book.<sup>36</sup> The use of the dragon, in particular, as an emblem for Ottoman aggression continued throughout the sixteenth century in pamphlets and broadsheets, for example, announcing the Christian victory at Lepanto.<sup>37</sup>

The *Geographia*’s ambiguous conformity to expected attitudes toward the Ottomans demonstrates the degree to which the prevalent terms brought to bear on this debate, the dichotomous poles of Turcophobia and Turcophilia are misleading and inadequate in the face of historical complexity. Many period texts exhibit unquestionably anti-Ottoman and anti-Islamic attitudes—one would have a difficult time locating ambiguity in a work like



Leonardo Dati's *Carmen ad Pontificem Maximum Dominum Nicolaum Papam V in Thurcam Mahomet* in which a dialogue between Mehmed II and Satan posits a demonic pact between the two.<sup>38</sup> Similarly, the joyous ringing of bells in Florence, Venice, and even at Parma's cathedral following the news of Mehmed's death leaves little room for misinterpretation.<sup>39</sup> Popular tracts, their reach amplified by the printing press, likewise proclaimed the good news far and wide in media ranging from printed broadsheets to triumphal poems and histories.<sup>40</sup>

Ultimately, Turcophobia does not represent a particularly useful category in evaluating late fifteenth-century ideology. Any European Christian with even a cursory stake in the political and commercial affairs of the Mediterranean had reason enough for Turcophobia of some sort. By the time the *Geographia* left Niccolò's shop in 1482, Mehmed's armies had sacked Otranto in the kingdom of Naples, and news of the event spread rapidly in print, followed by polemic exaggeration of Ottoman violence toward civilians. Indeed by the early sixteenth century, thanks in large part to printed tracts, the tale of Otranto's siege had taken on the character of martyrology.<sup>41</sup> There would have been few in Italy, indeed in Europe, who failed to fear the Ottomans, even if some political optimists, like Lorenzo de' Medici, saw reason to rejoice in the pressure put on Naples in the midst of Florence's ongoing conflicts with that kingdom and other peninsular neighbors.<sup>42</sup>

Fear of the region's most accomplished military force and of the explicitly expansionist goals behind its engagements is a predictable and fairly transparent reaction and need not be conflated with the sort of pervasive and sublimated anxiety that recent scholarship on the early modern period has been so keen to locate in hegemonic apparati of the day.<sup>43</sup> Nor, at its root, should this state of affairs be read as one of cultural and religious misunderstanding transposed onto the field of political hostility. There were likely few Egyptian Mamluks who did not demonstrate a certain degree of fear of the Ottomans themselves.<sup>44</sup> The near constant state of hostilities between the Mamluk and Ottoman states in the fifteenth century is illustrated by the fact that Cem first sought military aid from the Mamluks, understanding them to be an enemy of his brother's regime. Only three years later the Mediterranean's strongest Muslim states were at war with each other.<sup>45</sup> The Mamluks ultimately lost even Egypt to the Ottomans in 1517, further solidifying the latter's access to resources, control of the Mediterranean, and imperial aspirations.

Even more clearly, the moniker of Turcophile proves an inadequate descriptor of early modern Italian attitudes toward the Ottoman state and its people. In crucial respects, notions of the Renaissance Turcophile are dependent on a misunderstanding of the use of rhetoric. Scholars are currently engaged in the much-needed process of reexamining our notions of humanist attitudes toward the Ottomans as displayed in their writings. James Hankins has pointed out, for example, that humanist animosity toward the Ottomans and Islam has been consistently underestimated through a persistent failure to recognize the sincerity of fifteenth- and sixteenth-century humanist crusade invective.<sup>46</sup> Many of these tracts have their genesis in didactic exercises, so historians once tended to regard the genre as “mere” rhetoric. The very prevalence of the call to crusade amongst these exercises, however, should remind us of the currency that such ideas enjoyed in fifteenth-century Europe.<sup>47</sup> Historians engaged in the reevaluation of Renaissance sermons have called attention to the potentially ideologically charged nature of formulaic texts.<sup>48</sup> The importance of paying close attention to texts that were often considered traditional, derivative, and rhetorical is eloquently summed up by Ronald Weissman, who notes:

The identification of material as being the traditional stuff of sermons does not help explain why this or that citation is used. Rather than express meaning in their own words, lay preachers often chose the words of others but, nevertheless, expressed their own meanings by making the choices they did.<sup>49</sup>

Berlinghieri, in fact, makes an appearance as a character in one such traditional crusade exercise penned by Benedetto Colluci da Pistoia, apparently written around 1472.<sup>50</sup> Colluci’s *Declamationes* employ five young Florentine humanists as mouthpieces for Latin epistles addressed to heads of state including the Venetian Senate and Pope Sixtus IV. These letters are performed for an audience of illustrious Florentines with Marsilio Ficino presiding over the proceedings as an elder statesman. The author of the *Geographia*, identified as “the first born Francesco Berlinghieri,” appears to express his approval for the virulently anti-Ottoman oration of a younger relative also named Francesco, most likely his nephew.<sup>51</sup> The tract, addressed to Galeazzo Maria Sforza, warns the duke of Milan of the dangers of Italian civil war and exhorts him to take up arms for the preservation of Italy and Christendom. Mehmed here is compared with Attila and Hannibal. The Ottomans are referred to

once as Trojans, but throughout the oration as barbarians. The military aid of two recipients of luxury copies of the *Geographia*, Lorenzo de' Medici and the king of Naples is also called for.<sup>52</sup>

The circumstances of Colluci's tract are almost certainly imaginary. Sets of such orations were often printed in an attempt both to secure the favor of dignitaries and to influence political and economic decisions about the feasibility of crusade.<sup>53</sup> They should not be understood as unproblematic reflections of ideological positions held by their fictionalized participants.<sup>54</sup> Nevertheless, they point to the intellectual environment in which Berlinghieri composed his verse and prepared his book for the press. Ficino was, we have seen, a close friend and mentor to Berlinghieri, providing counsel on life's most important matters and lending assistance when needed.<sup>55</sup> Owing to the slippery and vague qualities of his own philosophical mixture of Christianity, Platonism, and Hermeticism, Ficino is most frequently remembered as espousing what Paul Oskar Kristeller described as the assertion, "that religion as such is universal and common to all human beings, and that every particular religion is a more or less perfect species of this universal religion, a notion which may be used for a doctrine of religious tolerance."<sup>56</sup> Kristeller observed that Ficino even owned a Latin translation of the *Qur'an*. The work in which this doctrine of tolerance is purportedly most clearly articulated is, in fact, Ficino's *On the Christian Religion*. The crux of the book's argument, one central to most Renaissance apologetics on Christianity, is the superiority of the Christian religion over both Judaism and Islam.<sup>57</sup> It is in this book that we find the only evidence of Ficino having read parts of the *Qur'an* and, as Kristeller charitably noted, he showed "a rather limited knowledge" of its contents. Further, the manuscript usually regarded as a *Qur'an* is in fact a compilation containing both quotations from Islamic scripture and the popular work *Against the Doctrine of the Saracens* by Riccoldo da Montecroce.<sup>58</sup> Like nearly all "Corani" produced in the fifteenth century, Ficino's was both a distortion of its source and a guide to disputing its claims.<sup>59</sup> Indeed this situation prevailed in the sixteenth century as well. The *Qur'an* translated into Italian by Giovanni Battista Castrodardo and printed in Venice in 1547 included a lengthy treatise on the errors of Islam and on the tyranny of Ottoman rule.<sup>60</sup>

Berlinghieri, to whom Ficino sent a copy as soon as it was complete, was among the earliest readers of *De Christiana Religione—On the Christian Religion*—and we can probably assume a certain degree of sympathy for its ideology on the part of the *Geographia*'s author.<sup>61</sup> The rhetoric of Ficino's

tract is relatively benign by the standards of the day in opting for debate in place of crusade. Cardinal Bessarion, in contrast, represented the Ottomans as an irrational and insatiable foe with whom both sincere conversion and legitimate diplomacy were impossible.<sup>62</sup> Our admiration for Ficino's tolerance should be tempered, however, by the recognition that, like nearly all his contemporaries, the philosopher's principal motivation in attempting to understand Islam was the hope of establishing the supremacy of Christianity and procuring the conversion of Muslims.

Further, in focusing exclusively on *De Christiana Religione*, we ignore the fact that, in a number of his letters, Ficino does not hesitate to incite Christian military aggression against the Ottomans or to apply the epithet of barbarian to them. Two letters to Pope Sixtus IV advise the pontiff to engage in crusade, in no uncertain terms. In the first of these, Ficino reminds Sixtus that unless he strikes, "the Turk, that savage enemy of the Church . . . is about to devour this wretched flock of yours, and indeed you first."<sup>63</sup> In another epistle, Ficino, speaking in the voice of Sixtus, exclaims, "Turn your selves upon the barbarian wolves. Go with speed, I say, while it is still summer, before the wolves launch a more ferocious attack on me as well as my flock. Almighty God Himself will fight for us against the Turks, enemies of divine law."<sup>64</sup> Ficino was not alone among Berlinghieri's scholarly circle in taking a dim view of the Ottomans. The poet's cousin, the Dominican Giovanni Caroli may even have responded to an ideological penchant for crusade in Berlinghieri with his decision to dedicate to him his life of John of Ragusa, a Croatian humanist renowned for preaching crusade.<sup>65</sup>

Arguably more important than the prevalence of overtly negative attitudes toward the Ottomans, close studies of the rhetoric deployed in ostensibly favorable Renaissance descriptions, particularly that drawing on a shared classical and imperial heritage, suggest deep ambiguities. The omnipresent flattery of the sultan through comparison with Alexander the Great, for example, often cited as a relationship of equality, seems to have had less than wholly positive valences for many of the supposedly Turcophilic humanists who employed the trope.<sup>66</sup> In fact, a tradition stretching back to the early middle ages deployed Alexander as a negative exemplar of excess, pride, and, above all, despotism.<sup>67</sup> The *Geographia's* author was familiar with this tradition and, in fact, he employed a related rhetorical trope in his "Oration on Justice."<sup>68</sup> Here Berlinghieri contrasts the freedom of the Florentine citizenry under republican government to

the unjust servitude of the subjects of Alexander's successors. These include Sardanapalus, whom he calls "not a man but a monster," as well as those who govern "all the vast regions of Asia."<sup>69</sup> Indeed, despite a once common stereotype of later fifteenth-century Florentine humanists as politically disengaged and beholden to the Medici, a great many of the city's intellectuals expressed a distinct distaste for imperialism and despotism, often evidenced in a marked preference for "republican" rather than imperial Roman history.<sup>70</sup> These attitudes were often at odds with the likely political interests of Lorenzo vis-à-vis the Ottoman world. This dissonance is evident in the juxtaposition of Berlinghieri's praise for the assassins of Julius Caesar with the imperial placations of his letters to Bayezid and Cem. Still, powerful regimes (Florentine and Ottoman alike) rarely considered themselves despotic or tyrannical and Berlinghieri is careful to limit his political moralizing to the historical past.

Comparisons between the Ottoman state and Roman Empire were also marshaled in the service of wholly polemic and anti-Ottoman tracts. Guillaume Caoursin, the Hospitaller who committed his order's history into a popular Latin account also utilized the sort of classical vocabulary recognizable in Berlinghieri's poem. These allusions to antiquity, however, are deployed to radically different ends in the *Description of the Siege of Rhodes*. Caoursin compares Sultan Mehmed II, for example, with the Roman emperors on several occasions. Yet in this text, the author compares the sultan not with the generic "antichi imperatori" of the *Geographia*, but with Nero.<sup>71</sup> The message would have been clear to any marginally educated reader. Mehmed is portrayed as inept, cruel, and tyrannical. The negative evaluation of Roman imperial power that often found humanist expression, as in Berlinghieri's praise of tyrannicides in his description of Rome, is amplified in Caoursin's work. As in Berlinghieri's oration on justice, Sardanapalus is employed as a negative exemplar of rule. For the hospitaller, however, he is identified securely with Mehmed and his successor Bayezid, lest readers miss the point.<sup>72</sup>

Similarly, the much-contested humanist trope of bestowing the moniker of "Trojan"—*troiani* or *teucrici*—on the Ottomans reveals an ambivalence long unexplored by those who drew sharp divisions between Turcophobic and Turcophilic humanists. By the mid-fifteenth century, the practice of identifying the Ottomans with the survivors of Troy had gathered wide currency in Italian humanist writings.<sup>73</sup> It had become so prevalent that the future pope Pius II, Aeneas Sylvius Piccolomini railed against it in his *Europa* and *Asia*, insisting

that the Ottomans were in fact the direct descendants of the Scythians and implying that they had not progressed far from those barbarous roots.<sup>74</sup> An aspect of this etymology, however, is often ignored by those wishing to see evidence here of a wholly tolerant strain of Italian humanism. In fact, where the label Trojan was employed, it was often to justify or explain Ottoman aggression against the Byzantine Greeks, positing revenge for the siege of Troy as a motivation for Ottoman expansionism.<sup>75</sup> The Trojan origins of the Ottomans, then, are considerably more complicated than a simple extension of invitation into a community of classical heritage. Even to their most enthusiastic humanist proponents, the Trojan Turks' classical heritage had its roots in, and was identified through, Ottoman military aggression.<sup>76</sup> Whether in conferring the title of Trojan or through comparison to Alexander, "positive" Italian humanist conceptions of Ottomans explicitly identify their objects exclusively with the martial heritage of the classical world suggesting that learned evaluations of the Ottomans were scarcely more "amicable" than those of Italy's political and ecclesiastical leadership. We should note, however, that Mehmed had made use of this trope himself. The sultan owned a Greek copy of the *Iliad* and visited Troy in 1463.<sup>77</sup>

Berlinghieri avoided direct engagement with contemporary humanist debates on the origins of the Ottomans.<sup>78</sup> Though the deeds of the classical Trojans are mentioned with great frequency in his account of Asia Minor, no attempt is made to identify them with the Ottomans or any other modern people.<sup>79</sup> Similarly, while the Scythians are described, it is within the context of cataloging the historical peoples of the region. Thus while Berlinghieri repeats Pliny's remarks on Scythian cannibalism, he implies no comparison with the modern Ottomans.<sup>80</sup> Of course, this would not have prevented informed readers from making such inferences (indeed Berlinghieri might even have intended them), but it did ensure that there would be no problems for Ottoman readers. In fact, the further east the poet progresses, the less concrete references to the Ottomans (and Islamic societies) become. As we have seen, Berlinghieri invokes Ottomans and "Saracens" in his description of Europe, to explain historical circumstances (for example, Neapolitan freedom from Roman rule) and in praise of European military skill. As the *Geographia's* readers make their way toward Greece and Asia Minor, however, recent events begin to be gradually replaced with a considerably higher concentration of classical history and myth until what contemporary information does appear is principally of purely etymological (or moral) import. On

the one hand, we could posit a clever consideration of his potential readers on Berlinghieri's part. In reverting to a largely classical conception of the Aegean world, the *Geographia* delicately skirts any need to pass judgment on the Ottoman domination of the region. On the other hand, Ottoman readers would likely have found the Anatolia and Greece described by Berlinghieri somewhat perplexing and unrecognizable and their own erasure from that landscape would hardly have pleased. J. B. Harley suggested that we could tell as much from the "silences" in maps, from what they ignore, as from what their makers choose to represent.<sup>81</sup> The historical lens provided by Renaissance geography allowed here for a kind of wish fulfillment, the recreation of a classical world free from the political rifts of a fifteenth-century Mediterranean torn by crusade, jihad, and countless more pedestrian varieties of warfare and political division.

There is some evidence that Berlinghieri wagered that the Ottoman dignitaries would not read far enough into his book to reach Asia Minor. Cem's copy lacks illuminated initials, for example, after the end of Book Four. This might, too, be due to the haste in which the poet claimed this copy had to be produced.<sup>82</sup> Nor is such partial hand-illumination uncommon in books intended principally for gift presentation. Further, we might ask whether Ottoman readership is likely in the first place, given that the text is written not only in vernacular Tuscan, but also in often-difficult rhyming verse. While fifteenth-century European sources sometimes credited Mehmed II with knowledge of an extraordinary number of languages, there is little concrete evidence for his literacy outside of Arabic, Persian, and possibly Greek. Further, it would take a proficient reader of Italian indeed to puzzle through much of Berlinghieri's verse.<sup>83</sup> Kristovolous, the sultan's Greek biographer, in his section "How the Sultan was also a Philosopher," observed that Mehmed read, "whatever works of the Greeks had been translated into the language of the Arabs and Persians."<sup>84</sup> While Mehmed was known to have employed a tutor in Greek, none of the sultan's apologists attribute proficiency in either Latin or Italian.<sup>85</sup> This should probably not be surprising given the balance of power in the Eastern Mediterranean, and the sources of antiquarian, and hence imperial, culture both most accessible to the sultan and most efficacious to his subjects. Bayezid, by all accounts, had substantially less interest than his father in the classical literature and culture of Rome and Greece, and is also unlikely to have acquired such linguistic skills.<sup>86</sup> And though Cem spent much of his life amongst speakers of French and Italian, his earliest



biographers (both Ottoman and Western European) observed that he communicated exclusively through translators among his entourage.<sup>87</sup>

This need not suggest that Bayezid and Cem would have had no access to the *Geographia's* text. For both diplomatic and scholarly pursuits, the Ottoman sultans employed translators fluent in a wide variety of languages, and had the work aroused Bayezid's curiosity there would have been little problem in securing a professional who could read it to him.<sup>88</sup> Further, we might consider the possibility that Europeans in the entourage around Cem especially were probably an intended part of Berlinghieri's community of readers and viewers. Cem's frequent movement from place to place, the transference of his guardianship from the knights, to the papacy, and eventually to the king of Naples, the attempts by agents of Mathias Corvinus to reach him all suggest that European powers were vying with and attempting to impress each other as much as the Ottomans in their relations with the captive prince.<sup>89</sup>

Berlinghieri played a prominent role in producing the copies of his book that were sent to Bayezid and Cem. Nevertheless, such an endeavor is still a far cry from having penned his verse with that specific goal in mind (as many as fifteen years before the date of the printed edition). Whether out of consideration for potential Ottoman readers or due to his deep interest in the history and etymology of the ancient world, however, the *Geographia's* verse is characteristic of a general trend in medieval and early modern geographical writing relating spatial and temporal distance.<sup>90</sup> In part, this tendency no doubt stems from a dependence on classical sources, ultimately giving the appearance of rendering distant people and places "out of time." Such temporal displacement has often been understood as a technique of "othering" non-Christians in the early modern Mediterranean.<sup>91</sup> Indeed Edward Said identified this strategy as an example of proto-Orientalist trends in Renaissance thought.<sup>92</sup> Again, however, the *Geographia* fails to embrace a stable attitude—for in focusing its Asia almost exclusively on ancient Greek and Roman history, its verse effaces not only the Ottomans, but also Florence's Christian contemporaries, the Byzantines and the remnants of the Latin crusader states.<sup>93</sup> Berlinghieri exalts classical Athens as the birthplace of liberty and as the home of countless philosophers and poets yet makes no mention of the present political situation in Greece.<sup>94</sup> One of the risks of the kind of reanimation of the dead I have argued is characteristic of Renaissance *Geography* is that it can also have the effect of petrifying and fossilizing the living.

### Print and the Ottoman World

Printing and the distribution it allowed for certain books, like any new technology, provided various avenues for its use. It was neither limited nor engaged in an ideological sense. This should be evident in the wake of the withering attacks on technological determinism waged by many scholars of print.<sup>95</sup> The sense, however, that technological forms were wedded to economic strata, which in turn produced ideological reactions (independent of the agency of those wielding them), is potent in scholarship on the Renaissance. The argument supports a notion of commerce as a force for the promotion of tolerance and coexistence—the lack of commensurability between the former and the latter notwithstanding—in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. This hypothesis is particularly flattering for historians of material culture and historians of the book, since the very objects of our inquiry are thus invested with tremendous agency in bringing about dramatic social changes that echo our own value system. Yet this correspondence alone should give us pause. We might ask whether we are remaking fifteenth-century print culture in our own aspirational image; fashioning the burgeoning technology as a vital component of a notion of commerce privileging the traffic in goods as inherently progressive, as bridging gaps both ideological and geographic.

Caoursin's *Description of the Siege of Rhodes*, written in the 1490s, provides one salient example of the ways in which fifteenth-century print culture could equally serve the needs of invective and even hate. Ostensibly a history of the knights of Saint John beginning with the successful defense of their island fortress at Rhodes from Mehmed II's forces in 1480 up to his own day, Caoursin's work also included the most complete account of the civil war between Bayezid and Cem, and of Cem's exile, in any European source.<sup>96</sup> Like Berlinghieri, Caoursin was intimately concerned with the princes' struggle for their father's throne. The *Geographia* was aimed, at least in part, at placating those princes. Caoursin, in contrast, dedicated his tract to the grand master of the knights, Pierre d'Aubusson, and intended his book as a diplomatic and political overture on behalf of the order toward Christian allies who might take up arms against the Ottomans.

Like the *Geographia*, the *Description* was also produced in lavish manuscript in a version housed today in Paris.<sup>97</sup> It also quickly found its way into print, and the text, in contrast with Berlinghieri's rather specialized humanist geography, enjoyed a long afterlife as an historical account and continued to

be reprinted as such as late as 1926.<sup>98</sup> The knight's Latin was also rapidly translated into several vernacular languages, and a printed English translation was dedicated to King Edward IV in 1482.<sup>99</sup> Johan Reger of Ulm produced a fully illustrated edition, utilizing some three-dozen woodcuts in 1496. Reger, like the Florentine Niccolò, printed a large number of illustrated books on a wide range of topics. He was, of course, responsible for the woodcut version of Ptolemy's *Geography* printed simultaneously with Berlinghieri's *Geographia*.<sup>100</sup> As is the case with the Ulm Ptolemy, the woodcuts for the 1496 edition of Caoursin's text are of quite high quality. They evidently proved an effective aid to the hospitaller's text since they were reprinted and adapted, continuing to circulate well into the sixteenth century.<sup>101</sup> The book, a relatively inexpensive quarto, found its way into libraries throughout Europe.

Berlinghieri's work demonstrated the potential that printed texts offered to shrewd authors, printers, and patrons for negotiating fraught diplomatic relationships and producing wide ranging social networks of readers. Caoursin and Reger's project, a markedly more successful commercial undertaking, shows instead printing's ability to rapidly circulate powerful propaganda and effective stereotypes.<sup>102</sup> Like the *Geographia*, Caoursin's book opens with a portrait of its author working diligently in his study.<sup>103</sup> He appears in Reger's woodcut seated at a broad table, pen in hand, another quill discarded nearby, still more ready in attached inkwells. He is dressed in the usual attire of the hospitallers, the red cross of the order emblazoned across his chest. This is a sparser workspace than the *Geographia's* author enjoyed but one that follows in the same tradition of images of Jerome, Dante, and other illustrious scholars. If images like this suggest a correspondence with Berlinghieri's project and his ambivalent attitudes that is quickly dispelled as the reader turns the pages.

In providing illustrations of Cem's travels in exile, the book's illustrators had the relatively rare opportunity to create a series of images of Ottoman life. For example, Caoursin's illustrations represent the only images of the Hajj (the pilgrimage to Mecca) produced by fifteenth-century European artists. These images, however, proved a powerful tool for reinforcing negative and erroneous stereotypes of Islam. In the illuminated manuscript prepared for Pierre d'Aubusson, this image serves as a blatant accusation of idolatry, a blasphemous image by Muslim standards. Here, the prince kneels before an altar

surmounted by a cult idol representing the prophet and reinforcing accusations present in numerous fifteenth-century apologetics against Islam.<sup>104</sup>

At first glance, the image of the Ottoman prince's pilgrimage appearing in the edition printed by Reger seems to soften this polemic (Figure 22). Most obviously, no graven image of the prophet appears there. It is clear that the designer and block cutter had little familiarity with Muslim worship, since the figures adopt a Christian attitude of prayer, kneeling before what appears to be a reliquary, their hands folded in front of them. It might be argued that this translation of identifiably Christian practices of worship destabilizes any facile notion of "othering" active in the woodcut. On closer inspection, however, the charges of idolatry remain intact. Turning to the label above the image, readers are informed that here "Cem prostrates himself before the pseudo prophet Mohammed at Mecca."<sup>105</sup>

A sense of unmitigated hostility is often viscerally present throughout the illustrations both in manuscript and print. We have already seen the Ulm printmakers' gleeful depictions of dissent and strife within the Ottoman ranks in the numerous images of Cem and Bayezid's military encounters. This political expediency takes on a decidedly confessional, even eschatological tone in one of the book's most powerful images. Following the depiction of a prophetic earthquake, viewers are presented with the final moments of Mehmed II's life (Figure 23).<sup>106</sup> The sultan appears here, reclining in a canopied bed, surrounded by his temporal and spiritual advisors. Though his head is surmounted by the crown of his earthly realm, Mehmed's arms are mere spindles, and his chest appears sunken, his ribs visibly protruding. At the upper left, a winged and serpentine demon wrests a naked infant, the sultan's immortal soul, from his expiring body. The message is plain, unambiguous, and was undoubtedly comforting to those like Caoursin who had suffered at the hands of Mehmed's military. In this woodcut, the sultan's temporal successes come to naught, since they cannot save him from eternal damnation and punishment. In his accompanying text, Caoursin also assures readers that since Mehmed leaves his empire as a house divided between the inept Bayezid and captive Cem, that even this terrestrial accomplishment is a fleeting one.<sup>107</sup>

None of the attitudes present in these images are unique to Caoursin's book. They are not even rare, for that matter, and the basic contours of the spiritual struggle between Christianity and Islam were venerable ones when

the book left Reger's shop in 1496. Yet thanks to the printing press, images that would have been seen by a handful of courtiers and dignitaries in Caoursin's manuscripts were given new material life and found their way into the hands of countless readers for the next several centuries. Print technology provided an opportunity for authors like Berlinghieri to expand substantially their intellectual networks throughout the Mediterranean world, and it allowed the Florentine government to harness that network, including the Ottoman princes, for diplomatic purposes. Equally, the *Description of the Siege of Rhodes* shows that print provided new outlets for the rapid dissemination of "medieval" stereotypes and invectives that sought to push that same Mediterranean world to the brink of holy war.

A significant question remains regarding the *Geographia's* representation of Florentine cultural magnificence: What role did printing play in these ambitions? Florence's reputation as a center for the production of precious manuscripts of Ptolemy and Mehmed's penchant for geographical knowledge would have made the *Geographia* a suitable choice as a gift to the sultan. But why were *printed* copies sent to Bayezid and Cem? Manuscripts, after all, were made as gifts for both Lorenzo de' Medici and Federico da Montefeltro. The first Ottoman press to print Turkish texts was not established until 1729.<sup>108</sup> This fact has often led to the conclusion that printed materials were anomalous, marginal parts of early modern Ottoman material culture.<sup>109</sup> Probably an even greater impediment to a reevaluation of the importance of printing in the Ottoman world has been an assumption that printing was not an integral component of fifteenth- and sixteenth-century Islamic material and visual culture as a whole. A monolithic view of an Islamic world in which "a fault in a text loomed much larger" than in the West and in which "stories bounced down the centuries about scholars who burned or poured water over their manuscripts . . . lest they be copied with mistakes" has proved resilient.<sup>110</sup>

Art historians, historians of technology, and book historians are engaged in an ongoing process of revising this somewhat schematic understanding of Islamic visual culture and its relationship to the "print revolution."<sup>111</sup> This reevaluation touches not only on our conception of printing in the Islamic world but also on overarching and hegemonic constructs of what constitutes Islamic visual culture as a whole. Most importantly, art historians have, following in the footsteps of Oleg Grabar's foundational work, actively worked to dismantle the once prevalent assumption that Islamic art fundamentally eschewed representation.<sup>112</sup> In part, this shift has drawn on productive revi-

sions of the once equally overlooked Jewish visual culture of early modern Europe, especially David Freedberg's powerful delineation of what he called "the myth of aniconism."<sup>113</sup> Likewise the once woefully understudied early modern Jewish printing industry might provide a model for reevaluating Ottoman print culture. The prominence and vibrancy of Jewish printed books in early modern Venice, for example, points to the dangers of dogmatic assumptions regarding cultural affinity and antipathy towards technologies and imagery.<sup>114</sup> This recalibration, while hardly earth-shattering in the overall scope of understanding Ottoman visual culture, can allow us to view print as substantially less anomalous within that milieu and can hopefully shift our scholarly response from one of surprise toward description and analysis.<sup>115</sup>

Moving beyond surprise we can ask then why printed books with engraved maps were sent to Cem and Bayezid. Were the Ottoman princes not deemed important enough to warrant manuscripts? Was it perhaps believed that the somewhat less labor intensive and less expensive printed copies would go unnoticed by foreign viewers who lacked visual discernment, or might other factors have played a role in the decision? One distinct possibility is that the technology of printing might have been thought to carry a certain degree of novelty and hence interest for the Ottoman court.<sup>116</sup> Printing, after all, was known to the Ottomans principally through foreign examples, and it is plausible that engraved images on the scale of the *Geographia's* maps could have made a distinct impression in Ottoman Constantinople. In the sixteenth century a vibrant Jewish printing industry would arise within the city and its environs. In the late fifteenth century, however, printed books likely still conveyed a sense of the distant, perhaps even of the exotic. It has also been suggested that, like the practice of geography, engraving might have been seen as a particular area of Florentine expertise, a sort of *prodotto tipico*.<sup>117</sup> Mehmed, at least, was understood to have some sense of the artistic patrimony of the city, and he had acquired, at some point, a small collection of early Italian engravings, in large part Florentine, which survives at the Topkapi Palace.<sup>118</sup> Some of these prints appear to have been gathered together by a western European merchant or diplomat and passed on to the sultan, possibly as a gift. Others, however, appear unrelated to this group and may have been gathered by Mehmed himself from a variety of sources. Indeed there is evidence that Mehmed was developing something of a taste for the graphic arts at precisely the same time that such an appreciation was surfacing in Italy. Gentile Bellini appears to have given one of his father Jacopo's model books

to Mehmed on his departure from Constantinople around 1480, and an album also survives with practice drawings apparently in the sultan's own hand.<sup>119</sup> Furthermore, an Ottoman embassy to Florence of 1480 requested from Lorenzo and the Signoria, on behalf of Mehmed not only maestri "di legname, e di tarsio . . . e di squlture bronzo" but also "maestri d'intaglio" according to the chronicler Benedetto Dei.<sup>120</sup> While this could, of course, be a request for engravers of precious metal or armor, it is also possible that it refers to printmakers. Berlinghieri, in his letter to Bayezid, in fact, calls the engravers of his maps "intagliatori."<sup>121</sup> Nor are printed books a rarity in the sultanate collections. Mehmed's library included a wide variety of printed texts on a range of subjects. Many of these were undoubtedly received as gifts, but others might have been actively acquired by the sultan, his advisers, and court intellectuals. While Mehmed's collecting practices, especially his attitude toward European humanist scholarship, has been seen as anomalous, the acquisition of printed material continued throughout the sixteenth century, especially during the reign of Suleiman I.<sup>122</sup>

The prevalence of hand-coloring and illumination in copies of early printed books, including those copies of the *Geographia* sent to Bayezid and Cem might once have seemed an obstacle to this hypothesis. One searches these books in vain to find remaining signs of those black lines on white paper that Peter Parshall has referred to as a developing "printed aesthetic."<sup>123</sup> David Woodward identified a "copperplate map aesthetic" in fifteenth- and sixteenth-century Italy, which he described as "the stark contrast of distinct black lines against very white paper."<sup>124</sup> The presence, however, of hand-coloring and illumination in nearly every incunabulum owned or addressed to important recipients in the 1470s and 1480s suggests that such augmentation was understood as integral to the printing process rather than as a means of disguising the nature of such products.<sup>125</sup> A surviving contract for the first printed Ptolemy, the Bologna *Geography* of 1477, specifies that the maps be delivered "uncolored" to its financier, Giovanni degli Accursi, suggesting just how common the practice was.<sup>126</sup> Given that twenty of the twenty-six surviving copies of this edition include hand-colored maps, it would appear that Giovanni was motivated by commitment to a specific coloring operation, rather than a desire to leave the maps uncolored.<sup>127</sup> We might speculate that the *Geographia* could have been received by Bayezid and Cem as examples of the labor-saving miracle and novelty of printing rather than as representative of any particular aesthetic. In this respect, the ability of hand-illuminators to make the printed



page look like that of a manuscript would have amplified rather than detracted from appreciation of the *Geographia* as a product of printing. For authors interested in the potential of books to cement and maintain networks, nothing could have been more welcomed than a technology that, at base, made the process of manuscript production faster. Though the point may seem banal, it is nonetheless worth reiterating. If fifteenth-century printers could have produced their maps in color they would surely have done so.

Berlinghieri and the artists working for him still understood the medium of the illuminated manuscript to represent the highest level of prestige book production, even if they also clearly recognized hand-illuminated, printed books as competing with and forming a part of this scale of luxury objects. Guidobaldo da Montefeltro and Lorenzo de' Medici, holding two of the most important and intellectually advantageous libraries of the period, each received illuminated manuscripts. Certainly this casts some doubt on Jerry Brotton's claim that "Berlinghieri repeatedly attempted to dedicate the *Geographia* to an Ottoman sultan, over and above potential Italian patrons like the Medici family."<sup>128</sup> Francesca Fiorani likewise posited that the *Geographia* "testified to the relevance of Ottoman patronage in Renaissance Italy."<sup>129</sup> No testimony, however, is probably necessary to the relevance of Ottoman patronage; the patronage of Italian artists and scholars by Mehmed II and Suleiman the Magnificent has long been documented. Arguably, a notion of Ottoman patronage is absolutely essential to understandings of Gentile Bellini's career.<sup>130</sup> Nothing, however, indicates that such patronage played a role in the production of the *Geographia*. The copies sent to Bayezid and Cem were certainly gifts, and if patronage was involved it was likely that of Lorenzo de' Medici and the Florentine Signoria. Any reading of the *Geographia*'s journey across the Mediterranean must consider its relationship to the Ottoman court as one that was embarked on "in addition to" rather than "over and above" the work's insinuation in networks of European book production and consumption.<sup>131</sup>

The dedication of copies of the work to Bayezid and Cem, whether conceived by Berlinghieri himself or at the urging of Lorenzo, falls securely into a pattern of European diplomatic relations, which sought to placate the legitimate Sultan Bayezid while lavishing attention and gifts on Cem, their "guest." In doing so, some Christian European rulers, like Mathias Corvinus, hoped to sow dissent and looked to a day when Cem, indebted to European hospitality and protection, could be installed in his brother's place. Caoursin

openly voiced the most cynical of these ambitions, arguing that bestowing hospitality on Cem would fan internal strife in the Ottoman state. He compares the situation of divided power that might thus arise to famous conflicts among the heirs of the Roman emperors.<sup>132</sup> Likewise, woodcut illustrations of battles between forces loyal to Cem and Bayezid in Reger's edition gave visceral graphic expression to this Christian aspiration (Figure 24). There, Ottomans, identified especially by their turbans, hack one another to pieces as decapitated heads and dismembered limbs pile on the ground.

More pragmatic voices, including Caoursin's dedicatee, the grandmaster of the knights of Saint John, and later the pope, instead understood that keeping Cem securely out of his half-brother's path could be used to secure lucrative treaties, permissions, and even outright bribes from Bayezid.<sup>133</sup> The letter of dedication in the copy in Turin explicitly voices these hopes in referring to Cem's eventual "reign."<sup>134</sup> At the very least, even if a characterization of Berlinghieri as an author seeking the favor and employment of the Ottoman court is accepted, we must acknowledge a certain cynical hedging of one's bets in this process of dedication. The copy conveyed to Bayezid predictably makes no reference to the corresponding dedication to the sultan's half brother. It is also a more lavish example with its manuscript maps and hand-illuminated wind heads, for example. Cem's copy, however, refers to the work as "like that given to your brother, in memory of your beloved father, the Sultan."<sup>135</sup> While on the one hand, these words would have revealed to Cem that the *Geographia* had been dedicated to Bayezid as well, they demonstrate on the other hand that the author (and perhaps the Florentine state) regarded Cem as highly as the legitimate ruler of the Ottoman state, a desire surely close to the prince's heart.

### Commerce, Exchange and Material Culture in the Renaissance Mediterranean

In his *The Renaissance Bazaar*, Jerry Brotton described the early modern Mediterranean world as an environment in which:

Eastern and Western societies vigorously traded art, ideas, and luxury goods in a competitive but amicable exchange that shaped what we now call the European Renaissance. The eastern bazaar is a fitting metaphor for the fluid transactions that occurred throughout the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, when Europe begin to define itself by purchasing and emulating the

opulence and cultured sophistication of the cities, merchants, scholars, and empires of the Ottomans, the Persians, and the Egyptian Mamluks.<sup>136</sup>

Invoking substantially the same geographical and chronological situation, the great historian Fernand Braudel, in 1966, stated that:

The Levant trade resulted from great tensions; it was anything but natural and free-flowing. It presupposed a series of efforts and stages without which the operation would hardly have been possible at all. One violent shock would be enough to upset the whole system. One has only to think how many times a sack of pepper from India, or a sack of cloves from the East Indies, must have been handled before it reached a shop, first in Aleppo, then in Venice, and finally in Nuremberg.<sup>137</sup>

Brotton and Braudel's accounts disagree radically on the very nature of the exchanges they describe. The *Annales* school pioneer understood early modern trade in the Mediterranean and across the Atlantic as part of a precariously balanced set of alliances, maintained only through constant diligence.<sup>138</sup> Brotton, on the other hand, sees in the "fluidity" of these trading relations a cultural "melting pot" in which the best of a variety of traditions were amicably fused. The point, however, is not simply that the same historical material provides the possibility for such divergent readings. Rather, what is so striking here is that both Brotton and Braudel understand the Mediterranean essentially as a single world and the early modern as a period fundamentally bound up with the intercultural exchanges that permeated it and yet arrive at quite different evaluations of these transactions.<sup>139</sup> Even the most sinister components of this world might be held in common, as Suraiya Faroqhi has shown in her examination of the "shared" reliance on slave labor for galleys.<sup>140</sup>

My intention, then, is not to suggest that we embrace a version of the Mediterranean as understood by Braudel and his generation. Nor, for that matter, do I espouse this or that model of "Mediterraneanism"; a task that would require a rather lengthier (and possibly more tedious) digression than possible here. Instead, I mean simply to point out that the adoption of a framework that foregrounds cultural exchange proves something less than the panacea promised by some recent scholars; recognition of and attention to points of cultural contact cannot, in and of themselves, guarantee a deeper understanding of the legitimately cross-cultural aspects of this early modern world. These exchanges are, at root, far from unambiguous ones and calling attention to their complexity tells us little more. Ultimately, what is at stake

here is not just an understanding of cultural contact in the early modern Mediterranean but the definition and constitution of the very concept of “exchange.”

Scholars of exchange in the Renaissance have pointed to the emergence of consumer economies in the period as a determining influence on the possibility of cultural interaction between East and West in the Mediterranean.<sup>141</sup> Indeed the bazaar has proven to be a popular metaphor for the Renaissance Mediterranean, a hub of trade in which buying and selling reign supreme and in which anything can be had if the price is right.<sup>142</sup> Of course, identification of the origins of a consumerist supply- and demand-based economy in early modern Italy is canonical.<sup>143</sup> The explosion of interest in Renaissance material culture has further reinforced such connections.<sup>144</sup> If the search for such Renaissance consumerism is a long-standing one, the meaning of this search and the values attached to economic developments have shifted decisively. Novel in recent treatments of this consumerism is the proposal that the increasingly robust trade of the fifteenth- and sixteenth-century Mediterranean laid the groundwork for tolerance and an appreciation of cultural difference.<sup>145</sup> The establishment of a consumer economy, it is said, brought with it increasing demand for goods from the East, forcing the interaction of cultures formerly disposed to ideological hostility. Port cities, for example, have been framed as zones in which the prejudices characteristic of land-locked metropolises were muted or sometimes absent.<sup>146</sup> In such a view, Bernard Lewis’s “clash of civilizations” was, if not neutralized, then at least mitigated by commerce.<sup>147</sup>

Of course, the notion that trade promoted tolerance and understanding between diverse cultures bears a striking resemblance to neoliberal fantasies of the positive effects of the twenty-first century’s increasingly global economy.<sup>148</sup> Such fantasies, all too often have been belied by the collapse of global financial markets and the revitalized calls for local economic controls in the wake of such failures. Equally, the stubborn presence of fundamentalisms, the lingering and even revitalized presence of racism and ethnocentrism in the face both of rhetorics of tolerance and economic prosperity suggests that participants in exchanges need not be understood as predisposed to ideologically neutral or mutually beneficial interactions. These determinist connections between tolerance and trade are dismissed easily enough. On the level of pure historical description an intrinsic connection between trade and toler-

ance is difficult to locate and counter-examples abound.<sup>149</sup> A great deal of the most meaningful cultural exchange that took place in the Renaissance Mediterranean originated in European courts and among prominent individual members of the aristocracy rather than as parts of a burgeoning market economy.<sup>150</sup> What, indeed, are we to make of the court cultures that loom so large in the history of Renaissance patronage of art and literature? Both Dana Katz and Stephen Campbell have pointed to the artistic culture of Ferrara as one that held extraordinary possibilities for apparent displays of tolerance toward that city-state's Jewish population; this, despite the thoroughly feudal nature of Ferrarese social and economic conditions.<sup>151</sup> If tolerance is understood to be principally vested in the participants of Mediterranean consumer exchange, the view promoted by art historians of a Mantuan state exceptionally tolerant of its Jewish population seems likewise difficult to reconcile.<sup>152</sup>

The exchange of consumer goods serves, in this strand of argument so prevalent among historians of Renaissance art and material culture, as an ideologically neutral space or even as a domain whose own inexorable logic overrides the culturally divergent ideologies with which it collides.<sup>153</sup> Hence Berlinghieri's hypothetical attempt to "exchange" the *Geographia* (one commodity) for the patronage of Bayezid, Cem, or Mehmed (a reciprocal commodity) renders discussion of the ideological tensions that might accompany such interaction unproductive. Similarly, the willingness to negotiate with the Ottomans on the part of Lorenzo de' Medici and the Signoria, or the much better known arrangements frequently reached by the Venetian senate and the sultan to ensure favorable trade relations, have frequently been used to curtail further discussion of Florentine and Venetian attitudes towards the Ottomans. In fact, the general view of the Medici as shrewdly political Turcophiles is only ambivalently attested to in the historical record. A number of important anti-Ottoman and pro-crusading tracts were dedicated to prominent members of the Medici family in the fifteenth century.<sup>154</sup> Likewise, fifteenth- and sixteenth-century Venice abounded with anti-Ottoman broadsheets and pamphlets on topics ranging from the fall of Constantinople to the siege of Rhodes.

The desire to exchange one sort of good or service for another commensurate good or service is often cited as the amicable product of an open market. One could cynically point to the correlation between such rhetoric and the language used to justify expansionist global capitalism in the twenty-first century. In fact, however, this equality is the inevitable product of an analysis

that insists on defining the value of objects within a narrowly circumscribed, monolithic, and reified “economy.” A much wider range of economies than that suggested by notions of consumerism and market economy must be brought into play if we are to understand the role that an object like the *Geographia* played in its capacity as a gift.<sup>155</sup>

An even more vexing problem for historians of material culture, however, often underlies the preoccupation with Renaissance consumerism. Significant parallels certainly exist between early modern economies and later modern consumer cultures.<sup>156</sup> However, an overly narrow focus on these homologous elements tends to draw our attention away from the heterogeneity of early modern economies and the place of material culture within them. Our fascination with Renaissance consumerism tends, that is, to focus our attention on transactions and exchanges that look more or less like those of our own markets and away from equally vibrant systems of early modern exchange. The tenuous nature of Renaissance consumerism is particularly pronounced in precisely that economic sector around which discussions of such exchange are generally based; that is the manufacture of the arts even in so famously mercantile a center as Florence. Jean Cadogan, for example, has questioned the category of entrepreneurial artisanship in Renaissance Florence through her investigation of the practices of the Ghirlandaio workshop, once cited as the premier example of Renaissance artistic capitalism. She posits that there is no indication the artist “acted as would an entrepreneur, seeking to expand his business and maximize profits by delegating responsibility to associates.”<sup>157</sup> Even Richard Goldthwaite, an ardent enthusiast of the search for the origins of a truly capitalist economy in Renaissance Italy, has admitted that, “the success of the decorative arts sector did not mean much expansionist growth in the economy. Increased activity of the artisan industries in no significant way expanded Florence’s economic frontiers abroad, however much it boosted the city’s prestige as an art center.”<sup>158</sup> For our purposes, we have already seen that the consumerist, entrepreneurial elements of Florence’s early printed book industry coexisted with earlier and divergent means of production and distribution. Early book printing, and particularly that of specialized luxury objects such as Ptolemaic atlases, was expensive, time-consuming, and sometimes failed to generate a significant profit for book producers, at least in the short run.<sup>159</sup>

A similar case is provided by artists of the mid- to late fifteenth century who made use of engraving, probably not principally as a means of direct

financial gain but as a mechanism for the expansion of their reputation through the distribution of visual inventions and representative samples of their technical prowess.<sup>160</sup> In a letter of 1491, Andrea Mantegna assured his employer Francesco Gonzaga that he could provide him with another copy of a Madonna and Child engraving that the marchese had given away as a gift.<sup>161</sup> Certainly Mantegna cannot be considered the norm, given his privileged relationship with the Mantuan aristocracy, and operations centered more firmly on turning a profit existed. Nor should the relatively novel phenomenon of the single sheet print be conflated with printed books. Nonetheless, under a variety of circumstances, prints and other art objects, to which sometimes relatively slight economic value could be attached, functioned as luxury goods exchanged at the highest levels of European society.<sup>162</sup> Objects like the *Geographia*, which constitute the ranks of high-profile international gifts should certainly be placed in this category and appear to have operated, in fact, largely independently of consumerist elements of the early modern economy to which they are so frequently subsumed.<sup>163</sup>

The overly narrow focus on emerging consumer culture in early modern Italy further tends to isolate, even quarantine, the market-based economic value of material culture from the wider range of value systems in which such objects participate. In contrast, anthropologists like Daniel Miller have emphasized the continued and vibrant role that even mass-produced consumer goods play in processes of gift-giving, collecting, and self-fashioning.<sup>164</sup> Evelyn Welch, in her *Shopping in the Renaissance*, has productively emphasized just such inter-penetration between value systems through the ways in which fifteenth- and sixteenth-century Italians bought, sold, gave, and used goods.<sup>165</sup> Surely our estimation of the importance of material cultural production in early modern Italy must embrace both an evaluation of what Pierre Bourdieu has called “symbolic capital” as well as the immediate and purely economic effects of the trade in luxury goods.<sup>166</sup> As my consideration of the community-building potential of printed books has demonstrated, luxury atlases and polemic tracts served both as elements of this symbolic economy (as gifts from diplomats and authors alike) and as components of a developing market-based culture.

It is not so much that it is inaccurate to imagine that the *Geographia* and other humanist books circulated within a consumer economy. Rather, the invocation of consumerism can limit the possible varieties of interaction by insisting that goods, labor, and ideas within such an economy may be assigned



a discrete value.<sup>167</sup> Monetary values, of course, were attached to such objects as the *Geographia*. Numerous surviving printing contracts, agreements with illuminators, and bills of sale survive for early Italian printed books.<sup>168</sup> Michael Baxandall famously called attention to the ability of Florentines (at least males of the merchant class) to quickly reduce practically any array of visual data to a discrete quantity of common commodities at precisely this moment.<sup>169</sup> Nonetheless, the fact that objects and ideas could, in certain circumstances, receive such price tags neither exhausts their capacity to signify nor suggests that the realm of economic transactions was essentially insulated from wide-ranging ideological considerations. The very notion of a clearly delineated economic sphere divorced from ideology remains a fiction even under the conditions of advanced global capitalism. Peter Stallybrass and Ann Rosalind Jones have referred to this fantasy as a “squeamishness” on the part of capitalist societies in determining value, producing never entirely successful attempts “to separate cultural value from economics, persons from things, subjects from objects, the priceless (us) from the valueless (the detachable world).”<sup>170</sup> This very divorce was impossible under the conditions set forth by early printed book production. More importantly, it was fundamentally undesirable for authors and printers who sought to enhance their reputations and expand their influence through the distribution of books.

To understand the sort of exchange exemplified by the gift of the *Geographia* to Bayezid and Cem, or indeed most fifteenth-century book dedications, as functions only of an expanding consumer culture, is to ignore the significantly larger constellations of meaning in which such objects participated. If we are to speak of economics, then it must be in terms of “economies,” and these must, first and foremost, be understood as principally symbolic systems in which value adheres to objects in recognition of the advantages they impart to those associated with them. Bordieu calls these economies fields, and while, as was often the case in early modern Europe, the cultural capital accrued in the field of artistic production can be partially transferred to another field, such as that of monetary economics, no absolute equivalency is assured or reasonably expected.<sup>171</sup> In an effort to foreground this lack of strict equivalency, I tentatively suggest that “interchange” may more productively be used to characterize the material cultural contact under discussion here. In employing this term, I mean to retain a sense of the material importance of gifts while avoiding both the market-based equivalency and finite situation suggested by exchange.<sup>172</sup>

The gifting of a precious object to the Ottoman sultan, or for that matter to Federico da Montefeltro or Roberto Malatesta, represents only one element of what Marcel Mauss called “the system of total prestations.”<sup>173</sup> Anthropologists have long recognized that gifts do not represent discrete transactions between sets of individuals but rather the fulfillment of longstanding obligations and conditions of exchange on the part of the groups to which those individuals belong.<sup>174</sup> Gifts further perpetuated these obligations, ensuring their continuance and restaging them through reciprocation. Copies of the *Geographia* served as one material component of the relationship between Berlinghieri and a range of readers, viewers, dedicatees, and recipients. Crucially, these books were not simply slotted into existing relationships but were active in constituting and maintaining those relationships and communities.<sup>175</sup>

As Mauss, and more recently Alfred Gell, have emphasized, gifts do not function as inert commodities but rather as extensions of the groups and individuals between whom they form bonds.<sup>176</sup> For Gell, the artifacts of material culture are imbued with a form of “secondary agency” by means of which they stand in for their makers, owners, and users.<sup>177</sup> Through this process of standing in, what Gell calls “indexicality,” the makers and owners of art objects become “distributed persons.”<sup>178</sup> In one highly significant sense, this theoretical framework would not have been alien to fifteenth-century authors and readers. Renaissance letters of dedication regularly rely on the metonymic conceit that they present to their recipient not a text but the author of that text. Ficino thus wrote not of the qualities of the *Geographia* but of the exceptional intellectual faculties of Berlinghieri in his printed dedication to Federico da Montefeltro. Author portraits further served to activate this conceit. Images of Berlinghieri assert his presence, as we have seen, in Lorenzo and Federico’s manuscripts. Hand-painted examples serve likewise in copies produced for, among others, the Pucci family and the Servite order. There can be little question that books like the *Geographia* were seen as extensions of their authors rather than simply as commodities bearing their names.

Recognizing that my investigation is embedded within these discussions of the relationship between authors and their works and between consumer and gift economies, I want to return to what close attention to the material complexities of the *Geographia* might tell us about its position between Florence and the Ottoman Empire, about the positions staked by its author within these dynamics, and about our frameworks for understanding such relationships. What we can say with certainty is that Berlinghieri’s book,

with the intent and connivance of its author, made its way in lavish copies to the sons of the sultan. In first suggesting a diplomatic context for the work, Franz Babinger proposed that Berlinghieri's books might have been offered on the occasion of the Ottoman landing at Otranto. The invasion was generally viewed as a calamity on the Italian peninsula, but a bona fide *miracolo* for Medicean Florence.<sup>179</sup> The invasion by Mehmed's forces significantly diverted the attentions of the gathering threat posed by the army of Naples, poised to strike Tuscan territory in the aftermath of the conspiracy to assassinate Lorenzo and Giuliano de' Medici in 1478.<sup>180</sup> Indeed, the printed edition of the Sienese cleric Bartolomeo Benvoglianti's optical treatise *De luce et visibili paradoxon* (1482) attributed the sack of Otranto to the Virgin's wrath against Alfonso of Aragon.<sup>181</sup>

Berlinghieri, in his role as a political appointee of Lorenzo and the Signoria, certainly had some stake in these affairs. As we have seen, the poet played an active role in the political situation following the Pazzi conspiracy in his capacity as ambassador to Mantua between 1479 and 1480.<sup>182</sup> Nor is it difficult to attest to the close nature of Berlinghieri's relationship with Lorenzo at the precise moment that Babinger saw as the impetus for the *Geographia's* insinuation in Florentine-Ottoman diplomacy. Further, Paolo da Colle in his capacity as Lorenzo's diplomatic agent corresponded regularly with Bayezid, on behalf of Lorenzo, during these years, suggesting that sentiments conveyed to the sultan by Paolo would have been received in a semi-official character.<sup>183</sup>

Babinger speculated that a diplomatic gift to the sultan would have been covert by necessity, given the circumstances of Florence's capitalization on the sack of Otranto. In a somewhat different capacity, books played a role behind the scenes in the military constellation of Florence, Naples, and the Ottoman landing at Otranto. It was in fact by using his unparalleled collection of manuscripts as collateral with the Pandolfini bank that Ferrante I of Naples was able to secure the immense loan of 38,000 ducats that made his campaign against the invading Ottomans possible.<sup>184</sup> Ultimately, the *Geographia's* role in this particular event must remain somewhat speculative. At around this same time, Lorenzo and the Signoria attested their gratitude to the sultan quite openly for the return of Bernardo Bandini dei Baroncelli, a principle actor in the conspiracy to murder Lorenzo and Giuliano in 1478, who had fled to Constantinople.<sup>185</sup> A proclamation issued in early 1480 publicly expressed the undying gratitude of the republic for the sultan's aid, and

when Baroncelli was hanged shortly after his extradition, he wore the Ottoman garb he had purportedly used to disguise himself. The image of the hanged conspirator was immortalized in a sketch by Leonardo da Vinci. While the *pittura infamante* of Baroncelli no doubt demonstrated the long arm of Florentine law, it surely also advertised the city's close relationship with Constantinople that made such retributive justice possible.<sup>186</sup>

A medal cast by Giovanni di Bertoldo of the sultan at the behest of Lorenzo made overt reference to the Ottoman success at Otranto in praising Mehmed as Emperor of "Magna Graeca."<sup>187</sup> Babinger postulated that Magna Graeca would have signified mainland Greece, the Peloponnesus, and Asia Minor for contemporary Italian readers, former Byzantine areas already solidly under the jurisdiction of the sultan at the time of the medal's casting. Berlinghieri himself, however, explicitly used the phrase in his description of southern Italy; in fact, precisely in reference to foreign domination of Italian territory, in this case by Alexander the Great.<sup>188</sup> In the letters accompanying Bayezid and Cem's copies of the *Geographia*, Berlinghieri expresses his initial intention to have dedicated the *Geographia* to Mehmed II, a desire he says was thwarted by the sultan's death. As a result, he writes that he has chosen instead to dedicate the volume to Federico da Montefeltro, someone Berlinghieri deems both comparably skilled in war and as learned as the sultan. Of course, the poet's bad luck in choosing dedicatees continued, since Federico too was dead by the time the manuscript intended for his library reached Urbino.<sup>189</sup> Believing the book to have been a secret gift, Babinger insisted that a book carrying a printed dedication to the sultan would have been inconceivable in 1482.<sup>190</sup> However, others have taken Berlinghieri at his word, even suggesting that the printing of the work might have been delayed in order to wait for Mehmed's acceptance of the dedication.<sup>191</sup> Bertoldo, certainly, was a well-known associate of the Medici, serving as keeper of their antiquities, and it has long been argued that his work would have been seen as connected to Lorenzo's political and artistic needs.<sup>192</sup>

Secrecy might not have been an absolute necessity for such a diplomatic interchange. Secrecy, moreover, is not simply a matter of differentiating public from private information. Rather, secrets operate through the control of visibility of particular sorts of information to particular individuals and groups in order to increase the efficacy of that information.<sup>193</sup> The question, then, of whether or not Berlinghieri would have dedicated the *Geographia* to Mehmed

is not principally whether such an act is plausible but whether it would have proved efficacious, whether for the poet, the sultan, or even Lorenzo. After all, the printed edition includes passages explicitly praising the sultan. As we have seen, however, the printed dedication to Federico da Montefeltro served Berlinghieri's needs extremely effectively by advertising the placement of the *Geographia* within the duke's library at Urbino and by establishing an apparent personal relationship between the geographer and one of the period's most revered patrons. This relationship further served to link other readers and recipients of the copies of the book to this illustrious library.

The dedication of individual copies of the *Geographia* to Cem and Bayezid would have made Berlinghieri's foray into international affairs evident not only to the Ottoman court, but perhaps more importantly to the Florentine diplomatic envoys who conveyed these works to the courts where the two sons were located. Such a strategy would have enhanced the author's reputation amongst the important Florentine political class while still allowing for the printed edition to construct an equally advantageous relationship with Federico da Montefeltro and between the *Geographia* and one of the most important libraries in Renaissance Italy. Secrecy, then, seems to have played less significant a role than a determination of efficacy in motivating this interchange. A printed dedication to the sultan that would have circulated principally amongst readers in the Italian city-states might simply have been less efficacious in community formation than one to Federico da Montefeltro. Bayezid and Cem's copies, I suggest, represent targeted gifts, directed to the sultan, his brother, and their attendant Ottoman and western European entourages.

The dedication of the work in separate examples to both the legitimate Sultan Bayezid and to his disenfranchised brother is also crucial for understanding the underlying goals of this dedication. Indeed, it is significant in understanding how the dedication and gifting of these books functioned overall. In the first place, it suggests that patronage was not Berlinghieri's principal or only motivation in presenting his books to the Ottoman princes. Cem, at least, was in no position to offer patronage of any sort. The fact that Paolo da Colle conveyed both copies while on diplomatic missions corroborates a more expansive and public context for the books as well. They would likely have been presented to the princes in the presence of other diplomats, councilors, and courtiers. Books, in such circumstances, served as an integral component of diplomatic performances. Perhaps most importantly, these

circumstances demonstrate the ways in which Renaissance books could be directed not toward “audiences” but toward individual readers whose interests and motivations might be as mutually exclusive as those of brothers waging a pitched civil war against one another.

The exact motivations of Berlinghieri’s dedications to Bayezid and Cem will probably never be entirely clear. Berlinghieri worked for over fifteen years on the text, the preparation of the maps and the printing process would have stretched out for months, and the author was still arranging for the purchase and illumination of copies of the work seven years after its publication. Pinpointing an event, such as the siege of Otranto, as the impetus for this diplomatic gift is probably impossible. Further, the desire to locate a single incident as the explanation for such interchange ultimately obscures the very nature of diplomacy and gift giving. In both sets of circumstances, interaction stems from a desire to initiate or perpetuate an ongoing relationship. For both the geographer and the Florentine state, books suggested themselves as ideal platforms around which such relationships could coalesce. Whether at the Ottoman court or amongst Cem’s traveling companions, the *Geographia* came to stand in for the ongoing presence of its author and Florentine diplomats.

The particularities of diplomatic and political representation in fifteenth-century Florence would have made the mutual “distribution” of Berlinghieri and the Florentine state through these printed books nearly assured. In his excellent study of Benedetto Accolti, Florentine chancellor from 1459 to 1464, Robert Black has pointed to the lack of distinction between public and private utterance on the part of the Florentine political class. He argues that Accolti’s virulently anti-Ottoman crusade history, *De bello a christianis contra barbaros gesto pro Christi sepulcro et Iudea recuperandis*, while penned in an entirely unofficial capacity, was recognized by its readers as an articulation of Florentine public policy.<sup>194</sup> If such writings cannot accurately be called diplomatic, it must at least be recognized that they represent public expressions of potentially political import.<sup>195</sup> At its root, this broader conception of the political efficacy of ideas and objects acknowledges the lack of firm distinctions between public and private, personal and political among the governing class of the early modern Italian city-states. Writing on Venetian fifteenth-century society over three decades ago, Felix Gilbert called for “an assumption of the existence of a complete integration of all civic activity—political, religious, social and economic.”<sup>196</sup> And Giorgio Chitollini has reiterated this

call for a holistic view of the society of the Italian city-states, arguing emphatically against the anachronistic division of these early modern sites into public and private spheres.<sup>197</sup>

The interweaving of life and work that I have identified in the geographer's relationship to his book, then, was reinforced by widespread and deeply held period attitudes about the connection between self and state. Berlinghieri, of course, never held so illustrious a post as chancellor, but he did serve as part of the Florentine government, selected by lot from pouches containing the names of eligible men, in a number of important offices.<sup>198</sup> The poet was chosen as one of the Eight Priors in 1471 and as *Gonfaloniere di Compagnia* in 1478, and the Berlinghieri family had produced a number of important Florentine politicians over the course of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries.<sup>199</sup> It seems almost certain that Berlinghieri conceived of the *Geographia* as a work that represented not only his own poetic abilities but also the intellectual and cultural strengths of the city as a whole. "FIRENZE" is the only city name to appear in block capitals in the text. Both in the printed edition and in the letters to Cem and Bayezid, the poet is referred to as Francesco Berlinghieri Fiorentino. He further calls attention to symbols of the republic, including the lion or *marzocco*. The Egyptian city of Leontopolis is compared with the Tuscan city because, "As in Florence lions [*marzochi*] are fed and cared for."<sup>200</sup> The poet's description of the city of Bethulia makes note of Judith's beheading of Holofernes, another emblem of Florentine civic pride.<sup>201</sup> Berlinghieri also explicitly compared his home with other cities throughout the itinerary. Smyrna's streets, for example, are "entirely paved in stone, like your Florence."<sup>202</sup> At no point could a reader of the *Geographia* have forgotten the author's origin or his high opinion of his city's achievements.

The *Geographia* also presented polemical Florentine attitudes and political ideas. For example, the description of Tuscany begins with Sarzana, the site of a strategically important fortress that Florence had recently recaptured from Pisa, and indeed the city is usually considered a part of Liguria.<sup>203</sup> In this same passage, Berlinghieri even refers to Tuscany as a new Holy Land.<sup>204</sup> He arrives at "Sancterno, originally called Vatreno, and nearby the Florentine Firenzuola was founded, which Florence has ringed with walls."<sup>205</sup> The poet also lauds historical Florentine military victories. At Fiesole he describes "the ruins where Radagusius was vanquished by the strength and skill of the Florentines."<sup>206</sup> Considerably more examples of Florentine martial achieve-



ments are included as well. Niccolò da Tolentino is praised and Colle di Val d'Elsa is remembered for Gino di Neri Capponi's skillful defeat of Pisan forces "who turned their backs in flight" in 1360.<sup>207</sup>

The *Geographia* would probably have been received by Florentines as a statement of political import, at least in so far as it was judged an intellectual endeavor of some note that would represent the city and its political class to a larger public. The dedication copies produced for Bayezid and Cem, as well as the printed praise of the sultan as "lord of vast kingdoms" served to advertise Florentine designs on lasting and closer ties with the Ottoman political sphere. The ambiguities so evident from the standpoint of the modern scholar point to the perennially conflicted nature of Italian-Ottoman relations. These possibilities serve to remind us of the importance of specificity and close historical attention to material culture, our need to view the past as a foreign land whose ideological contours are both unfamiliar to us and infinite in their variation. Not just geography and cartography, but diplomacy and exchange, too, must be understood as historically contingent. In a period marked by near constant skirmishes between the Ottomans and Italian city-states, exchange inevitably coexisted alongside hostility, difficulty, and intolerance.

The apparent ambivalence of the *Geographia*, its amalgam of tolerance and intolerance, arose, in part, from the multiple environments in which the book circulated and the divergent roles copies of the book played in those circumstances. They rose from the gaps between the expectations and frames of reference with which diverse readers and viewers (who cannot be abstracted productively as a coherent audience) approached Berlinghieri's material. A diplomatic envoy, the Ottoman sultan, a renegade prince, Florence's first citizen, the duke of Urbino—the interests of these readers and recipients of the *Geographia* were not just heterogeneous, they were sometimes mutually exclusive. An appeal to Christian duty for one may be read as a call to holy war against the other. Even seemingly formulaic claims for the intellectual supremacy of Federico's Urbino or the freedom and military prowess of Tuscans would have been contested by readers not only beyond the Alps but across the peninsula as well.

Surely such ambivalence also arose from the emerging authorial self of Berlinghieri, a self that was, as all selves, conflicted yet which animated the *Geographia* through its biographical frame and thus appears to give coherent

voice to these divergent attitudes. These ambiguities were fueled by conflicts, perhaps even unrecognized ones, between Christian faith, civic duty, and aspirations for earthly recognition and lasting fame. Above all, the ambivalence of the *Geographia* points to the inadequacy of past rubrics, especially tolerance, in approaching a past that seems, from other angles, deceptively similar to the twenty-first-century present.

## Conclusion: Resurrection and Necromancy

What can we learn from books? This is likely to strike many academics as a facile and obvious question. We scholars, after all, hold as an article of faith that if not everything then at least a great deal may be gleaned from reading. Diplomacy, cultural exchange, tolerance, the revival of classical antiquity; the broad themes that have occupied this study are just a few examples of the kinds of topics we might approach by reading about them. Further, if we sought to understand the history of such ideas, we might very well turn our attention to the production and circulation of the texts through which knowledge of them was transmitted. Thus, a study like this one, which attempts to define geographic knowledge in the fifteenth century, might reasonably focus on influential texts, like those of Ptolemy and perhaps even Berlinghieri, which communicated and defined such a concept. There is a risk, however, in focusing on such texts (or even the mapping tradition that accompanied them) that we describe, in this case, a “Renaissance geography” that is remarkably disembodied. In evaluating the impact of Ptolemy’s *Geography* or Berlinghieri’s *Geographia* on knowledge of the world, that is, we tend to focus on what we imagine to be inside those books—their contents.

Of course, scholars have long attended to the history of books as objects and to the ways in which they have changed over time. The early history of printing has, by itself, proved a lasting and vibrant endeavor institutionalized in specialized journals, book series, and conferences. Studies of early modern printers, catalogs of the various editions of humanist texts, and examinations of the technical development of printed books are far from rare. If the materiality of books has not been forgotten, we nonetheless tend to juxtapose books as objects against their textual “contents.” Categories of knowledge are often divided colloquially between “book learning” and “street smarts.” Lofty and even detached matters concerning the intellect are habitually juxtaposed with the visceral and gritty collision of things in the material world. Books, perhaps more so than any other category of object, find themselves on the former side of that binary. Contrary to these entrenched attitudes, however, it is the very grittiness of book-learning to which closer attention must be paid. I hope that this study has complicated this divide by providing a materially grounded intellectual history: an account of Renaissance geography and cultural contact that stubbornly refuses that Platonic fly-over, which animates Berlinghieri’s poem. If this book has proven successful on this count, it is perhaps because my object of study so seamlessly bridges these gaps. The geographic culture of Berlinghieri’s work was one that combined theory and practice, poetry and mapmaking, geometry and reproductive engraving. We access that culture through the material of the book.

The separation of material from intellect is hardly a problem limited to books or one that can be dispensed with as parochial and popular. Material culture in its nearly infinite variety continues to amaze historians, complicating and sometimes frustrating our impulse to organize and categorize. Yet if we sometimes privilege the supposedly hard reality of things, we also inherit lingering moral suspicions about the material world that encourage the overview, the generalization, the reduction to category. Such oppositions are widespread, pervasive, and have proven tenacious across great cultural and temporal distances.<sup>1</sup> The probably over-familiar notion of the body as the “prison of the soul” among Renaissance Florentine intellectuals is but one of these antimaterialist traditions. The Platonism of Marsilio Ficino and his circle is represented here by the poet-geographer’s ascent from the silt of the earth to the lofty heights of universal knowledge. Berlinghieri not only takes to the sky that he might look down from on high, but is literally blinded by dust and clouds, rendered incapable of sight, until he is sufficiently distant

from the world below.<sup>2</sup> Yet just as for contemporary scholars, this vehemence marks a battle line, an argument rather than a conclusion. Materiality stubbornly persists even here. One of the greatest indications of the centrality of the material is the very vehemence with which some of Berlinghieri's contemporary's railed against its significance. We know that countervailing configurations of these poles were possible in fifteenth-century Florence. The Lucretian atomism that Alison Brown and Stephen Greenblatt have recently traced among some humanists is but one of the possible alternatives to a Ficinian idealism.<sup>3</sup> One index of the entwinement of these ideas is the extent to which single cultural objects have been seen to argue one position or the other, to thematize the push and pull between the material and intellectual. So it is that the combatants of Antonio Pollaiuolo's engraved *Battle of Nude Men* (Figure 25) have been seen on the one hand as allegories of the soul's mortal struggle to transcend the body and on the other as affirmations of the bestial origins of primitive humanity.<sup>4</sup>

Far from a purely modern concern, then, the relationship between knowledge and the material, between intellect and embodiment, preoccupied some Renaissance readers and viewers. If Berlinghieri's poetic flight may be seen as an antimaterialist one, it is also an unquestionable attempt to reconcile notions of pure knowledge with the material world that a book of geography must make knowable. It emerged, precisely to harmonize these polls within an endeavor that combined the apparently divergent activities of geometry and mathematics with mimetic accounts of the landscape and deeply naturalistic views of forests, rivers, oceans, and peaks.

An especially compelling early modern rumination on this binary occurs in the fifth act of Shakespeare's *A Midsummer Night's Dream*. Here, in describing the "madness" shared by lovers and poets, Theseus explains

The poet's eye, in a fine frenzy rolling  
Doth glance from heaven to earth, from earth to heaven,  
And as imagination bodies forth  
The forms of things unknown, the poet's pen  
Turns them to shapes, and gives to airy nothing  
A local habitation and a name.<sup>5</sup>

The duke of Athens, of course, is dismissive and wary of the poet's endeavor as a form of lunacy but it is not this standard concern for the moral dubiousness of poetics that interests me here. Rather, I want to turn our attention to

how the pen of Theseus's poet gives form to the formless and materializes the immaterial. In the case of the *Geographia*, that materialization made use not only of the poet's pen but also the typesetter's forms, the engraver's burin, and the illuminator's brush. Not just poet but all manner of artisans and craftspeople labored to provide the airy nothings of classical geography with local habitations and names.

The problem of how the ideal takes shape is an old one, and the binary that such a conception assumes between the material and the immaterial remains firmly ingrained. Yet, if we are accustomed to such oppositions, we do possess some analytic tactics to slip the binary terms that animate such entrenched dualism. My study owes a tremendous debt to scholars from a wide range of disciplines who have looked to anthropology as one means to reevaluate the relationships between matter and intellect, between people and things. Contemporary anthropology's love affair with material culture provides a crucial framework for reevaluating divisions that have shaped the work of historians and their objects of study alike. Of course, the humanities have had to overcome their own permutations of these binaries first. Jean Baudrillard's vicious critique of consumers and the objects of their ever-devouring and unsatisfied consumption cast a long shadow over the study of material culture.<sup>6</sup> The corrupting, even contagious, nature of commodity culture has proved one of the more potent modern formulations of this binary. In contrast with this received wisdom, anthropologists, first and foremost Daniel Miller, have fixed their gaze on the material world of goods, even mass-produced consumer ones, as integral components of meaning making.<sup>7</sup> Things, for Miller, enter into relationships with people. It is not my intention here to posit, or even to evaluate, any theory of "materiality" or "thingness." Nor will I try to situate Renaissance books definitively within this or that system or theory of material culture. Rather, I want to pinpoint a handful of specific strategies and possibilities provided by the study of material culture that might help us to understand a book like the *Geographia* in the fullness of its meanings.

One of the fundamental insights of anthropological approaches to material culture has been an elucidation of the ways in which objects stand in for, and in many ways seem to function as, people. Such attention to the agency of things owes a substantial debt to Bruno Latour's pioneering work on the ways in which objects set conditions for those who interact with them, providing and limiting possibilities for human action.<sup>8</sup> Books set parameters for those who interacted with them, and they provided possibilities for action.

This approach receives its most instrumental formulation in terms of material culture in the work of Alfred Gell for whom objects serve as substitutes for those who make, give, and use them, distributing their personhood in the process.<sup>9</sup>

I have argued here that books could stand in for their authors, representing their interests across great geographic distances and expanding their web of influence, their agency, to encompass those with whom they had never spoken in person. Books represent a privileged, though not wholly unique, case within our conception of these substitutional objects. Just as portraits, for example, give the appearance of visual continuity with their subjects, books give the impression of a kind of intellectual, or at least verbal, continuity. Following Gell and Lorraine Daston, we have had the occasion to examine the ways in which seemingly inert things can speak, even converse. Daston observes that, "Skeptics will insist that all this talk of talk with respect to things is at best metaphorical and at worst a childish fantasy."<sup>10</sup> Yet as she goes on to insist, if the speaking "thing" might be understood as a metaphor, it is nonetheless a pervasive one that describes a great many of our experiences with both contemporary and historical objects. Books, it should be said, enact such speech acts on multiple levels, for they not only stand in for their authors materially but also appear to convey their voices. The *Geographia* pushed this conceit to a third level by projecting a fictive conversation between Berlinghieri and Ptolemy in which the book speaks at once in the voices of both contemporary poet and revered authority.

What we can learn about books and their relationship to the ideas they supposedly contain has everything to do with the ways in which people interacted with them and the ways in which books conditioned those interactions. In short, another way of asking what we can learn from books might be to ask *how* we learn from books. At a moment when so many of us are moving ever more rapidly away from "hard copies" and embracing eBooks of all varieties, it is worth remembering that the material properties of books long set important conditions for their reading. Indeed, even the electronic simulacra to which we now find ourselves accustomed imitate physical acts like turning pages, inserting ribbons, and dog-earing corners. Virtual book collections take on the appearance of wooden shelves and follow organizational schemes derived from physical libraries. All such mimicry, of course, comes at great expense both to processing resources and programming hours. Yet it is deemed indispensable because reading remains a stubbornly material act.



What is needed, as much as a reevaluation of the book, is a reevaluation of the reader. For reading involves (and involved) touching, it engaged not only the eyes but the hands, too. Reading also includes what we might separate as viewing, of moving between text and image. Indeed it is likely that some readers, like the Ottoman princes, did no “reading” in the *Geographia* at all. While some influential anthropologists, including Daniel Miller, favor “consumer” as a general rubric for those interacting with objects, that term bears the indelible mark of modern market structures that, as we have seen, have only partial relevance for fifteenth-century Florentines or Ottomans.<sup>11</sup> And if “consumer” has been in part recuperated within recent studies of material culture, it tends still to convey the sort of passivity assumed by those like Baudrillard who feared the ways in which objects might possess their possessors. Surely that sense of passive consumption is alien to the varieties of reading that this study imagines. One possible alternative might be a term like “user” derived from the language of computer programming. Such a term could not be employed, of course, without a certain attention to irony given its development precisely to describe non-material environments. That irony, however, might better be understood as inherent in the term, rather than in its use here, since those very virtual environments are often ones that simulate material properties and physics. Indeed, it may be that alternatives like “user” originated in novel contexts precisely because the process of reading books has seemed self-evident, overly familiar, and immaterial. In any case, my intention is not to burden us with awkward terminology. Rather I mean to remind us of the wide range of activities that reading did (and often still does) include and the ways in which we sometimes overlook that richness.

What we can learn from Renaissance books is dependent, to a great degree, on what we can know about how we read books and how fifteenth-century readers might have read these same books. Established metrics, of course, can provide us with some insight here. Demographic studies of literacy give us an indication of possible readership. Extrapolation of print runs from shop inventories and surviving copies along with the study of price lists and catalogs give us a sense of the market for these books and the contours of their availability. Inventories of individual libraries and *studioli* can provide evidence of how some readers organized their books and even which books were likely read together. Yet if such studies have told us a great deal about who read books (and what books they read), they have been somewhat poorly suited to telling us *how* those books were read.

A kind of *rezeptiongeschichte*, drawing on similar studies of responses to paintings, sculpture, musical and theatrical performances, has complemented such quantitative methods. Art historians have long labored to understand what viewers saw and attempts to circumscribe that history of vision chart a meandering course from Wölfflin through Baxandall and beyond. As we have seen, the hand-illumination of printed books, their customization with paint and gold leaf, and the coloring of their illustrations and maps, all have served as evidence for the ways in which books can tell us about their owners and readers. Studies of the reception of Renaissance books have also focused heavily on the presence of marginal annotations, quotations, and plagiarisms. Yet all these are rather particular activities that leave the kinds of traces we are accustomed to evaluating. It may be worth asking about the kinds of reading and viewing that do not leave such convenient trails.

In other words, these means can tell us a great deal about who read books and what kinds of books they read. Investigations of the “material” of books, knowledge of their “contents,” and an understanding of the desires and goals of their authors, printers, and readers are all needed, and such approaches have been employed throughout this study. In addition to these methods however, making sense of these objects requires an act of profound imagination, a conjuring of the conditions under which readers interacted with fifteenth-century books. A highly efficacious model for such restaging may be found in what literary historian Bruce Smith has dubbed historical phenomenology. Smith describes this process as an engaged way of knowing that “recognizes the embodiedness of historical subjects and attends to the materiality of the evidence they have left behind at the same time that it acknowledges the embodiedness of the investigator in the face of that evidence.”<sup>12</sup> In approaching a work like the *Geographia*, modern readers might imagine themselves fumbling blindly to retrieve some sense of that historical embodiedness, to connect their own ways of reading and viewing with those of Renaissance readers. It is here, however, that the book speaks to us, encouraging us to listen and respond. Indeed, the poet’s commands to “look” and “listen” fairly demand that we read his verse aloud, that we turn the page to a corresponding map to gaze down on the earth. Over five hundred years later, with Berlinghieri’s book open before us, we can yet follow these instructions.

Let us imagine how a fifteenth-century reader might have read the *Geographia*. This cannot simply be any reader. Already we must imagine a particular reader, and for that purpose I will choose a male member of the

Pucci family who likely bought and had illuminated the copy today at Rome's Biblioteca Nazionale. Perhaps he is opening the folio volume for the first time, carefully lifting a fine leather cover and inspecting the costly paintings of the incipit page. This unquestionably is a luxury object to be handled with care. It is also an index of the erudition and wealth of the family, a function here attested at the base of the incipit by the Moor's head *stemma* of the Pucci (Figure 14). Before turning to the text, this Pucci reader probably also pauses to regard the author portrait that looms large on the page. This portrait, I have already suggested, tells the reader a great deal about Berlinghieri's reputation as author, poet, and mapmaker alike. Yet it might also serve here as a kind of guide for how his book might be read. The reader, like Berlinghieri seated at his double-tiered desk, is encouraged to move between map and text and to compare the veracity of one to the other. He might even be asked to move between the *Geographia* and the other leather-bound books stacked around, perhaps the geographies of Ptolemy and Strabo, or the *Historia naturalis* of Pliny. Turning from image to text, the reader confronts the poem. Perhaps the abstract and visionary qualities of Berlinghieri's initial encounter with Ptolemy are, at first, confusing. Yet without even leaving this page, the reader is put at ease and provided with a frame for understanding this "flight of the mind" through the narrative roundels in the right margin. Here the obtuse poetic incantation is literalized through the illustrations of Berlinghieri's ascent into the sky and he and Ptolemy's journey high above the earth. Likewise, the *dramatis personae* of the world description that follows are presented clearly here, providing bodies to the voices that dominate the poem's dialogue.

When our Pucci reader turns to the world map, spreading its double-folio pages across his table or bench, he probably already recognizes it as that of Ptolemy. That recognition provides a sense of continuity with valuable geographic works long in the family's collection. It also serves to suggest Berlinghieri's proficiency in mapmaking, a kind of pictorial demonstration of the claims presented in Ficino's printed recommendation for the author's mastery of geometry. Maybe more importantly, though, this massive view of a world in miniature expands to fill the attentive reader's field of vision. The evident centerfold, the fact that the two folia will not rest flat against the desk, enhances the curved lines of latitude and longitude. For the reader who encounters this map, having first digested the *Geographia's* prologue and narrative illuminations, it stages the viewing conditions of Berlinghieri and

Ptolemy's journey. He looks down on the world from high above, a fellow traveler, at least for that moment.

Let us briefly imagine a rather different reading experience. Paolo da Colle surely presented Cem's copy to the renegade prince and his companions with some pomp. Probably the book was held open for Cem so that his gaze might linger on the architectural frontispiece and then on the classical cityscape of the incipit. Almost certainly Berlinghieri's letter of dedication was read aloud, and the comparison between the prince and the emperors of Rome would have encouraged Cem and any onlookers to regard the classicizing illuminations in this light. Perhaps eventually some of the poem was read to the prince, but for the moment the book is opened instead to the world map. Without the narrative roundels of the Florentine geographer and his ancient companion, Cem does not see the world from the clouds. He sees instead a familiar Mediterranean empire, an assurance of the authority of this gift. He sees, too, a curving grid that vouches for Berlinghieri's skill as mapmaker following in the footsteps of Ptolemy and centuries of Christian and Muslim interlocutors.

The different ways in which various readers might have encountered books like the *Geographia* can encourage us to reconsider how the Renaissance itself, a phenomenon we tend to regard as principally intellectual, came into being. For the intellectual links between early modern scholars were emphatically material ones, forged not by the transmission of texts but by the movement of books. Books formed a kind of connective tissue that bound authors, readers, statesmen, and diplomats across great distances. When Paolo da Colle presented these books in Constantinople and the Savoy lands, when an inquisitive member of the Pucci family walked through the doors of Niccolò's shop to purchase this new description of the world, or even when Correggio received a valuable gift as a token of a cherished friendship, new links were formed in an expansive community of readers.

Books also served, frequently, as the connective tissue between Renaissance writers and readers and the classical authorities that served as their models and inspiration. By insisting on such material "tissue," I mean to disrupt a sense of transparency that sometimes characterizes our understanding of the relationship between the Renaissance and its revered antecedents. Books, simply put, were not windows onto the classical past but material components of that relationship. The window has served as a popular metaphor in studies of Renaissance culture. For art historians, the window has

been most closely associated with Alberti's description of the processes for producing pictures in perspective. Renaissance paintings, it was often said, were painted as windows onto a fictive world. Yet as Svetlana Alpers and James Elkins especially have shown, the Florentine theorist actually described the canvas as a *velo* or veil between the artist and the depicted world. Though translucent, the veil remains a piece of cloth, frustrating any expectation of transparency and insisting on its materiality.<sup>13</sup> Fifteenth-century books like the *Geographia* staged relationships with their classical sources. Yet they insisted, in the process on calling attention to the productive contributions of their authors, printers, painters, and even readers.

I hope that this notion of connective tissue encourages others to inquire about how the Renaissance was not just imagined but crafted. The Renaissance of geography that I have described was a material one. It was constituted by the brushstrokes of painted miniatures, wrought from copperplates by burins, and stamped onto waiting pages by the pressure of wooden and stone rollers. The study of Renaissance books does not just tell us about the transition from manuscript to print or about the extent of classical knowledge in Florence or Constantinople. It challenges us to confront how the materials of ink, paper, velum, and paint seemed to break down great distances, rendering fifteenth-century authors and readers present together.

This sense of an embodied Renaissance is important also because it attends to the productive and creative, rather than reflective, process of reviving geography, or indeed classical learning of any sort. In this sense Ptolemy's *Geography*—and indeed classical geography—were not recovered but rather constituted in Florence, in the manuscripts of Piero del Massaio, the printed poetry of Berlinghieri, the engraved maps of Francesco Rosselli. Books were only one component of a visual and material culture that was produced from rather than “discovered” in the lessons of antiquity. Art historians including Charles Dempsey and Stephen Campbell have shown the constitutive work done by painting in Renaissance Florence, Ferrara, and Mantua in producing, rather than reflecting, classical mythology.<sup>14</sup> This constitutive work was undertaken not only by poets and painters, but by the readers and viewers who made meaning in their engagement with these embodied reinventions. Renaissance books, like paintings, were not containers for established meanings nor simply devices for conveying knowledge. They were the material of that knowledge, and where they have seemed transparent and in danger of evaporating it is the historian's task to impart opacity and weight.

Renaissance writers emphasized these material links between present and past eloquently. Indeed one of the principle metaphors for the manipulation of material and the creation of new things was that of resurrection. In his life of Michelangelo, within a span of only a page or so, in fact, Giorgio Vasari employed the comparison between cultural fabrication and bodily resurrection twice. Speaking of the flawed marble from which the *David* was hewn, the Aretine observed that, "Michelangelo certainly performed a miracle in restoring to life a block of marble left for dead."<sup>15</sup> Shifting his attention to the figure of Moses produced for Julius II's tomb, he wrote that, "through the hands of Michelangelo, He [God] wished to restore and prepare Moses' body for resurrection long before that of anyone else."<sup>16</sup> Likewise, for Benvenuto Cellini, the liquefying of metal for casting was a process in which what was dead was "resuscitated." While Michael Cole has rightly called attention to the alchemical system on which this conception rested, it is worth noting that the sculptor rapidly turned from such specialized notions to the general metaphor of resurrection to describe the triumph of casting his *Perseus* crying out "O Christ, how with your immense *virtu* you resuscitated from the dead, and climbed gloriously to Heaven!"<sup>17</sup>

I have suggested that resurrection might serve as a retrospective corrective to teleologies that have projected Renaissance accomplishments forward into the modern world. It might also be worth considering how framing acts of cultural creation as restorative can productively trouble the fraught polarity between "invention" and "discovery" that has often polarized histories of early modern intellectual culture and natural philosophy.<sup>18</sup> I have argued that Ptolemaic cartography was "reinvented" as much as "rediscovered" by fifteenth-century Florentines. Neither were the new configurations of knowledge embodied in the *Geographia* "invented" out of whole cloth or spun from airy nothings. To revisit that point within terms that a Renaissance geographer and his audience might better have understood, the inventive work performed by this remarkable book was patterned on resurrection in the sense that the long inert material of classical geography was reshaped and restored to life and meaning. Resurrection produced something not wholly new, but instead perfected; something predicated on the past yet vibrant, active, and ultimately incorruptible in the present.

Such triumphant restorations provide an appealing template for acts we historians perform in approaching the material of the past. This is true especially for the study of books, for they seem to speak to us in the clear tones of

their authors' voices across the gulf of centuries. When we open the cover of a book like the *Geographia*, we find ourselves, like that reader from the Pucci family, with a familiar model for our own activity through the image of the author at his desk. The leather binding of a printed copy or the vellum folia of a manuscript warm in our hands as we turn the pages, following along on Berlinghieri and Ptolemy's fantastic journey. With vibrantly colored maps on the table before us we, too, peer down from the clouds onto the Alps or behold the setting sun at Smyrna. We seem to witness, that is, the resurrection of the Renaissance geographer and even his classical counterpart as we join in their conversation high above the curving earth.

Resurrection has its dark side, though. If the central Christian mystery of triumph over the grave provided one Renaissance model of return from the dead, the travesty of necromancy lurked as a dangerous counter-example. In his English-Italian *World of Wordes* of 1598, John Florio describes necromancy as the "blacke arte" and its practitioner the *nigromant* as one who "raiseth, calleth up, and taketh with the spirits of dead bodies."<sup>19</sup> The necromancer returns spirits to their corrupted flesh, bids corpses to dance, and channels the voices of the dead. For Renaissance humanists and twenty-first century historians both, resurrection can slide seamlessly into its shadow. When we imagine that we are speaking with a poet like Berlinghieri (likewise when Berlinghieri imagines his own conversations with Ptolemy) there is a risk that we give life to a hideous monster, a zombie that bears only the outward aspect of its "former" self. I can only echo Leonard Barkan's eloquence in calling our attention to these "classical undead" and their consequences.<sup>20</sup>

There is something of necromancy in the historians work, and here the "black" or forbidden association is significant. For surely we seek to make apparent that which is unseen or hidden, to give voice to what cannot be heard. For the historian, reading a book like the *Geographia* is fraught with danger. If our historical reconstructions and our desire to flesh out the voices of the past seem successful, if our connection to the past should appear seamless, we quickly lose our way. We must turn constantly back to our own present—back, that is to the embodiedness that underpins the work of reading. Here, again, the book leads the way. Paint cracks and flakes from five-centuries old folia, and once black typography browns against yellowed and foxed paper. The special collections reading room replaces the *studiolo* and even the warmth of leather and vellum, perhaps, are muted by sterile cotton gloves. The material proximity of the book in our hands must be bal-



anced, even frustrated, by reminders of our historical distance. In this way, in our turning from the material present of books to their always reconstructed past, through a stubborn awareness of both our own acts of reading and those of our Renaissance counterparts, we must concede a certain defeat. Only by acknowledging that we cannot bring the objects of our study back to life, that our access to the past remains provisional, can we move forward. If resurrection remains beyond our powers, we avert, at least, the calamity of necromancy in our desire to let the past speak.



# Notes

## Introduction: Gifts From Afar

1. The question of what to call the Byzantine and later Ottoman capital is a fraught one. While most Ottomanists use Istanbul to designate the post-conquest city, many historians of Renaissance Europe prefer Constantinople since it corresponds with period usage by European writers and diplomats. Fifteenth- and sixteenth-century Ottoman documents and coins also often employ *Kostantiniyye*. Within Berlinghieri's poem the city is referred to as *Byzantio* and *Gostantinopoli*—the latter within a passage praising the sultan's sovereignty. Accordingly, I have used Constantinople, throughout the text, in reference to both the Byzantine and Ottoman cities in order to emphasize cultural continuity in this imperial capital and in accordance with the usage employed by the Florentine humanist.

2. Bayezid's copy is today found in Istanbul's Topkapi Sarayı Museum (MS G. I. 84). Cem's is housed in the Biblioteca Nazionale Universitaria in Turin (MS XV. I. 42). The name of Bayezid's half-brother has been frequently transliterated by scholars writing in English as Djem or Jem. I have followed modern Turkish usage here, rendering it as Cem.

3. Nicolas Vatin, *Sultan Djem: un prince ottoman dans l'Europe du Xv siècle d'après deux sources contemporaines* (Ankara: Société Turque d'Historire, 1997); and

Franz Babinger, “Lorenzo de’ Medici e la corte ottomana,” *Archivio storico italiano* 121 (1963), 325–347.

4. The facsimile edition, edited and introduced by R. A. Skelton, is published as *Geographia: Florence, 1482* (Amsterdam: Theatrum Orbis Terrarum, 1966). The book and chapter numbers used here follow this edition.

5. Throughout this book the short title *Geographia* refers to Berlinghieri’s book, while *Geography* indicates the second-century work of Ptolemy.

6. Angelo Cattaneo has identified earlier, partial attempts at translating the *Geography* into vernacular Italian and is engaged in research on an example in the Venetian dialect contained in Venice, Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana, MS CL. VI. XXIV.

7. Francesco Berlinghieri, *Geographia*, I.I.

8. *Ibid.*, I.I: “Ma poi che intorno ad noi la nube gira/ l’amico mio confuse parole exorta/ qual chi divinamente voce inspira./ O luce sancta non con l’altre in forta/ de dimmi chi tu sia sio ne son degno/ o divo o huom se l’honesta il comporta/ Huom non sonio ne del superno regno/ dixe egli habitatore et se divino/ ti paio e sol per quel che io monstro ensegno/ Ma dello egypto fui alexandrino/ et delle stelle scripsi et della terra/ sotto el pietoso imperio d’antonio”

9. For the recent revisions in evaluation of the *Geography* see Patrick Gautier Dalché, “The Reception of Ptolemy’s *Geography*,” in David Woodward ed., *History of Cartography* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2007), vol. 3, part 1, 285–310; and most recently Dalché, *La Géographie de Ptolémée en Occident (IVe–XVIe Siècle)* (Turnhout: Brepols, 2009).

10. A similar attempt to equate ancient geographic names with contemporary places is found in Biondo Flavio’s *Italia Illuminata*, a work that served as a source for Berlinghieri. See Biondo Flavio, *Italy Illuminated*, ed. and trans. Jeffrey A. White (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2005).

11. On Berlinghieri’s geographic and cartographic sources see Roberto Almagià, “Osservazioni sull’opera geografia di Francesco Berlinghieri,” *Archivio della R. deputazione romana di storia patria* 68 (1945): 50–51.

12. Marica Milanese, “La rinascita della geografia dell’Europa, 1350–1480,” in Sergio Gensini ed., *Europa e Mediterraneo tra Medio Evo e prima Età Moderna. L’osservatorio italiano* (Pisa: Pacini, 1992), 55; Sebastiano Gentile, *Firenze e la scoperta dell’America: umanesimo e geografia nel ‘400 fiorentino*, exh. cat. Florence, Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana, 1992 (Florence: Olschki, 1992), 234; Denis Cosgrove, *Apollo’s Eye: A Cartographic Genealogy of the Earth in the Western Imagination* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2001), 108–110; and Giorgio Mangani, *Cartografia morale: geografia, persuasione, identità* (Modena: Franco Cosimo Panini, 2006), 71, 74.

13. On these literary sources see Almagià, “Osservazioni,”; and Milanese, “La rinascita della geografia dell’Europa, 1350–1480,” 53–55.

14. Francesco Berlinghieri, *Geographia*, 5.19: “Ioppe in quel colle vedi molto elato / cictate anticha assai allo ethiope/ cepheo re regal seggio fondato/ Chostui marito fu di Cassiope/ & d’andromade padre rilegato/ a quello scoglio & d’ogni aiuto inope/ Ne da perseo essendo liberata/ perche era posta incibo alle balene/ da loro al tutto fora lacerata./ Ma perche alla innocentia sempre viene/ el divino auxilio & ma non tarda/ sciolse lei quindi dale sue cathene.”

15. *Ibid.*, 5.8: “Nel quale e carmyleso & dopo loro/ Crago cictate & promontorio accedi./ Chimera valle & monte alto & decoro/ Disqualido serpente haveva epiedi/ d’horrida capra e fianchi & la sua fronte/ d’ardente lione era chome vedi./ Qual monstro poi fu da bellorophonte.”

16. On this printer see especially Roberto Ridolfi, “Contributi sopra Niccolò Tedesco,” *La Bibliofilia* 58 (1956): 1–14.

17. See Paolo Procaccioli, introduction to Cristoforo Landino, *Comento sopra la Comedia* (Rome: Salierio Editrice, 2001).

18. Tony Campbell, *The Earliest Printed Maps* (London: British Library Press, 1987), 75–76.

19. Suzanne Boorsch, “The Case for Francesco Rosselli as the Engraver of Berlinghieri’s *Geographia*,” *Imago Mundi* 56 (2004): 152–69.

20. Lorenzo’s manuscript is today in the collection of the Biblioteca Nazionale Braidense, Milan (AC. XIV. 44). On this manuscript see Angela Dillon Bussi, “Aspetti della miniature ai tempi di Lorenzo il Magnifico,” in Anna Lenzuni ed., *All’ombra del lauro. Documenti librari della cultura in età laurenziana*, exh. cat. Florence, Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana (Florence: Silvana Editoriale, 1992), 149–160; and Philine Helas, “Der ‘fliegende Kartograph’: zu dem Federico da Montefeltro und Lorenzo de’ Medici gewidmeten Werk ‘Le sette giornate della geographia’ von Francesco Berlinghieri und dem Bild der Erde im Florenz des Quattrocento,” *Mitteilungen des Kunsthistorischen Institutes in Florenz* 46 (2004): 270–320.

21. Federico da Montefeltro died in late 1482, before his copy of the *Geographia* reached him in Urbino. A dedication to his ten year old heir Guidobaldo was appended to the book at that time. This manuscript is now part of the Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana (Urb. Lat. 273). See Almagià, “Osservazioni,” 220. On the manuscript’s illumination see Cosimo Stornajolo, *I ritratti e le geste dei duchi d’Urbino nelle miniature dei codici Vaticano URBINATI* (Rome: Tipografia poliglotta Vaticana, 1913); Helas, “Der ‘fliegende Kartograph’”; and Marcello Simonetta et al., *Federico da Montefeltro and his Library*, exh. cat. New York, The Morgan Library and Museum, 2007 (Milan: Y. Press, 2007), 136–145.

22. On Bayezid’s copy see Emil Jacobs, “Zur Datierung von Berlinghieris Geographie,” *Gutenberg Festschrift* (1925): 248–53; Babinger, “Lorenzo de’ Medici e la corte ottomana,” 325–330; and Julian Raby, “East and West in Mehmed the Conqueror’s Library,” *Bulletin du bibliophile* 3 (1987): 297–321. On Cem’s example see Giovanni Marinelli, “Una dedica della *Geographia* del Berlinghieri,” *Bollettino della Società*

*Geografica Italiana* 5 (1892): 305–10; Sebastiano Gentile et al., *Sandro Botticelli: pittore del Divina commedia*, exh. cat. Rome, Scuderie Papali and London, Royal Academy of Arts, 2000 (Milan: Skira, 2000), 250–52; and Francesco Berlinghieri, *La geografia. Ristampa anastatica dell'incunabolo della Biblioteca Nazionale Universitaria di Torino* (Turin: Centro Studi Piemontese, 2006).

23. On this world map see Istituto Italiano di Cultura di Istanbul, *Portolani e Carte Nautiche XIV–XVIII Secolo/ XIV–XVIII Yüzlil Portolan Deniz Haritalari*, exh. cat. Istanbul, Topkapı Sarayı Müzesi, 1994 (Istanbul: Güzel Sanatlar Matbaası, 1995), 42–53.

24. Jerry Brotton, *Trading Territories* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1997), 87–97. See also his *The Renaissance Bazaar* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002), 51–53.

25. Brotton, *Trading Territories*, 97–98.

26. Babinger, “Lorenzo de’ Medici e la corte ottomana,” 335–345.

27. On Paolo’s diplomatic work see S. M. Stern ed., *Documents from Islamic Chanceries: Oriental Studies* (Oxford: Bruno Cassirer, 1965), vol. 1, 41–46.

28. Marcello del Piazzo ed., *Protocolli del carteggio di Lorenzo il Magnifico per gli anni 1473–74, 1477–92* (Florence: Olschki, 1956), 150. Records of Paolo da Colle’s diplomatic assignments are also reproduced in Joseph Müller, *Documenti sulle relazioni delle città Toscane coll’Oriente cristiano e coi Turchi fino all’anno 1531* (Florence: Società multigrafica editrice, 1879), 232.

29. On the Ottoman landing at Otranto see especially Cosimo Damiano Fonseca ed., *Otranto 1480: Atti del convegno internazionale di studi promosso del V centenario della caduta di Otranto ad opera dei Turchi* (Galatina: Congedo Editore, 1986).

30. For the Pazzi conspiracy and its political aftermath see Lauro Martines, *April Blood: Florence and the Plot Against the Medici* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2003), esp. 197–213, 221–242.

31. Berlinghieri’s political life is summarized in Angela Codazzi, “Francesco Berlinghieri,” *Dizionario biografico degli italiani* (Rome: Istituto della Enciclopedia Italiana, 1967), vol. 9, 121–124.

32. This assertion is based, in part, on Robert Black’s study of the relationship between “private” writing and politics in fifteenth-century Florence. See his *Benedetto Accolti and the Florentine Renaissance* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1985), esp. 224–269; and “The Political Thought of Florentine Chancellors,” *The Historical Journal* 29 (1986): 991–1003.

33. Rosamond E. Mack, *Bazaar to Piazza: Islamic Trade and Italian Art, 1300–1600* (Los Angeles and Berkeley: University of California Press, 2002), 23.

34. Almagià, “Osservazioni,” 213; Skelton, introduction to *Geographia: Florence 1482*, xiv; and David Woodward, *Maps as Prints in the Italian Renaissance* (London: British Library, 1996), 3.

35. Dalché, “The Reception of Ptolemy’s *Geography*,” in Woodward ed., *History of Cartography* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2007), vol. 3, part 1, 287–288; and Sebastiano Gentile, “Emanuele Crisolora e la ‘Geographia’ di Tolomeo,” in Mariarosa Cortesi and Enrico V. Maltese eds., *Dotti bizantini e libri greci nell’Italia del secolo XV* (Naples: M. D’Auria, 1992), 291–308.

36. Ahmet T. Karamustafa, “Problems in the Study of Ottoman Cartography,” in J. B. Harley and David Woodward eds., *History of Cartography* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1987), vol. 2, part 1, 218–220.

37. Raby, “East and West in Mehmed the Conqueror’s Library,” 301–302.

38. For an early positive evaluation of the innovative character of Berlinghieri’s work see Joseph Fischer, *Claudii Ptolemaei Geographiae: Codex Urbinae Graecus 82* (Leipzig and Leiden: Brill, 1932), vol. 1, 375–98.

39. Almagià, “Osservazioni,” 211.

40. Skelton, introduction to *Geographia: Florence, 1482*, xii.

41. Adrian Johns, *The Nature of the Book: Print and Knowledge in the Making* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1998); and Andrew Pettegree, *The Book in the Renaissance* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2010). See also Joseph Dane, *The Myth of Print Culture: Essays on Evidence, Textuality, and Bibliographical Method* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2003).

42. On color and Renaissance prints see especially Susan Dackerman, *Painted Prints: The Revelation of Color*, exh. cat. Baltimore, Baltimore Museum of Art (University Park, PA: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2002).

43. For Berlinghieri’s letter to Bayezid see Babinger, “Lorenzo de’ Medici e la Corte ottomana,” appendix A. His letter to Cem appears in Marinelli, “Una dedica della *Geographia* del Berlinghieri,” 309–310.

44. Berlinghieri, *Geographia*, 2.17: “Philippo spana fu la sua memoria/ benche scolari piu che preceptore/ havendo d’ogni impresa ampla victoria/ Ventidue volte extinse el fiero ardore/ de turchi assai potenti & solo a tanti/ et vivo & morto die tanto terrore.”

45. On the relevance of crusade rhetoric in the fifteenth century see Margaret Meserve, *Empires of Islam in Renaissance Historical Thought* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2008); and Nancy Bisaha, *Creating East and West: Renaissance Humanists and the Ottoman Turks* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2006).

46. Vatin, *Sultan Djem*, 89–105; and his “The Hospitallers at Rhodes and the Ottoman Turks, 1480–1522,” in Norman Housley ed. *Crusading in the Fifteenth Century: Message and Impact* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2004), 94–115.

47. Lisa Jardine, *Worldly Goods: A New History of the Renaissance* (London and New York: Macmillan, 1996), 34.

48. See, for example, Mack, *Bazaar to Piazza*; and Jerry Brotton and Lisa Jardine, *Global Interests* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1999).



49. Examples include Claire Farago ed., *Reframing the Renaissance: Visual Culture in Europe and Latin America 1450–1650* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1995); Deborah Howard, *Venice and the East* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2000); T. F. Earle and K. J. P. Lowe eds., *Black Africans in Renaissance Europe* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005); and Stefano Carboni ed., *Venice and the Islamic World* exh. cat. New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art, 2006 (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2007).

### I. Ptolemy in Transit

1. In addition to works cited below, see Ian Morris, “Mediterraneanization,” *Mediterranean Historical Review* 18 (2003): 30–55; W. V. Harris ed. *Rethinking the Mediterranean* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005); and Jerry H. Bentley, “Sea and Ocean Basins as Frameworks of Historical Analysis,” *Geographical Review* 89 (1999): 215–224.

2. Fernand Braudel, *The Mediterranean and the Mediterranean World in the Age of Phillip II*, trans., Sian Reynolds (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1995 orig. 1949, 2nd ed. 1966), vol. 1.

3. Henri Pirenne, *Mohammed and Charlemagne*, trans. Bernard Miall (New York: Allen and Unwin, orig. 1937).

4. Peregrine Horden and Nicholas Purcell, *The Corrupting Sea: A Study of Mediterranean History* (Oxford: Blackwell, 2000).

5. David Abulafia, *The Great Sea: A Human History of the Mediterranean* (London: Allen Lane, 2011).

6. Stefano Carboni ed., *Venice and the Islamic World* exh. cat. New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art, 2006 (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2007); and Caroline Campbell and Alan Chong eds., *Bellini and the East*, exh. cat., London, National Gallery and Boston, Isabella Stewart Gardner Museum, 2005 (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2005).

7. See, for example, Kate Fleet, *European and Islamic Trade in the Early Ottoman State: The Merchants of Genoa and Turkey* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999); and Eric Dursteler, *Venetians in Constantinople: Nation, Identity, and Coexistence in the Early Modern Mediterranean* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2006).

8. Deborah Howard, *Venice and the East: The Impact of the Islamic World on Venetian Architecture, 1100–1500* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2000); and Maria Georgopoulou, *Venice’s Mediterranean Colonies: Architecture and Urbanism* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001).

9. Eliyahu Ashtor, *Levant Trade in the Later Middle Ages* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1983); Franco Franceschi, *Oltre il “Tumulto”: I lavoratori fiorentini dell’Arte della Lana fra Tre e Quattrocento* (Florence: Olschki, 1993); and Hidetoshi

Hoshino, *Industria tessile e commercio internazionale nella Firenze del tardo Medioevo* (Florence: Olschki 2001).

10. Iris Origo, *The Merchant of Prato: Francesco di Marco Datini, 1335–1410* (New York: Knopf, 1957). See also Abulafia, *The Great Sea*, 373–376.

11. For recent and compelling accounts of early Florentine intellectual engagement with the Americas see Lia Markey, “The New World in Renaissance Italy: A Vicarious Conquest of Art and Nature at the Medici Court” (Ph. D. diss. University of Chicago, 2008); and Alison Brown, *The Return of Lucretius to Renaissance Florence* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2010), 88–90 and 105–109.

12. On the traditional evaluation of Florence as resistant to crusade see James Hankins, “Renaissance Crusaders: Humanist Crusade Literature in the Age of Mehmed II,” *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 49 (1995): 111–146. Recent attention has been drawn to the continuing interest of the sixteenth-century Medici dukes in crusade by Katherine Poole, “The Medici Grand Dukes and the art of conquest: ruling identity and the formation of a Tuscan Empire, 1537–1609,” (Ph. D. diss. Rutgers, 2007).

13. Anthony d’Elia has called attention to Florentine political aspirations in the Eastern Mediterranean in his *A Sudden Terror: The Plot to Murder the Pope in Renaissance Rome* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2009), 110–117. See also Silvia Agnoletti and Luca Mantelli eds., *I Fiorentini alle crociate: Guerre, pellegrinaggi e immaginario orientalistico a Firenze tra Medioevo ed Età moderna* (Florence: Meridiana, 2007) esp. Marina Montesano, “In missione del sultano: ambascerie e pellegrinaggi alla fine del xv secolo,” 282–291.

14. Eneas Piccolomini, “Intorno alle condizioni ed alle vicende della Libreria Medicea private,” *Archivio storico italiano* 19 (1874–1875): 101–129 and 254–281. Doc. VII, 26r: “quod liber cosmografie quem composuit Franciscus de Berlinghieris et donavit Laurentio de Medicis, ornatus minio et aliis, portetur ad dictos dominos priores infra triduum proxime futurum . . . sub pena eorum indignationeis. . . .” On the Signoria’s interest in Lorenzo’s library, and in the *Geographia*, see Angela Dillon-Bussi, “Aspetti della miniature ai tempi di Lorenzo il Magnifico,” and “La Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana negli ultimi anni del quattrocento,” both in Anna Lenzuni ed., *All’ombra del lauro. Documenti librari della cultura in età laurenziana*, exh. cat. Florence, Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana, 1992 (Milan: Silvana, 1992), 135–139 and 149–160.

15. Milan, Biblioteca Nazionale Braidense (hereafter BNB) AC. XIV. 44. The book measures 310mm by 435mm. These dimensions vary slightly from those given in Sergio Samek Ludovici, *Mostra di codici miniati*, exh. cat. Milan, BNB, June–July 1970 (Milan: Biblioteca Nazionale Braidense, 1970), 53 where they are listed as 309mm by 435mm. Francesco Carta miscalculated these measurements at 355mm by 438mm: *Codici miniati, i corali e libri a stampa della biblioteca nazionale di Milano* (Rome: 1891), 93.

16. On the iconography of these images see Carta, *Codici miniati*, 93–96; Dillon-Bussi, “Aspetti della miniature ai tempi di Lorenzo il Magnifico,” 149–160; Ludovici ed., *Mostra di Codici miniati*, 53–54; Sebastiano Gentile ed., *Firenze e la scoperta dell’America: umanesimo e geografia nel ‘400 fiorentino*, exh. cat. Florence, Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana, 1992 (Florence: Olschki, 1992), 233–34 cat. no. III; Philine Helas, “Der ‘fliegende Kartograph’: zu dem Federico da Montefeltro und Lorenzo de’ Medici gewidmeten Werk ‘Le sette giornate della geographia’ von Francesco Berlinghieri und dem Bild der Erde im Florenz des Quattrocento,” *Mitteilungen des Kunsthistorischen Institutes in Florenz* 46 (2004): 270–320; and Sean Roberts, “Poet and ‘World Painter’: Francesco Berlinghieri’s *Geographia* (1482),” *Imago Mundi* 62 (2010): 145–160. Though Gentile tentatively identified Berlinghieri’s companion as Marsilio Ficino there is no compelling evidence (either in the poem or the miniatures) to support this speculation.

17. Carta observed that the *putti* on the *Geographia*’s incipit “sono pure sette genietti o puttini, vestiti di un velo trasparentissimo, i quali arieggiano il fare del Ghirlandajo”: *Codici miniati*, 95.

18. Following Carta, Paolo d’Ancona assigned these miniatures to the “school of Attavante”: *La miniatura fiorentina (secoli XI–XVI)* (Florence: Olschki, 1914), vol. 1, 65, vol. 2., 557, 617. Dillon-Bussi observed that the illuminations range in quality with some comparable to the best work of Attavante while others show traces of less accomplished workshop hands: “Aspetti della miniature ai tempi di Lorenzo il Magnifico.” Annarossa Garzelli, however, believes the incipit page, at least, to be the work of Attavante himself: *Miniatura fiorentina del Rinascimento 1440–1525. Un primo cenno* (Florence: Giunta regionale toscana, 1985), vol. 1, 235–236.

19. Among his prestigious works are illuminations for a *Geography* dedicated to Lorenzo de’ Medici and a massive liturgical manuscript for Florence’s Duomo. On Lorenzo’s particular affinity for Attavante’s work see Roberto Almagià, “Osservazioni sull’opera geografia di Francesco Berlinghieri,” *Archivio della R. deputazione romana di storia patria* 68 (1945): 220.

20. Garzelli, *Miniatura fiorentina*, 230–243 and her *La Bibbia di Federico da Montefeltro: un’officina libraria fiorentina 1476–1478* (Rome: Multigrafica, 1977).

21. For discussion of this attribution see Jean K. Cadogan, *Domenico Ghirlandajo: Artist and Artisan* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2000), 208–213.

22. Saul Levine, “The Location of Michelangelo’s David: The Meeting of January 25, 1504,” *Art Bulletin* 56 (1974): 31.

23. Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana (hereafter BAV), Urb. Lat. 273. See Almagià, “Osservazioni sull’opera geografica di Francesco Berlinghieri.” On the manuscript’s illumination see Cosimo Stornajolo, *I ritratti e le geste dei duchi d’Urbino nelle miniature dei codici Vaticano Urbinati* (Rome: Tipografia poliglotta Vaticana, 1913), 16–17; Helas, “Der ‘fliegende Kartograph,’” 275–80; and Marcello Simonetta et al.,

*Federico da Montefeltro and his Library*, exh. cat. New York, The Morgan Library and Museum, 2007 (Milan: Y. Press, 2007), 136–145.

24. See Margery Corbett, “The Architectural Title-Page,” *Motif* 12 (1964): 49–62; Lillian Armstrong, *Renaissance Miniature Painters and Classical Imagery: The Master of the Putti and His Venetian Workshop* (London: H. Miller, 1981), 18–20; and Lew Andrews, “Pergamene strappate e frontespizi: i frontespizi architettonici nell’epoca dei primi libri a stampa,” *Arte Veneta* 55 (2001): 7–30. The frontispiece for Federico’s copy of the *Geographia* closely emulates that of Piero del Massaio’s *Geography*, Paris Bibliothèque nationale de France (hereafter BnF), Lat. 4802. See Henri Ormont ed., *Géographie de Ptolémée traduction Latine de Jacopo d’Angiolo de Florence: Reproduction réduite des cartes et plans du manuscrit Latin 4802* (Paris: Catala Frères, n.d.); and Germaine Aujac, *Le Géographie de Ptolémée* (Arcueil: n.p., 1998), facsimile ed. of Paris, BnF, Lat. 10764.

25. On the work of the Master of the Hamilton Xenophon see Garzelli, *La Bibbia di Federico da Montefeltro*, 33–35; *Miniatura*, vol. 1, 157–62; “I miniatori Fiorentini,” 117; as well as Tammaro de Marinis, *La Biblioteca Napoletana dei Re d’Aragona* (Milan: Hoepli, 1967), vol. 2, 179.

26. Florence Bib. Laur. Edili 148 and 150. On this work see Annarosa Garzelli, “Codici miniati laurenziani. Appunti per un catalogo,” *Critica d’Arte* 40 (1976): 25–40.

27. On Francesco’s collaborations with Ghirlandaio see Garzelli, *La Bibbia*, 112–114.

28. Vespasiano da Bisticci, *Le vite*, ed. Aulo Greco (Florence: Istituto nazionale di studi sul Rinascimento, 1976), vol. 2, 375–376: “tanto ricco et degno quanto dire si potessi.”

29. Jonathan J. G. Alexander, “Patrons, Libraries, and Illuminators in the Italian Renaissance,” in *Studies in Italian Manuscript Illumination* (London: Pindar Press, 2002), 352.

30. For the most complete evaluation of the expense and labor involved in producing these engravings see Suzanne Boorsch, “The Case for Francesco Rosselli as the Engraver of Berlinghieri’s *Geographia*,” *Imago Mundi* 56 (2004): 152–69; but see also Sean Roberts, “Francesco Rosselli and Berlinghieri’s *Geographia* Revisited,” *Print Quarterly* 28 (2011): 4–17.

31. Roberts, “Francesco Rosselli and Berlinghieri’s *Geographia* Revisited,” 16–17.

32. Milan, BNB, AC. XIV. 44, 158r.

33. See most recently Crofton Black ed., *Transformation of Knowledge: Early Manuscripts from the Collection of Lawrence J. Schoenberg*, exh. cat. Los Angeles, Getty Research Institute, November 2009–January 2010 (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2009). On knowledge of Islamic medical literature in Europe see

Lawrence I. Conrad, “The Arab-Islamic Medical Tradition,” in Conrad, Michael Neve, Vivian Nutton, Roy Porter, and Andrew Wear eds., *The Western Medical Tradition: 800 BC to 1800 AD* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995), 93–138.

34. David King, *Astronomy in the Service of Islam* (London: Variorum, 1993); George Saliba, *Islamic Science and the Making of the European Renaissance* (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 2007); and Ahmad S. Dallal, *Islam, Science and the Challenge of History* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2010). A very readable account of the reliance of European astronomy and cartography on Islamic sources is provided by John Freely, *Aladdin’s Lamp: How Greek Science Came to Europe through the Islamic World* (New York: Knopf, 2009).

35. See especially David C. Lindberg, *Theories of Vision from al-Kindi to Kepler* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1976 repr. 1981), 58–70; and David Summers, *The Judgment of Sense: Renaissance Naturalism and the Rise of Aesthetics* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1987), 153–157.

36. Hans Belting, *Florence and Baghdad: Renaissance Art and Arab Science* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2011).

37. On the composition of the *Geography* see Christian Jacob, “Mapping in the Mind: The Earth from Ancient Alexandria,” in Denis Cosgrove ed., *Mappings* (London: Reaktion, 1999), 24–49; and *Ptolemy’s Geography: An Annotated Translation of the Theoretical Chapters*, ed. and trans. J. Lennart Berggren and Alexander Jones (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2000), 17–41. On its title in fifteenth-century Europe see David Woodward ed., *History of Cartography* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2007), vol. 3, part 1, 285–286.

38. Knowledge of Ptolemy in Western Europe is evaluated in O. A. W. Dilke, “The Culmination of Greek Cartography in Ptolemy,” in J. B. Harley and Woodward eds., *The History of Cartography*, (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1987), vol. 1, 177–200; Berggren and Jones, *Ptolemy’s Geography*, 52–53; and Patrick Gautier Dalché, “The Reception of Ptolemy’s *Geography*,” in Woodward ed., *History of Cartography* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2007), vol. 3, part 1, 285–310.

39. On the *Almagest* see G. J. Toomer intr. and trans., *Ptolemy’s Almagest* (London: Duckworth, 1984); and James Evans, *The History and Practice of Ancient Astronomy* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1998), 23–26.

40. On the medieval manuscripts of Ptolemy’s *Optics* and their dissemination in Renaissance Europe see A. Mark Smith, “Ptolemy’s Theory of Visual Perception: An English Translation of the ‘Optics’ with Introduction and Commentary,” *Transactions of the American Philosophical Society* 86 (1996): 5–10.

41. Ahmet T. Karamustafa, “Introduction to Islamic Maps,” In Harley and Woodward eds., *History of Cartography*, vol. 2, part 1, esp. 3–11.

42. George Saliba, *A History of Arabic Astronomy: Planetary Theories during the Golden Age of Islam* (New York: New York University Press, 1994), 51–84.

43. Stephen C. McCluskey, *Astronomies and Cultures in Early Medieval Europe* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000), 188–206.

44. On travel narratives see especially Joan-Pau Rubiés, *Travel and Ethnology in the Renaissance* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000), 25–26; and Rubiés, *Travelers and Cosmographers: Studies in the History of Early Modern Travel and Ethnography* (Burlington: Ashgate, 2007). On Ottoman travel narratives see Palmira Brummett, “Imagining the Early Modern Ottoman Space, from World History to Piri Reis,” in Virginia K. Aksan and Daniel Goffman eds., *The Early Modern Ottomans: Remapping the Empire* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007), 54–56.

45. See Remigio Sabbadini, *Le scoperte dei codici Latini e Greci ne’ secoli XIV e XV* (Florence: G. C. Sansoni, 1967), 52–53; Anthony Cutler, “From Loot to Scholarship: Changing Modes in the Italian Response to Byzantine Artifacts,” *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 49 (1995): 237–67; Robert S. Nelson, “Byzantium and the Rebirth of Art and Learning in Italy and France,” in Helen C. Evans ed., *Byzantium: Faith and Power (1261–1557)*, exh. cat. New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art, 2004 (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2004), 515–23; Evelyn Edson, *The World Map, 1300–1492* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2007) 114–126; and Patrick Gautier Dalché, *La Géographie de Ptolémée en Occident (IVe–XVIe Siècle)* (Turnhout: Brepols, 2009), 145–154.

46. On Chrysoloras see Sabbadini, *Le scoperte dei codici Latini e Greci*, 43–44; Sebastiano Gentile, “Emanuele Crisolora e la ‘Geographia’ di Tolomeo,” in Mariarosa Cortesi and Enrico V. Maltese eds., *Dotti bizantini e libri greci nell’Italia del secolo XV* (Naples: M. D’Auria, 1992), 291–308; Roberto Weiss, “Gli inizi dello studio del greco a Firenze,” in *Medieval and Humanist Greek: Collected Essays* (Padua: Antenore, 1977), 227–254; and Nigel Guy Wilson, *From Byzantium to Italy: Greek Studies in the Italian Renaissance* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1992), 8–12.

47. Rome, BAV, Urb. Gr. 82. See Joseph Fischer, S.J. intr. *Claudii Ptolemaei Geographiae, Codex Urbinas Graecus 82* (Leiden: Brill, 1932), 2 vols. Some doubt is cast on Fischer’s identification of this codex as Strozzi’s by Dalché, “The Reception of Ptolemy’s *Geography*,” 288.

48. Aubrey Diller, “The Greek Codices of Palla Strozzi and Guarino Veronese,” *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* 24 (1961): 314–316.

49. On Ptolemy’s cartographic theory see Berggren and Jones, *Ptolemy’s Geography*, 5–17 and 31–40.

50. These are the so-called A and B groups, respectively, following the distinction first suggested by Fischer, in his introduction to *Claudii Ptolemaei Geographiae*.

51. On the relationship between Berlinghieri’s work and the earliest available Greek codices of the *Geography* see Fischer, *Claudii Ptolemaei Geographiae*, 375–398. On Palla Strozzi’s manuscript and its influence on later examples see Diller, “Greek

Codices,” 316; and Francesca Fiorani, *The Marvel of Maps: Art, Cartography and Politics in Renaissance Italy* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2005), 78–92. See, however, the objections of Dalché: “The Reception of Ptolemy’s Geography,” 289.

52. An excellent summary of these events appears in Germaine Aujac, “Le peintre florentin Piero del Massaio, et la *Cosmographia* de Ptolémé,” *Geographia* 3/4 (1995): 187–210. See James Hankins, “Ptolemy’s *Geography* in the Renaissance,” in R. G. Dennis and E. Falesy eds., *Marks in the Field. Essays in the Use of Manuscripts* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1992), 118–127; and Dalché, “The Reception of Ptolemy’s *Geography*,” 290–292.

53. Paolo Toscanelli, Antonio Manetti, and Niccolò Nicoli, for example, all demonstrated sincere interest in the *Geography* in their writings: Gentile ed., *Firenze e la scoperta dell’America*, 5–6, 101–105, 126–135, and 150–153.

54. Gentile ed., *Firenze e la scoperta dell’America*, 83–84, cat. no. 40.

55. Vespasiano da Bisticci, *Le vite*, vol. 2, 375–376. See also Dalché, “The Reception of Ptolemy’s *Geography*,” 292–295.

56. For example, Federico da Montefeltro’s library included two massive Florentine copies of the *Geography* prior to the arrival of Berlinghieri’s manuscript around 1482: BAV Urb. Lat. 274 and 277. The royal library at Naples also possessed one of these Florentine manuscripts, Paris, BnF, Lat. 4802. Mathias, king of Hungary, contacted Vespasiano da Bisticci when seeking a copy of Ptolemy’s work for himself. On these and other Florentine manuscripts of the *Geography* see Gentile ed., *Firenze e la scoperta*, cat nos. 40, 110.

57. Garzelli, *La Bibbia di Federico da Montefeltro*; and Alexander, “Patrons, Libraries, and Illuminators in the Italian Renaissance,” 353–354.

58. Cecil Clough, “The Library of the Dukes of Urbino,” in *The Duchy of Urbino in the Renaissance* (London: Variorum, 1981), 101–105 and 109; Piccolomini, “Intorno alle condizioni ed alle vicende della libreria Medicea private,” 19 (1874–1875), 101–129 and 254–281, 20 (1876), 51–94, 21 (1877), 102–112 and 282–296; de Marinis, *La biblioteca napoletano dei Re D’Aragona*, vol. 2; and Csaba Csapodi ed., *Biblioteca Corviniana: The Library of King Matthias of Hungary* (Budapest: Corviniana, 1969).

59. Vespasiano da Bisticci, *Le Vite*, vol. 2, 375–376: “la Cosomografia di Tolomeo colla pittura nella forma grande ch’ell’e al presente, et erano il testo, e nomi delle provincie tutti in greco, Francesco fu de’prima che prese questa fatica e questo diligenza di fare la pittura di sua mano . . . sono usciti infiniti volumi che si sono di poi fatti, che ne sono andati infino in Turchia.”

60. See Leo Bagrow, “The Origin of Ptolemy’s *Geographia*,” *Geografiska Annaler* 27 (1945): 320–27; O. A. W. Dilke, *Greek and Roman Maps* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press 1985 repr. 1998), 41–54; Berggren and Jones, *Ptolemy’s Geography*, 45–50; Dalché, “The Reception of Ptolemy’s *Geography*,” 285–290; and esp. Florian Mittenhuber, “The Tradition of Texts and Maps in Ptolemy’s *Geography*,” in Alexander Jones ed., *Ptolemy in Perspective* (New York: Springer, 2010), 95–119.



61. On the European image of the world prior to the recovery of the *Geography* see Margriet Hoogvliet, *Pictura Et Scriptura: Textes, Images Et Hermeneutique Des Mappae Mundi (XIIIe–XVIe Siecle)* (Turnhout: Brepols, 2007); and Edson, *The World Map*, esp. 60–89.

62. Armin Wolf, “News on the Ebstorf World Map: Date, Origin, and Authorship,” in Monique Pelletier ed., *Géographie du monde au moyen âge et à la renaissance* (Paris: Editions du Comité des Travaux Historiques et Scientifiques, 1989), 51–68; and Edson, *the World Map*, 30–31.

63. It is worth pointing out that the concept of the earth as a globe remained in continuous evidence from antiquity to the modern period in Europe. See Jeffrey Burton Russel, *Inventing the Flat Earth: Columbus and Modern Historians* (New York: Praeger, 1991). Edward Luther Stevenson provides a useful survey of medieval European thinkers’ interest in a spherical world: *Terrestrial and Celestial Globes* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1921 repr. 1971), 35–44.

64. For a critical discussion of the Florentine legacy of naturalism and its links to Giotto see Hayden B. J. Maginnis, “In Search of an Artist,” in Anne Derbes and Mark Sandona eds., *The Cambridge Companion to Giotto* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004), 10–20. See also Pamela H. Smith, *The Body of the Artisan: Art and Experience in the Scientific Revolution* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2004), 8–24.

65. See Aujac, “Le peintre florentin,” 187–210; and Dalché, “The Reception of Ptolemy’s *Geography*,” 321–322.

66. On these city plans see Naomi Miller, *Mapping the City: The Language and Culture of Cartography in the Renaissance* (New York and London: Continuum, 2003), esp. 27–40.

67. On Nicolaus Germanus, frequently confused with the *Geographia*’s printer Niccolò Tedesco or, as he styled himself in Latin Nicolaus Laurentii, see R. A. Skelton, introduction to *Cosmographia: Ulm 1482 and 1486* (Amsterdam: Theatrum Orbis Terrarum, 1964), v–viii; Joseph Babicz, “Donnus Nicolaus Germanus: Probleme seiner Biographie und sein Platz der Rezeption der ptolemaischen Geographie,” *Wolfenbütteler Forschungen* (1980): 9–42; and Dalché, “The Reception of Ptolemy’s *Geography*,” 320–21.

68. Edward Luther Stevenson, introduction to *Geography of Claudius Ptolemy* (New York: Dover, 1932 repr. 1991), 19–21; and Dalché, “The Reception of Ptolemy’s *Geography*,” 320–321.

69. R. A. Skelton, introduction to *Cosmographia: Bologna 1477* (Amsterdam: Theatrum Orbis Terrarum, 1963); and introduction to *Cosmographia: Rome 1478* (Amsterdam: Theatrum Orbis Terrarum, 1966).

70. Berlinghieri signaled this praising one of the principle intellectual heirs of Chrysoloras, John Argyropoulos: *Geographia* 3.21: “L’agripulo quindii essere explico/ addorno di doctrina & varia & tanta/ et dello imperatorio sangue anticho.”



71. Julian Raby, “East and West in Mehmed the Conqueror’s Library,” *Bulletin du bibliophile* 3 (1987): 301–302; and see Hubertus Günter, “Die osmanische Renaissance der Antike im Vergleich mit der italienischen Renaissance,” in Neslihan Asutay-Effenberger and Ulrich Rehm eds., *Sultan Mehmed II: Eroberer Konstantinopoles- Patron der Künste* (Cologne: Böhlau Verlag, 2009), 93–138. These rumors have most recently been discussed in D’Elia, *A Sudden Terror*, 122–125.

72. Julian Raby, “Mehmed the Conqueror’s Greek Scriptorium,” *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 37 (1983): 15–34; and Meserve, *Empires of Islam*.

73. On rumors of Mehmed’s conversion see Robert H. Schwoebel, “Coexistence, Conversion and the Crusade Against the Turks,” *Studies in the Renaissance* 12 (1965): 180; and D’Elia, *A Sudden Terror*, 122–123.

74. For Paolo da Colle’s service at the Ottoman and Mamluk courts see Franz Babinger, “Lorenzo de’ Medici e la corte ottomana,” *Archivio storico italiano* 121 (1963): 325–347.

75. On the place of Ptolemy in Islamic geography see Casale, *The Ottoman Age of Exploration* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009), 20–21; Ramazan Sesen, “Geography in the Ottoman Empire,” in Halil İnalçik ed., *The Great Ottoman-Turkish Civilization* (Ankara: Yeni, 2000), 405–418; and Mittenhuber, “The Tradition of Texts and Maps in Ptolemy’s *Geography*,” 114.

76. David King, *World Maps for Finding the Direction and Distance to Mecca: Innovation and Tradition in Islamic Science* (Leiden: Brill, 1999), esp. 24–31. See also Howard R. Turner, *Science in Medieval Islam: An Illustrated Edition* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1997), 117–130.

77. Gottfried Hagen, “Katib Çelebis Darstellung der eyalets und sancaqs des Osmanischen Reiches,” *Archivum Ottomanicum* 16 (1998): 101–123.

78. On geography’s place in Ottoman education see Casale, *The Ottoman Age of Exploration*, 13–18; Gottfried Hagen, “Ottoman Understandings of the World in the Seventeenth Century,” in Robert Dankoff, *An Ottoman Mentality: The World of Evliya Çelebi* (Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2004), esp. 228–229; and Faroqhi, *The Ottoman Empire and the World Around It*, 196–197.

79. Roberto Weiss, “Cristoforo Buondelmonti,” *Dizionario Bibliografico Italiano* (Rome: Istituto della Enciclopedia Italiana, 1966), vol. 8, 199; Ian R. Manners, “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 (1991): 72–102; and George Toliás, “*Isolarii*, Fifteenth to Seventeenth Century,” in Woodward ed., *History of Cartography*, vol. 3, part 1, 265–267.

80. On the wide variety of cartographic and geographic works included in Mehmed’s library see Istituto Italiano di Cultura di Istanbul, *Portolani e Carte Nautiche XIV–XVIII Secolo/ XIV–XVIII Yüzyil Portolan Deniz Haritalari* exh. cat. Istanbul, Topkapı Sarayı Müzesi, 1994 (Istanbul: Güzel Sanatlar Matbaası A.S., 1995); and

most recently Casale, *The Ottoman Age of Exploration*, 20–21. On Mehmed's reputation for interest in cartography in the West see Raby, "East and West," 305–306.

81. For the formation of the Ottoman state see esp. Halil İnalçik, "The Question of the Emergence of the Ottoman State," *International Journal of Turkish Studies* 2 (1980): 71–79; Cemal Kafadar, *Between Two Worlds: The Construction of the Ottoman State* (Los Angeles and Berkeley: University of California Press, 1995), 118–150; and Suraiya Faroqhi, *The Ottoman Empire and the World Around It* (New York: Tauris, 2004), 1–26.

82. See, for example, Faroqhi, *The Ottoman Empire and the World Around It*, 20–21; and Faroqhi, *Artisans of Empire: Crafts and Craftspeople Under the Ottomans* (New York: Tauris, 2009), 25–27.

83. Casale observes "there is no absence of early works of Arabic geography in the libraries and manuscript collections of modern Istanbul . . . Yet until more is known about these manuscripts and the circumstances under which they were acquired, it remains an open question how many of them were actually available to Ottoman scholars of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries . . .": *Ottoman Age of Exploration*, 17.

84. Palmira Brummett, *Ottoman Seapower and Levantine Diplomacy in the Age of Discovery* (Albany: SUNY Press, 1994), 4–15.

85. For example Berlinghieri, *Geographia*, 2.2: "Per un braccio di terra & isthmo breve/ che quindi exteso infino al nostro mare/ l'egypto da giudea divider deve." For the Ottoman orientation toward the Mediterranean see Casale, *The Ottoman Age of Discovery*, 17–18.

86. See especially Ahmet T. Karamustafa, "Problems in the Study of Ottoman Cartography," in Harley and Woodward eds., *History of Cartography*, vol. 2, part 1, 218–220; Brummett, *Ottoman Seapower*; Faroqhi, *The Ottoman Empire and the World Around It*, 179–181; and Casale, *Ottoman Age of Exploration*, 3–13.

87. Hagen, "Ottoman Understandings of the World in the Seventeenth Century,"; and Nuran Tezcan, *Manisa nach Eviya Çelebi* (Leiden: Brill, 1999).

88. Macrobius, *Commentary on the Dream of Scipio*, William Harris Stahl ed. and trans. (New York: Columbia University Press, 1952 repr. 1990); and Isidore of Seville, *Etymologies*, Stephen A. Barney ed. and trans. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006). On the maps that accompanied these see Tony Campbell, *The Earliest Printed Maps* (London: British Library, 1987), 3–7.

89. Hagen, "Ottoman Understandings of the World in the Seventeenth Century," 28. See also Karamustafa, "Introduction to Islamic Maps," in Harley and Woodward eds., *History of Cartography*, vol. 2, part 1, 200–210.

90. For the fortunes of the *Geography* in the later Byzantine world see Nelson, "Byzantium and the Rebirth of Art and Learning in Italy and France," 515–23.

91. Raby, "Mehmed the Conqueror's Greek Scriptorium," and "East and West in Mehmed the Conqueror's Library."

92. Raby, “East and West in Mehmed the Conqueror’s Library,” 316; and Franz Babinger, “Mehmed II. Heirat mit Sitt-Chatun,” *Der Islam* 29 (1949): 218–235.

93. Casale, *Ottoman Age of Exploration*, 19–20.

94. Hagen, “Ottoman Understandings of the World in the Seventeenth Century,” 31.

95. For the sorts of locations included in Ptolemy’s text see Berggren and Jones eds., *Ptolemy’s Geography*, 168–181. Berlinghieri’s concordance of modern and antique names is briefly treated in Almagià, “Osservazioni sull’opera geografica di Francesco Berlinghieri,” 232–236.

96. In attempting to equate modern names with Ptolemy’s toponyms, Berlinghieri followed in the footsteps of, and attempted to expand on, Biondo Flavio’s *Italia illustrata* composed c. 1450 and first printed in 1474. See Biondo Flavio, *Italy Illuminated*, ed. and trans. Jeffrey A. White (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2005). On the *Dittamondo* see Vito Salierno, “Il *Dittamondo* di Fazio degli Uberti,” *L’Esopo* 23 (1984): 43–50. On Dati’s geographic work see Goro Dati, *La Sfera*, ed. Enrico Narducci (Milan: 1865); Filiberto Segatto, “Un’immagine quattrocentesca del mondo: La ‘Sfera’ del Dati,” *Atti della Accademia Nazionale dei Lincei* 27 (1987): 147–182; and Raymond Clemens, “Medieval Maps in a Renaissance Context: Gregorio Dati and the Teaching of Geography in Fifteenth-Century Florence,” in Richard J. A. Talbert and Richard W. Unger, *Cartography in Antiquity and the Middle Ages: Fresh Perspectives, New Methods* (Leiden: Brill, 2008), 237–256.

97. Berlinghieri’s letter to Bayezid: “Non solo appariscono le positioni de siti delle regioni . . . ma anchora le mutationi de nomi et le loro chagioni et ethimologie.”

98. See also Pauline Moffitt Watts, “The European Religious Worldview and its Influence on Mapping,” in Woodward ed. *History of Cartography*, vol. 3, part 1, 382–400.

99. On the connection between Berlinghieri’s poem and the creation narrative see Denis Cosgrove, *Apollo’s Eye: A Cartographic Genealogy of the Earth in the Western Imagination* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2001), 108–109.

100. Karamustafa, “Problems in the Study of Ottoman Cartography,” 221–225.

101. Faroqhi, *The Ottoman Empire and the World Around It*, 196.

102. Aeneas Silvius Piccolomini, *Epistola ad Mahometem II*, ed. and trans. Alfred R. Baca (New York: Peter Lang, 1990); Luca d’Ascia, *Il corano e la tiara: l’epistola a Maometto II di Enea Silvio Piccolomini (papa pio II)* (Pendragon: Bologna, 2001); and Nancy Bisaha, “Pope Pius II and Crusade,” in Norman Housley ed., *Crusading in the Fifteenth Century: Message and Impact* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2004), 39–52.

103. Hagen, “Ottoman Understandings of the World in the Seventeenth Century,” 219–220.

104. For example Berlinghieri, *Geographia*, 5.19: “Quindi cornelio fu che si remove/ dal testamento anticho & molto crede/ al crocifixo eterno & vero giove.”

105. See Stephen Runciman, *The Fall of Constantinople, 1453* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1965); Jonathan Harris, *The End of Byzantium* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2008); and esp. Ebru Boyar and Kate Fleet, *A Social History of Ottoman Istanbul* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010), 6–27.

106. Margaret Meserve, *Empires of Islam in Renaissance Historical Thought* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2008), 67; Nancy Bisaha, *Creating East and West: Renaissance Humanists and the Ottoman Turks* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2006), 109–114; and Norman Housley, introduction to *Crusading in the Fifteenth Century*, 9–12.

107. See especially Cutler, “From Loot to Scholarship: Changing Modes in the Italian Response to Byzantine Artifacts,” 236–238; and Robert Ousterhout, “A Sixteenth-Century Visitor to the Chora,” *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 39 (1985): 117–124.

108. See Bisaha, *Creating East and West*, 124–126. For the humanist condemnation of the Ottomans as bestial see esp. Meserve, *Empires of Islam*, 67–68.

109. Raphaelae Taucci, “La Geografia del Berlinghieri della Biblioteca Alessandrina di Roma,” *La Bibliofilia* 69 (1967): 72.

110. The manuscripts with maps by Massaio posited as Berlinghieri’s principal sources are BAV Lat. 5699 and Urb. Lat. 277, Paris, BnF, Lat. 4802, and Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana (hereafter BML) Plut. XXX.1 and Plut. XXX.2. Almagià, “Osservazioni sull’opera geografica di Francesco Berlinghieri,” 214–215. On Massaio see Germaine Aujac, “Le peintre florentin Piero del Massaio, et la *Cosmographia* de Ptolémé,” *Geographia Antiqua* 3/4 (1995): 187–210.

111. See also Alessandro Nova, *The Book of the Wind: The Representation of the Invisible* (Kingston: McGill-Queen’s University Press, 2011).

112. This basic motif is employed in Turin, BN Universitaria MS. XV.I.42; Rome, BNC70.I.G.5; Florence, Biblioteca Laurenziana Inc. 1.5; Arezzo, Biblioteca Comunale AA.1; and Istanbul, Topkapi Sarayi Museum, MS. G.I.84.

113. On the chronology of the engraved maps accompanying the earliest editions of the *Geography* see Tony Campbell, *The Earliest Printed Maps* (London: British Library, 1988), 3–14.

114. Several of the temples included on maps to accompany versions of the *Geography* are promontory temples that might have been significant as ancient navigational markers. See Ellen Churchill Semple, “The Templed Promontories of the Ancient Mediterranean,” *Geographical Review* 17 (1927): 353–386.

115. On the maps accompanying Byzantine manuscripts of the *Geography* known in Italy see Fischer, *Claudii Ptolemaei Geographiae, Codex Urbinas Graecus* 82 (Leiden: Brill, 1932), vol. 1, 16–18; Aubrey Diller, “The Oldest Manuscripts of Ptolemaic Maps,” *Transactions of the American Philological Association* 71 (1940): 62–7; and Dalché, “The Reception of Ptolemy’s *Geography*.”

116. On these libraries see Clough, “The Library of the Dukes of Urbino,” 101–105 and 109; Piccolomini, “Intorno alle condizioni ed alle vicende della Libreria Medicea

private”; and Angella Dillon-Bussi, “La Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana negli ultimi anni del quattrocento,” in Lenzuni ed., *All’ombra del lauro*, 135–139 and 149–160.

117. These are BAV Lat. 5699 and Urb. Lat. 277.

118. Christianne Joost-Gaugier, “The Early Beginnings of the Notion of ‘Uomini Illustri’ and the ‘De Viris Illustribus’ in the Greco-Roman Literary Tradition,” *Artibus et Historiae* 3 (1982): 97–115; G. J. Toomer, *Ptolemy’s Almagest* (New York: Springer, 1984); and Gerd Grasshoff, *The History of Ptolemy’s Star Catalogue* (New York: Springer, 1990), 15–21.

119. Luciano Cheles, *The Studiolo of Urbino: An Iconographic Investigation* (University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 1986), 40–41 and appendix A: “Claudio Ptolemaeo Alexandrino, ob certam astrorum dimensionem, inductasque orbi terrarum lineas, vigiliis laborique aeterno Federicus dedit.” See also Robert Kirkbride, *Architecture and Memory: The Renaissance Studioli of Federico da Montefeltro* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2009), 11–37.

120. Berlinghieri, *Geographia*, 1.3: “Poi leverenci dal terrestre limo / chiusi da questa nube il perche visti non sendo / vedren tutto chomio stimo / Le regioni e mari e fiumi ad misti/ et non obstante l’alpe e magni monti/ levati in alto et se altro e che resisti.”

121. Berlinghieri, *Geographia*, 1.3: “Dipoi piu bassi e popoli non conti / cicta chostumi porti isole et cavi / selve palude laghi stagni et fonti.”

122. Berlinghieri, *Geographia*, 1.1: “Geographia Ptolemeo homai/ Cantando in lingua fiorentina ascolta.”

123. Lloyd A. Brown, *The Story of Maps* (Boston:, Little, Brown 1949), 79–80 provides an excellent example of the long canonical praise of Ptolemy’s cartography. Brown’s work is also paradigmatic of a somewhat schizophrenic attitude toward Ptolemy’s recovery in twentieth-century scholarship that proposed both that the *Geography* was adopted for its remarkable, observation based maps yet ultimately served to retard further cartographic progress through its tenacious status as dogma.

124. For portolan charts, see Adolf Erik Nordenskiöld, *Periplus: An Essay on the Early History of Charts and Sailing Directions*, trans. Francis A. Bather (Stockholm: 1897); Walter W. Ristow and R. A. Skelton, *Nautical Charts on Vellum in the Library of Congress* (Washington, DC: Library of Congress, 1977); Tony Campbell, “Census of Pre-Sixteenth-Century Portolan Charts,” *Imago Mundi* 38 (1986): 67–94; and his “Portolan Charts from the Late Thirteenth Century to 1500,” in J. B. Harley and David Woodward eds., *The History of Cartography* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1987), vol. 1, 371–435. See also Edson, *The World Map*, 33–59 and 243–244.

125. Paris, BnF, MS esp. 30. See Campbell, “Portolan Charts from the Late Thirteenth Century to 1500,” 314–15, 356, 358, 432, plates 17, 32.

126. Scholars remain divided on whether portolan charts were purely the product of the middle ages or whether they might have taken (now lost) classical maps as their

models: Campbell, “Portolan Charts from the Late Thirteenth Century to 1500,” 380–82. The classic study is Alberto Magnaghi, “Sulle origini del portolano normale del Medio Evo e della cartografia dell’Europa occidentale,” *Memorie geografiche pubblicate come supplemento all Rivista Geografica Italiana* 8 (1909): 115–187. The Catalan or Italian authorship of many charts is also fiercely debated. The now outdated full study of this problem is Giuseppe Caraci, *Italiani e Catalani nella primitiva cartografia nautica medievale* (Rome: Memorie geografiche, 1959) repr. Reggio Emilia, 1993. See also Edward Luther Stevenson, *Portolan Charts: Their Origin and Characteristics* (New York: Hispanic Society of America, 1911).

127. Jerry Brotton has reasserted this rationalizing function of Ptolemaic cartography observing that “the grid of latitude and longitude that Ptolemy threw across the known world was secular and geometrical. This was the template used by the fifteenth- and sixteenth-century voyages of trade and discovery, which began to shape today’s modern image of the globe . . .”: *The Renaissance Bazaar: From the Silk Road to Michelangelo* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002), 155.

128. The connection between Ptolemy’s maps and the rationalization of space is most forcefully advanced by Samuel Y. Edgerton Jr. in his *The Renaissance Rediscovery of Linear Perspective* (New York: Harper and Row, 1975); “From Mental Matrix to Mappamundi to Christian Empire: The Heritage of Ptolemaic Cartography in the Renaissance,” in David Woodward ed., *Art and Cartography: Six Historical Essays* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1987), 10–49; and *The Mirror, the Window and the Telescope* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2009). This connection was reiterated by Kristen Lippincott, “The Art of Cartography in Renaissance Florence,” in Michael Mallett and Nicholas Mann eds., *Lorenzo the Magnificent: Culture and Politics* (London: Warburg Institute, 1996), 131–149. For the most recent evaluation of such claims see Dalché, “The Reception of Ptolemy’s *Geography*,” 334–336.

129. For example, in his introduction to Gentile’s *Firenze e la scoperta dell’America* Eugenio Garin observed that fifteenth-century Florentines “wished to construct a new, scientific vision of the world”: 11–12. The connection between cartography and narratives of progress has proved even more acute in studies of printed maps since these have, until recently, been tied to a progressive evaluation of printing technology. See here Chapter 3.

130. Jean A. J. De Villiers, “Famous Maps in the British Museum,” *The Geographical Journal* 44 (1914): 168–184.

131. Brown, *The Story of Maps*; Gerald R. Crone, *Maps and Their Makers: An Introduction to the History of Cartography* (London: n. p., 1953); and Leo Bagrow and R. A. Skelton, *The History of Cartography* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1964).

132. David Woodward, “Cartography in the Renaissance: Continuity and Change,” in Woodward ed., *History of Cartography*, vol. 3, part 1, 3–24.



133. Standard works on the history both of cartography and the discoveries, including Brown, *The Story of Maps*, 77; Bagrow and Skelton, *The History of Cartography*, 77–86; and Thomas Goldstein, “Geography in Fifteenth-Century Florence,” in John Parker ed., *Merchants and Scholars* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1965), 9–32 all posit a connection between Ptolemaic mapping and the voyages to the Americas. This was restated in essays by Samuel Y. Edgerton Jr. including “Florentine Interest in Ptolemaic Cartography as Background for Renaissance Painting, Architecture, and the Discovery of America,” *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians* 33 (1974): 274–92; and “From Mental Matrix to Mappamundi.” Nor is the matter purely one of distant history. The five-hundred-year anniversary of Columbus’s first voyage, in 1992, saw both works like Jay A. Levenson ed., *Circa 1492: Art in the Age of Exploration* exh. cat. Washington, DC: National Gallery of Art, 1992 (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1992), which sought to complicate their subject, as well as many Italian language publications that revived the uncritical focus on the *Geography*’s role in these events. See, for example, Guglielmo Cavallo ed., *Due mondi a confronto 1492–1728: Cristoforo Colombo e l’apertura degli spazi: mostra storico-cartografica* (Rome: Herder, 1992).

134. Gustavo Uzielli, *Paolo del Pozzo Toscanelli: iniziatore della scoperta d’America* (Florence: 1892), 10–13. See also his *Toscanelli, Colombo, e Vespucci* (Rome: Tipografica della R. Accademia dei Lincei, 1904); and Brown, *Story of Maps*, 77: “This mistake, coupled with his estimate of the circumference of the earth, was Ptolemy’s greatest contribution to history, if not cartography.” Scholars have come to recognize that Ptolemy’s estimation of the earth’s circumference largely corresponded with, rather than contradicted, existing medieval sources. On the coherence of Ptolemaic cartography with medieval geographic thought see Patrick Gautier Dalché, “Pour une histoire du regard géographique. Conception et usage de la carte au xv siècle,” in Veronique Pasche et al., *Il teatro della Natura / The Theatre of Nature* (Turnhout: Brepols, 1996), esp. 86–87.

135. Gustavo Uzielli, for example, made the purely hypothetical case for Florentine mathematician Paolo Toscanelli’s role in the voyages of discovery. Uzielli even gave Berlinghieri’s work a place in this trajectory, as the principle example of Florentine cosmography that made such ideas possible: *Paolo del Pozzo Toscanelli*, 133–48. This subject is revisited in Luciano Formisano ed., *Letters from a New World: Amerigo Vespucci’s Discovery of America*, trans. David Jacobson (New York: Marsilio, 1992), xxviii–xxxviii.

136. Foundational works like Walter Mignolo, *The Darker Side of the Renaissance* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1995), 22–38 and Richard Trexler, *Sex and Conquest* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1995) made the case for the intersection of commerce and proto-colonial ideologies as spurs to these voyages. For the role of cartography in these colonizing and ethnographic endeavors see especially Barbara E. Mundy, *The Mapping of New Spain: Indigenous Cartography and the Maps of the*



*Relaciones Geográficas* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1996); Stephanie Leitch, *Mapping Ethnography in Early Modern Germany* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2010); and Jordana Dym and Karl Ofen eds., *Mapping Latin America* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2011).

137. See Bruno Latour, *Laboratory Life: the Social Construction of Scientific Facts* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1979 repr. 1986); Lorraine Daston ed., *Histories of Scientific Observation* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2011); and especially Daston and Peter Galison, *Objectivity* (Boston: Zone, 2007).

138. See, for example Paula Findlen, *Possessing Nature: Museums, Collecting and Scientific Culture in Early Modern Italy* (Los Angeles and Berkeley: University of California Press, 1994); Andrew Cunningham, *The Anatomical Renaissance: The Resurrection of the Anatomical Projects of the Ancients* (London: Aldershot Scholar Press, 1997); Anthony Grafton, *Cardano's Cosmos* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1999); Grafton and Nancy Siraisi eds., *Natural Particulars: Nature and the Disciplines in Renaissance Europe* (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 1999); and Brian W. Ogilvie, *The Science of Describing: Natural History in Renaissance Europe* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2006), esp. 265–272.

139. Catherine Delano Smith, “Maps as Art and Science: Maps in Sixteenth-Century Bibles,” *Imago Mundi* 42 (1990): 65–83; Margriet Hoogvliet, “The Medieval Texts of the 1486 Ptolemy Edition by Johan Reger of Ulm,” *Imago Mundi* 54 (2002): 7–18; and most recently Hoogvliet, *Pictura Et Scriptura*.

140. David Woodward, *Maps as Prints in the Italian Renaissance* (London: British Library, 1996), esp. 75–88 serves as an exemplary case study for the treatment of cartography as a material, rather than purely intellectual culture. Tony Campbell has called much needed attention to the material properties of maps including techniques of printing and engraving. An excellent early intervention is his “The Woodcut Map Considered as a Physical Object: A New Look at Erhard Etzlaub's *Rom Weg* Map of c. 1500,” *Imago Mundi* 30 (1978): 79–91.

141. J. B. Harley's work has been instrumental in bringing widespread acknowledgement of this dilemma to cartographic historians. See his “Maps, Knowledge, and Power,” in Denis Cosgrove and Stephen Daniels eds., *The Iconography of Landscape* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988), 277–312. See also David Buissert ed. *Monarchs, Ministers, and Maps* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1992). For the political resonances of sixteenth-century Florentine maps see Mark Rosen, “The Cosmos in the Palace: the Palazzo Vecchio and the Culture of Cartography in Early Modern Florence,” (Ph. D. diss., University of California, 2004).

142. Tom Conley, *The Self-Made Map: Cartographic Writing in Early Modern France* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1996) and his “Early Modern Literature and Cartography: An Overview,” in Woodward ed. *History of Cartography*, vol. 3, part 1, 410–411.

143. Dalché, “The Reception of Ptolemy’s *Geography*,” 285–287; and Patrick Gautier Dalché, *La Géographie de Ptolémée en Occident (IVe–XVIe Siècle)* (Turnhout: Brepols, 2009).

144. For a potent disarticulation of the narrative of progress in the history of ideas see Bruno Latour, *We Have Never Been Modern* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1993).

145. Dalché, “Pour une histoire,” 77–103; and *La Géographie de Ptolémée en Occident*, 154–158. On the origins of these modern maps see Gabriel Marcel, “Les origines de la carte d’Espagne,” *Revue Hispanique* 4 (1899): 169–170; Roberto Almagià, “The First Modern Map of Spain,” *Imago Mundi* 5 (1947): 27–31; and Rinaldo Comba and Paolo Sereno eds., *Rappresentare uno stato: carte e cartografi degli stati Sabaudi* (Turin: Allemandi, 2002), vol. 2, 11–14. On the incorporation of modern maps into the *Geography* see Germaine Aujac, “La peintre florentin Piero del Massaio, et la Cosmographia de Ptolémée,” in *Geographia Antiqua* 3/4 (1995): 187–210. See also Mirella Levi D’Ancona, *Miniatura e miniatori a Firenze dal XIV al XVI secoli* (Florence: Olschki, 1962), 220–3.

146. John Kirkland Wright, “Notes on the Knowledge of Latitudes and Longitudes in the Middle Ages,” *Isis* 5 (1923): 75–98; and David Woodward, “Roger Bacon’s Terrestrial Coordinate System,” *Annals of the Association of American Geographers* 80 (1990): 109–22. On the importance of astrology in the early modern period see Eugenio Garin, *Astrology in the Renaissance: The Zodiac of Life* (London: Routledge, 1983), esp. 10–16; and Grafton, *Cardano’s Cosmos*, esp. 3–17.

147. The use of coordinates for navigation in the eighteenth century is famously chronicled in Dava Sobel’s *Longitude: The True Story of a Lone Genius Who Solved the Greatest Scientific Problem of his Time* (New York: Penguin, 1995).

148. “Valediction to his booke.” John Donne, *The Complete English Poems*, ed. C. A. Patrides (New York: Knopf, 1991), 77.

149. See, for example, Patrick Gautier Dalché, “L’oeuvre géographique du cardinal Filastre (d. 1428). Représentation du monde et perception de la carte à l’aube des découvertes,” *Archives d’histoire doctrinale et littéraire du Moyen Âge* 59 (1992): 319–83; and Edson, *The World Map*, 138–140.

150. In addition to works cited by Dalché and Hoogvliet see Denis Cosgrove, “Mapping New Worlds: Culture and Cartography in Sixteenth-Century Venice,” *Imago Mundi*, 44 (1992): 65–82; Matthew H. Edney, “Theory and History of Cartography,” *Imago Mundi* 48 (1996): 185–191; Edson, *The World Map*, 165–169; and most recently Peter Barber and Tom Harper eds., *Magnificent Maps: Power, Propaganda and Art*, exh. cat. London, British Library, 2010 (London: British Library Press, 2010).

151. Dalché, *La Géographie de Ptolémée en Occident*; and Hoogvliet, “Medieval Texts,” 14: “the fifteenth-century public perceived almost no opposition between Ptolemaic science and what we would today call ‘medieval lore.’” Hoogvliet’s asser-

tion, however, that such an argument “cautions against the notion of a Ptolemaic Revolution” is rendered problematic in that it fails to take into account the sheer preponderance of maps and descriptions occasioned by this very rediscovery: 1.

152. These views are summarized in R. A. Skelton, introduction to the facsimile edition, *Geographia: Florence, 1482* (Amsterdam: Theatrum Orbis Terrarum, 1966), v–x.

153. Roberto Almagià, “Osservazioni sull’opera geografica di Francesco Berlinghieri,” 213.

154. On the retrospective nature of such revivals see also Ogilvie, *The Science of Describing*, 11.

155. Alexander Nagel and Christopher Wood, *Anachronic Renaissance* (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 2010), 131.

156. See most recently James Dougal Fleming ed., *The Invention of Discovery* (Burlington: Ashgate, 2011).

157. Rome, BAV, Urb. Lat. 274: Marco Buoncone, *Vedere i classici: l’illustrazione libraria dei testi antichi dall’età romana al tardo medioevo* (Rome: Fratelli Palombi Editori, 1996), 437–439.

158. Battista Agnese, *Portolan Atlas*, LJS 28, ff. 7v–8r: Black ed., *Transformation of Knowledge*, 118–119.

159. Gentile ed., *Firenze e la scoperta*, 96–98.

160. *Ibid.*, 96–99, 101, 202–215, and 226–229.

161. Vespasiano da Bisticci, *Le vite*, vol. 2, 350–51.

162. While manuscripts of the *Geography* were undoubtedly produced in other Italian cities during these decades, no comprehensive study yet exists, and the stylistic continuity of the majority of surviving Ptolemaic codices suggests their origins in a fairly small community of principally Florentine workshops prior to 1500.

163. This figure takes into account only extant Florentine manuscripts that include maps using the improved projection designed by Nicolaus Germanus. We can assume a fairly high survival rate for prestigious objects of this sort, but more manuscripts of the *Geography* were certainly produced than are known to us today. More importantly, only those manuscripts that can be definitively dated to this period have been included. Those lacking either modern maps or maps on Nicolaus’s projection have not been counted here, and it is possible that many of these have, in fact, been assigned too early dates by bibliographers. For the manuscripts prepared from Nicolaus’s work see R. A. Skelton introduction to the facsimile edition, *Cosmographia: Ulm 1482 and 1486* (Amsterdam: Teatrum Orbis Terrarum, 1964), v–xii. See also Ernest Anliker and Wilhelm Bonicker, “Donnus Nicolaus Germanus: Sein Kartennetz, seine Ptolemäus—Rezensionen und Ausgaben,” *Zeitschrift des Schweizerischen Gutenberg Museums* 18 (1932): 19–48 and 99–114.

164. Garzelli, *La Bibbia di Federico da Montefeltro*. On Renaissance liturgical manuscripts see J. J. G. Alexander et al., *The Painted Page: Italian Renaissance Book*

*Illumination 1450–1550*, exh. cat. London, Royal Academy of Arts (Munich and New York: Prestel, 1994).

165. A reevaluation of scholarly assumptions about the nature of perspective appears in James Elkins, *The Poetics of Perspective* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1994), esp. 6–15.

166. For the difficulties inherent in the frame of early modernism for the Ottoman state see Virginia H. Aksan and Daniel Goffman, “Introduction: Situating the early modern Ottoman World,” in their edited volume *The Early Modern Ottomans: Remapping the Empire* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007), 1–12.

## 2. The Rebirth of Geography

1. Leon Battista Alberti, *On Painting*, trans. John R. Spencer (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1966), 39: “Thus I believed, as many said, that nature, the mistress of things, had grown old and tired. She no longer produced either geniuses or giants. . . .”

2. Within the vast literature on humanism and the revival of antiquity see especially Leonard Barkan, *Unearthing the Past: Archaeology and Aesthetics in the Making of Renaissance Culture* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1992); Maria Fabricius Hansen, *Representing the Past: The Concept and Study of Antique Architecture in Fifteenth-Century Italy* (Rome: L’Erma di Bretschneider, 1996); Christopher Wood, *Forgery, Replica, Fiction: Temporalities of German Renaissance Art* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2008); and Alexander Nagel and Christopher Wood, *Anachronic Renaissance* (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 2010).

3. Tom Conley, *The Self-Made Map* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1996), 3.

4. *Ibid.*, 303.

5. “To understand who Shakespeare was, it is important to follow the verbal traces he left behind back into the life he lived and into the world to which he was so open”: Stephen Greenblatt, *Will in the World* (New York: W. W. Norton, 2004), 14. See also his *Renaissance Self-Fashioning: From More to Shakespeare* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1980).

6. Archivio di Stato di Firenze (hereafter ASF), Catasto of 1480 (1481), Campione di Catasto, Quartiere S. Croce, Gonfalone di Bue, doc. 1004, no. 505.

7. On the Berlinghieri family’s silk shop see Raymond De Roover, *The Rise and Decline of the Medici Bank: 1397–1493* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1963), 60 and 168–169.

8. For biographical information on Berlinghieri see Assunto Mori, “Un geografo del Rinascimento (Francesco di Niccolò Berlinghieri),” *Archivio storico italiano* 13 (1894): 341–348; and especially Angela Codazzi, “Francesco Berlinghieri,” *Dizionario biografico degli italiani* (Rome: Istituto della Enciclopedia Italiana, 1967),

vol. 9, 121–124. The prominence of the family in the fourteenth century is attested to by Giovanni Boccaccio's tale of the wealthy merchant Arriguccio Berlinghieri: *Decameron*, Vittore Branca ed. (Florence: Felice le Monnier, 1960), Day 7, Novella 8, 260–271. Branca observes that he could find no genealogical record of any Arriguccio Berlinghieri.

9. Giuseppe Maria Mecatti, *Storia genealogica della nobiltà e cittadinanza di Firenze*, part 3 (Naples: 1754), repr. Bologna, Forni, 1971, 261.

10. On Berlinghieri's political activities see also Mario Emilio Cosenza, *Biographical and Bibliographical Dictionary of the Italian Humanists* (Boston: G. K. Hall, 1962), vol. 1, 535–6. On the Florentine political class and their access to positions of the *reggimento* see Dale Kent, "The Florentine Reggimento in the Fifteenth Century," *Renaissance Quarterly* 28 (1975): 577–579.

11. The oration was printed by Bartolomeo de' Libri. Only three copies survive, housed today in the British Library, Ferrara's Biblioteca Comunale, and the Library of Congress, Washington D.C. Florence's Biblioteca Nazionale also held a copy, but this is now officially designated as missing. The speech was reprinted in Francesco Sansovino's *Delle orationi volgarmente scritti da diversi uomini illustri* (Venice: 1584), vol. 2, 30–33.

12. ASF, Mediceo Avanti il Principato (hereafter MAP), Filza XXI numbers 8 (1470), 30 (1469), 75 (1468), and 82 (1468).

13. ASF, MAP, XXI, 23 agosto, 1468, no. 82: "Ma quando noi mi sarete uno minimo segno di quegli che per temp adietro solavate no mi bisogno obrelle non capello none lechtura non cavallo."

14. ASF, MAP, XXI, no. 82: "É certamente che io farsi troppo ingrato sio dimentichassi con lui el quale havendolo io sempre mai in luogo di mio maggior singulare se portato verso di me *non chome maggiore ma chomme eguale e compagnia . . .*."

15. For example ASF, MAP, Filza 29 febbraio, 1469, no. 75.

16. Salvatore Bonghi, *Lettere di Luigi Pulci a Lorenzo il Magnifico ed altri* (Luca: 1886), 28–35. On Berlinghieri and Scala see most recently Alison Brown's introduction to Bartolomeo Scala, *Essays and Dialogues* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2008), xii. A list of individuals published by Gino Corti, apparently composed in Medicean circles, probably in the 1470s also includes an ambiguous epigram on Berlinghieri: "Una lista di personaggi del tempo di Lorenzo il Magnifico caratterizzati da un motto o da una riflessione morale," *Rinascimento* 3 (1952): 157: "Berlinghieri—Ponti l'asino se sa, porti egli la soma."

17. On the importance of resident ambassadors see Garrett Mattingly, *Renaissance Diplomacy* (Baltimore: Penguin, 1955), esp. 53–57 and 87–102; J. R. Woodhouse, "Honourable Dissimulation: Some Italian Advice for the Renaissance Diplomat," *Proceedings of the British Academy* 84 (1993): 25–50; and most recently Jon Snyder, *Dissimulation and the Culture of Secrecy in Early Modern Europe* (Los Angeles and Berkeley: University of California Press, 2009). On ambassadors in the Ottoman

world see Daniel Goffman, “Negotiating with the Renaissance State: the Ottoman Empire and the New Diplomacy,” in Virginia H. Aksan and Goffman eds., *The Early Modern Ottomans: Remapping the Empire* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007), 61–74.

18. On Berlinghieri’s Mantuan correspondence with Lorenzo see Nicolai Rubinstein ed., *The Letters of Lorenzo de’ Medici* (Florence, Giunti-Barbera, 1981), vol. 4, letter 376, note 12 and letter 377, note 11.

19. ASF, MAP, XXXIV, no. 287, 11 February 1479; and Florence, Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale (hereafter BNC), GC, 129, I, c. 10, 29 aprile, 1480. While the editors of Lorenzo’s letters could not identify this Antonio Berlinghieri, it seems almost certain that he is Francesco’s younger brother Antonio identified in his catasto in the “boche” section as thirty-three-years old at that time: ASF, Catasto report of 1480 (1481), Campione di Catasto, Quartiere S. Croce, Gonfalone di Bue, doc. 1004, no. 505.

20. Francesco Martelli, “Alcune considerazioni sull’ introduzione della ‘decima’ a Firenze in epoca Savonaroliana,” in Gian Carlo Garfagnini ed., *Savonarola e la politica* (Florence: Edizioni del Galluzzo, 1997), 140–143.

21. Codazzi, “Francesco di Niccolò Berlinghieri,” 122. On Landino’s scholarly circle see Arthur Field, *The Origins of the Platonic Academy of Florence* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1988), 231–244, 267–268; Paolo Procaccioli intr., Cristoforo Landino, *Comento sopra la Commedia* (Rome: Salerno Editrice, 2001), vol. 1, 17–27; and Mary P. Chatfield introduction to Cristoforo Landino, *Poems* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2008), xiii–xxii.

22. Arnaldo della Torre, *Storia dell’ accademia platonica di Firenze* (Florence: Carnesecchi e Figli, 1902), 664–667. On Argyropoulos see Sebastiano Gentile, “Emanuele Crisolora e la ‘Geographia’ di Tolomeo,” in Mariarosaria Cortesi and Enrico V. Maltese eds., *Dotti bizantini e libri greci nell’ Italia del secolo XV* (Naples: M. D’Auria, 1992), 291–308. While we have no certain evidence of Berlinghieri’s Greek studies, his decision to praise John Argyropoulos, Ficino’s tutor in Greek, has suggested their familiarity.

23. Marsilio Ficino, *The Letters of Marsilio Ficino* (London: Shephard-Walwyn, 1999), vol. 6, 3.

24. Marsilio Ficino, *Opera Omnia* (Turin: Bottega d’Erasmus, 1959), vol. 2, 1464.

25. The *Timaeus* was, uniquely among Platonic writings, continuously available in the West throughout the Middle Ages, in a partial Latin translation. As the earliest classical account construed as a monotheistic creation narrative, it exerted great influence on Christian cosmography. See Francis Macdonald Conford, *Plato’s Cosmology* (London: Routledge, 1971); H. D. Lee introduction to Plato, *Timaeus and Critias* (New York: Penguin, 1972), 3–5; and James Hankins, “The Study of the *Timaeus* in Early Renaissance Italy,” in Anthony Grafton and Nancy G. Siraisi, *Natural Particulars: Nature and the Disciplines in Renaissance Europe* (Cambridge,

MA: MIT Press, 1999), 77–120. For Ficino's engagement with the text see also Sebastiano Gentile, *Il ritorno di Platone* (Florence: Le Lettere, 1984), 8–9.

26. Marsilio Ficino, *The Letters of Marsilio Ficino* (London: Shephard-Walwyn, 1994), vol. 5, 46–47 and 61–62.

27. Paul Kristeller, "The First Printed Edition of Plato's Works and the Date of Its Publication," in *Science and History: Studies in Honor of Edward Rosen* (Wrocław: Ossolineum, 1978), 25–35.

28. Cosenza, *Biographical and Bibliographical Dictionary*, vol. 1, 535–6; Salvatore I. Camporeale, "Giovanni Caroli, 1460–1480: Death, Memory, and Transformation," in Marcel Tetel, Ronald G. Witt, and Rona Goffen eds., *Life and Death in Fifteenth-Century Florence* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 1989), 16–27; and Salvatore Camporeale, "Giovanni Caroli e la 'Vitae fratrum S. M. Novellae': Umanesimo e crisi religiosa (1460–1480)," *Memoriae Domenicane* 12 (1981): 237 for Landino and 262 for Berlinghieri.

29. Cited by Gian Carlo Garfagnini, *Questa è la terra tua: Savonarola a Firenze* (Florence: Edizioni del Galluzzo, 2000), 88: "Occurrit Franciscus Berlingherius inter alios nostros auditores praecipus mihique de archae introitu a patre isto tota quadragesima praedictionem retexit."

30. The sermons appear in Florence, Biblioteca Ricardiana, MS 2204, ff. 161r–162v. and Florence, BNC, Cod. Strozzi (Magl.), XXXV, 211, ff. 130r–131v and ff. 134v–135r. Leaves at the back of Ricardiana Manuscript 2204 apparently bear a child's handwriting, copying some of the sermons contained in the tome. Thanks in part to the survival of these tracts scholars have occasionally incorrectly asserted that Berlinghieri was ordained as a priest. See most recently David Woodward, *Maps as Prints in the Italian Renaissance* (London: British Library, 1996), 3.

31. Ronald Weissman, *Ritual Brotherhood in Renaissance Florence* (New York: Academic Press, 1982), 98–100.

32. Roberto Almagià, "Osservazioni sull'opera geografica di Francesco Berlinghieri," *Archivio della R. deputazione romana di storia patria* 68 (1945): 196 refers to the "infelicissima qualità" of Berlinghieri's verse. Paolo Veneziani called it "badly written": "Vicende tipografiche della Geografia di Francesco Berlinghieri," *La Bibliofilia* 84 (1982): 195–208. See also R. A. Skelton introduction to *Geographia: Florence, 1482* (Amsterdam: Theatrum Orbis Terrarum, 1966), xii; and Giuseppe Ricchieri, "Le geografie metriche italiane del Trecento e del Quattrocento," in *Dai tempi antichi ai tempi moderni: da Dante al Leopardi* (Milan: Hoepli, 1904), 243–65.

33. Milan, Biblioteca Nazionale Braidense (hereafter BNB), MS AC. XIV. 44, f. 1r.

34. See Patricia Simons, "Portraiture and Patronage in Quattrocento Florence with Special Reference to the Tornaquinci and their Chapel in S. Maria Novella," (Ph. D. diss., University of Melbourne, 1985), 273; and Jean Cadogan, *Domenico Ghirlandaio: Artist and Artisan* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2000), 67–90.



35. On the furnishings depicted here see Peter Thornton, *The Italian Renaissance Interior: 1400–1600* (New York: Abrams, 1991), 227, plate 260; and Dora Thornton, *The Scholar in his Study: Ownership and Experience in Renaissance Italy* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1997), 56.

36. The convention of depicting contemporary *studioli* as the environment for such writers was introduced in northern European panel paintings, including influential depictions of Saint Jerome by Jan van Eyck or his workshop. Both the fifteenth-century date and the attribution to Van Eyck of the Detroit Institute of Arts' *St. Jerome in his Study* have been called into question. Technical analysis, however, has confirmed the proposed fifteenth-century origin of the painting: Barbara Heller and Leon P. Stodulski, "Saint Jerome in the Laboratory: Scientific Evidence and the Enigmas of an Eyckian Panel," *Bulletin of the Detroit Institute of Arts* 72 (1998): 38–55.

37. On Ghirlandaio and Botticelli's images of these scholar saints see Thornton, *The Scholar in his Study*, 27–30; Ronald Lightbown, *Sandro Botticelli: Life and Work* (New York: Abbeville Press, 1989), 38–39; Richard Stapleford, "Intellect and Intuition in Botticelli's *Saint Augustine*," *Art Bulletin* 76 (1994): 69–80; and Cadogan, *Domenico Ghirlandaio*, 54–57.

38. The use of *terra verde* for fifteenth-century library and study interiors has been examined by Magnolia Scudieri and Michele Ciliberto, "Un'ipotesi per il verde," in Scudieri and Giovanna Rasario eds., *La Biblioteca di Michelozzo a San Marco tra recupero e scoperta*, (Florence: Giunti, 2000), 45–48. See also Bruce Smith, *The Key of Green: Passion and Perception in Renaissance Culture* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2009), 21.

39. Stephen J. Campbell, *Cosmè Tura of Ferrara: Style, Politics, and the Renaissance City 1450–1495* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1997), 29–32; Campbell, *The Cabinet of Eros: Renaissance Mythological Painting and the Studiolo of Isabella d'Este* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2004), 2–26; and Maria Ruvoldt, "Sacred to Secular, East to West: The Renaissance Studiolo and Strategies of Display" *Renaissance Studies* 20 (2006): 640–657.

40. On the conventions for portraits of Dante see Giovanna Lazzi and Paolo Viti eds., *Immaginare l'autore: il ritratto del letterato nella cultura umanistica* (Florence: Edizioni Polistampa, 2000), esp. Maria Grazia Ciardi Dupré Dal Poggetto, "Continuità e innovazione nei ritratti di Dante, Petrarca e Boccaccio nei codici miniati coevi o di poco posteriori," 63–70; Alvaro Spagnesi, "L'immagine di Dante e quella di altri 'huomini illustri' nel primo quattrocento," 71–80; and Sebastiano Gentile et. al., *Sandro Botticelli: pittore della Divina Commedia*, exh. cat. Rome, Scuderie Papali and London, Royal Academy of Arts, 2000 (Milan: Skira, 2000), vol. 1, 3–15. For portraits of Petrarca see John Richards, *Altichiero: An Artist and his Patrons in the Italian Trecento* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000), 104–5, 117–23.

41. Florence, BNC, Banco Rari 53 (II.III.55, Cl. XXV.41), fol. 1r. See James Hankins introduction to Leonardo Bruni, *History of the Florentine People* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2001), vol. 1; and Gary Ianziti, *Writing History in Renaissance Italy: Leonardo Bruni and the Uses of the Past* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2012).

42. Lillian Armstrong, “The Illumination of Pliny’s *Historia naturalis* in Venetian Manuscripts and Early Printed Books,” in Joseph Burney Trapp ed., *Manuscripts in the First Fifty Years of Printing* (London: Warburg Institute, 1983), 97–106.

43. Edward Luther Stevenson, *Geography of Claudius Ptolemy* (New York: Dover, 1932 repr. 2011), 10–14; and Patrick Gautier Dalché, “The Reception of Ptolemy’s *Geography*,” in David Woodward ed., *History of Cartography* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2007), vol. 3, part 1, 320.

44. Florence, BNC Magl. Cl. XIII, 16, f. 2r.; BML Plut. 30. 1, f. 1r, and Plut. 30.2, f. 1r; Paris, BnF, Lat. 4802, f. 2r; BAV Urb. Lat. 277, f. 2r, and Lat. 5699, f. 2r. Each of these manuscripts has been suggested as a probable source for elements of the *Geographia*’s maps and illuminations.

45. On portraits of Ptolemy see Sebastiano Gentile ed., *Firenze e la scoperta dell’America: umanesimo e geografia nel ‘400 fiorentino*, exh. cat. Florence, Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana, 1992 (Florence: Olschki, 1992); and Denis E. Cosgrove, “Images of Renaissance Cosmography,” in Woodward ed., *History of Cartography*, vol. 3, part 1, 73.

46. The only fifteenth-century representation of Ptolemy without a beard familiar to me is that found in Hartmann Schedel’s *World Chronicle*, printed in Nuremberg in 1493. Here a generic woodcut of a philosopher, employed on several occasions throughout the text, is used to stand for the geographer: *Weltchronik*, Ann Arbor, MI, William L. Clements Library, F 1493 Sc, f. 115v.

47. Vespasiano da Bisticci, quoted in Alexander Nagel and Christopher Wood, *Anachronic Renaissance* (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 2010), 101–102. Byzantine garb enjoyed a particular prominence in Florence thanks to the Church Council convened there in 1439. Byzantine figures are included, for example, in Benozzo Gozzoli’s frescoes for the Medici palace chapel. On these see Piero Bargellini, *Il Concilio di Firenze e gli affreschi di Benozzo* (Florence: Vallecchi, 1961); Roger J. Crum, “Roberto Martelli, the Council of Florence, and the Medici Palace Chapel,” *Zeitschrift für Kunstgeschichte* 59 (1996): 403–417; Dale Kent, *Cosimo de’Medici and the Florentine Renaissance* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2000), 305–328; and Diane Cole Ahl, *Benozzo Gozzoli* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1996), 81–120.

48. E.g. Vat. Lat. 7829. Marco Buonocone ed., *Vedere i classici: l’illustrazione libraria dei testi antichi dall’età romana al tardo medioevo* (Rome: Fratelli Palombi Editori, 1996), 455–457; Christianne Joost-Gaugier, “Ptolemy and Strabo and their conversation with Apelles and Protogenes: cosmography and painting in Raphael’s

*School of Athens*,” *Renaissance Quarterly* 51 (1998): 761–87; and Marica Milanese, “Testi geografici antichi in manoscritti miniati del XV secolo,” in *Relazioni di viaggio e conoscenza del mondo tra Medio Evo e Rinascimento* (Genoa: University of Genoa, 1993), 343–346.

49. Federico’s most lavish copy was BAV Urb. Lat. 277 produced around 1472 with maps by Piero del Massaio.

50. Joost-Gaugier, “Ptolemy and Strabo and their conversation with Apelles and Protogenes,” 761–87; and Milanese, “Testi geografici antichi in manoscritti miniati del XV secolo,” 343–46.

51. Venice, BNM, MS. Cod. Gr. Z. 388, coll. 333, f. 6v.

52. See Luciano Cheles, *The Studiolo of Urbino: An Iconographic Investigation* (University Park, PA: Pennsylvania State University Press, 1986).

53. Skelton, introduction to *Geographia: Florence, 1482*, x. Skelton provides no reference to the passage by Burckhardt and I have been unable to locate it. It is possible that Skelton misquoted Burckhardt and that the opinion expressed is principally the author’s own as, in his *Civilization of the Renaissance in Italy* (New York: Penguin, 1990 originally 1860) Burckhardt writes “no more unjust charge was ever made than that in the field of culture Lorenzo was the protector of mediocrity . . .,” 87.

54. Marica Milanese, “La rinascita della geografia dell’ Europa, 1350–1480,” in Sergio Gensini ed., *Europa e Mediterraneo tra Medio Evo e prima Età Moderna. L’osservatorio italiano* (Pisa: Pacini, 1992), 55. See also Denis Cosgrove, *Apollo’s Eye: A Cartographic Genealogy of the Earth in the Western Imagination* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2001), 108–110.

55. Dalché, “The Reception of Ptolemy’s *Geography*,” 322–324; and Sebastiano Gentile, *Firenze e la scoperta dell’America*, 230–234. Landino provided his interpretation of the *Aeneid* in books 3 and 4 of his *Disputationes Camaldulenses*. For a review of the literature see David Scott Wilson-Okamura, *Virgil in the Renaissance* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010), 35–37.

56. For the printing of Landino’s *Commento* see here Chapter 3.

57. On Landino’s interpretation of the *Commedia* see esp. Paolo Procaccioli, *Filologia ed esegesi dantesca nel quattrocento: l’Inferno nel Commento sopra La commedia di Cristoforo Landino* (Florence: Olschki, 1989); and Gentile, *Firenze e la scoperta dell’America*, 234.

58. See Berlinghieri, *Geographia*, 1.3. Compare with Plato, *Phaedrus*, 245A. See Michael J. B. Allen intr. and trans., Marsilio Ficino, *Commentaries on Plato* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2008), vol. 1.

59. Berlinghieri, *Geographia*, 2.17: “Di chui parla con somma leggiadra/ platonico phicin che tanta gloria/ sempre riporta di philosophia.”

60. On the revival of Plato in Florence see Gentile, *Il ritorno di Platone* and James Hankins, *Plato and the Italian Renaissance* (New York: Columbia University

Press, 1990), 27–57 and 300–317. While claims that a Platonic academy existed in fifteenth-century Florence already find expression in sixteenth-century sources, the notion of a Florentine intelligentsia in the thrall of Ficino's thought was given its modern form by Arnaldo Delle Torre in his massive study of 1902. For a general evaluation of Ficino's importance to Florentine intellectual life see Field's *The Origins of the Platonic Academy of Florence*. Hankins has argued convincingly that Ficino's Neo-Platonic thought has been consistently overemphasized by twentieth-century scholars. See his "The Invention of the Platonic Academy of Florence," *Rinascimento* 41 (2001): 3–38, though see also Field's response in his "The Platonic Academy of Florence," in M. J. B. Allen, V. Rees, and M. Davies eds., *Marsilio Ficino: His Theology, His Philosophy, His Legacy* (Leiden: Brill, 2002), 369–376.

61. See F. E. Romer, *Pomponius Mela's Description of the World* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1998), 5–9. Mela's work also circulated under the title *De situ habitabilis orbis*.

62. For Plato see Berlinghieri, *Geographia*, 3.4 and 3.26. On Aristotle see 3.4, 3.27, and 5.2. For Aquinas see 3.11.

63. For Pliny see *Ibid.*, 3.1, 3.3, 3.6–7 and 5.4. For Strabo see 1.19, 2.12, 3.2–4, 3.16, 3.26–27, 3.30, 4.1, 4.3, 4.5 and 5.6.

64. *Ibid.*, 1.1: "Prendendo ad raccontar chose al presente/ con tutto lo habitato in rima en verso/ da far maraviglar ciaschuna gente".

65. *Ibid.*, 1.2: "Ma poi che intorno ad noi la nube gira/ l'amico mio confuse parole exorta/ qual chi divinamente voce inspira./ O luce sancta non con l'altre in forta/ de dimmi chi tu sia sio ne son degno/ o divo o huom se l'honesta il comporta/ Huom non sonione del superno regno/ dixe egli habitatore et se divino/ ti paio e sol per quel che io monstro ensegno/ Ma dello egypto sui alexandrino/ et delle stelle scripsi et della terra/ sotto el pietoso imperio d'antonio."

66. Dante, *Divina commedia: Inferno*, canto 3, line 8.

67. Berlinghieri, *Geographia*, 3.7: "Mantua donde el poeta latino/ fu: questa nulla altra quale e/ fu o sia/ chome Virgilio excede ogni altro canto."

68. *Ibid.*, 1.2: "Quando nella divina visione/ mosse dur verde lauro el grave canto/ d'ogni terrestre et nota regione."

69. These scenes occupy three roundels in both the Vatican and Milan manuscripts, but are condensed into only two in the Pucci family's copy.

70. Berlinghieri's seventh book also incorporates some of the expository material included in the eighth book of the *Geography*.

71. Berlinghieri, *Geographia*, 2.17: "Sobto a Suderi Gabrita hora ascolta/ selva et tra lei & sarmatici e il bosco/ Orcynio decto et di fama era molta."

72. *Ibid.*, 2.19: "Segui la vela mia che alvento spiego/ & lisola Londobrie & hor Berlingha/ decta che alusitania adstringo & lego/Benche della tua gente il nome adstringa/ L'origine e dal primo berengario/ tempo hor non e che il tuo stemma dipinga."

73. *Ibid.*, 3.30: “fu dalli achei afflicta & fu chiamata/ Trypia ma deserta hora ivi si serra/Quivi Calisto nacque trasformata/ Col suo bel volto in orsa & tralle stele/ per volonta di Giove e dedicata.”

74. *Ibid.*, 3.30: “Vedesi Cnoso qual fu nido & cuna/ Al inothauro a Phedra & Ariadna.”

75. *Ibid.*, 5.4: “Di Sacra germa & poi da Arpagia pensa/ loco onde fu rapito ganimede/ perche e ministri alla divina mensa.”

76. *Ibid.*, 5.4: “Vedi Ida monte e il pastorale hospitio/ ove tre dive giudicate forno/ da paride a troiani fatale exitio.”

77. *Ibid.*, 3.29: “La speloncha per quale Hercole tira/ cerbero ad suo dispecto dello inferno/ dove si piangie sempre & si sospira.”

78. *Ibid.*, 3.35: “Oeta monte ove Hercole si priva/ di vita ove il sepolcro et rogo loca / perche la vita sua morendo viva.”

79. Episodes dealing with the Argonauts are included at *Ibid.*, 3.5, 3.21, 3.26 and 5.1.

80. *Ibid.*, 5.3: “Clazomene paralo se insullito/ ma pria fu in chytrio & ha compatriota/ di phisica anaxagora insignito” and 3.26.

81. *Ibid.*, 3.30: “Quindi Strabon fu d’elevato ingegno/ della geographia lume & splendore.” Elsewhere Berlinghieri calls the geographer “strabon cretense”: 3.2. In fact Strabo’s maternal ancestors had lived on Crete though the geographer had not. On Strabo’s origins and Guarino’s understanding of them see Edmund B. Fryde, *Humanism and Renaissance Historiography* (London: Hambledon Press, 1983), 55–82; and Sarah Pothecary, “Strabo the Geographer: His Name and Its Meaning,” *Mnemosyne* 52 (1999): 691–704.

82. Berlinghieri, *Geographia*, 5.4: Da ptolemeo el principato aquesta/ figliuol di lago milite gregario/ onde il nome ha chi fu della sua lista/ Philadelpho suo figlo il grande armario/ di libri se per tal vespasiano/ per quale hora europa & magno & vario.”

83. *Ibid.*, 3.26: “In attica hora Athene vedere ama/ patria a tanti philosophi & a tanti/ poeti chiara & di celesete fama/ Patria di tanti duci & si prestanti/ patri di tanti studi & tanti regii/ patria di tanti ogni suo ben zelanti/ Patria di tanti cictadini egregii/ che la tua liberta ti conservaro/ onde hoggi sono intra divin collegii”.

84. *Ibid.*, 2.10: “Ad Betulone egregia per il conflitto / contro al punico orgoglio & con giusta ira/ Qui vinse scipion superior dicto/ El figliuol di gisgon capitan peno/ & d’anibal magon germano invicto.”

85. *Ibid.*, 3.24: “Thermopyle in quell loco alto & gentile/ di chi il significato intenderai:/ Et porte & passi & stretti importon pyle/ therme tiepide dove acque son chalde/ sacre a chi porta elion per monile./ Con secento Leonide alle salde/ gente de persi obstando in morte et in vita/ difese el passo onde hebbe eterna l’alde.” The discrepancy between Berlinghieri’s six hundred Spartans and the conventional three

hundred may be explained by typographic error. While ancient sources disagree on the total number of Spartans and allied forces present at the battle, no account seems to coincide with a figure of six hundred men. See Michael A. Flower, “Simonides, Ephorus, and Herodotus on the Battle of Thermopylae,” *The Classical Quarterly* 48 (1998): 365–379.

86. Berlinghieri provides, for example, Alexander’s victory over Darius at 5.2: “El fiume Gernio e quel che veder dei/ granico decto che ecampi adastini/ righa & del magno alexandro etrophei:/Perche conveterani Alexandrini/ militi & con tyroni educi inprima/ di dario vinxe in quei campi vicini.”

87. *Ibid.*, 4.16: “Magna provincia ethiopica sue/ secondo tutta libya ove son tigri/rinoceronti & di molta virtue:/Et elephanti tutti albi & non pigri.”

88. *Ibid.*, 4.15: “L’isola meroe la qual produce/ hebeno argento & oro & rame incopia.”

89. *Ibid.*, 7.6: “Gemme ricche & berilli assai diversi/ & elephanti & tigri anchor produce/ argento & oro & metalli universi”.

90. *Ibid.*, 3.20: “scythica quale havea questo terreno/La spetie humana lei sacrificava et di sua carne uccisa si pasceva/ el teschio in loco di bichiere usava.”

91. *Ibid.*, 5.4: “poi la cictate & il promontorio Cnido/ma Crio nomarlo da moderni sento/ Famoso per la madre di cupido/ lavoro di praxitele” and 3.26: “Thespie cicta qual fama & pregio acquista/ pel simulacro sculto di cupido/ da praxitele egregio & sommo artista”.

92. On the pyramids see *Ibid.*, 5.9: “La pyramide apresso & non perfectol/ e dodici principi & tra quelle/ da micerino quasi e questa erecta” for the mausoleum see 5.4: “Heraclito poeta & non ignoto/ & dionysio historico e suo cive/ & quello spirito che fu si devoto/A mausolo: al quale anchor sa scrive/ posto per artemisia el monumento/ elqual tralle admirande chose vive.”

93. On Guarino’s translation of Strabo see Fryde, *Humanism and Renaissance Historiography*, 72–80.

94. For Livy see Berlinghieri, *Geographia*, 2.1: “Livio pone & la nobilitate/ si chome quel che il vero & scrive et sente.” Plutarch goes unmentioned in the poem, as do many of Berlinghieri’s more significant sources, including Pomponius Mela.

95. While Berlinghieri does not name Thucydides he includes Herodotus in several passages such as 5.4: “Argolica o troezena sistima/ colonia & quindi historico herodoto/ fu che la historia ha collocato incima.” It is also possible that Valla’s notions of “replowing” and “retilling” the texts of the Aristotelian and scholastic tradition influenced Berlinghieri’s concept of reviving geography: See Lodi Nauta, *In Defense of Common Sense: Lorenzo Valla’s Humanist Critique of Scholastic Philosophy* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2009), 269–274.

96. The poet names all three. For Hesiod see Berlinghieri, *Geographia*, 3.26. For Plautus see 3.9: “Saxina & Sarcina hora a clui da lume/ Plauto poeta monstro che indi

pigla/ l'origine el nativo suo chostume.” For Propertius see 3.12: “et Spuleto colonia dell'impero/ Mevania onde Propertio fu si vede/ chome roscio d'amelia et quel Mercato.”

97. On Ovid see *Ibid.*, 3.13: Sulmone e/facta & decta da Sulmone/ che fu d'Enea compagno Sermona hoggi/ onde el poeta Ovidio nasone.” Among the episodes that Berlinghieri drew from *Metamorphoses* is the transformation of Daphne at 3.28: “Quindi non Daphne certo piu felice/ d'esser conversa in una pianta eterna/ la qual d'ogni alto iegegno sia tutrice.” For the fall of Phaeton see 3.5: “Ecco il Po fiume che ci chiama & chiede/ a chi Phetonte Eridano appellato/ in lui cadendo il nome suo concede.”. For Calisto see 3.30.

98. Two of Berlinghieri's descriptions of cannibalism are taken from Pliny as is his lengthy description of ancient Egyptian religion in Book 5. Compare with *Historia naturalis*, Book 5. See also Martin Davies, “Making Sense of Pliny in the Quattrocento,” *Renaissance Studies* 9 (1995): 240–257.

99. Berlinghieri, *Geographia*, 5.4: “poi la cictate & il promontorio Cnido/ma Crio nomarlo da moderni sento/ Famoso per la madre di cupido/ lavoro di praxitele & si degno/che dal carnal disio era mal fido.” Compare to *Historia naturalis*: 36.4. On Pliny's influence on Renaissance conceptions of art see Sarah Blake McHam's forthcoming *Pliny and the Artistic Culture of the Italian Renaissance: The Legacy of the Natural History*.

100. See Biondo Flavio, *Italy Illuminated*, ed. and trans. Jeffrey A. White (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2005).

101. George Talias, “*Isolarii*, Fifteenth to Seventeenth Century,” in Woodward ed. *History of Cartography*, vol. 3, part 1, 265–267.

102. Vito Salierno, “Il *Dittamondo* di Fazio degli Uberti,” *L'Esopo* 23 (1984): 43–50; and Marica Milanese, “Il commento al *Dittamondo* di Guglielmo Capello (1435–37),” in Marco Bertozzi ed. *Alla corte degli Estensi* (Ferrara: Università degli Studi, 1994), 365–388.

103. On Dati see Filiberto Segatto, “Un'immagine quattrocentesca del mondo: La ‘Sfera’ del Dati,” *Atti della Accademia Nazionale dei Lincei* 27 (1987): 147–182.

104. Mangani, *Cartografia morale*, 69.

105. For example, London, British Library, Yates Thompson MS. 36 produced for Alfonso of Naples by Siena's Giovanni di Paolo around 1450. On the numerous illuminated examples of Dante's text see Peter Brieger, Millard Meiss and Charles S. Singleton, *Illuminated Manuscripts of the Divine Comedy* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1969); and Gentile et. al., *Sandro Botticelli: pittore della Divina commedia*, vol. 1, 2–13 and 189.

106. Landino, *Commentari*, Chapter XIV, “SITO FORMA ET MISURA DELLO 'NFERNO ET STATURA DE' GIGANTI ET DI LUCIFERO,” 270–278. Landino also took an interest in the geographical thought of Paolo Toscanelli, refer-



ring to Paolo's knowledge of the earth in his commentary on the poems of Virgil: Gentile, *Firenze e la scoperta*, 148–150.

107. Formisano, *Letters from a New World* (New York: Marsilio, 1992), 6–7. Compare with Dante, *Purgatorio*, canto 1, lines 22–30.

108. Berlinghieri, *Geographia*, 1.1: “Gia l'auriga di Titano/ adorno el sagiptario/ urtava orientale/ di fiamme accesol/ carreggiando il giorno/ ogni mortale!”

109. *Ibid.*, 1.3: “La casta amical/ anchor d'endimione/ percoteval/ co raggi et collostral/ quando nella divina visione”.

110. Rudolph Altrocchi, “Michelino's Dante,” *Speculum* 6 (1931): 15–59; and Patricia Rubin, *Images and Identity in Fifteenth-Century Florence* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2007), 336–345.

111. See also Simon Gilson, *Dante and Renaissance Florence* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005), 150.

112. For a general overview of Fazio's work and the extant manuscripts, see Salierno, “Il *Dittamondo* di Fazio degli Uberti,” 43–50. On the *Dittamondo*'s place in the Florentine canon and its reception in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries see Giuseppe Corsi ed., *Il dittamondo e le Rime* (Bari: Laterza, 1952), 71–75. Giuseppe Ricchieri first recognized the connection between these works, but this observation was not carried forward into other twentieth-century scholarship on the *Geographia*: “Le geografie metriche italiane del Trecento e del Quattrocento,” 244. My observations are based on London, British Library, Greenville 10830 and Kings C. 6. B. 7.

113. See Walter Hermann, *Die “Collectanea rerum memorabilium” des C. Iulius Solinus; ihre Entstehung und die Echtheit ihrer Zweitfassung* (Wiesbaden: Steiner, 1969).

114. Corsi ed., *Il dittamondo e le rime*, 73–75.

115. Marco Berisso, “Testo e contesto della frottola o tu che leggi di Fazio degli Uberti,” *Studi di Filologia Italiana* 51 (1993): 53–88. See also Achille Pellizzari, *Il Dittamondo e la Divina commedia: Saggio sulle fronti del “Dittamondo” e sulla imitazione dantesca nel secolo XIV* (Pisa: Mariotti, 1905); Benedetto Croce, *Poesia popolare e poesia d'arte: Studi sulla poesia italiana dal Tre al Cinquecento* (Bari: Laterza, 1933); Marino Casali, *La lirica di Fazio degli Uberti* (Domodossola: Antonioli, 1949); and Achille Tartaro, “L'esperienza poetica di Fazio degli Uberti,” in *Il Trecento* (Bari: Laterza, 1971), vol. 2, 487–511.

116. Marcus Manilius, *Astronomica*, intr. and trans. G. P. Goold (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1977). See Katharina Volk, “Pious and Impious Approaches to Cosmology in Manilius,” *Materiali e discussioni per l'analisi dei testi classici* 47 (2001): 85–117; and Volk, *Manilius and his Intellectual Background* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009).

117. Volk, *Manilius and his Intellectual Background*, 14–21.

118. See Benedetto Soldati, *La poesia astrologica nel Quattrocento. Ricerche e studi* (Florence: G. C. Sansoni, 1906); Charles Trinkaus, "The Astrological Cosmos and Rhetorical Culture of Giovanni Gioviano Pontano," *Renaissance Quarterly* 38 (1985): 446–472; and Charlotte Goddard, "Pontano's Use of the Didactic Genre: Rhetoric, Irony, and the Manipulation of Lucretius in *Urania*," *Renaissance Studies* 5 (1991): 250–262.

119. Volk, "Pious and Impious Approaches to Cosmology in Manilius," 88–90. Travel continued to serve as a structuring metaphor for early modern science, especially in the form of the hunt or *venatio*, for centuries. See William Eamon, *Science and the Secrets of Nature* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1994), 269–300.

120. See Katharina Volk, *The Poetics of Latin Didactic: Lucretius, Virgil, Ovid, Manilius* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002).

121. Alison Brown, *The Return of Lucretius to Renaissance Florence* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2010), 89. See also Stephen J. Campbell, "Giorgione's 'Tempesta' 'Studiolo' Culture and the Renaissance Lucretius" *Renaissance Quarterly* 56 (2003): 299–333; Catherine Wilson, *Epicureanism at the Origins of Modernity* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008); Stephen Greenblatt, *The Swerve* (New York: Norton, 2011); and Gerard Passannante, *The Lucretian Renaissance* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2011). I am grateful to Charles Borroughs for first suggesting to me that Lucretius might have been of particular interest to Berlinghieri in composing didactic verse.

122. On Manilius' emulation of Lucretius see Volk, "Pious and Impious Approaches to Cosmology in Manilius," 85.

123. On Berlinghieri's literary sources see especially Ricchieri, "Le geografie metriche italiane del Trecento e del Quattrocento,"; and Almagià, "Osservazioni sull'opera geografica di Francesco Berlinghieri," 230–231; along with the revisions proposed by Gentile, *Firenze e la scoperta dell'America*, 234; and Milanese, "La rinascita della geografia dell'Europa, 1350–1480."

124. On the emulation of ancient models in the Renaissance see G. W. Pigman, "Versions of Imitation in the Renaissance," *Renaissance Quarterly* 33 (1980): 1–32. Pigman observes that "*aemulatio* includes the attempt to surpass the model and this attempt generally has important consequences for a reader of imitative poetry because it conflicts with dissimulative advice." See also Thomas Greene, *The Light in Troy: Imitation and Discovery in Renaissance Poetry* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1982); Daniel Jahvitch, "The Imitation of Imitations in Orlando Furioso," *Renaissance Quarterly* 38 (1985): 215–239; Martin L. McLaughlin, *Literary Imitation in the Italian Renaissance* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1995); Peter Godman, *From Poliziano to Machiavelli: Florentine Humanism in the High Renaissance* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1998), 31–36; and James Ackerman, "Imitation," in Alina Payne, Ann Kuttner, and Rebekah Smick eds., *Antiquity and its Interpreters* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000), 9–16.

125. For Ganymede and the Judgment of Paris compare with Strabo, *Geography*, 13.1.

126. Berlinghieri, *Geographia*, 3.3: “Un tempio di Minerva hebbe qui il monte/ vesevo ove dal foco e Plinio extincto/ tentando forse vedere acheronte.”

127. On Poliziano’s distinctive eclecticism see esp. Charles Fantazzi introduction to Angelo Poliziano, *Silvae* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2004), xii–xvii. See also Nauta on Valla’s eclecticism: *In Defense of Common Sense*, 173–174.

128. Berlinghieri, *Geographia*, 3.15: “poi Large & poi el promontorio ecco Hermeo/ Marasso decto dalla nuova etate” and 3.13: “questa & quella Interamnia & hor Teramo/ è nominato dalla eta novella.”

129. *Ibid.*, 3.9: “foro di livio hor per Forli si intende/ che da Martino hebbe il suo muro mancho/gallo poeta quindi origin prende/ et non bonatto et quindi il biondo ancora/ elqual d’italia scripto aperto rende.”

130. *Ibid.*, 3.6: “Verona quivi pose la presente/ gallica natione & questa sende/ Ladice che per mezo un repente/ Questa a Firenze assai sembianza rende/ onde origine & l’uno & l’altro Plino/ Catullo & Macro et il tuo Francesco prende.”

131. *Ibid.*, 1.1: “Geographia Ptolemeo homai/ Cantando in lingua fiorentina ascolta,” and 5.1: “Phrygia & Lycia & Pamphylia & Galatia/ & Paphlagonia nel thoscan sermone.” When the Giunti added a new title page to the work in the early sixteenth century it too made this connection, reading “Geographia di Francesco Berlinghieri Fiorentino in Terza Rima et Lingua Toscana distincta con le sue tavole in varii siti et provincie secondo la Geographia et distinctione delle tavole di Ptolomeo.”

132. On Florentine civic associations with *terza rima* see also Guido Cavalcanti, *The Complete Poems*, Marco Cirigliano ed. and trans. (New York: Italica, 1992), xi–xv.

133. For Dante’s Quattrocento associations with Florence, in addition to works cited below, see Altrocchi, “Michelino’s Dante”; Frank Fata, “Some Elements in the Genesis of a Renaissance View of the Divine Comedy,” *Modern Language Notes* 87 (1972): 20–36; and Deborah Parker, *Commentary and Ideology: Dante in the Renaissance* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 1993).

134. *Ibid.*, 3.5: “da thessali Ravenna posta hor mira/ von comportando longiuriar toscano/ l’ossa qui son di quella excelsa lyra/ del vostro cictadino inclito Dante/ allo ingegno del quale nullo ancho aspira.”

135. See Giovanni Ciapelli and Patricia Rubin eds., *Art, Memory, and Family in Renaissance Florence* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000) esp. Lauro Martines, “Poetry as Politics and Memory in Renaissance Florence,” 39–57. For geography as a mnemonic activity see See Lesley B. Cormack, “Maps as Educational Tools in the Renaissance,” in Woodward ed., *History of Cartography*, vol. 3, part 1, 622–636; and George Toliás, “Maps in Renaissance Libraries and Collections,” in Woodward ed., *History of Cartography*, vol. 3, part 1, 637–642.

136. On the range of functions performed by Italian vernacular verse in fifteenth-century Florence see Charles Dempsey, *The Portrayal of Love* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1992); and Francesco Bausi, “L’epica tra latino e volgare,” in *La Toscana al tempo di Lorenzo il Magnifico* (Pisa: Pacini, 1996), vol. 2, 357–73. On techniques of memory prior to the development of modern information technologies see Francis Yates, *The Art of Memory* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1966); Mary Caruthers, *The Book of Memory* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990), esp. 122–156; and Lina Bolzoni, *The Gallery of Memory: Literary and Iconographic Models in the Age of the Printing Press* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2001).

137. Brown, *The Return of Lucretius to Renaissance Florence*, 89.

138. Stefano Carrai, “Lorenzo e l’umanesimo volgare dei fratelli Pulci,” in Bernard Toscani ed., *Lorenzo de’ Medici: New Perspectives* (New York: Peter Lang, 1994), 1–22. See also Mario Martelli, “La cultura letteraria nell’età di Lorenzo,” in Gian Carlo Garfagnini ed., *Lorenzo il magnifico e il suo tempo* (Florence: Olschki, 1992), 39–84.

139. Berlinghieri, *Geographia*, 1.1: “Di giorno in giorno aquista piu splendore/ per elegantia et per doctrina in quale/ eternal fassi et degna piu d’honore.”

140. On the motto and its meanings see Paolo Ventrone ed., *Le tems revient. Il tempo si rinnova. Feste e spettacoli nella Firenze di Lorenzo il Magnifico* (Milan: Silvana, 1992).

141. Charles Dempsey has argued that Lorenzo’s expression of cultural renewal referred specifically to the revival of vernacular literature and art during his reign: *The Portrayal of Love*, 140–141, 166; and *Inventing the Renaissance Putto* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2001), ii.

142. Berlinghieri, *Geographia*, 1.1: “Meraviglia e nel secol ferreo errando/ el vitio: esser un duca procreato/ Federigo et l’eta d’auro arrecondo.”

143. *Ibid.*, 3.26: “da praxitele egregio & sommo artista/ Antonio russo ha tale et fama & grido/ e mio so non men che sono insiem:/ cictadin tutti del fiorito nido.”

144. Earlier attempts to render ancient geography in the vernacular are examined by Angelo Cattaneo, “A Forgotten Mid-Fifteenth Century Venetian Manuscript Codex with Sixty Maps and also the First Vernacular Adaptation of Ptolemy’s Geography,” unpublished paper delivered at the International Conference on the History of Cartography 2003, Cambridge-Portland: *Imago Mundi* 55 (2003): 110; and Lisa Beltramo, *Un antico volgarizzamento veneziano della ‘Chorographia’ di Pomponio Mela* (Rome: Edizioni dell’Orso, 2003).

145. See Roberto Weiss, “Cristoforo Buondelmonti,” *Dizionario Bibliografico Italiano* (Rome: Istituto della Enciclopedia Italiana, 1966), vol. 8, 199.

146. On the prevalence of these see Paolo Trovato, “Il libro toscano nell’età di Lorenzo: schede ed ipotesi,” in Riccardo Fubini ed., *La Toscana al tempo di Lorenzo il Magnifico, Letteratura* (Pisa: Pacini, 1996), vol. 2, 525–563; and Margaret Meserve,

“News from Negroponte: Politics, Popular Opinion, and Information Exchange in the First Decade of the Italian Press,” *Renaissance Quarterly* 59 (2006): 440–480, esp. 454–456.

147. Luigi Balsamo has pointed to a tradition of bringing Aristotle into the fifteenth century in manuscript illumination: “La circolazione del libro a corte,” in *La corte e lo spazio: Ferrara Estense*, eds. Giuseppe Papagno and Amedeo Quondam (Rome: Bulzoni, 1982), vol. 2, 659–81.

148. Ricchieri, “Le geografie metriche italiane del Trecento e del Quattrocento,” 243–65 remains the most extensive analysis of the literary merits of Berlinghieri’s work.

149. Berlinghieri, *Geographia*, 3.26: “Ascra el colle helicone in parte preme/ che patria fu d’esiado poeta/ onde origine nacque del suo seme.”

150. *Ibid.*, dedication to Federico: “Ne solla militare arte nutrica/ ma la philosophia & la scriptura/ historica & poetica lo dica/ La dolce vita della agricultura/ la medicina & l’arte quale ha in seno/ delli animanti in prima la natura/ In somma la notitia del terreno/ si come queste ogni altra facultate/ non ha bisogna veramente meno.” On this invocation see Cosgrove, *Apollo’s Eye*, 108. Though Cosgrove believed “animanti” to be a verb, Berlinghieri uses the word throughout the poem as “animals.” Compare, for example, with his discussion of Pythagoras’ vegetarianism at 3.20: “Religiosi sono Mysi habitanti/ pitagorei anchora ove zamolxi/ induxe l’abstenere dalli animanti.”

151. On the ambitions of Federico’s *studiolo* see Cheles, *The Studiolo of Urbino*; and Campbell, *Cabinet of Eros*, 42–50.

152. Giorgio Mangani, *Cartografia morale: geografia, persuasione, identità* (Modena: Franco Cosimo Panini, 2006), esp. 70–74.

153. These letters of dedication have yet to be exhaustively studied, though many have been published as part of facsimile editions of copies of the *Geography*. Edward Luther Stevenson translated into English Nicholas Germanus’ letter to Borso d’Este: *Geography*, 19–20.

154. Quoted in Alison Cornish, *Reading Dante’s Stars* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2000), 10.

155. David Alexander, “Dante and the Form of the Land,” *Annals of the Association of American Geographers* 76 (1986): 48–49 provides bibliography on the reception of Dante as a geographer. See also Thomas B. Settle, “Dante, the *Inferno*, and Galileo,” in Wolfgang Lefèvre ed., *Pictorial Means in Early Modern Engineering* (Berlin: Max Planck Institut, 2002), 139–157; and most recently, Theodore J. Cachey Jr., “Maps and Literature in Renaissance Italy,” in Woodward ed. *History of Cartography*, vol. 3, 452–453.

156. Cornish, *Reading Dante’s Stars*, 3.

157. On this genre of orations see Alison Brown ed., *Bartolomeo Scala: Humanistic and Political Writings* (Tempe: Renaissance Society of America, 1997), 239.

158. On the oration's appropriateness and probable chronology see Codazzi, "Francesco di Niccolò Berlinghieri," 121–124. On the printing of the 1495 pamphlet see Veneziani, "Vicende tipografiche della *Geografia* di Francesco Berlinghieri," 195.

159. On these orations see Emilio Santini, "La protestation de iustitia nella Firenze medicea del secolo XV—nuovi testi volgari del Quattrocento," *Rinascimento* 10 (1959): 33–106.

160. Berlinghieri, *Geographia*, 3.11: "Ma per me sol di quella sacrosanta/ Memoria di due Bruti, e Cassio, e Silla/ Che ferno Roma libera si canta/ E se 'l sangue politico distilla/ Per tutto, sol fu per la Libertate/ Estinta de'tiranni ogni favilla/ O anime felici, anzi beate". Compare with Berlinghieri, *Protesto facto a signoria . . .* (Florence, 1495), London, BL, IA 27586, f. 3v; Francesco Sansovino, *Delle orationi volgarmente . . .* (Venice, 1584), f. 281v.

161. Dante, *Inferno*, Canto 34, lines 64–69: "Delli altri due c'hanno il capo di sotto/ quel che pende dal nero ceffo è Brutto/ vedi come si storce e non fa motto;/ e l'altro è Cassio che par sì membruto/ Ma la notte risurge, e oramai/ è da partir/ che tutto avem vedutto." Leonardo Bruni had, for example, rehabilitated Brutus in his *Ad Petrum Paulum Histrum Dialogus*. In contrast, though he agreed with tyrannicide in principal (as in *De fato et fortuna*), Coluccio Salutati defended Dante's judgment in his *De Tyrano*. See Manfredi Piccolomini, *The Brutus Revival: Parricide and Tyrannicide During the Renaissance* (Carbondale: Southern Illinois University Press, 1991).

162. Berlinghieri, *Geographia*, 5.30: "Da lui si trasferi l'Imperio in Ciro, primo Re de'Persi, e non senza somma giustizia divento' grande, per ingiustizia declinando dipoi mano' in Dario, succedendo Alessandro figliuolo di Filippo primo Re de' Macedoni: benche poi dopo la morte d'Alessandro Magno si dividesse quell' Imperio, il che fu per l'ingiustizia de' Principi suoi."

163. *Ibid.*, 3.9: "Ritornando ad Romagna cispadana/ ove appresso a Bologna fu ne lunge/a confluentia la congiura infana:/ Che Augusto antonio & lepido congiunge/ in tre parti a spartirsi tutto el mondo/ che la memoria anchora italia punge."

164. *Ibid.*, 3.6: "Qui della scala fu il gran cane expincto/ tyranno ad farsi della sua cictate/ d'infamia eterna e turpato & tincto" and "Qui quanti Padovan l'impio dominio/ del'lor tyranno perfido sentiro/ secondo certa historia & non opinio,/ Tal fu sua crudelta che io ne sospiro/ ma non lungie ad Sutino essendo extincto/ merita pena die del viver diro."

165. *Ibid.*, 3.7: "Maximiano et Constantin riserva/ Iovian Theodosio & altri molti/ Sigismondo si charo hoggi a minerva."

166. Brown, *The Return of Lucretius to Renaissance Florence*, 91–94.

167. See Francesco Petrarca, *The Secret*, ed. and trans. Carol Quillen (Boston: Bedford/St. Martins, 2003).

168. See esp. Campbell, *Cosmè Tura of Ferrara*, 41–56.

169. See Stephen Halliwell, *Aristotle's Poetics* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1998), esp. 210–211.

170. See Marisilio Ficino, *Three Books on Life*, trans. Carol V. Kaske and John R. Clark (Binghamton: SUNY Press, 1989), 111–121, 351–359; and see Anthony Russell, “Spirits, Vitality, and Creation in the Poetics of Tommaso Campanella and John Donne,” in James Dougal Fleming ed., *The Invention of Discovery, 1500–1700* (Burlington: Ashgate, 2011), 80–85.

171. Patrick Gautier Dalché disagrees with the traditional reading of this document believing that a map rather than a book is signified: “The Reception of Ptolemy’s *Geography*,” 289.

172. Remigio Sabbadini, *Le scoperte dei Codici Latini e Greci ne’ secoli XIV e XV* (Florence: G. C. Sansoni, 1967), 13–14.

173. Aubrey Diller, “The Greek Codices of Palla Strozzi and Guarino Veronese,” *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* 24 (1961): 313–321. On archaeological Christianity in the fifteenth century see Nagel and Wood, *Anachronic Renaissance*.

174. Ronald Weissman, F. E., *Ritual Brotherhood in Renaissance Florence* (New York: Academic Press, 1982) addresses the prevalence of confraternal membership among fifteenth-century Florence’s intellectual elite. See esp. 98–100 on Landino’s confraternal activities. The function of these groups as both devotional and social organizations suggests the degree to which these elements were not isolated in Florentine society.

175. Paul Kristeller, “Lay Religious Traditions and Florentine Platonism,” in *Studies in Renaissance Thought and Letters* (Rome: Edizioni di storia e letteratura, 1956), 99–122.

176. Rab Hatfield has called attention to the lack of any surviving membership registers for the Confraternity of the Magi in his essay “The Compagnia de’ Magi,” *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* 33 (1970): 107–61. Given this fact, Berlinghieri’s membership in the group is conjectural. I have not uncovered any contemporary evidence that associates Berlinghieri with the confraternity, and it is possible that this interpretation suggested itself to scholars on account of the proximity of Berlinghieri’s sermon on penitence in Florence, BNC, Mag. XXXV. 211 to one delivered by Landino to the Compagnia de’ Magi. The manuscript, however, is a collection of sermons for a variety of confraternal contexts and that of Berlinghieri fails to specify its original audience. Florence, Bib. Riccardiana MS 2204 similarly lacks this information.

177. Florence, Bib. Riccardiana MS 2204, f. 164r: “Exhortatio ad osculum crucis di F.B. 1476 in compagnia vincentio.”

178. On the Compagnia di San Vincenzo see John Henderson, *Piety and Charity in Late Medieval Florence* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1994), 114–115, 121; as well as Stefano Orlandi O. P., *Necrologia di S. Maria Novella* (Florence: Olschki, 1955), vol. 2, 289 and 349, note 6.

179. Florence, Bib. Riccardiana MS 2204, f. 161r: “Et pero arrio chequesto monte noi possiamo conseguire Ambrosio divino doctore riricorda dicendo”; f. 164r: “Christus semel propectatis nostris mortius est: iustus pro miustis ut nos offerret deo



mortisientos quidem carne unificatos ante spiritum et paulo apostolo”; f. 165r: “Ne altro intendeva il divino padre vincenzio quando il timore per persecto noi dovere tenere afermava sempre dicendo.”

180. Florence, Bib. Riccardiana MS 2204, f. 165r: “Platone di tutti sapien vissimo questo divino fervore appellava: Socrate da lui maestro solo la mente dell’operatore del bene al cielo dovere tuornare confessana.”

181. Quoted in Alison Brown, “Platonism in Fifteenth-Century Florence and Its Contribution to Early Modern Political Thought,” *The Journal of Modern History* 58 (1986): 396.

182. Berlinghieri, *Geographia*, 5.3: “Fuor del seno eleatico remota/ nel mare Icario fece Herythre questal/ gnopo & per le sybille e molto nota./ L’una athenai decta & l’altra e chiesta/ per herythea dal sommo Salvatore/per chi la sua venuta manifesta.” Compare with Strabo, *Geography*, 14.1 and 14.34; Augustine, *De civitate dei*, 18.23; and Isidore, *Etymologiae*, 8.1 and 8.3–4.

183. BNB, MS AC. XIV. 44, ff. 184v–185r and BAV, Urb. Lat. 273, ff. 164v–165r.

184. On Sanuto’s text see Joshua Prawer, ed. and intr., *Liber Secretorum Fidelium Crucis Super Terrae Sanctae* (Jerusalem: University of Jerusalem Press, 1972), v–xiv.

185. R. A. Skelton introduction to *Cosmographia, Ulm, 1482 and 1486* (Amsterdam: Theatrum Orbis Terrarum, 1964), viii–ix; Tony Campbell, *The Earliest Printed Maps* (London: British Library Press, 1987), 3–15; and Dalché, “The Reception of Ptolemy’s *Geography*,” 347–349.

186. Elizabeth M. Ingram, “Maps as Readers’ Aids: Maps and Plans in Geneva Bibles,” *Imago Mundi* 45 (1993): 29–44; and Catherine Delano Smith, “Maps as Art and Science: Maps in Sixteenth-Century Bibles,” *Imago Mundi* 42 (1990): 65–83.

187. A standardized version of Jacopo’s Latin text is not available. I have used that of the facsimile of the Roman edition of 1478.

188. Berlinghieri, *Geographia*, 5.19: “Devolgi gli ochi a terra sancta hebra.”

189. See Roy J. Deferrari introduction to Paulus Orosius, *The Seven Books of History Against the Pagans* (Washington, DC: Catholic University of America Press, 1964), 3–15.

190. On the crucifixion see Berlinghieri, *Geographia*, 5.19: “Quindi cornelio fu che si remove/ dal testamento anticho & molto crede/ al crocifixo eterno & vero giove.” On Emmaus see 5.20: “Emausso hor si vede/ Che vuol dir visione la dove arresta/ el redentor el qual pel pan diviso.”

191. On the division of the tribes see *Ibid.*, 5.20.

192. On Cana see *Ibid.*, 5.19: “Vedesi Cana se piu tallontani/ verso loccaso ove dell’acqua vino/ Christo fece per parvi piu christiani.” For the punishment of Lot’s wife see 5.20: “Qui la mogle di locto insale edace/ volta mutossi & quivi el magno lume/ di moise propheta sommo tace.”

193. *Ibid.*, 5.20: “Bettania e quella ove alle membra sue/ voca l’alma di lazaro el signore/ colle parole della sua virtue.”

194. *Ibid.*, 5.19: “Ioppe inquel colle vedi molto elato/ cictate anticha assai allo ethiope/ cepheore regal seggio fondato/ Chostui marito fu di Cassiope/ & d’andromade padre rilegato/ aquello scoglio & d’ogni aiuto inope/ Ne da perseo essendo liberata” and “Tabita qui vivico gia spento/ di vita pietro apostolo hora e il porto.” Compare with *Acts*, 9.36–41.

195. *Ibid.*, 5.19: “Quindi cornelio fu che si rimove/ dal testamento anticho & molto crede/ al crocifixo eterno & vero giove.” Compare with *Acts*, 10.

196. *Ibid.*, 5.20: “Bettalem vedi piena displore/ per la nativita delverbo eterno/ casa di pane importa elsuo tenore./ Io son pan vivo che del ciel superno/ discesi dise dixe elqual vinaque/ luoga anchor decta & iebusei laferno.”

197. *Ibid.*, 5.20: “Vedi el monte uliveto elqual e pria/ dove el figliuol della vergine suda/ di sangue & nullo e che aiuto gli dia/ Perche la turba ignara iniqua & cruda/ Lo chiamava alla morte.”

198. *Ibid.*, 7.6: “Divelli muliebri in naturale/ toga coperti quasi tutti vanno/ qual magdalena quando era mortale.”

199. *Ibid.*, 5.18: “Damasco & tu d’ingegno l’altre excedi /Paulo appreso fu de muri suoi/ fondati da damasco che era filio/ d’abram o leazar: tolto indi a noi:/ E ricevuto nel divin concilio/ rapito infino aquello altro gentil l’assimilio.”

200. *Ibid.*, 4.6: “Racolti vico in prima era vocato/ dove e sepolto marco evangelista.”

201. *Ibid.*, 5.21: “Elito dopo l’heroica & certa/ cicta presso ove perchosso el mar rubro/ da moise fece la strada aperta/ Dove chome pestifero colubro/ Submerse pharaon con tucti e suoi/ iddio per conservare el suo delubro.”

202. Cennino Cennini, *Il Libro dell’arte* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1932), vol. 1, 1–2.

203. Berlinghieri, *Geographia*, 3.8: “e da livii o da boi et il cardinale/ Iacopo addorna con virti celeste.” For Ammannati’s relationship with Donato see Margery A. Ganz, “A Florentine Friendship: Donato Acciaiuoli and Vespasiano da Bisticci,” *Renaissance Quarterly* 43 (1990): 373. For his correspondence with Lorenzo de’ Medici see Harold Acton, *The Pazzi Conspiracy: The Plot Against the Medici* (London: Thames and Hudson, 1979), 27. On his antiquarian activities see Nagel and Wood, *Anachronic Renaissance*, 101.

204. Berlinghieri, *Geographia*, 3.10: “Indi Bernardin divo indi fu Pio/indi fu Caterin ivi Gerardo/ vostro episcopo fu in vece di dio” and 3.1: “Savona che Sabbatio anchor decta era/ del magnanimo quarto papa Sisto/ hornata il quale a tutto il clero impera.”

205. *Ibid.*, 3.11: “Aquino e/ quello et benche posto adesso/ sia in terra di lavoro onde Thommaso/ nacque a chi divin lume fu concesso.”

206. *Ibid.*, 3.12: “Cicta regale & Nursia in questi calli/ decto hoggi Norcia donde fu Sertorio/ et Benedecto a chi la chiesa per falli.”

207. *Ibid.*, 3.4: “Et Berio e quel il tuo veder non satia/ pel sacro sancto suo Nichola in chui/ rifulse tanto la divina gratia.”

208. *Ibid.*, 5.19: “Quindi cornelio fu che si remove/ dal testamento anticho & molto crede/ al crocifixo eterno & vero giove.”

209. The poet’s use of “now” and “today” can be misleading, however, in that Berlinghieri sometimes utilized Strabo’s work verbatim, meaning that “now” can also refer to Strabo’s differentiation of his own day from earlier times.

210. On the moral and geographical use of the *Etymologiae* see Andrew H. Merrills, *History and Geography in Late Antiquity* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005), 184–195; and John Henderson, *The Medieval World of Isidore of Seville: Truth from Words* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007). For Voragine, see William Granger Ryan introduction to *The Golden Legend: Readings on the Saints* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1993), vol. 1.

211. Berlinghieri, *Geographia*, 3.9: “Al foro di cornelio indi declina/ la qual si dice hora Imola ma il nome/ vien dalla imolation di lei divina.”

212. *Ibid.*, 5.20: “ad hora la parte some eccho Calvaro/ monte dove pati el verbo divino/ Quante historie quel sito fanno chiaro/ per monstrarche qui fu el vostro messia/ sacrato sacrificio sol non raro.”

213. Margriet Hoogvliet, “The Medieval Texts of the 1486 Ptolemy Edition by Johann Reger of Ulm,” *Imago Mundi* 54 (2002): 9.

214. R. A. Skelton notes the inclusion of these texts in copies of the edition of 1482: *Cosmographia, Ulm 1482 and 1486* (Amsterdam: Theatrum Orbis Terrarum, 1964), x. Copies of this edition with numerous manuscript notations on these supplemental texts include Ann Arbor, University of Michigan, Clements Library, Atlas N.I.A and Rome, Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale, 70.I.G.6 and 70.4.G.14.

215. R. A. Skelton intro., *Cosmographia: Rome 1478* (Amsterdam: Theatrum Orbis Terrarum, 1966), xvi–xvii.

216. See Hillary Ballon and David Friedman, “Portraying the City in Early Modern Europe: Measurement, Representation and Planning,” in Woodward ed., *History of Cartography*, vol. 3, part 1, 680–704.

217. These views of major Italian cities are included in manuscripts such as Rome, BAV, Urb. Lat. 277 and Vat. Lat. 5699 as well as Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Lat. 4802, for example.

218. Rome, BAV, Urb. Lat. 277, ff. 134v–135r. For the sack of Volterra see Michael Mallett, “Siegecraft in Late Fifteenth-Century Italy,” in Ivy A. Corfis and Michael Wolfe eds., *The Medieval City Under Siege* (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 1995), 245–256; and John M. Najemy, *A History of Florence: 1200–1575* (Oxford: Blackwell, 2006), 348–352.

219. Naomi Miller observes that “the very presence of the eastern cities and the monuments therein depicted serve to ally these maps with religious voyages to the Holy Land”: *Mapping the City: The Language and Culture of Cartography in the Renaissance* (New York and London: Continuum, 2003), 27. See also her “Mapping the City: Ptolemy’s Geography in the Renaissance,” in David Buisseret ed., *Envisioning*

*the City: Six Studies in Urban Cartography* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1998), 34–74.

220. Rome, BAV, Urb. Lat. 277, f. 132v. (Jerusalem), f. 132r. (Damascus), f. 133r. (Alexandria) and f. 131v. (Constantinople).

221. See Ian R. Manners, “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 (1991): 72–102.

222. For readings of these views as topographic documents see Giuseppe Boffito and Attilio Mori, *Piante e vedute di Firenze*, 2 vols. (Florence: Multigrafica, 1926); Leopold D. Ettlinger, “A Fifteenth-Century View of Florence,” *Burlington Magazine* 94 (1952): 160–167; and David Friedman, “‘Fiorenza’: Geography and Representation in a Fifteenth-Century City View,” *Zeitschrift für Kunstgeschichte* 64 (2001): 57–77.

223. Fabri had read Ptolemy and viewed the *Geographia*’s maps in the monastic library at Ulm: *The Wanderings of Felix Fabri*, Palestine Pilgrims’ Text Society (New York: AMS Press, 1971), vol. 6, 80.

224. In addition to examples cited below, see Milanese pilgrim Pietro Casola’s account of his stay in Venice between 19 May and 4 June of 1494: M. Margaret Newett, ed. and trans., *Canon Pietro Casola’s Pilgrimage to Jerusalem* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1907), 121–155.

225. See Roberto da Sanseverino, *Felice et divoto ad terrasancta viaggio facto per Roberto de Sancto Severino*, Mario Cavaglià and Alda Rossebastiano eds., (Turin: Edizioni dell’Orso, 1999), 91–96.

226. Fabri, *Wanderings*, vol. 6, 92–111. Stays of such length by pilgrims in Venice do not appear to have been particularly uncommon. The Burgundian knight Bertrand de la Brocquière spent just over a month in the city in 1432 awaiting passage: Thomas Wright ed., *Early Travels in Palestine* (New York: AMS Press, 1969), 285–286.

227. Marina Montesano, “In missione del sultano: ambascerie e pellegrinaggi alla fine del xv secolo,” in Silvia Agnoletti and Luca Mantelli eds., *I Fiorentini alle crociate: Guerre, pellegrinaggi e immaginario orientalistico a Firenze tra Medioevo ed Età moderna* (Meridiana: Florence, 2007), 282–291.

228. Fabri, *Wanderings*, vol. 6, 12,

229. Antonio da Crema, *Itinerario al Santo Sepolcro 1486*, Gabriele Nori ed. (Pisa: Pacini, 1996), 10–15.

230. Berlinghieri, *Geographia*, 2.11: “Decti anchora arotebre & quivi ogni anno/ per satifare avoti genti externe/ di Compostella a san Iacopo vanno.”

231. See Merrills, *History and Geography in Late Antiquity*, esp. 35–38.

232. We might also consider the possibility that elements of the *Geographia* identified as Platonic could have appealed to Mehmed (had he lived to receive the book). On the sultan’s possible interest in Platonic philosophy see John Monfasani, *George of Trebizond: A Biography and a Study of his Rhetoric and Logic* (New York: Columbia

University Press, 1976), 185–193 and Anthony F. D’Elia, *A Sudden Terror: The Plot to Murder the Pope in Renaissance Rome* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2009), 123–127.

233. Robert Nelson, “Byzantium and the Rebirth of Art and Learning in Italy and France,” in Helen C. Evans ed., *Byzantium: Faith and Power (1261–1557)*, exh. cat. New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art, 2004 (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2004), 515. John Larner has drawn attention to the role played by ecclesiastical figures in geographic culture in his “The Church and the Quattrocento Renaissance in Geography,” *Renaissance Studies* 12 (1998), 27–39.

234. On the library of the Servites see Eugenio Casalini ed., *Tesori d’arte dell’Annunziata di Firenze* (Florence: Alinari, 1983) esp. “Gli incunaboli,” 514–522. For the Dominican library at Santa Maria Novella see Stefano Orlandi, *La biblioteca di S. Maria Novella in Firenze: dal sec. XIV al sec. XIX* (Florence: Olschki, 1952).

235. Florence, Bib. Laurenziana, Inc. 1.1; See Phillip A. Stadter and Berthold L. Ullman, *The Public Library of Renaissance Florence. Niccolò Niccoli, Cosimo de’ Medici and the Library of San Marco* (Padua: Antenore, 1972), 122.

236. See Casalini ed., *Tesori d’arte dell’Annunziata*, 514–522; Orlandi, *La biblioteca di S. Maria Novella*; and Stadter and Ullman, *The Public Library of Renaissance Florence*.

237. Ugolino Verino, *De Illustratione Urbis Florentiae* (Florence, 1636), f. 37r: “Carmineque Hetrusco pinxit Beringherius orbem/ Versibus alternis tersi de more Petrarcae/ Pondere sub tanto rerum sic lusit amores.” On Verino see Alfonso Lazzari, *Ugolino e Michele Verino* (Imola: d’Ignazio Galeati e Figlio, 1897).

238. For this estimation of Berlinghieri’s cartographic literacy see Almagià, “Osservazioni sull’opera geografica di Francesco Berlinghieri,” 213; Skelton, *Geographia: Florence*, xii; Veneziani, “Vicende tipografiche della Geografia di Francesco Berlinghieri,” 195–208; and Suzanne Boorsch, “The Case for Francesco Rosselli as the Engraver of Berlinghieri’s Geographia,” *Imago Mundi* 56 (2004): 152–69. Many scholars prior to the early-twentieth century, however, regarded Berlinghieri as the author of the maps. See Christoph Gottlieb Von Murr, *Notitia libri rarissimi Geographia Francisci Berlinghieri* (Nuremberg, 1790); Francesco Roediger, “La Geografia del Berlinghieri, rarissimo cimelio dell’arte tipografica fiorentina,” *Il Bibliofilo* 2 (1881): 7–9; Adolf Erik Nordenskiöld, *Facsimile Atlas to the Early History of Cartography* (Stockholm, 1889 repr. New York: Krauss Reprint, 1961), 13–14; Giovanni Marinelli, “Una dedica della Geographia del Berlinghieri,” *Bollettino della Società Geografica Italiana* 5 (1892): 305; and Mori, “Un geografo del Rinascimento,” 341–8.

239. See here Chapter 1.

240. Luca Pulci, *Il driadeo d’amore* ed., Paolo E. Guidici (Lanciano: Carabba, 1916), 97. On Berlinghieri’s friendship with Pulci see Salvatore Bonghi, *Lettere di Luigi Pulci a Lorenzo il Magnifico ed altri* (Luca: 1886), 28–35. On the Pulci see also Constance Jordan, *Pulci’s Morgante: Poetry and History in Fifteenth-Century Florence* (Cranbury, NJ: Associated University Press, 1986).

241. On the variety of connotations for *disegno* see Patricia Rubin, *Giorgio Vasari: Art and History* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1995); Robert Williams, *Art, Theory, and Culture in Sixteenth-Century Italy* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997); and most recently Michael John Gorman and Alexander Marr, “Others See it Yet Otherwise: Disegno and Pictura in a Flemish Gallery Interior,” *Burlington Magazine* 149 (2007): 85–91.

242. Plato, *Timaeus*, 90c–d. See T. K. Johansen, *Plato’s Natural Philosophy: A Study of the Timaeus-Critias* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004).

243. Aristotle, *Metaphysics*, 980a 23–28. On the influence of Aristotle’s theories on vision in the Renaissance see David Summers, *Vision, Reflection, and Desire in Western Painting* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2007), 9–12.

244. Suzanne Boorsch has raised the question of the authorship of the maps accompanying the printed edition of the *Geographia* and their attribution to the Florentine engraver: Francesco Rosselli: “The Case for Francesco Rosselli,” 152–69; but see Sean Roberts, “Francesco Rosselli and Berlinghieri’s *Geographia* Revisited,” *Print Quarterly* 28 (2011): 4–17.

245. On the manuscript see Almagià, “Osservazioni sull’opera geografica di Francesco Berlinghieri,” 214–215. On the illuminations, usually given to the “Master of the Hamilton Xenophon” see Cosimo Stornajolo, *I ritratti e le geste dei duchi d’Urbino nelle miniature dei codici Vaticano Urbinati* (Rome: Tipografia poliglotta Vaticana, 1913), 16–17; Garzelli, *La Bibbia di Federico da Montefeltro* (Rome: Multi-grafica, 1977), 33–5; and Garzelli, *Miniatura fiorentina*, 157–62.

246. Rome, Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale (hereafter BNC), 70. I. G. 5. See Raphaele Tauci, “La Geografia del Berlinghieri della Biblioteca Alessandrina di Roma,” *La Bibliofilia* 69 (1967): 69–73.

247. Rome, BNC 70. I. G. 5, f. 4r. The Pucci stemma is substituted for the Medici *palle*, but the putti, candelabra, and three of the narrative roundels are retained. That the Braidense’s manuscript, rather than that in the Vatican, was likely the prototype is suggested by the illuminator’s use here of the diamond ring frame motif for the roundel at the lower right corner, a Medici device found in Lorenzo’s manuscript. The composition, moreover, of the narrative roundels more closely mirrors those of the Braidense’s example.

248. Notice of the letter appears in Benjamin Fillon, *Inventaire des autographes et des documents historiques composant la collection . . .* (Paris and London, 1877) vol. 6, 37, cat. no. 818; and Ernest Anliker and Wilhelm Bonacker, “Francesco di Niccolò Berlinghieri und seine Ptolemäus-Ausgabe Jahre 1482,” *Schweiz Sammler* 2–3 (1932): 1–10. See also Gentile, *Firenze e la scoperta dell’America*, 234.

249. While Skelton suggested that these engravings could have been produced for some other project and appropriated by Berlinghieri or his printer, such a hypothesis seems unlikely. The maps utilize vernacular nomenclature, and it is difficult to imagine what other project a set of Ptolemaic maps translated into Tuscan might

augment. Almagià, “Osservazioni sull’opera geografica di Francesco Berlinghieri,” 53 also suggested the possibility of Berlinghieri’s reliance on maps produced for a different project. This is convincingly refuted by Berta Maracchi Biagiarelli, “Niccolò Tedesco e le carte della geographia di Francesco Berlinghieri autore-editore,” in Biagiarelli and Dennis E. Rhodes eds., *Studi offerti a Roberto Ridolfi* (Florence: Olschki, 1973), 377–97.

250. For *tabula*: Berlinghieri, *Geographia*, 1.20: “De fiumi & golfi & monti & se altre sieno/ quali in tabula possino achadere/ in tabula cognito terreno,” and 2.1: “Verso borea frigido & men raro/ & spatio allor di tabula non sendo/ peregrinando verso Eoo chinato.” For *tavola*: 1.25: “Tal tavola con lectere notate,” and 2.1 title: “Con che presuppositione bisogna fare la divisione dello habitato in tavole.”

251. *Ibid.*, 1.23: “Inche modo sia da disegnar lo habitato /nostro nella sphaera.”

252. *Ibid.*, 3.30: “Fu quindi Agamenonne hora mai vegno/ in Messenia ove et Aliarto Ithoma/ et Troezena segue el mio disegno.”

253. Berlinghieri’s letter to Bayezid was transcribed in Franz Babinger, “Lorenzo de’ Medici e la corte ottomana,” *Archivio Storico Italiano* 121 (1963): 359–61.

254. Berlinghieri, *Geographia*, 5.19: “Devolghi gli ochi a terra sancta hebraea.”

255. For example Berlinghieri, *Geographia*, 5.20: “Bettalem vedi piena di splendore/ per la nativita del verbo eterno/ casa di pane importa el suo tenore,” 3.7: “Da dextra de Centroni Axima lassa/ nelle alpe gree contermine allmagna/ dove retia Clavenna & non men bassa/ Dalla sinistra la decta montagna/ Foro di claudio serba et Bellinzona” and 1.10: “Et da man dextra havendo & nero & tincto/ regno de trogloditi inventi giorni/ & cinque & quello & superato & vinto.”

256. *Ibid.*, 5.23: “& Syria in prima aperta/ da noi & dal’phebeo cadente lume.”

257. *Ibid.*, 5.3: “Vedi poi sopra al terrestre convexo.”

258. For Strabo’s conception of his geographic enterprise see Daniela Dueck, *Strabo of Amasia: A Greek Man of Letters in Augustan Rome* (New York: Routledge, 2000), 53–61.

259. Berlinghieri, *Geographia*, 1.2: “La ragioni vuol che in vita anchor mi strinxer/ tractar della theorica et di poi/ la practica vedrenche si dipinxer.”

260. Ptolemy’s methods of projection are presented in Berlinghieri, *Geographia*, 1.23–28. On the size of the earth, see 1.21: “Della dissimiltudine secondo marino del la tabula geographica.”

261. *Ibid.*, 1.2: “Ma la chorographia del tutto e intorno/ alle parti che sono meno eminenti./ Chome chi dipignessi solo un corno /d’Acheloo rivo o di mida uno orecchio/ uno occhio d’argo di cento occhi addorno.”

262. *Ibid.*, 1.2: “Ma la geographia ha per ispecchio/ di raghuarde a tutto l’habitato/ nella proportione che hora apparecchio.”

263. *Ibid.*, 1.25: “Let there be a diagram with the letters a,b,c, and d placed at the four right angles, forming a parallelogram with the two long sides roughly twice the length of the short ones and divide this into equal parts.”



264. *Ibid.*, 1.24: “The thirteenth parallel is fixed three and one quarter hours distant [from the first] and further away by forty-three and one twelfth degrees, and encompasses Florence.”

265. Ficino, *Opera Omnia*, vol. 2, 1464: “Florentiae vero Baptistam Leonnem Albertum ab eisdem disciplinis exorsum, opus in architectura pulcherrimum edidisse. Quid dicam de Francisco Berlingherio nostro Nicolai filio non’ ne hic mathematicorum beneficio fretus de Cosmographia versibus scripsit egregie.” On Ficino’s conception of Platonic cosmology see also Michael J. B. Allen appendix 1: “Heaven and World” in Ficino, *Commentaries on Plato*, vol. 1, 209–219.

266. For Leone’s relationship to Ficino see *The Letters of Marsilio Ficino* (London: Shephard-Walwyn, 1999), vol. 6, 246.

267. Victoria Morse, “The Role of Maps in Later Medieval Society: Twelfth to Fourteenth Century,” in Woodward ed., *History of Cartography*, vol. 3, 25–52.

268. In addition to Morse, see Evelyn Edson, *The World Map, 1300–1492* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2007), 1–10, 233–235.

269. On sacred geography see Wolfgang Kemp’s influential “Medieval Pictorial Systems,” in his *Iconography at the Crossroads* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1993), 121–137; and Zur Shalev, “Sacred Geography, Antiquarianism, and Visual Erudition: Benito Arias Montano and the Maps in the Antwerp Polyglot Bible,” *Imago Mundi* 55 (2003): 56–80. In many respects, recent notions of sacred geography remain closely tied to Juergen Schulz’s ideas on the moral character of fifteenth- and early sixteenth-century cartography. See Schulz, “Jacopo de’ Barbari’s View of Venice: Map Making, City Views, and Moralized Geography before the year 1500,” *Art Bulletin* 60 (1978): 425–74; and Schulz, *Maps as Metaphors: Mural Map Cycles of the Italian Renaissance* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1987).

270. Campbell, “Portolan Charts from the Late Thirteenth Century to 1500,” in J. B. Harley and Woodward eds., *The History of Cartography* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1987), vol. 1, 375. R. A. Skelton addresses the flexibility of terms for nautical charts and world maps in his “A Contract for World Maps at Barcelona, 1399–1400,” *Imago Mundi* 22 (1968): 107–113.

271. Vespasiano da Bisticci, *Le Vite*, ed. Aulo Greco (Florence: Istituto nazionale di studi sul Rinascimento, 1976), vol. 2, 375–376.

272. Filiberto Segatto, “Un’imagine quattrocentesca del mondo: La ‘Sfera’ del Dati,” *Atti della Accademia Nazionale dei Lincei* 27 (1987): 159 and 163.

273. For *carta* see Berlinghieri, *Geographia*, 3.21: “Gostantinopoli hora appare in charta/ cicta di Gostantino el nome suona/ che la fece maggior sendo troppa arcta.” For *pittore*: 1.18: “O perche nello extremo suo tractato/ non pote chome si dice far pictura/ dove haria l’hore & climati emendato.”

274. The relationship between geography and exegesis is most fully explored in Natalia Lozovsk, *The Earth is our Book: Geographical Knowledge in the Latin West ca. 400–1000* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2000), 35–67. On the continuity

of exegesis in the later middle ages and early modern period see Gillian Rosemary Evans, *The Language and Logic of the Bible: The Road to Reformation* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1985), esp. 4–10.

275. In addition to Edson, *The World Map*, see esp. Marcia Kupfer, “Medieval World Maps: Embedded Images, Interpretive Frames,” *Word and Image* 10 (1994): 263.

### 3: Making Books, Forging Communities

1. Giorgio Vasari, *Le vite di più eccellenti pittori, scultori, e architettori* (1550), vol. 1, 512–513 and (1568), vol. 1, 64 and 492. See Sean Roberts, “Tricks of the Trade: The Technical Secrets of Early Engraving,” in Giancarlo Fiorenza, Timothy McCall and Roberts eds., *The Visual Culture of Secrecy in Early Modern Europe* (Forthcoming Truman State University Press); and Roberto Ridolfi, “Le Ultime imprese tipografiche di Niccolò Tedesco,” *La Bibliofilia* 68 (1966): 141–156.

2. David Landau, “Printmaking in the Age of Lorenzo,” in Elizabeth Cropper ed. *Florentine Drawing at the Time of Lorenzo the Magnificent* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1994), 175–81; and Sean Roberts, “Francesco Rosselli and Berlinghieri’s *Geographia* Revisited,” *Print Quarterly* 28 (2011): 4–17.

3. On migrant artists and the historiographic challenges of nationalism in the study of early modern European art see Thomas Da Costa Kaufmann, *Toward a Geography of Art* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2004), 107–153.

4. On the confusion between Niccolò and Germanus see here Chapter 1 and P. Gautier Dalché, “The Reception of Ptolemy’s *Geography*,” in David Woodward ed., *History of Cartography* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2007), vol. 3, part 1, 320–21.

5. On Niccolò see Konard Haebler, *Die deutschen Buch-drucker des XV Jaahrhunderts im Auslande* (Munich: J. Rosenthal, 1924), 159–160; Roberto Ridolfi, “Contributi sopra Niccolò Tedesco,” *La Bibliofilia* 58 (1956): 1–14; and R. A. Skelton introduction to *Geographia: Florence, 1482* (Amsterdam: Theatrum Orbis Terrarum, 1966), ix.

6. See Curt F. Bühler, “The First Edition of Ficino’s *De Christiana Religione*: A Problem in Bibliographical Description,” *Studies in Bibliography* 18 (1965): 248–252.

7. Examples include Feo Belcarì’s *Vita del Beato Giovanni Colombini* (1477) and Roberto Caracciolo’s *Sermones quadregesimales* (1480).

8. Roberto Ridolfi, “Le Ultime imprese tipografiche di Niccolò Tedesco,” *La Bibliofilia*, 68 (1966): 141–156.

9. Ridolfi, “Contributi sopra Niccolò Tedesco,” 2–4.

10. On these engravings see Arthur M. Hind, *Early Italian Engraving* (London: Constable and Co., 1938), 79–84; and David McKitterick, *Print, Manuscript, and the Search for Order, 1450–1830* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003), 81–82.

11. Paolo Procaccioli ed. and intr., Cristoforo Landino, *Commento sopra la*

*Commedia* (Rome: Salerno Editrice, 2001); Peter Dreyer, “Botticelli’s Series of Engravings ‘of 1481,’” *Print Quarterly* 2 (1984): 111–115; Sebastiano Gentile et al., *Sandro Botticelli: Pittore della Divina Commedia*, exh. cat. Rome, Scuderie Papali and London, Royal Academy of Arts (Milan: Skira, 2000); and Mckitterick, *Print, Manuscript, and the Search for Order*, 82–83.

12. Paolo Veneziani, “Vicende tipografiche della *Geografia* di Francesco Berlinghieri,” *La Bibliofilia* 59 (1982): 200: “un’edizione celebrata per la sua bellezza, ma in realtà mal scritta e peggio stampata.” On the printing history see also Roberto Ridolfi, *La Stampa in Firenze nel secolo XV* (Florence: Olschki, 1958), 49–62; Skelton introduction to *Geographia: Florence, 1482*; and Roberts, “Francesco Rosselli and Berlinghieri’s *Geographia* Revisited.”

13. The most vehement criticism of the work’s quality dates only from the last century. Francesco Roediger called the book “a most rare treasure of Florentine printing”: “La Geografia del Berlinghieri, rarissimo cimelio dell’arte tipografica fiorentina,” *Il Bibliofilo* 2 (1881): 7–9. Adolf Erik Nordenskiöld noticed certain “defects,” but saw these as secondary to the work’s significance in introducing modern maps: *Facsimile Atlas to the Early History of Cartography* (Stockholm, 1889 repr. New York: Krauss Reprint, 1961), 13–14. Similarly high praise for the *Geographia*’s material quality is found in Christoph Gottlieb Von Murr, *Notitia libri rarissimi Geographiae Francisci Berlinghieri* (Nuremberg, 1790); Justin Winsor, *A Bibliography of Ptolemy’s Geography* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1884), 7; Giovanni Marinelli, “Una dedica della *Geographia* del Berlinghieri,” *Bollettino della Società Geografica Italiana* 5 (1892): 305; and Gabriel Marcel, “Les origines de la carte d’Espagne,” *Revue hispanique* 4 (1899): 170.

14. Florentine printing remains under studied despite useful specialist investigations. See for example Margaret Meserve, “News from Negroponte: Politics, Popular Opinion, and Information Exchange in the First Decade of the Italian Press,” *Renaissance Quarterly*, 59 (2006): 440–480.

15. Tony Campbell, *The Earliest Printed Maps* (London: British Museum Press, 1988), 75; Skelton introduction to *Geographia, Florence 1482*, iii–iv; and Roberto Almagià, “Osservazioni sull’opera geografica di Francesco Berlinghieri,” *Archivio della R. deputazione romana di storia patria* 68 (1945): 217–128.

16. Jerry Brotton in *Trading Territories* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1999), 97 sees a potential example of ideological slippage here, a subconscious confusing of east and west in the mislabeling of the ninth plate. Such missteps, however, pervade these maps, including those of France and Spain in which such slippage is far less likely to be ideological.

17. Berlinghieri, *Geographia*, 5.19.

18. Hind, *Early Italian Engraving*, 321–325; Skelton introduction to *Geographia: Florence, 1482*, viii–ix; Woodward, *Maps as Prints in the Italian Renaissance*, x; and Campbell, *The Earliest Engraved Maps*, 6–7, 75–76.

19. A summary of these claims is provided by Suzanne Boorsch, “The Case for Francesco Rosselli as the Engraver of Berlinghieri’s *Geographia*,” *Imago Mundi* 56 (2004): 152–69.

20. On the status of trade techniques as secrets in the early modern world, see esp. Pamela O. Long, *Openness, Secrecy, Authorship: Technical Arts and the Culture of Knowledge from Antiquity to the Renaissance* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2001), esp. 138–142; Suzanne Butters, *The Triumph of Vulcan: Sculptors’ Tools, Porphyry, and the Prince in Ducal Florence* (Florence: Olschki, 1996) vol. 1, 176, 238, 345; and Jo Wheeler, *Renaissance Secrets: Recipes and Formulas* (London: V & A Publishing, 2009).

21. Lisa Pon, *Raphael, Dürer, and Marcantonio Raimondi: Copying and the Italian Renaissance Print* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2004), 43–52.

22. Ronald Lightbown, *Mantegna* (Oxford: Phaidon, 1986), 236–238; and Keith Christiansen, “The Case for Mantegna as Printmaker,” *The Burlington Magazine* 135 (1993): 604–612.

23. Suzanne Boorsch, “Mantegna and his Printmakers,” in Jane Martineau et al. eds., *Andrea Mantegna*, exh. cat. New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art and London, Royal Academy of Arts, 1992 (London: Royal Academy of Arts, 1992), 56–67.

24. Evelyn Lincoln, *The Invention of the Renaissance Printmaker* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2000), 38–39; and Lincoln, “Invention and Authorship in Early Modern Italian Visual Culture,” *DePaul Law Review* 52 (2003): 1093–1119.

25. See Andrea Canova, “Andrea Mantegna e Gian Marco Cavalli: nuovi documenti mantovani,” *Italia medioevale e umanistica* 42 (2001): 149–179; and Stephen J. Campbell, *The Cabinet of Eros* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2003), 157–162.

26. For ink see Wheeler, *Renaissance Secrets, Recipes & Formulas*, 98–101; and Adrian Johns, “Ink,” in Ursula Klein and E. C. Spary eds., *Materials and Expertise in Early Modern Europe* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2010), 101–124.

27. On the usual education and apprenticeship of fifteenth-century engravers see David Landau and Peter Parshall, *The Renaissance Print* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1997), 7–15.

28. Tony Campbell has called attention to the previously unrecognized prevalence of these tools in Italian and Northern European print shops in “Letter Punches: A Little-Known Feature of Early Engraved Maps,” *Print Quarterly* 4 (1987): 111–115. On the use of punches see also R. A. Skelton introduction to *Cosmographia: Rome, 1478* (Amsterdam: Theatrum Orbis Terrarum, 1966), viii.

29. On the solutions to lettering adopted by woodcutters and engravers see David Woodward, “Techniques of Map Engraving, Printing, and Coloring in the European Renaissance,” in Woodward ed., *The History of Cartography*, vol. 3, part 1, 600–602.

30. See, for example, Padua Biblioteca Civica, C. I. 163, f. 161v.

31. I am indebted to Francis Herbert, curator of maps at London's Royal Geographical Society for his observations on the condition of these plates. On the Society's copies of the *Geographia* (264 H. 18 and 265 G. 1) see "A Valuable Presentation to the Library and Map Department," *The Geographical Journal* 26 (1905): 29–31.

32. On the relative advantages of woodcut in comparison to engraving see Arthur M. Hind's classic study *An Introduction to the History of the Woodcut* (London, 1935 repr. New York: Dover, 1963), vol. 1; and Woodward, "Techniques of Map Engraving, Printing, and Coloring in the European Renaissance," 593–594. On this edition of the *Geography* see R. A. Skelton introduction to *Cosmographia: Ulm, 1482* (Amsterdam: Theatrum Orbis Terrarum, 1964); and Margriet Hoogvliet, "The Medieval Texts of the 1486 Ptolemy Edition by Johann Reger of Ulm," *Imago Mundi* 54 (2002): 7–19.

33. For such techniques see Carmen C. Bambach, *Drawing and Painting in the Italian Renaissance Workshop: Theory and Practice, 1300–1600* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999), 128–133.

34. Skelton, introduction to *Geographia, Florence 1482*, viii. This was repeated by Woodward who observed that the maps were "printed independently of and before the text (they are printed on different paper)": *Maps as Prints in the Italian Renaissance* (London: British Library, 1996), 3; and Boorsch, "The Case for Francesco Rosselli as the Engraver of Berlinghieri's *Geographia*," 152–69. Skelton also cited the existence of sets of the *Geographia*'s engraved maps, apparently not derived from perfect copies of the book, as evidence that Berlinghieri's work might have been a piecemeal operation. He provided no examples, but might have had in mind the set of maps at Milan, BNB catalogued as AK.XVI.13. These, however, are in a modern binding and copies of the text also survive divorced from their maps e.g. Siena Biblioteca Comunale degli Intronati, O. II. 35.

35. Veneziani, "Vicende tipografiche della *Geografia* di Francesco Berlinghieri," 200–201.

36. *Ibid.*, 202. See also Lamberto Donati, *Il Botticelli e le prime illustrazioni della Divina Commedia* (Florence: Olschki, 1962), 34–37.

37. Boorsch, "The Case for Francesco Rosselli," 152.

38. "errori nel text o nel tavole": Berlinghieri's letter to Bayezid was published by Franz Babinger, "Lorenzo de' Medici e la Corte ottomana," *Archivio Storico Italiano* 121 (1963): 305–61, appendix A. His letter to Cem first appeared in Giovanni Marinelli, "Una dedica della *Geographia* del Berlinghieri," *Bollettino della Società Geografica Italiana* 5 (1892): 305–10.

39. Marsilio Ficino, *Opera Omnia*, vol. 2, 1464.

40. Veneziani identified the typeface of this title page as one employed by Filippo Giunti beginning in 1516. He also identified the *Geographia* in a Giunti shop catalog from 1604: "Vicende tipografiche della *Geografia* di Francesco Berlinghieri," 206–208.

41. “Geographia di Francesco Berlinghieri Fiorentino in Terza Rima et Lingua Toscana distincta con le sue tavole in varii siti et provincie secondo la Geographia et distinctione delle tavole di Ptolomeo.”

42. Skelton, introduction to *Geographia: Florence, 1482*, ix. See Margaret M. Smith, *The Title-Page: Its early development 1460–1510* (London: British Library and Oak Knoll Press, 2000), esp. 34–35.

43. Veneziani was aware of seventy-four copies of the book with fifty-four of these including the sixteenth-century title page: “Vicende tipografiche della *Geografia* di Francesco Berlinghieri,” 204. As the first leaf of a book, the title page is the most susceptible to damage. As a result, like many incunables, several copies of the *Geographia* survive either without this page or having had the page reconstructed. It can be extremely difficult to determine, in such cases, whether these examples are of the first or second issue. Of the eighty-one copies known to me, only twenty-six may be definitively assigned to the first issue.

44. “*Tolomeo in versi. fogl.*” and “*Volgari stampati in Firenze.*” Veneziani conjectured that the sort of typographic disorganization and poor quality printing he had described largely accounted for the reading public’s lack of enthusiasm for the book: Veneziani, “Vicende tipografiche della *Geografia* di Francesco Berlinghieri,” 208.

45. Hoogvliet, “The Medieval Texts of the 1486 Ptolemy Edition by Johann Reger of Ulm,” 7–19.

46. Naomi Miller, *Mapping the City: The Language and Culture of Cartography in the Renaissance* (New York and London: Continuum, 2003), 25–27.

47. Skelton, *Cosmographia: Rome, 1478*, v.

48. Adrian Johns, *The Nature of the Book* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1998), 28–40.

49. Johns, *The Nature of the Book*, 1–6; Joseph Dane, *The Myth of Print Culture: Essays on Evidence, Textuality, and Bibliographical Method* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2003); and Elizabeth Eisenstein, *The Printing Revolution in Early Modern Europe* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005). See most recently Eisenstein, *Divine Art, Infernal Machine: The Reception of Printing in the West from First Impressions to the Sense of an Ending* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2011), 4–11.

50. Landau and Parshall, *The Renaissance Print*, 30–31. See also Peter Parshall, “Prints as Objects of Consumption in Early Modern Europe,” *The Journal of Medieval and Early Modern Studies* 28 (1998): 19–36.

51. Lillian Armstrong, “The Hand-Illumination of Printed Books in Italy: 1465–1515,” in Jonathan J.G. Alexander, *The Painted Page: Italian Renaissance Book Illumination* (New York: Prestel, 1994), 36–40.

52. William Pettas writes: “the length of time required for distribution was considerable, with distribution normally preceding payment for the books by long periods of time. This meant that the publisher saw all, or a substantial portion, of an

edition leave his hands without receiving any payment. These factors certainly helped exclude the average printer from acting as a publisher": "The Cost of Printing a Florentine Incunable," *La Bibliofilia* 75 (1973), 73.

53. On Sweynhem and Pannartz's operations see Victor Scholderer, "Printers and Readers in Italy in the Fifteenth Century," *Proceedings of the British Academy* 35 (1949): 25–47; and M. D. Feld, "Sweynhem and Pannartz, Cardinal Bessarion, Neoplatonism: Renaissance Humanism and Two Printers' Choice of Texts," *Harvard Library Bulletin* 30 (1982): 285–335.

54. Skelton introduction to *Cosmographia: Rome 1478*, v.

55. Brian Richardson *Printing, Writers, and Readers in the Italian Renaissance* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999), 65 and 81. See also Berta Maracchi Biagiarelli, "Niccolò Tedesco e la carte della Geografia di Francesco Berlinghieri autore-editore," in Berta Marracchi Biagiarelli and Dennis E. Rhodes eds., *Studi offerti a Roberto Ridolfi* (Florence: Olschki, 1973), 377–97.

56. London, British Library, Kings C. 3. D. 10, Greenville 8173, and Maps C. 1. D. 1. The last of these served as the basis for the facsimile edition.

57. The watermarks in these copies, along with those of a fourth copy then in the collection of the British Museum's Print Room, were described in Arthur Hind, *Early Italian Engravings*, (London: Bernard Quaritch Ltd., 1938), vol. 2, appendix 4, 319–328.

58. Ie. Florence, Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale (hereafter BNC), D, 7, 1, 5; Milan BN Braidense, AK. XVI. 12 and AM. XV. 36; Rome, BNC 70. 1. G. 7, and 70. 1. G. 10.

59. Florence Bib. Medicea Laurenziana, Inc. I. 5; Bib. Riccardiana Ed. 624, R; Pavia Bib. Civica Bonetta Inc. 16. The copy in Pavia's library is discussed in Roberto Borri, *L'Italia nell'antica cartografia: 1477–1799* (Ivrea: Priuli & Verlucca, 1999), 26 where it is mistakenly described as an example of the second issue. That of the Laurenziana has been described (without reference to watermark data) in Mario Tesi ed., *Monumenti di cartografia a Firenze (sec. X–XVII)* (Florence: Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana, 1981), 46; Luciana Bigliuzzi and Aldemaro Giannozzi eds., *Uomini, bestie, e paesi nelle miniature laurenziane*, (Florence: Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana, 1987), 64; and Germaine Aujac, "La peintre florentin Piero del Massaio et la Cosmographia de Ptolémée," *Geographia Antiqua* 3/4 (1995): 200–201. The cardinal's hat mark is, in a variety of forms, one of the most common watermarks found in fifteenth-century printed books and tests would be necessary to confirm the uniformity of those found throughout these copies. See Hind, *Early Italian Engravings*, vol. 1, 590–92.

60. Ie. Florence, BNC N-20; Florence Marucelliana, Inc. 150; Milan, BN Braidense AK. XVI. 13; Rome BAV, Inc. Ferr. S. 137; Rome BNC 70. 1. G. 5.

61. Arezzo Bib. Comunale, AA.1., ff. 2v–3r.

62. Phillip J. Jones, *The Malatesta of Rimini and the Papal State* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1974), 247–248.



63. The copy in Arezzo has been described in Maria Gabriela and Nico Paolini, *Gli Incunaboli della biblioteca della città di Arezzo (Gia' Fraternita dei Laici)* (Milan: Editrice bibliografica, 1989), 141.

64. The Vatican copy, Inc. S. 120 is described in William J. Sheehan, *Bibliothecae Apostolicae Vaticanae Incunabula* (Vatican City: Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, 1997), 203. Reference to the Newberry Library's copy, Ayer f6, P9, 1482A appears in *Cartographic Treasures of the Newberry Library* (Chicago: Newberry Library, 2002), 15. On this copy see also George Kish, "A set of printed, illuminated maps to accompany Berlinghieri's Ptolemy, 1482," manuscript of a paper prepared for the Eighth International Conference on the History of Cartography, Berlin, 1979. The copy at the Biblioteca Nazionale Vittorio Emanuele III, Naples Inc. X, K, 15 has not previously been described. It is, however, listed in the *Indice generale degli incunaboli delle Biblioteche d'Italia*, (Rome: Libreria dello Stato, 1943), vol. 1, 115.

65. One such example of the Roman edition of the *Geography* is Siena, Biblioteca Comunale O. II. 34. The copy of Landino's commentary produced as a gift to the Signoria is printed on vellum: Florence, BNC Banco Rari 341. On this copy see Gentile et al., *Sandro Botticelli: pittore della Divina Commedia*, 252–253.

66. For the use of books in network formation see most recently Alison Brown, *The Return of Lucretius to Renaissance Florence* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2010), 88–109. On the discrepancies between modern and period expectations see also McKitterick, *Print Manuscript and the Search for Order*, 1–12.

67. Lillian Armstrong, "The Hand-Illumination of Printed Books in Italy," 174.

68. Raphaelae Taucci, "La Geografia del Berlinghieri della Biblioteca Alessandrina di Roma," *La Bibliofilia* 69 (1967): 69–73. On this copy see also Eugenio Casalini et al., *Tesori d'arte dell'Annuziata di Firenze* (Florence: Alinari, 1983), 516–520.

69. For this map, in addition to works cited by Almagià and Campbell, *The Earliest Printed Maps*, 72, see David Woodward, "Starting with the Map: The Rosselli Map of the World, ca. 1508," in Woodward, Catherine Delano Smith, and Cordell Yee eds., *Approaches and Challenges in a World-Wide History of Cartography* (Barcelona: Institut Cartografic de Catalunya, 2001), 71–90; Sebastiano Crino, "I planisferi di Francesco Rosselli dell'epoca delle grandi scoperte geografiche. A proposito della scoperta di nuove carte del cartografo fiorentino," *La Bibliofilia* 61 (1939): 381–405; and John Howell, *The Rosselli Oval Planisphere: 1507–1508* (San Francisco: John Howell Books, 1982).

70. Conor Fahy, "The Venetian Ptolemy of 1548," in Denis V. Reidy ed., *The Italian Book, 1465–1800* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1993), 91.

71. See, for example Lamberto Donati, "Francesco Berlinghieri e la Dalmazia," *Archivio storico per la Dalmazia* 5 (1928): 2–26; and recently, Michael Biggs, "Putting the State on the Map: Cartography, Territory and European State Formation," *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 41 (1999): 384. Joseph Fischer saw the *Geographia's* maps as an important cartographic source for a number of later Florentine

manuscript and printed maps: *Claudii Ptolemaei Geographiae, Codex Urbinas Graecus* 82 (Leipzig and Leiden: BAV, 1932), vol. 1, 375–398. Edward Heawood called Berlinghieri's modern maps "wonderfully good for their time": "A Hitherto Unknown World Map of a.d. 1506," *The Geographical Journal* 62 (1923): 287. While the *carte nouvelle* were praised by these early twentieth-century map scholars the derivative character of Berlinghieri's maps has increasingly been recognized.

72. Woodward, "Starting with the Map," 89.

73. Vespasiano di Bisticci observed that Federico da Montefeltro "would not have suffered a printed book on the shelves of his great library": *Le Vite*, trans., Myron P. Gilmore (Florence: Istituto nazionale di studi sul Rinascimento, 1976), 114. On the reception of printed books as luxury goods see Brian Richardson, "The Debates on Printing in Renaissance Italy," *La Bibliofilia* 100 (1998): 135–55. Though focusing on English printing, J.W. Saunders, "The Stigma of Print," *Essays in Criticism* 1 (1951): 139–164 is noteworthy in being one of the earliest revisions of the accepted notion of the early modern reader's supposed bias against printed books.

74. On the technical processes for correction utilized by fifteenth-century engravers see Landau and Parshall, *The Italian Renaissance Print*, 24–27; and Sean Roberts, "Francesco Rosselli and Berlinghieri's *Geographia* Revisited," 4–17. William M. Ivins, *How Prints Look* (New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1943 repr. Boston: Beacon Press, 1987) remains a useful source for identifying particular techniques used in early modern prints.

75. This assumption was, to a large degree, true both of studies like S. H. Steinberg's *Five Hundred Years of Printing* (Middlesex: Penguin, 1955 repr. 1974), which treated early books as a history of technique as well as those like Lucien Febvre's *The Coming of the Book*, trans., David Gerard (London: Verso, 1976 repr. 1990) and Elizabeth Eisenstein's *The Printing Press as an Agent of Cultural Change* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1978), which understood printing as a principally technological phenomenon.

76. Ivins introduced his concept of the "exactly repeatable pictorial statement" in *Prints and Visual Communication* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1953).

77. Dane, *The Myth of Print Culture*, esp. 81–102.

78. Johns, *The Nature of the Book*, see "From Fixity to Credit," 28–40.

79. Long, *Openness, Secrecy, Authorship*, 20.

80. Veneziani, "Vicende tipografiche della *Geografia* di Francesco Berlinghieri," 200.

81. On Bettini's book and its engravings see Hind, *Early Italian Engravings*, 97–99; and McKitterick, *Print Manuscript and the Search for Order*, 81–82.

82. My observations are drawn from the Huntington Library's copy, *Rare Books*, 89909.

83. Peter Dreyer, "Botticelli's Series of Engravings 'of 1481'," *Print Quarterly* 2 (1984): 111–115; and Peter Keller, "The Engravings in the 1481 edition of the Divine

Comedy,” in Sebastiano Gentile and Hein-Th Schulze Altcapenberg eds., *Sandro Botticelli, The Drawings for Dante’s Divine Comedy*, exh. cat. London, Royal Academy of Arts, 2001 (London: Royal Academy of Arts, 2001), 326–33.

84. In those copies that I have examined, Florence, Bib. Riccardiana Ed. R. 691, and Ed. R. 626, Parma Bib. Palatina Inc. Parm. 628, and Rome, BAV, Inc. Ross. 1491, it is evident that the engravings were printed on a different paper stock than the text pages to which they are affixed. The prints have yellowed noticeably and are more brittle than the text pages, suggesting that the printing of the text had exhausted the allotted paper supply and that less suitable paper had to be used when the images could not be printed on the same page as their accompanying verse.

85. On the possibility of Baldini’s involvement in the series of engravings see Konrad Oberhuber, “Baccio Baldini,” in Jay A. Levenson, Konrad Oberhuber, and Jacquelyn L. Sheehan, *Early Italian Engravings from the National Gallery of Art* (Washington, DC: National Gallery Publications, 1973), 13–21.

86. Vasari dismissively observed that Baldini, a follower of Finiguerra, was “a Florentine goldsmith who himself had little skill of design and thus based his works on the designs and invention of Sandro Botticelli”: Giorgio Milanese ed., Giorgio Vasari, *Le vite di più eccellenti pittori, scultori, e architettori* (Florence, 1878–9), vol. 5, 396.

87. Alexander, *The Painted Page*, 28–29.

88. Florence, BNC, Banco Rari 341. On the binding and illumination of this example see Gentile, *Sandro Botticelli*, 252–253.

89. For hand-colored maps see David Woodward, “Techniques of Map Engraving, Printing, and Coloring in the European Renaissance,” 591–610; and Susan Dackerman ed., *Prints and the Pursuit of Knowledge in Early Modern Europe* exh. cat. Cambridge, MA, Fogg Museum of Art, 2011 (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2011). Colored single sheet prints have received more sustained attention. See Dackerman, *Painted Prints: The Revelation of Color*, exh. cat. Baltimore, Baltimore Museum of Art (University Park, PA: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2002); Peter Parshall and Rainer Schoch, *Origins of European Printmaking: Fifteenth-Century Woodcuts and Their Public*, exh. cat. Washington, DC, National Gallery of Art, 2005 (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2005); and Parshall ed., *The Woodcut in Fifteenth-Century Europe* (Washington DC: National Gallery of Art, 2009).

90. Skelton introduction to *Cosmographia: Ulm, 1482*, ix observes that “most” of the surviving copies of both the edition of 1482 and the reprinting of 1486 included hand-colored maps and initials. He does not provide numbers of copies or a list of those copies consulted. Nonetheless, Skelton chose to reproduce an uncolored example of the book in his facsimile edition. Of the eighteen sets of these maps I have examined, all but one are colored in this manner and that copy, Milan BN Braidense AK. XV. 23, was hand-colored at a later date.

91. On the printing of this edition see Skelton's introduction to *Cosmographia, Bologna, 1477* (Amsterdam: Theatrum Orbis Terrarum, 1963). See also Edward Lynam, *The First Engraved Atlas of the World* (Jenkintown, PA: George H. Beans Library, 1941).

92. Abraham Ortelius' engraved maps to accompany his *Theatrum Orbis Terrarum*, printed in 1612, for example, survive in numerous hand-colored examples.

93. On the advent of color lithography see Jay. T. Last, *The Color Explosion: Nineteenth-Century American Lithography* (Santa Ana, CA: Hillcrest Press, 2005).

94. Florence, Biblioteca Riccardiana, Ed. 624, R

95. A set of four maps attributed to Rosselli, including maps of the world, central Europe, the Balkan Peninsula, and the Holy Land were found, so colored, contained in Florence, BNC N-20, a copy of Berlinghieri's *Geographia*: Sebastiano Gentile ed., *Firenze e la scoperta dell'America. Umanesimo e geografia nell'400 fiorentino*, exh. cat. Florence, Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana, 1992 (Florence: Olschki, 1992), 246; and Borri, *L'Italia nell'antica cartografia*, 28.

96. Gentile, *Firenze e la scoperta dell'America*, 193–194.

97. My emphasis on color as an integral part of the printed map marks a significant departure from Woodward's notion of the "Copper-plate map aesthetic." Woodward notes that, "the absence of colour enhanced this aesthetic": *Maps as Prints*, 27. Dackerman has characterized previous treatments of color in prints as a model in which "the print colorist is perceived . . . as adulterating the work of art rather than enhancing it": *Painted Prints*, 3.

98. This copy was first described by Adolf Deissman, *Forschungen und Funde im Serai* (Berlin and Leipzig: W. de Gruyter & co., 1933), 134.

99. Parma, Biblioteca Palatina MS 1635. They may have served as a companion to that library's copy of the Vincenza printing of the *Geography*, Inc. Parm. 496 or as an addition to a copy of the Roman edition of 1478. An example of this edition lacking its maps may be postulated as associated with the Palatina's collection on the basis of a complete set of maps from a Rome, 1478 Ptolemy bound today at the back of the library's copy of the edition printed at Ulm in 1482, Inc. Parm. 617. On these maps see Luciano Lago, *Imago mundi et Italiae: La visione del mondo e la scoperta dell'Italia nella cartografia antica (secoli X–XVI)* (Trieste: La Mongolfiera, 1992), figures XI and XII, following 76.

100. Leo Bagrow, "The Wilczek-Brown Codex," *Imago Mundi* 4 (1947): 31–32; and O. A. W. Dilke and Margaret S. Dilke, "The Wilczek-Brown Codex of Ptolemy Maps," *Imago Mundi* 40 (1988): 119–124.

101. Edward Heawood, "The Wilton Codex of Ptolemy Maps," *The Geographical Journal* 64 (1924): 237–240; and Joseph Fischer, "Wer war der erster Besitzer des kostbaren Ptoelmäushandschrift, die unter dem namen 'Codex Ebnerianus' weltbekannt ist," *Mitteilungen der Geographischen Gesellschaft* 85 (1942): 393–394. The Wilton codex

entered a private collection after its examination by Heawood, and it is impossible to verify whether or not Heawood's claim that the *Geographia's* world map was printed on vellum is accurate. Since I have encountered no other examples of Berlinghieri's maps on vellum, it seems more likely that this impression was mounted on vellum when it was appended to this codex, as is the case with the Wilczek-Brown codex, today in the John Carter Brown Library, Providence, RI. An auction notice, however, affixed to the inside front cover of one of the Royal Geographical Society's copies of the *Geographia* (264 H. 18), offers for sale a copy of Berlinghieri's work, supposedly with the maps printed on vellum.

102. See for example Florence, Bib. Marucelliana, Inc. 150, and Florence, Bib. Riccardiana, Ed. 624 R.

103. This is the case both with Cem's copy, Turin, BN Universitaria, MS. XV. I. 42 as well as Naples, BN X. K. 15.

104. Rome, BNC, 70. I. G. 5, ff. 181v.–182r.

105. The illuminators, however, mistakenly chose "Asia" rather than "Europe" in settling on a label.

106. Florence, Bib. Med. Laur. Inc. 15, ff. 37v.–38r.

107. See Clifford Brown with Laurie Fusco and Gino Corti, "Lorenzo de' Medici and the Dispersal of the Antiquarian Collections of Cardinal Francesco Gonzaga," *Arte Lombarda* 90–91 (1989): 86–103. On Francesco's collection see D. S. Chambers, *A Renaissance Cardinal and his Worldly Goods: The Will and Inventory of Francesco Gonzaga (1444–83)* (London: Warburg Institute, 1992). While Mantegna produced no signed or dated prints, it is generally believed that he began engraving in the late 1460s and continued to do so until perhaps the first few years of the 1480s. Recent scholarship strongly supports the possibility that Mantegna's engravings were the result of the painter's collaboration with professional metalworkers. See David Landau, "Mantegna as Printmaker," in Martineau et al., *Andrea Mantegna*, 44–45 but see also Canova, "Andrea Mantegna e Gian Marco Cavalli."

108. Johns' *The Nature of the Book* is concerned more generally with the printed book's ability to transfer knowledge and largely avoids significant discussion of the material implications of such variations and, despite its broad theoretical aims, is only sporadically applicable to books printed outside of England or in significantly earlier periods. Jan Van Der Stock's *Printing Images in Antwerp: The Introduction of Printmaking in a City*, trans. Beverly Jackson (Rotterdam: Sound and Vision Interactive, 1998), provides a model for the close investigation of early printing's material culture, including significant attention to individual images. Van Der Stock, however, does not discuss printed books extensively, and like Johns, has limited application to the study of Italian books.

109. Babinger, "Lorenzo de' Medici e la corte Ottomana," 344–345.

110. See Armstrong, "The Hand Illumination of Printed Books," 163–208, and her *Renaissance Miniature Painters and Classical Imagery: The Master of the Putti and*

*His Venetian Workshop* (London: H. Miller, 1981), 9–19. Exhibition catalogs from Italian museums and libraries have proven to be the most consistent source for reproductions of illuminated incunables. A particularly useful example is Alberto Petrucci, *Gli incunaboli della Biblioteca Durazzo* (Genoa: Società Ligure di Storia Patria, 1988), which includes descriptions of hundreds of hand-illuminated printed books. For coloring of maps see most recently Woodward, “Techniques of Map Engraving, Printing, and Coloring in the European Renaissance,” 602–606.

111. On Federico’s devices and arms appearing here see Cosimo Stornajolo, *I ritratti e le geste dei duchi d’Urbino nelle miniature dei codici Vaticano Urbinati* (Rome: Tipografia poliglotta Vaticana, 1913), 16–17.

112. On the devices of the Medici see Francis Ames-Lewis, *The Library and Manuscripts of Piero di Cosimo de’ Medici* (Garland: New York, 1984), 55–88; and Ames-Lewis, “Early Medicean Devices,” *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* 42 (1979): 122–43. See also Anna Lenzini ed., *All’ombra del lauro: documenti librari della cultura in età laurenziana* (Florence: Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana, 1992), 140–41; Janet Cox-Rearick, *Dynasty and Destiny in Medici Art: Pontormo, Leo X, and the Two Cosimos* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1984), 15–21; and Adrian Randolph, *Engaging Symbols: Gender, Politics, and Public Art in Fifteenth-Century Florence* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2002), 110–115.

113. Milan, BNB, AC. XIV. 44, f. 178r.

114. While Tesi, *Monumenti di Cartographia a Firenze*, 46 asserts that the hand-coloring of the Laurenziana example is later (perhaps of the eighteenth or nineteenth century), Sebastiano Gentile has more recently suggested that the maps and frontispiece are likely contemporary with the book’s production: *Firenze e la scoperta dell’America*, no. 112.

115. Florence, Bib. Laurenziana, Inc. 1.5, f. 1r. Mario Tesi questioned the authenticity of this illumination in *Monumenti di cartografia a Firenze*, exh. cat. Florence, Biblioteca Laurenziana, 1981 (Florence: Ariani e l’Arte della Stampa, 1981), 47 speculating that it might be a product of the early nineteenth century. It compares favorably, however, to other examples of contemporary frontispiece illumination by Venetian and Paduan illuminators. On these illuminators and their influence in Florence see Armstrong, *Renaissance Miniature Painters and Classical Imagery*, 27–28.

116. On the nuns of San Jacopo and their participation in the production of printed books see Deborah Parker, “Women in the Book Trade in Italy, 1475–1620,” *Renaissance Quarterly* 49 (1996): 512–513. On the role of nuns as illuminators see Jeryldene M. Wood, “Breaking the Silence: The Poor Clares and the Visual Arts in Fifteenth-Century Italy,” *Renaissance Quarterly* 48 (1995): 262–286.

117. The copy made for the Pucci is today Rome, BN Centrale, 70. I. G. 5 and was first described by Carta, *Codici miniati, i corali e libri a stampa della biblioteca nazionale di Milano* (Rome: 1891), 99. The Rucellai example is Rome, BAV, Inc. S. 120 while a copy apparently made for the Colonna family is BNC Florence, Inc. N-20.

As yet unidentified *stemmi* appear on the incipits of Chicago, Newberry Library Ayer F6, P9, B5, 1480B (incorrectly cataloged as an example of the second issue), and Rome BAV, Inc. Ferr. S. 37.

118. Ancona, Biblioteca Civica, Inc 7.

119. Berlinghieri, *Geographia*, 3.2: “Poi decta è regno de napoletani/ o di Sicila & hora assai si gloria/ desser Ferando alle tue sacre mani.”

120. *Ibid.*, 3.3: “Calabria e decta nel presente giorno/ e significa il nome che produce/ le chose buone & con copioso corno/ O quanto si consa bene al suo duce/ che ripercosse gia il veneto ardire/ onde la liberta nostra piu luce.”

121. Naples, BN Vittorio Emanuele III, X. K.15, f. 73r.

122. David Eskerdjian, *Correggio* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1997), 4.

123. *Ibid.*, 4. The donation of the now lost book to Correggio is described by Quirino Bigi. He writes: “Nel 1513 . . . Tornato quindi Antonio a Correggio diede una prova del suo valore al Lombardi, cui era debitore di ajuti e di consigli moltissimi, con ritrattarlo, onde n’ebbe poi in dono da lui in segno di aggradimento il codice cartaceo della Geographia di Francesco Berlinghieri, in margine del quale evvi scritto Joan. Baptista Lombardi de Corrigia Art. Schol. Ferrariae die 1st. Febb. MCCCCLXXXVIII. e sotto: Antonius Allegrì die 2 de Zugno 1513.” See also Luigi Pungileoni, *Memorie storiche di Antonio Allegrì detto il Correggio*, (Parma: 1821), vol. 2, 51–52; and Giancarla Periti, “From Allegrì to Laetus-Lieto: The Shaping of Correggio’s Artistic Distinctiveness,” *Art Bulletin* 86 (2004): 469, n. 71.

124. Paul F. Grendler, “Francesco Sansovino and Italian Popular History, 1560–1600,” *Studies in the Renaissance* 16 (1969): 139–180.

125. Padua, Biblioteca Civica, Inc. C. I. 163.

126. Rome, BAV, St. Barb. AAA.IV.15. The dedication is written in ink on f. 1r. This copy is described by Sheehan, *Vaticanae Incunabula*, 203.

127. London, British Library, Kings C 3 D 10. On the formation of this collection see Elaine M. Paintin, *The King’s Library* (London: British Library, 1989).

128. Berlinghieri, *Geographia*, 1.3: “Quando nella divina visione/ mosse d’un verde lauro el grave canto/ d’ogni terrestre et nota regione.”

129. *Ibid.*, 1.1: “Et poche ha decto chi la sublimato/ oltre alla disciplina militare/ prudente forte giusto et temperato./ Inclito duce o inclito exemplare/ D’ogni virtute che al mondo e tanto rada/ che ad te forzati siamo ad dirizare.”

130. *Ibid.*, 3.14: “Foro sempronio fossobron decto hoggi/ Urbino e quella dove un savio duce/ le greche et le latine muse all’oggi.” The forum of Sempronius was named for Gaius Sempronius Gracchus (154–121 BCE).

131. *Ibid.*, 3.7: “Volgesi a questo cerchio intorno intorno/ stagnando il micio che in Po vuol poi gire/ di quattro nati di gonzaga addorno.” On Mantua’s Ducal library see C. W. Clough, “The Library of the Gonzaga in Mantua,” *Librarianum: Revue de la Société Suisse des Bibliophiles* 15 (1972): 50–63.



132. On Roberto Malatesta: “A Riminio hora mai non fisi absconde/ et Ariminio rio decto Marecchia/ appresso alle sue mura si diffonde/ Colonia e/ de romani anticha & vecchia/ che a Ruberto monarcha malatesta/ per exemplo di vita sua si specchia.”: Berlinghieri, *Geographia*, 3.4.

133. *Ibid.*, 3.9: “Ferraria el nome suo dal ferro prende/ le mura da smergado ita lo exarcho/ la qual per Hercole hoggi tanto splende.”

134. *Ibid.*, 3.5: “Ecco il Po fiume che ci chiama & chiede/ a chi Phetonte Eridano appellato/ in lui cadendo il nome suo concede:”.

135. See Giancarlo Fiorenza, *Dosso Dossi: Paintings of Myth, Magic, and the Antique* (University Park, PA: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2008), 59.

136. Berlinghieri, *Geographia*, 3.5: “Cicta Piramo Humago poi si stima / Istria cictate & cavo donde nacque/ christophoro che tra glaltri tien la cima.”

137. *Ibid.*, 3.2: “Luna deserta onde un sulgente lume/e Gabriel marchese malespina/ amico fido & pien di buon chostume.”

138. *Ibid.*, 5.4: Ganymede fu tal nel suo bel volto/ qual fu paulo emilio a tempi vostri.”

139. *Ibid.*, 3.10: “Forma gli animi suoi quali ama et cole. Landin che per chostumi et per doctrina Landino e/uno specchio anzi un sulgente sole.”

140. *Ibid.*, 2.14: “Et cantero di te se non mi e tolto/ vita chome Verino alta matera/ qual nell’arte poetica puo molto.” On Verino see Alfonso Lazzari, *Ugolino e Michele Verino* (Turin, 1897).

141. See here Chapter 2.

142. Berlinghieri, *Geographia*, 2.16: “La quale hebbe in governo un vostro toscolo/ Di chui parla con somma leggiadria/ platonico phicin che tanta gloria/ sempre riporta di philosophia.”

143. *Ibid.*, 3.1: “Savona che Sabbatio anchor decta era/ del magnanimo quarto papa Sisto/ hornata il quale a tutto il clero impera.”

144. *Ibid.*, 2.9: “Da portogallo o hor decta quale il perno/ della sua region portugallese/ quale hoggi ha il re per degna fama eterno/ Oltre alle saggie sue & magne imprese/ Per la ricerca piu che naturale/ di que paesi che nullo ancho intese.” And “Portugallo hora e quel che si presume/ lavara antica onde hoggi un rege addorno/ rende per l’universo chiaro lume.”

145. *Ibid.*, 2.14: “Seggio regale e di chi con la lancia/ puo tanto et colla lingua et con l’ongegno/ dato da dio al mondo et non per ciancia:/Ritornera lomperio nel tuo regno/ per tua virtu serenissimo volto/ senza ingiuria dalchuno et senza sdegno:”

146. Richardson, in his *Printing, Writers, and Readers*, 65 and 81, called attention to Berlinghieri’s involvement in funding the publication and decoration of the *Geographia*, in an effort to enhance its appeal to potential owners.

147. Particularly problematic has been the application of a model of book dedication, privileging the single printed dedication as an indicator of proprietary control,

adapted from the study of English books of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. This is true of revisionist works like Johns, *The Nature of the Book* and Dane, *The Myth of Print Culture*.

148. The Braidense manuscript lacks the usual frontispiece in which Federico is mentioned as well as the register and recommendation of Berlinghieri by Ficino. Further, the text which reads “Geographia di Francesco Berlinghieri fiorentino allo Illustrissimo Federico Duca Durbino Liber Primus Felicter Incipit” in the printed edition and in the Vatican manuscript is absent from Lorenzo’s example where it has been removed to accommodate the initial letter G. Lorenzo, unlike Cem and Bayezid is not mentioned in the text (though his *impresa* and family stemma are everywhere evident). The manuscript could at one time have borne an explicit dedication to Lorenzo. The first surviving folio of the codex is the incipit of book one, suggesting that a frontispiece bearing a statement of the work’s contents is missing.

149. On patronage see esp. Francis Haskell, *Patrons and Painters* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1980); Patricia Simons, “Patronage in the Tornaquinci Chapel, Santa Maria Novella, Florence,” in F. W. Kent and Patricia Simons eds., *Patronage, Art and Society in Renaissance Italy* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1987); and Paul D. McLean, *The Art of the Network: Strategic Interaction and Patronage in Renaissance Florence* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2007).

150. For non-economic models for art exchange see Alexander Nagel, “Gifts for Michelangelo and Vittoria Colonna,” *Art Bulletin* 79 (1997): 647–668.

151. This letter to Bartolomeo Scala, now lost but once in the collection of Benjamin Filton, is summarized in Emil Jacobs, “Zur Datierung von Berlinghieri’s Geographie,” *Gutenberg Festschrift* (1925): 249.

152. Berlinghieri, *Geographia*, Dedication to Federico da Montefeltro: “Ponendo mano alla opera immortale/ nel quinto lustro et molti anni ho passati.”

153. Berlinghieri’s teacher, Landino could certainly attest to the less than economically advantageous relationship between authors and the production of printed books. The writer was paid considerably less for his translation of Pliny’s *Natural History* by the Venetian printer Nicholas Jenson than what Jenson spent for a single copy of that work to be hand-illuminated. See Armstrong “The Hand Illumination of Printed Books,” 217.

154. Catasto report of 1480 (1481), Archivio di Stato di Firenze Campione di Catasto, Quartiere S. Croce, Gonfalone di Bue, doc. 1004, no. 505. This document was first discussed by Mori, “Un geografo del Rinascimento,” 341–8.

155. On the general slipperiness of values listed in catasto reports, and on the trend to under-report, see David Herlihy and Christiane Klapisch-Zuber, *Tuscans and Their Families: A Study of the Florentine Catasto of 1427* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1985), 10–21.

156. Paul Kristeller, “The First Printed Edition of Plato’s Works and the Date of

its Publication” in *Science and History: Studies in Honor of Edward Rosen*, *Studia Copernicana*, vol. 16 (Warsaw and New York: Science History Publications, 1978), 25–35. On Berlinghieri’s role in this publication see also Sebastiano Gentile, Sebastiano Niccoli, and Paolo Viti eds., *Marsilio Ficino e il ritorno di Platone: Mostra di manoscritti, stampe, e documenti* (Florence: Le Lettere, 1984), 116–117.

157. Arnolfo della Torre, *Storia dell’Accademia platonica di Firenze* (Florence: Carnesecchi e figli, 1902), 667.

158. Enrico Rostagno, “Di un esemplare del *De Christiana Religione* di Marsilio Ficino,” *La Bibliofilia* 2 (1901): 397–409; and Curt F. Bühler, “The First Edition of Ficino’s ‘De Christiana Religione’: A Problem in Bibliographical Description,” *Studies in Bibliography* 18 (1965): 248–252.

159. Taucci, “La Geografia del Berlinghieri della Biblioteca Alessandrina di Roma,” 73. This contract was initiated in 1486, four years after the printing of the work was complete.

160. “emendato con somma diligentia dallo auctore.”

161. On the often unprofitable nature of much early printing see Richardson, *Printers, Writers, and Readers*, 53–54; and Pettas, “The Cost of Printing a Florentine Incunable,” 73.

162. Ronald Weissman, “Taking Patronage Seriously: Mediterranean Values and Renaissance Society,” in Kent and Simons eds., *Patronage, Art and Society*, 43.

163. On the copy in Turin see Francesco Berlinghieri, *La geografia. Ristampa anastatica dell’incunabolo della Biblioteca Nazionale Universitaria di Torino* (Turin: Centro Studi Piemontese, 2006).

164. The coat of arms included on the letter of dedication in Cem’s copy is the addition of a later owner of the book.

165. Sebastiano Gentile ed., *Firenze e la scoperta dell’America*, cat. no. 112, 236.

166. Turin, BNU letter to Cem: “sue molte et maxime incredibili virtu . . . imperitare a grandissima parte dello universo. . . .”

167. Berlinghieri, *Geographia*, 3.21: “Hora è suggieta alla inclita corona/ del re di tanti regni & vostro amico/ chome publicamente si ragiona.”

168. Letter to Bayezid: Babinger, “Lorenzo de’ Medici e la Corte ottomana,” appendix A.

169. On the use of books to commemorate treaties and other diplomatic events at the Ottoman court see Zeren Tanidi, “Additions to Illustrated Manuscripts in Ottoman Workshops,” *Muqarnas* 17 (2000): 147–61. On Ottoman diplomatic gifts see Hedda Reindl-Kiel, “East is East and West is West, and Sometimes the Twain Did Meet: Diplomatic Gift Exchange in the Ottoman Empire,” in Colin Imber, Keiko Kiyotaki, and Rhoads Murphey eds., *Frontiers of Ottoman Studies* (New York: Tauris, 2005), vol. 2, 113–124.

170. See most recently Linda Komaroff ed., *Gifts of the Sultan: The Arts of Giving at the Islamic Courts*, exh. cat. Los Angeles, Los Angeles County Museum of Art, 2011

(New Haven: Yale University Press, 2011); and see Komaroff, ed., *Unwrapping Gifts of the Sultan* (forthcoming).

171. Mary C. Fournier, “Drawing as Gift: Jacopo Bellini’s Paris Volume in Ottoman Istanbul,” (Ph. D. diss., University of North Carolina, 2005); and Elizabeth Rodini, “The Sultan’s True Face? Gentile Bellini, Mehmet II, and the Values of Verisimilitude,” in James Harper ed., *The Turk and Islam in the Western Eye (1453–1832)* (Burlington: Ashgate, 2011), 21–40. But see the doubts raised in Alan Chong, “Gentile Bellini in Istanbul: Myths and Misunderstandings,” in Caroline Campbell and Alan Chong eds., *Bellini and the East*, exh. cat. London, National Gallery and Boston, Isabella Stewart Gardner Museum, 2006 (London: National Gallery of Art, 2006), 113.

172. On Paolo da Colle’s service for Bayezid and Lorenzo see Franz Babinger, *Spätmittelalterliche frankische Briefschafte aus dem grossherrlichen Seraj zu Stambul* (Munich: R. Oldenbourg, 1963), 9–22, 43–51.

173. The scholarship of J. B. Harley has been most influential in this respect. For his exploration of the relationship between mapping and territorial dominion see “Maps, Knowledge, and Power,” in Denis E. Cosgrove and S. Daniels eds., *The Iconography of Landscape* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988), 277–312.

174. For associations between cartographic representation and territorial control in the Ottoman world see Kathryn Anne Ebel, “Representations of the Frontier in Ottoman Town Views of the Sixteenth Century,” *Imago Mundi*, 60 (2008): 1–22; and Palmira Brummett, “Imagining the Early Modern Ottoman Space, from World History to Piri Reis,” in Virginia H. Aksan and Daniela Goffman eds., *The Early Modern Ottomans: Remapping the Empire* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007), 15–58.

175. On how secrets construct networks of knowledge in the early modern world see William Eamon, *Science and the Secrets of Nature: Books of Secrets in Medieval and Early Modern Europe* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1994); and Karma Lochrie, *Covert Operations: The Medieval Uses of Secrecy* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1999), esp. 93–134.

176. In addition to Eamon, *Science and the Secrets of Nature* see also Allison B. Kavey, *Books of Secrets: Natural Philosophy in England 1550–1600* (Champaign: University of Illinois Press, 2007).

177. An example of the *Geography* printed in Vicenza in 1475, today at Parma’s BN Palatina, augments the printed text with a full complement of manuscript maps.

178. Berlinghieri, *Geographia*, 2.5: “Curia & Bremenio vedi quivi intorno./ Produce questa parte margherite/ chandide & magne & tonde benche mancho:/ perche son men lucenti sien gradite/ Stagno in gran copia & altri metalli ancho.”

179. On the value of river pearls see Molly A. Warsh, “Adorning Empire: A History of the Early Modern Pearl Trade, 1492–1688,” (Ph. D. diss., Johns Hopkins University, 2009).

180. Berlinghieri, *Geographia*, 3.13: “Ethalia et ilva e decta & e famosa/ pel ferro che rinasce solo in lei/ dove a suoi fabri Vulcan non da posa.”

181. “le positioni de siti delle regioni, mari, isole, monti, populi, fumi, laghi, stagni, paludi, fonti, città, porti, terre et promontori”: Marinelli, “Una dedica della *Geographia* del Berlinghieri,” 309.

182. Douglas A. Howard, “Genre and Myth in the Ottoman Advice for Kings Literature,” in Aksan and Goffman eds., *The Early Modern Ottomans*, 137–166.

183. Almagià, “Osservazioni sull’opera geografica di Francesco Berlinghieri,” 220–221.

184. On Gritti see Gizella Nemeth Papo, *Ludovico Gritti: un principe-mercante del Rinascimento tra Venezia, i turchi e la corona d’Ungheria* (Friuli: Edizioni della Laguna, 2002).

185. See V. L. Ménage, “The Mission of an Ottoman Secret Agent in France in 1486,” *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland* (1965): 112–132.

186. On Cem’s entourage see Nicolas Vatin, *Sultan Djem: un prince ottoman dans l’Europe du Xv siècle d’après deux sources contemporaines* (Ankara: Société Turque D’Histoire, 1997).

187. “i antichi imperatori”: Babinger, “Lorenzo de’ Medici e la Corte ottomana,” Appendix A.

188. Gustavo Uzielli identified the city as the Ottoman capital, while Babinger rejected this in favor of the hypothesis of an imaginary view. Babinger’s theory was upheld in the catalog for an exhibition in which the Turin copy was displayed. See Sebastiano Gentile, *Firenze e la scoperta dell’America. Umanesimo e geografia nell’400 fiorentino*, exh. cat. Florence: Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana, 1992 (Florence: Olschki, 1992), cat. no. 112.

189. On these monuments see Sarah Guberti Basset, “The Antiquities in the Hippodrome of Constantinople,” *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 45 (1991): 87–96; and Çiğdem Kafescioğlu *Constantinopolis/Istanbul: Cultural Encounter, Imperial Vision, and the Construction of the Ottoman Capital* (University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2010).

190. Robert Grigg, “‘Symphonian Aeido tes Basileias’: An Image of Imperial Harmony on the Base of the Column of Arcadius,” *Art Bulletin* 59 (1977): 469–482; and John Freely and Ahmet S. Çakmak, *Byzantine Monuments of Istanbul* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004), 47–48. The base of the column survives *in situ*.

191. Michael Vickers has argued that views and descriptions of Constantinople derived from Cyriacus of Ancona’s writings were known to Mantuan intellectuals. He suggests that such sources informed Mantegna’s representation of the classical monuments of his *Agony in the Garden*: “Mantegna and Constantinople,” *The Burlington Magazine* 118 (1976): 680–687. See also Julian Raby, “Cyriacus of Ancona and the Ottoman Sultan Mehmed II,” *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* 43

(1980): 242–246; and Marina Belozerskaya, *To Wake the Dead: A Renaissance Merchant and the Birth of Archaeology* (New York: Norton, 2009).

192. Ian R. Manners, “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 (1991): 72–102; and Stefano G. Casu, “Travels in Greece in the Age of Humanism: Cristoforo Buondelmonti and Cyriacus of Ancona,” in Mina Gregori and Cinisello Balsamo eds., *In the Light of Apollo: The Italian Renaissance and Greece* (Milan: Silvana, 2004): 139–42.

193. On Italian humanist knowledge of Egyptian monuments see Brian R. Curran, *The Egyptian Renaissance* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2007), 27–50 and 65–87.

194. Guberti Basset, “The Antiquities in the Hippodrome of Constantinople,” 87–96.

195. On the shared vocabulary of empire see James R. Ackerman, introduction to *The Imperial Map: Cartography and Mastery of Empire* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2009), 1–10.

196. See Kathryn Ann Ebel, *City Views, Imperial Visions: Cartography and the Visual Culture of Urban Space in the Ottoman Empire 1453–1603* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2011).

197. Babinger, *Mehmed II and his Time*, trans., Ralph Manheim (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2003), 99–100. Originally published as *Mehmed der Eroberer und seine Zeit; Weltentürmer einer Zeitenwende* (Munich: F. Bruckmann, 1953). On Mehmed’s interest in continuity between Greek and Ottoman rule see the account of his Byzantine biographer Kristovoulos, penned in 1467: *History of Mehmed the Conqueror*, trans. Charles T. Riggs (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1954), esp. 136–140.

198. Julian Raby’s scholarship offers a comprehensive treatment of Mehmed’s use of classical motifs. See, for example, “A Sultan of Paradox: Mehmed the Conqueror as a patron of the arts,” *The Oxford Art Journal* 5 (1982): 3–8. For Mehmed’s appropriation of Byzantine portraiture see also Helen C. Evans ed., *Byzantium: Faith and Power (1261–1557)* exh. cat. New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art, 2004 (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2004), 535–537.

199. Gülru Necipoğlu *The Age of Sinan: Architectural Culture in the Ottoman Empire* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2005), 13–14.

200. Brummett, “Imagining the Early Modern Ottoman Space,” 49.

201. See especially Kafescioğlu *Constantinopolis/Istanbul*. The classic study of Mehmed’s architectural policy is Halil İnalcık, “The Policy of Mehmed II toward the Greek Population of Istanbul and the Byzantine Buildings of the City,” *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 23/24 (1969–1970): 229–249.

202. On the “eclecticism” of the palace project see Gülru Necipoğlu *Architecture, Ceremonial, and Power: The Topkapi Palace in the Fifteenth and Sixteenth Centuries* (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 1992), 4–12 and esp. 137–139.

203. While the so-called Great Palace Mosaic on display in Istanbul today would not have been visible in the fifteenth century, there can be little question that other mosaics of Byzantine manufacture would have been familiar to Cem and Bayezid.

204. See Suraiya Faroqui, *Pilgrims and Sultans: The Hajj under the Ottomans* (New York: Tauris, 1996); and Venetia Porter ed. *Hajj: Journey to the Heart of Islam*, exh. cat. London, British Museum, 2012 (London: British Museum, 2012).

205. On the emerging aesthetic of fifteenth- and sixteenth-century Ottoman architecture see, Necipoğlu *The Age of Sinan*, 103–124.

206. This concept finds its origins, in part, in the Qur'an, Book 30, verses 2–5: “The Romans are vanquished/ in a near land, and they, after being vanquished, shall be overcome/ within a few years. Allah’s is the command before and after; and on that day the believers shall rejoice!”

207. Cornell Fleischer, “Shadows of Shadows: Prophecy in Politics in 1530s Istanbul,” *International Journal of Turkish Studies* 13 (2007): 51–65.

208. Vatin, *Sultan Djem*, 35; and see the popularizing John Freely, *Djem Sultan* (New York: Harper Collins, 2004), 16.

209. Julian Raby, “Pride and Prejudice: Mehmed the Conqueror and the Italian Portrait Medal,” in J. Graham Pollard ed., *Studies in the History of Art*, vol. 21, *Italian Medals* (Washington, DC: National Gallery of Art, 1987), 171–94; Stephen K. Scher ed., *The Currency of Fame: Portrait Medals of the Renaissance* (New York: Harry N. Abrams, 1994), 1–19; and Alexander Nagel and Christopher Wood, *Anachronic Renaissance* (Cambridge: MIT Press, 2010), 105.

210. Julian Raby, “Costanzo da Ferrara” in Scher ed., *The Currency of Fame: Portrait Medals of the Renaissance*, 87–89; and Maria Andaloro, “Costanzo da Ferrara: gli anni a Costantinopoli alla corte di Maometto II,” *Storia dell’arte* 38/40 (1980): 185–212. Alan Chong has proposed that the name Costanzo da Ferrara is erroneous and that the artist would more accurately be referred to as Costanzo di Moysis: “Gentile Bellini in Istanbul,” 126–127.

211. Eurydice Georganteli, *Encounters: Travel and Money in the Byzantine World*, exh. cat. London, British Museum, 2006 (London: British Museum Press, 2006).

212. Gülru Necipoğlu “Suleyman the Magnificent and the Representation of Power in the Context of Ottoman-Hapsburg-Papal Rivalry,” *Art Bulletin* 71 (1989): 424. For Bayezid’s renunciation of his father’s tendencies see most recently Anthony F. D’Elia, *A Sudden Terror: The Plot to Murder the Pope in Renaissance Rome* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2009), 126. However, see the more nuanced appraisal of the sultan’s engagement with western European architecture in, Necipoğlu *The Age of Sinan*, 88–92.

213. Susan Spinale, “Reassessing the So-Called ‘Tricaudet Medal’ of Mehmed II,” *The Medal* 42 (2003): 3–22.

214. On Pius’s letter and the question of its authorship see Paolo Brezzi, “La Lettera di Pio II a Maometto II” in Luisa Rotondi Secchi Tarugi ed., *Pio II e la cultura del suo tempo- atti del I convegno internazionale-1989* (Milan: Guerini e Associati,



1991); Luca D'Ascia, *Il Corano e la tiara: l'epistola a Maometta di Enea Silvio Piccolomini (papa Pio II)* (Bologna: Pendragon, 2001); and Nancy Bisaha, "Pius II's Letter to Sultan Mehmed II: A Re-examination," *Crusades* 1 (2003): 183–195.

215. This manuscript is today cataloged as Szechenyi National Library, Budapest, Lat. 378.

216. Elena Berkovits ed., *Miniature del rinascimento nella biblioteca di Mattia Corvino* (Milan: Silvana editoriale d'arte, 1964), 92–93.

217. See T. C. Price Zimmermann, *Paolo Giovio: The Historian and the Crisis of Sixteenth-Century Italy* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1995); and Linda Susan Klinger, "The Portrait Collection of Paolo Giovio," (Ph. D. diss., Princeton University, 1991). On Paolo Giovio and the Ottomans see Emine Fetvaci, "Physiognomy and Portraiture through a Cross-Cultural Lens," (forthcoming). The painted portrait collection of Giovio, now lost, is partially preserved in a set of copies produced for Cosimo I de' Medici by Cristafano d'Altissimo.

218. On portraits of the sultan utilizing Western European conventions see also Selman Kangel ed., *The Sultan's Portrait: Picturing the House of Osman* (Istanbul: Isbank, 2000) esp. Gülru Necipoğlu "The Serial Portraits of the Ottoman Sultans in Comparative Perspective," 22–31.

219. Cemal Kafadar, *Between Two Worlds: The Construction of the Ottoman State* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1995), 52–53, 96–97. See also Daniel Goffman, *The Ottoman Empire and Early Modern Europe* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002), esp. 27–58: "Fabricating the Ottoman State,"; and Heath Lowry, *The Nature of the Early Ottoman State* (Albany: SUNY Press, 2003).

220. For this understanding of the Ottoman state see esp. Jason Goodwin, *Lords of the Horizons: A History of the Ottoman Empire* (New York: Holt, 1999), 9–11. See also Suraiya Faroqhi, *The Ottoman Empire and the World Around It* (New York: Tauris, 2004), 1–26.

221. Christopher Wood, *Forgery, Replica, Fiction: Temporalities of German Renaissance Art* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2008), esp. 149–155; and see Nagel and Wood, *Anachronic Renaissance*.

222. See especially Augusto Vasina et al., *Il Potere, le arti, la guerra: lo splendore del Malatesta*, exh. cat. Rimini, Castel Sismondo, 2001 (Milan: Electa, 2001), 220–224.

#### 4. Printing Tolerance and Intolerance

1. For historiographic discussions of these distinctions see Margaret Meserve, introduction to *Pius II: Commentaries* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2003); Meserve, *Empires of Islam in Renaissance Historical Thought* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2008); and Nancy Bisaha, *Creating East and West:*

*Renaissance Humanists and the Ottoman Turks* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2006).

2. Meserve, *Pius II: Commentaries*, 112–115. See also Meserve, *Empires of Islam*, 152; and Meserve, “From Samarkand to Scythia: Reinventions of Asia in Renaissance Geography and Political Thought,” in Zweder von Martels and Arjo Vanderjagt eds., *Pius II ‘el più expeditivo pontifice’: Selected Studies on Aeneas Silvius Piccolomini (1405–1464)* (Leiden: Brill, 2003), 13–40.

3. James Hankins, “Renaissance Crusaders: Humanist Crusade Literature in the Age of Mehmed II,” *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 49 (1995): 111–146; Bisaha, *Creating East and West*, 135–140; and Anthony F. D’Elia, “Genealogy and the Limits of Panegyric: Turks and Huns in Fifteenth-Century Epithalamia,” *Sixteenth Century Journal* 34 (2003): 973–991.

4. Hankins, “Renaissance Crusaders: Humanist Crusade Literature in the Age of Mehmed II,” 143; and Robert Schwoebel, *The Shadow of the Crescent: The Renaissance Image of the Turk, 1453–1517* (New York: St. Martin’s Press, 1967).

5. A useful synopsis of the state of research into fifteenth-century crusading is provided by Norman Housley, “Introduction,” in his edited volume *Crusading in the Fifteenth Century* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2004), 1–12. For Florence see esp. Silvia Agnoletti and Luca Mantelli eds., *I Fiorentini alle crociate: Guerre, pellegrinaggi e immaginario orientalistico a Firenze tra Medioevo ed Età moderna* (Florence: Meridiana, 2007).

6. See for example Marina Formica, “Giochi di specchi. Dinamiche identitarie e rappresentazioni del Turco nella cultura italiana del Cinquecento,” *Rivista Storica Italiana* 120 (2008): 5–53.

7. Hankins, “Renaissance Crusaders: Humanist Crusade Literature in the Age of Mehmed II,” 143; and Jerry Brotton *Trading Territories* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1997), 93–95.

8. Angeliki E. Laiou has argued that Sanuto’s work was inflected with a specifically anti-Ottoman political ideology in the early fourteenth century: “Marino Sanudo Torsello, Byzantium and the Turks: The Background to the Anti Turkish League of 1332–34,” *Speculum* 45 (1970): 374–393. See also, Alfred Hiatt, “Mapping the Ends of Empire,” in Ananya Jahanara Kabir and Deanne Williams eds., *Postcolonial Approaches to the European Middle Ages* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005), 64–67.

9. The development and evolution of this map is illustrated in Grazielle Galliano and Luciano Lago, *La Terra Santa e la sua immagine nella cartografia antica*, exh. cat. Trieste Museo della Comunità Ebraica di Trieste, 1995 (Florence: Alinari, 1995), 45–54. See also Marino Sanudo Torsello il Vecchio, *Liber Secretorum Fidelium Crucis Super Terrae Sanctae*, foreword Joshua Prawer (Jerusalem: Massada Press, 1972). For a full discussion of the map’s history see Bernard Degenhard and Anne Schmitt, “Marino Sanudo und Paolino Veneto,” *Römisches Jahrbuch für Kunstgeschichte* 14 (1973): 1–137.

10. See Bernard Hamilton, “The Impact of the Crusades on Western Geographical Knowledge,” in Rosamund Allen ed. *Eastward Bound: Travel and Travelers, 1050–1550* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2004), 15–34; and James P. Krokak, “New Means to an Old End: Early Modern Maps in the Service of an Anti-Ottoman Crusade,” *Imago Mundi* 60 (2008): 23–38.

11. Julian Raby, “Mehmed the Conqueror’s Greek Scriptorium,” *Dumbarton Oaks Papers*, 37 (1983), 15–34. See also Helen C. Evans ed., *Byzantium: Faith and Power (1261–1557)*, exh. cat. New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art, 2004 (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2004), 410–411.

12. The description of the Holy Land is translated into English in Aubrey Stewart and C. R. Conder, *Palestine Pilgrims’ Text Society*, vol. 12 (London: 1896).

13. Berlinghieri, *Geographia*, 5.19: “Vedesi Cana se piu tal lontani/ verso l’ocasso ove dell’aqua vino/ Christo fece per farvi piu christiani” and 5.20: “& Sebo & Guphna Emausso hor sivede/ Che vuol dir visione la dove arresta/ El redentor el qual pel pan diviso/ A discepoli suoi si manifesta.”

14. Florence, Biblioteca Laurenziana, Cod. Plut. XXI, 23 and Biblioteca Riccardiana, Cod. 237.

15. See Fazio degli Uberti, *Dittamondo*, 5.9–5.12.

16. As for example, Berlinghieri, *Geographia*, 3.21: “Chome sei locho et in suo sepolcro il noma/ Possidio acron netumno inporta & invece/ san Nicolo se il christiano idioma.”

17. *Ibid.*, 5.19: “Quindi cornelio fu che si remove/ dal testamento anticho & molto crede/ al crocifixo eterno & vero giove.”

18. This reference is to the tenth-century battle of Garigliano: *Ibid.*, 3.9: “Tosignano onde fu chi l’acerbo hoste/ de sarraceni furo d’italia expinxe/ percotendol da fronte et dalle choste.”

19. *Ibid.*, 3.20: “Questo paese molte volte straccho/ l’assalto di turchia allo istro intorno/ dove habitato e dal popol Valaccho.”

20. *Ibid.*, 3.5: “Vinegia magna quivi sargumenta/ che il suo stato non muti alcuna chosa/ et sola del gran turcho non paventa.”

21. *Ibid.*, 2.17: “Philippo spana fu la sua memoria/ benche scolari piu che preceptore/ havendo d’ogni impresa ampla victoria/ Ventidue volte extinse el fiero ardore/ de turchi assai potenti & solo a tanti/ et vivo & morto die tanto terrore.”

22. *Ibid.*, 3.2: “Neapoli hoggi e decta al nome hor vegno/ che vuol dir cicta nuova & auctore/ cumano popolo have inclito & degno./ Libera Roma fu pel suo valore/ perche de saraceni infidi extinxe/ d’italia questa il barbarico ardore.”

23. *Ibid.*, 3.12: “Casilino inpria decto che allo ardore/ d’hanibale con rape solo resiste/ ove chi vende el pan suo poi si more” and 3.7: “Governo mira ove perse ogni ardire/ Athila re delli hunni spaventato da chi sol collo specto il se fuggire.”

24. Cited in Bisaha, *Between East and West*, 51.

25. Gino di Neri Capponi, for example is praised in Berlinghieri's description of his defeat of Pisan forces: "fu dalle vostra forze superata/ et dalle arti di Gino optime et nuove": Berlinghieri, *Geographia*, 3.10.

26. *Ibid.*, 2.10: "Ad Betulone egregia pel confitto/ contro al punico orgoglio & con giusta ira/ Qui vinse scipion superior dicto."

27. *Ibid.*, 2.21: "Lo strecto di cilicia anchor fattorse/ pamphylio lycio et carpathio et la bocca/ mysia et proponti dallo occaso excorse/ Hellesponto ove ha il turco doppia roccha/ myrtoo icario egeo decti dal caso/ alla seconda che sarmatia toccha."

28. Louis Thuasne, *Djem Sultan, fils de Mohammed II, frère de Bayezid II* (Paris: E. Leroux, 1892), includes a discussion of the fictional devices invented for Cem during his stays in Savoy and Rome: 90–91.

29. Mark P. McDonald, *The Print Collection of Ferdinand Columbus 1488–1539* (London: British Museum Press, 2004), vol. 2, 466. The engagement at Cape Zonchio is also sometimes called the first Battle of Lepanto.

30. See Nicolas Vatin, *Sultan Djem: un prince ottoman dans l'Europe du Xv siècle d'après deux sources contemporaines* (Ankara: Société Turque d'Historire, 1997), 200.

31. Franz Babinger, "Lorenzo de' Medici e la corte ottomana," *Archivio storico italiano* 121 (1963): 347.

32. On the meanings of the lion for Florentines see Geraldine A. Johnson, "The Lion on the Piazza: Politics and Public Statuary in Central Florence," in *Secular Sculpture 1300–1550*, eds. Thomas Frangenberg and Phillip Lindley (Donington: Shaun Tyas, 2000), 54–71; and Adrian Randolph, *Engaging Symbols: Gender, Politics, and Public Art in Fifteenth-Century Florence* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2002), 23–24.

33. It may also be worth noting that a lost composition by the Florentine painter Piero di Cosimo from around this same moment depicted a battle of lions and dragons: see David Geronimus, *Piero di Cosimo: Visions Beautiful and Strange* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2006), 317, note 30.

34. See Norah M. Titley, *Dragons in Persian, Mughal, and Turkish Art* (London: British Library, 1981).

35. Michael Meinecke, "Islamische Drachentüren-Zu Einer Neuer werbung des Museums für Islamische Kunst," *Museums Journal* 3 (1989): 54–58.

36. Marsilio Ficino, *The Letters of Marsilio Ficino* (London: Shephard-Walwyn, 1994), vol. 5, 4.

37. Iain Fenlon, *The Ceremonial City: History, Memory and Myth in Renaissance Venice* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2007), 258–260.

38. Hankins, "Renaissance Crusaders: Humanist Crusade Literature in the Age of Mehmed II," 139.

39. Angelo Pezzana, *Storia della Città di Parma* (Parma, 1852), vol. 4, 251–3, appendix 18.

40. On such chapbooks and pamphlets see Fenlon, *Ceremonial City*, 258–264.

41. For the variety of responses to the Ottoman landing in Italy see Cosimo Damiano Fonseca ed., *Otranto, 1480* (Galatina: Congedo Editore, 1986), especially Francesco Tateo, “L’ideologia umanistica e il simbolo ‘immane’ di Otranto,” vol. 1, 153–180; and Hubert Houden ed., *La conquista turca di Otranto (1480) tra storia e mito* Atti del convegno internazionale di studio Otranto-Muro Leccese, 28–31 marzo 2007 (Galatina: Congedo, 2008), esp. Mario Spedicato, “Il riscatto della Cristianità offesa. Il culto dei martiri d’Otranto prima e dopo Lepanto,” vol. 2, 115–140.

42. On Lorenzo’s attitudes toward the Ottomans see James Hankins, “Lorenzo de’ Medici as a Patron of Philosophy,” *Rinascimento* 34 (1994): 30–31. On Florence’s attachment to crusade see Agnoletti and Mantelli eds., *I Fiorentini alle crociate*.

43. On anxiety and the Ottomans see Daniel Vitkus, *Turning Turk: English Theater and the Multicultural Mediterranean* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2003), esp. 107–162.

44. Michael Winter, *Egyptian Society Under Ottoman Rule: 1517–1798* (New York: Routledge, 1992), 28–47.

45. Shai Har-El, *Struggle for Domination in the Middle East: The Ottoman Mamluk War, 1485–91* (Leiden: Brill, 1995), 10–12.

46. Hankins, “Renaissance Crusaders: Humanist Crusade Literature in the Age of Mehmed II,” 122. A notable exception to this general historiographic trend is the excellent work of Robert Schwoebel. See especially “Coexistence, Conversion, and the Crusade against the Turks,” *Studies in the Renaissance* 12 (1965): 164–87 and *The Shadow of the Crescent*, 57–81.

47. Paul Kristeller, in fact, suggested that such rhetoric (along with that of another oft ignored category, the sermon) be taken more seriously in his “Lay Religious Traditions and Florentine Platonism,” reprinted in *Studies in Renaissance Thought and Letters* (Rome: Edizioni di storia e letteratura, 1956), 99–122.

48. Ronald Weissman, *Ritual Brotherhood in Renaissance Florence* (New York: Academic Press, 1982); John Henderson, “Penitence and the Laity in Fifteenth-Century Florence,” in Timothy Verdon and John Henderson eds., *Christianity and the Renaissance* (Syracuse: Syracuse University Press, 1990), 229–249.

49. Weissman, *Ritual Brotherhood*, 100; and Henderson, “Penitence and the Laity in Fifteenth-Century Florence,” 230–231. Meserve, however, has cautioned that scholars should not overemphasize such rhetorical hostility since humanists were spurred to hyperbole by the competitive and persuasive aims of these exercises: *Empires of Islam*, 67.

50. Colluci’s *Declamations* survive in one complete manuscript (Laurenziana 54.9. Membr. sec. XV ff. 1–50) and two partial examples (Magliabechiana VII 1095 Cart. Misc. Sec. XV ff. 121v–125v and Vatican Urb. Lat. 1258 Membr. Sec. XV ff. 1–7). These orations are reprinted in Arsenio Frugoni, *Scritti inediti di Benedetto Colucci da Pistoia* (Florence: Nuova collezione di testi umanistici inediti, 1939).

51. “Vellem equidem, inquit Marsilius achademicorum princeps, interfuisset noster Franciscus Berlingherius natu maior, qui proconsulatum gerit, ut quanta sit spes in hoc adolescente agnato suo perspiceret”: Frugoni, *Scritti inediti*, 39.

52. *Ibid.*, 40–41.

53. On the occasions for the printing of crusade orations see Alison Brown ed., *Bartolomeo Scala: Humanistic and Political Writings* (Tempe: Renaissance Society of America, 1997).

54. Analysis of Renaissance dialogues, for example Landino’s *Disputationes Camaldulenses*, have demonstrated frequent (though by no means consistent) discrepancies between the attitudes of scholars and those attributed to their literary simulacra in this format. See Eugene M. Waith, “Landino and Maximus of Tyre,” *Renaissance News* 13 (1960): 289–294; and Anthony Grafton, *Commerce with the Classics: Ancient Books and Renaissance Readers* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1997), 85–88.

55. In the form of letters, Ficino offered advice to Berlinghieri both on his election to the office of Gonfaloniere della Compagnia and in an attempt to help chose a suitable husband for Berlinghieri’s daughter: *The Letters of Marsilio Ficino*, vol. 5, 50 and 61–62. In addition to providing his *Apologus* on the *Geographia* to Federico, Ficino also wrote to Lorenzo, apparently attempting to secure an ecclesiastical benefice for his friend: ASF, MAP, filza xix, 19, 303, 1477.

56. Paul Oskar Kristeller, *Marsilio Ficino and his Work after Five Hundred Years* (Florence: Olschki, 1987), 8.

57. On *De Christiana Religione* see Jörg Lauster, “Marsilio Ficino as a Christian Thinker: Theological Aspects of his Platonism,” in Michael J. B. Allen and Valery Rees eds., *Marsilio Ficino: his Philosophy, his Legacy* (Leiden: Brill, 2002), 45–70.

58. Gentile Sebastiano et al. ed., *Marsilio Ficino e il ritorno di Platone* (Florence: Le Lettere, 1984), 78–79, cat no. 60; and Kristeller, *Marsilio Ficino and his Work after Five Hundred Years*, 8–10. The manuscript in question, written by Bartolomeo Fonzio, is now Florence, Biblioteca Riccardiana 673 (M.I.25).

59. On Renaissance “translations” of the Qur’an see Angelo Michele Piemontese, “Il Corano latino dei Ficino e i corani arabi di Pico e Monchates,” *Rinascimento* 36 (1996): 227–273; and Thomas E. Bruman, *Reading the Qur’an in Latin Christendom, 1140–1560* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2007). See also José Martínez Gázquez, and Andrew Gray, “Translations of the Qur’an and Other Islamic Texts before Dante,”; and Thomas E. Burman, “How an Italian Friar Read his Arabic Qur’an,” both in *Dante Studies* 125 (2007): 79–92 and 93–109.

60. See Pier Mattia Tommasino, “Giovanni Battista Castrodardo bellunese traduttore dell’Alcorano di Macometto,” *Oriente Moderno* 88 (2008): 15–40.

61. *The Letters of Marsilio Ficino* (London: Shephard-Walwyn, 1975), vol. 1, 193. *De Christiana Religione* was also printed by Niccolò Tedesco and it was perhaps from his familiarity with this project that Berlinghieri sought out Niccolò’s services in printing the *Geographia*.

62. Housley, introduction to *Crusading in the Fifteenth Century*, 9–12.

63. *The Letters of Marsilio Ficino*, vol. 5, 4; and Marsilio Ficino, *Opera Omnia* (Basel, 1576, repr. Turin: 1959), vol. 1, 721–722, 808–810. On Ficino's anti-Ottoman orations see also Robert H. Schwoebel, "Coexistence, Conversion, and the Crusade Against the Turks," *Studies in the Renaissance* 12 (1965): 164–165.

64. *The Letters of Marsilio Ficino*, vol. 5, 18; Ficino, *Opera Omnia*, vol. 1, 808–810.

65. Mario Emilio Cosenza, *Biographical and Bibliographical Dictionary of the Italian Humanists and of the World of Classical Scholarship in Italy 1300–1800* (Boston: G. K. Hall, 1962), 294; Antoine Touron, *Histoire des hommes illustres de l'Ordre de Saint Dominique* (Paris, 1746); and James Quétif and Jacques Échard, *Scriptores ordinis praedicatorum* (Paris, 1719).

66. Margaret Meserve, "From Samarkand to Scythia: Reinventions of Asia in Renaissance Geography and Political Thought," 13–40.

67. George Cary, "Alexander the Great in Medieval Theology," *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* 17 (1954): 98–114; and Richard Stoneman, *Alexander the Great: A Life in Legend* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2009).

68. Francesco Sansovino, *Delle orationi volgarmente scritti da diversi uomini illustri . . .* (Venice, 1584), ff. 207v–212r.

69. *Ibid.*, f. 209r "e fini in Sardanapalo, il quale non uomo, ma piuttosto mostro" and "l'osservazione della Giustizia accrescimento di Dominio, ne fanno pienissima fede tante magne regioni di tutta l'Asia da loro amministrate."

70. Arthur Field, *The Origins of the Platonic Academy of Florence* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1988), 198–200; and see esp. James Hankins ed., *Renaissance Civic Humanism: Reappraisals and Reflections* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000), 1–13.

71. Guillaume Caoursin, *Obsidionis Rhodie Urbis Descriptio* (Ulm, 1496), San Marino CA, Huntington Library, Rare Books, 85985, f. 3r. The comparison with Nero echoes Pius II's earlier comparison of Mehmet with Caligula at the time of the conquest of Constantinople: see Ebru Boyar and Kate Fleet, *A Social History of Ottoman Istanbul* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010), 6.

72. Caoursin, *Obsidionis Rhodie Urbis Descriptio*, ff. 4r–4v.

73. Bisaha has catalogued a wide variety of such uses of "Trojan" for Ottoman: *Creating East and West*, 43–93.

74. See Bisaha, "Pius II's Letter to Sultan Mehmed II: A Re-examination," *Crusades* 1 (2003): 183–195.

75. See especially James G. Harper, "Turks as Trojans, Trojans as Turks: Visual Imagery of the Trojan War and the Politics of Cultural Identity in Fifteenth-Century Europe," in D. Williams and A. Kabir eds., *Translating Cultures: Postcolonial Approaches to the Middle Ages* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005), 160–175.



76. While a conception of the Ottomans that grounds their identity in violence might seem, at first glance, to suggest Orientalizing tendencies on the part of Renaissance humanists it must be recognized that the notion of an organized and violent threat on the part of the Ottoman Empire existed not as a “style of dominating” but rather as a defensive and rhetorical posture for organizing Christendom against this perceived threat. In fact, Said regards the *decline* of what he calls a “barbarians at the gates mentality” as a constituent element of institutionalized modern Orientalism in that it allows for a generalized perception of the Orient as weak and malleable: Edward W. Said, *Orientalism* (New York: Pantheon Books, 1978), 120.

77. Kristovolous, *History of Mehmed*, 60–61; and Julian Raby, “East and West in Mehmed the Conqueror’s Library,” *Bulletin du bibliophile* 3 (1987): 309.

78. Hankins, “Renaissance Crusaders: Humanist Crusade Literature in the Age of Mehmed II,” 143: “Other humanist philoturks, such as Francesco Berlinghieri, compared the Ottomans to Alexander, Caesar, and Pompey. . . .”

79. See Berlinghieri, *Geographia*, 5.4–5.10.

80. *Ibid.*, 3.20.

81. J. B. Harley, “Silences and Secrecy: The Hidden Agenda of Cartography in Early Modern Europe,” *Imago Mundi* 40 (1988): 57–76.

82. See Franz Babinger, “Lorenzo de’ Medici e la corte ottomana,” *Archivio Storico Italiano* 121 (1963): 305–61, appendix A.

83. Franz Babinger, “Maometto II, il Conquistatore, e l’Italia,” *Rivista storica italiana* 4 (1951): 469–505.

84. Kristovolous, *History of Mehmed the Conqueror*, trans. Charles T. Riggs (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1954), 144.

85. Julian Raby, “Mehmed the Conqueror’s Greek Scriptorium,” *Dumbarton Oaks Papers*, 37 (1983): 15–17; and Anthony F. D’Elia, *A Sudden Terror: The Plot to Murder the Pope in Renaissance Rome* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2009), 126.

86. On Bayezid’s supposed lack of engagement with Western scholarship see Babinger, *Mehmed II*, 506–508.

87. Vatin, *Sultan Djem*, 199–201; and Thuasne, *Djem Sultan*, 30–32.

88. S. M. Stern ed., *Documents from Islamic Chanceries* (Oxford: Bruno Cassier, 1965), vol. 3, 81–119.

89. Vatin, *Sultan Djem*, 25–47.

90. See Evelyn Edson, *Mapping Time and Space: How Medieval Mapmakers Viewed Their World* (London: British Library, 1997), 74–75.

91. See recently Mustafa Soykut, *The Image of the Turk in Italy: a history of the “other” in early modern Europe* (Berlin: K. Schwarz, 2001); Bisaha, *Creating East and West*; and Meserve, *Empires of Islam*, 111–120.

92. Discussing the *Divine Comedy* Said writes that “Eternity is a great leveler of distinctions, it is true, but the special anachronisms and anomalies of putting

pre-Christian luminaries in the same category of heathen damnation with post-Christian Muslims does not trouble Dante”: *Orientalism*, 68.

93. On Florentine attitudes towards the Byzantine Empire in the fifteenth century see Paul Hetherington, “Vecchi, e Non Antichi: Differing Responses to Byzantine Culture in Fifteenth-Century Tuscany,” *Rinascimento* 32 (1992): 203–11; and Robert S. Nelson, “The Italian Appreciation and Appropriation of Illuminated Byzantine Manuscripts, ca. 1200–1450,” *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 49 (1995): 209–235.

94. Berlinghieri, *Geographia*, 3.26: “In antica hora Athene vedere ama/ patria a tanti philosophi & a tanti/ poeti chiara & di celeste fama/ Patria di tanti duci & si prestanti/ patria di tanti studi & tanti regii/ patria di tanti ogni suo ben zelanti/ Patria di tanti cictadini egregii/ che la tua liberta ti conservaro. . . .”

95. See here Chapter 3.

96. Caoursin, *Obsidionis Rhodie Urbis Descriptio*, 20v. On Caoursin’s book see Vatin, *Sultan Djem*, 89–105.

97. Paris, BnF, MS Latin 6067. On the manuscript see Vatin, *Djem Sultan*, 257–259.

98. An edition was printed in London in 1926 with an introduction by E. J. King and translated into English by then poet-laureate John Kay.

99. See the facsimile edition of Rylands Library, Manchester, 3493, Inc 23 E.14: *Gulielmus Caorsin, The Siege of Rhodes, 1482* (Amsterdam: Theatrum Orbis Terrarum, 1970).

100. On this edition of the *Geography* see R. A. Skelton introduction to *Cosmographia: Ulm, 1482* (Amsterdam: Theatrum Orbis Terrarum, 1964).

101. An illustrated German edition appeared, for example, in Strassburg in 1513.

102. On visual stereotype see Eric R. Dursteler, *Venetians in Constantinople* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2006), 10–15; Marina Formica, “Giochi di specchi. Dinamiche identitarie e rappresentazioni del Turco nella cultura italiana del Cinquecento,” *Rivista Storica Italiana* 120 (2008): 5–53; and James Harper ed., *The Image of the Turk and Islam in the Western Eye: 1450–1750* (Burlington: Ashgate, 2011).

103. Caoursin, *Obsidionis Rhodie Urbis Descriptio*, f. 16v.

104. On these images see Eric Zafran, “The Iconography of Antisemitism: A Study of the Representations of the Jews in the Visual Arts of Europe: 1400–1600,” (Ph. D. diss., New York University, 1973); R. Po-Chia Hsia *Trent 1475: Stories of a Ritual Murder Trial* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1992); Ruth Melinkoff, *Outcasts: Signs of Otherness in Northern European Art of the Late Middle Ages*, 2 vols. (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1993); and Dana Katz, *The Jew in the Art of the Italian Renaissance* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2008).

105. Caoursin, *Obsidionis Rhodie Urbis Descriptio*, f. 26v: “Zyzymy prostratus ante pseudo prophetam Mahumetem apud la mecham.”

106. Ibid., f. 16v and f. 17r.
107. Ibid., f. 3v; and Vatin, *Djem Sultan*, 257–258.
108. See Klaus Kreiser ed., *The Beginnings of Printing in the Near and Middle East: Jews, Christians and Muslim* (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 2001).
109. On the relationship between Ottoman society and printing see Jonathan Bloom, *Paper Before Print* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2001). For Turkish language printing within the Ottoman world see Christoph K. Neumann, “Book and Newspaper Printing in Turkish, 18th–20th century,” in Eva Hanebutt-Benz ed., *Middle Eastern Languages and the Print Revolution: A Cross-Cultural Encounter* exh. cat. Mainz, Gutenberg Museum, 2002 (Westhofen: Skulima, 2002).
110. Natalie Zemon Davis, *Trickster Travels: A Sixteenth-Century Muslim Between Worlds* (New York: Hill and Wang), 123.
111. On printing in the Islamic world see Muhsin Mahdi, “From the Manuscript Age to the Age of Printed Book,” in George N. Atiyeh ed., *The Book in the Islamic World* (Albany: SUNY Press, 1995), 1–16; Bloom, *Paper Before Print*, 91–122; and Emily Zoss, “An Ottoman View of the World: The *Kitab Cihannüma* and its Cartographic Contexts,” in Christiane Gruber ed., *the Islamic Manuscript Tradition: Ten Centuries of Book Arts in Indiana University Collections* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2010), 194–219.
112. Oleg Grabar, *The Formation of Islamic Art* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1972 repr. 1987), 75–88; Eva Baer, “The Human Figure in Early Islamic Art: Some Preliminary Remarks,” *Muqarnas* 16 (1999): 32–41; Finbarr B. Flood, *Objects of Translation: Material Culture and Medieval “Hindu-Muslim” Encounter* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2009); and Christiane Gruber ed., *Re-Imagining the Figurative in Islamic Art* (forthcoming).
113. David Freedberg, *The Power of Images: Studies in the History and Theory of Response* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1989), 54.
114. Benjamin Ravid, “The Prohibition against Jewish Printing and Publishing in Venice and the Difficulties of Leone Modena,” in *Studies in Medieval Jewish History and Literature*, ed. Isadore Twersky (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1979), 135–53; David B. Ruderman, *Jewish Thought and Scientific Discovery in Early Modern Europe* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1995); and Paul Grendler, “The Destruction of Hebrew Books in Venice, 1568,” *Proceedings of the American Academy for Jewish Research* 45 (1978): 103–130.
115. See Moshe N. Rosenfeld, “The Development of Hebrew Printing in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries,” in Leonard Singer Gold ed., *A Sign and a Witness: 2,000 Years of Hebrew Books and Illuminated Manuscripts* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1988), 92–100.
116. On the reception of printing in the Ottoman world see Bloom, *Paper Before Print*, 214–217.

117. See, for example, David Landau, "Printmaking in the Age of Lorenzo," in Elizabeth Cropper ed., *Florentine Drawing at the Time of Lorenzo the Magnificent* (Bologna: Nuova Alfa Editoriale, 1994), 175–81.

118. See Hind, "Fifteenth-century Italian Engravings at Constantinople," *Print Collector's Quarterly* 20 (1933): 279–96; and Landau and Parshall, *The Renaissance Print* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1994), 94–95. Mehmed's print collecting has also been discussed in Julian Raby, "Mehmed II Fatih and the Fatih Album," *Islamic Art* 1 (1981): 44–49.

119. Howard F. Collins, "Gentile Bellini: A Monograph and Catalogue of Works," (Ph. D. diss., University of Pittsburgh, 1970), 21–23. On Mehmed's drawings see Raby, "Mehmed II Fatih and the Fatih Album," 42–4.

120. Quoted by Babinger, "Lorenzo de' Medici e la corte ottomana," 319. On this embassy see also Julian Raby, "A Sultan of Paradox: Mehmed the Conqueror as a patron of the arts," *The Oxford Art Journal* 5 (1982): 3–8.

121. Letter to Bayezid: Babinger, "Lorenzo de' Medici e la corte ottomana," Appendix A.

122. See Gülru Necipoğlu, "Suleyman the Magnificent and the Representation of Power in the Context of Ottoman-Hapsburg-Papal Rivalry," *Art Bulletin* 71 (1989): 401–427. For the sixteenth-century Ottoman interest in printed maps see Benjamin Arbel, "Maps of the World for Ottoman Princes? Further Evidence and Questions Concerning the 'Mappamondo' of Hajji Ahmed," *Imago Mundi* 54 (2002): 19–29.

123. See Peter Parshall, "Imago Contrafacta: Images and Facts in the Northern Renaissance," *Art History* 16 (1993), 554–579.

124. David Woodward, *Maps as Prints in the Italian Renaissance* (London: British Library, 1996), 27.

125. Susan Dackerman, *Painted Prints: The Revelation of Color*, exh. cat. Baltimore, Baltimore Museum of Art (University Park, PA: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2002), 3.

126. R. A. Skelton introduction to *Claudius Ptolemy Cosmographia: Bologna 1477* (Amsterdam: Theatrum Orbis Terrarum, 1963), vii.

127. *Ibid.*, viii.

128. Brotton, *Trading Territories*, 94–95.

129. Francesca Fiorani, *The Marvel of Maps* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2005), 99.

130. Louis Thuasne, *Gentile Bellini et Sultan Mohammed II* (Paris: E. Leroux, 1888); Émile Cammaerts, *Les Bellini, étude critique* (Paris: H. Laurens, 1912), 119–130; Campbell and Chong eds., *Bellini and the East*, 1–14; and Elizabeth Rodini, "The Sultan's True Face: Gentile Bellini, Mehmet II, and the Values of Verisimilitude," in Harper ed., *The Image of the Turk and Islam*, 21–40.

131. Jerry Brotton, *The Renaissance Bazaar* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005), 25.

132. Guillaume Caoursin, *Obsidionis Rhodie Urbis Descriptio*, San Marino CA, Huntington Library, Rare Books, 85985, f. 16v.

133. Vatin, *Djem Sultan*, 26–28.

134. Babinger notes that “sembra comunque molto più rimarchevole la speranza o convizione che Giem-Sultan un giorno avrebbe potuto esser il successore al regno . . .”: “Lorenzo de’ Medici e la corte Ottomana,” 348.

135. “chosi chome al tuo fratello per amore della felice memorie della Sultan meemet di vostro padre.”

136. Brotton, *The Renaissance Bazaar*, 1.

137. Fernand Braudel, *The Mediterranean and the Mediterranean World in the Age of Phillip II*, trans., Sian Reynolds (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1995), vol. 1, 79–80. While Braudel’s study was first published in 1949, the English edition of the text is based on his second French edition of 1966.

138. On such interactions see also Braudel, *The Structures of Everyday Life: The Limits of the Possible*, vol. 1, “Civilization and Capitalism,” (New York: Harper Collins, 1981), 45–50.

139. James Harper has characterized Brotton’s work as arising from a “global village” model of the Mediterranean first espoused by Braudel. Despite Braudel’s formative vision of the Mediterranean as a salient object of analysis, this judgment seems to represent an oversimplification. For Braudel the unity of Mediterranean physical geography was not necessarily predictive of cooperation or tolerance: “Introduction,” in *The Image of the Turk and Islam in the Western Eye: 1450–1750*, 6.

140. Suraiya Faruqi, *The Ottoman Empire and the World Around It* (New York: Tauris, 2004), 211. Likewise the compendious recent works of Horden and Purcell and Abulafia demonstrate the ways in which scholars are capable of reaching quite different conclusions despite the inevitable fact that the Mediterranean had meaning and continues to hold meaning for us as an object of historical study: Peregrine Horden and Nicholas Purcell, *The Corrupting Sea: A Study of Mediterranean History* (Oxford: Blackwell, 2000); and David Abulafia, *The Great Sea: A Human History of the Mediterranean* (London: Allen Lane, 2011).

141. In addition to works cited below see Francesca Trivellato, “Renaissance Italy and the Muslim Mediterranean in Recent Historical Work,” *Journal of Modern History* 82 (2010): 127–155.

142. Brotton, *The Renaissance Bazaar*, 2–9. See most recently, Deborah Howard, “Venice, the Bazaar of Europe,” in Campbell and Chong eds., *Bellini and the East*, 12–35. For Mack, *Bazaar to Piazza, 179*: trade is seen as “establishing a historical precedent for cultural coexistence and mutual enrichment.” See also Gerald M. MacLean ed., *Re-Orienting the Renaissance* (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2005) and Carboni, *Venice and the Islamic World*.

143. For the Marxist legacy of this idea see especially Arnold Hauser, *Social History of Art* (New York: Knopf, 1951), vol. 2, 9: “The new artistic culture first appears

on the scene in Italy, because this country also has a lead over the West in economic and social matters, because the revival of economic life starts here, the financial and transport facilities of the crusades are organized here, free competition first develops here. . . .” Hauser also identifies “rationalism” as the “dominant feature of profit economy from the very outset”: 19. A rather different analysis of these conditions is Jere Cohen, “Rational Capitalism in Renaissance Italy,” *The American Journal of Sociology* 85 (1980): 1340–55. Cohen’s work responds to Max Weber, *The Protestant Ethic and the Spirit of Capitalism*, trans. Talcott Parsons (New York: Scribner, 1958). See also R. J. Holton, “Max Weber, ‘Rational Capitalism,’ and Renaissance Italy: A Critique of Cohen,” *The American Journal of Sociology* 89 (1983): 166–180. The relationship between early modernity, reformation, and consumer society has been recently reexamined by Brad Gregory, *The Unintended Reformation* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2012), 235–297.

144. See for example Marta Ajmar-Wollheim and Flora Dennis eds., *At Home in Renaissance Italy*, exh. cat. London, Victoria and Albert Museum, 2006 (London: Victoria and Albert Museum, 2006). Such works are hardly the only outcome of shifts toward a history and theory of material culture. Productive studies, including Daniel Miller’s *The Comfort of Things* (Cambridge: Polity, 2008), have called attention precisely to the exaggerated affinity of material and consumer histories.

145. Rosamond Mack has argued that trade “softened a clash of civilizations, establishing a historical precedent for cultural coexistence and mutual enrichment”: *Bazaar to Piazza*, 171; Lisa Jardine, *Worldly Goods* (New York: MacMillan, 1996), 9–10.

146. Barrington Moore Jr., “Ethnic and Religious Hostilities in Early Modern Port Cities,” *International Journal of Politics, Culture and Society* 14 (2001): 687–727. Hauser, in contrast identified the economic expansion of Italy with the financing and staging of crusade: *Social History of Art*, 9 and 17.

147. See Bernard Lewis, *The Muslim Discovery of Europe* (New York: Norton, 1982 rep. 2001), 17–50.

148. Mack, *Bazaar to Piazza*, 179. Masao Miyoshi has convincingly argued that while transnational, global capitalism can have a corrosive effect on traditional political and economic boundaries, its ideological implications are unpredictable and even more susceptible to the unchecked exercise of colonial power than the nation-state system it is rapidly supplanting: “A Borderless World? From Colonialism to Transnationalism and the Decline of the Nation State,” *Critical Inquiry* 21 (1993): 726–751.

149. Indeed where contact spurred such rough tolerance it often fell rapidly under the policing rubric of foreign corruption in Mediterranean societies: Horden and Purcell, *The Corrupting Sea*, esp. 278–279.

150. See Brotton and Jardine, *Global Interests* (London: Reaktion, 2000), 63–131. Mack’s interest in the reception of Islamic arts and luxury goods by European elites problematizes her focus on commercial trade as an avenue of understanding. See Beverly Louise Brown’s review of *Bazaar to Piazza: Burlington Magazine* 144 (2002): 296–297.

151. Stephen Campbell, *Cosmè Tura of Ferrara: Style, Politics and the Renaissance City* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1997), 99–113 and Katz, *The Jew in the Art of the Italian Renaissance*, 1–15 and 69–98.

152. See Barbara Furlotti and Guido Rebecchini eds., *The Art of Mantua: Power and Patronage in the Renaissance* (Los Angeles: Getty Museum, 2008).

153. For the production of myths of capitalism's hegemony and unity see Fredrick Jameson, *Postmodernism or, the Cultural Logic of Late Capitalism* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 1990) esp. xviii–xxi.

154. Among these was Benedetto Collucci da Pistoia's *Declamationes*, dedicated to Giuliano de' Medici: Arsenio Frugoni ed., *Scritti inediti di Benedetto Collucci da Pistoia* (Florence: Nuova collezioni di testi umanistici inediti, 1939), 2.

155. Natalie Zemon Davis, "Beyond the Market: Books as Gifts in Sixteenth-Century France," *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society* 33 (1983): 87.

156. The focus on consumerism also has the effect of reifying a monolithic sense of capitalism. For salient critiques see Jacques Delacroix and Francois Nielsen, "The Beloved Myth: Protestantism and the Rise of Industrial Capitalism in Nineteenth-Century Europe," *Social Forces* 80 (2001): 509–553. For an analysis of capitalism as fragmentary, partial, and mythic even in its twenty-first century manifestations see Karen Ho, "Situating Global Capitalisms: A View from Wall Street Investment Banks," *Cultural Anthropology* 20 (2005): 68–96.

157. Jean Cadogan, *Domenico Ghirlandaio: Artist and Artisan* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2000), 169–170 and see Paul D. McLean and John F. Padgett, "Was Florence a Perfectly Competitive Market? Transactional Evidence from the Renaissance," *Theory and Society* 26 (1997): 209–244.

158. Richard Goldthwaite, *The Building of Renaissance Florence* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1981), 405 and see his *The Economy of Renaissance Florence*, 2 vols. (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2009), esp. 175–193.

159. Lillian Armstrong, "The Hand-Illumination of Printed Books in Italy: 1465–1515," in J. J. G. Alexander ed., *The Painted Page: Italian Renaissance Book Illumination 1450–1550*, exh. cat. London, Royal Academy of Arts (Munich and New York: Prestel, 1994), 36–40.

160. See Evelyn Lincoln, *The Invention of the Italian Renaissance Printmaker* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2000); and Lisa Pon, *Raphael, Dürer, and Marcantonio Raimondi: Copying and the Italian Renaissance Print* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2004).

161. See Jane Martineau ed., *Andrea Mantegna*, exh. cat. London, Royal Academy of Arts and New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1992 (London: Royal Academy of Arts, 1992), 219–220.

162. David Landau and Peter Parshall, *The Renaissance Print* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1997), 121–122.

163. On the ability of books to function within "gift economies" see Natalie Zemon Davis, "Printing and the People," in *Society and Culture in Early Modern*



*France* (Palo Alto: Stanford University Press, 1975); “Beyond the Market: Books as Gifts in Sixteenth-Century France,” 69–88; and *The Gift in Sixteenth-Century France* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000), 76–78.

164. See especially Miller, *The Comfort of Things*.

165. Evelyn Welch, *Shopping in the Renaissance* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2005).

166. Pierre Bourdieu, *The Field of Cultural Production* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1993), 40–42.

167. This insistence on the fixity of value within economies designated as capitalist and proto-capitalist has been equally attractive to proponents of the progressive effects of capitalism on early modern material culture and to their Marxist critics. Few works have done as much to entrench the notion of a capitalist Renaissance as the second volume of Hauser’s explicitly Marxist *Social History of Art* (New York: Knopf, 1951).

168. The most complete study of contracts for Italian printed books remains M. A. Rouse and R. H. Rouse, *Cartolai, Illuminators, and Printers in Fifteenth-Century Italy: The Evidence of the Ripoli Press* (Los Angeles and Berkeley: University of California Press, 1989).

169. Michael Baxandall, *Painting and Experience in Renaissance Italy* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1972), 89–92.

170. Peter Stallybrass and Ann Rosalind Jones, “Fetishizing the Glove in Renaissance Europe,” *Critical Inquiry* 28 (2001): 114 and see their *Renaissance Clothing and the Materials of Memory* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000).

171. Bourdieu, *The Field of Cultural Production*, 12–15.

172. On the need to retain a sense of the material and economic value of objects within larger economies and networks of gift exchange see Fred R. Myers, *The Empire of Things: Regimes of Value and Material Culture* (Santa Fe: School of American Research Press, 2001), 5–14 and Davis, *The Gift in Sixteenth-Century France*. On the gifting of visual art see Alexander Nagel, “Gifts for Michelangelo and Vittoria Colonna,” *Art Bulletin* 79 (1997): 647–668 and *Michelangelo and the Reform of Art* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000), 169–178.

173. Marcel Mauss, *The Gift: Forms and Functions of Exchange in Archaic Societies*, trans. Ian Cunnison (London: Cohen and West, 1954), 3.

174. An excellent survey of the anthropological literature appears in Maurice Godelier, *The Enigma of the Gift*, trans. Nora Scott (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1999), 1–18. On the place of gifts in network formation see Aafke E. Komter, *Social Solidarity and the Gift* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005), esp. 7–28.

175. See Bronwen Wilson and Paul Yachnin eds., *Making Publics in Early Modern Europe* (New York: Routledge, 2011).

176. Mauss, *The Gift*, 9–11.

177. Alfred Gell, *Art and Agency: An Anthropological Theory* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1998), 12–26; and see Robin Osborne and Jeremy Tanner, *Art's Agency and Art History* (London: Blackwell, 2007).

178. Gell, *Art and Agency*, 96–105. Cecily Hillsdale has shown how Byzantine illuminated manuscripts performed this substitutive function for authors, donors and recipients: “Constructing a Byzantine Augusta: A Greek Book for a French Bride,” *Art Bulletin* 87 (2005): 458–483.

179. Franz Babinger, “Lorenzo de’ Medici,” 344–45. See also Babinger, *Spätmittelalterliche fränkische Briefschaften aus dem großherrlichen Seraj zu Stambul: Südos- teuropäische Arbeiten* (Munich: R. Oldenbourg, 1963), 1–53; and Laura De Angelis, “Lorenzo a Napoli: progetti di pace e conflitti politici dopo la congiura dei Pazzi,” *Archivio storico italiano* 150 (1992): 385–421. Florentine merchant Luca Landucci refers to the arrival of the Ottomans as a miracle in his diary entry of August 6, 1480: Antonio Lanza ed., *Diario fiorentino dal 1450–1516* (Florence: G. C. Sansoni, 1985), 36. Such accounts of Florentine pragmatism echo tales of the city’s political indifference to the fall of Constantinople decades earlier; e.g. Poggio Bracciolini’s account of Cosimo de’ Medici’s conversation with Matteo Palmieri in *On the Misery of the Human Condition*.

180. On the war in the aftermath of the Pazzi conspiracy see Harold Acton, *The Pazzi Conspiracy: The Plot Against the Medici* (London: Thames and Hudson, 1979), 98–111 and Lauro Martines, *April Blood: Florence and the Plot Against the Medici* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2003), 87–91.

181. Hankins, “Renaissance Crusaders,” 124–125.

182. ASF, MAP filza LXXXIX, 314, letter 376, 17 febbraio, 1479.

183. Babinger, “Lorenzo de’ Medici e la corte Ottomana,” 339–350; Vatin, *Sultan Djem*, 250; and John Freely, *Jem Sultan* (New York: Harper Collins, 2004), 107 and 120.

184. Tammaro De Marinis, *La Biblioteca Napoletano dei Re D’Aragona* (Milan, Hoepli, 1967), vol. 1, 41–42.

185. Acton, *The Pazzi Conspiracy*, 73–4; and Martines, *April Blood*, 90–92.

186. Acton, *The Pazzi Conspiracy*, 75. On Leonardo’s drawing see Samuel Y. Edgerton Jr., *Pictures and Punishment: Art and Criminal Prosecution during the Florentine Renaissance* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1985), 106–107. Edgerton’s assertion that Lorenzo wanted Baroncelli clothed as “a Pagan Turk” in order to add “further humiliation” seems unlikely, particularly given the public acknowledgment both Botticelli and the Signoria were simultaneously according Mehmed.

187. The reference to southern Italy was proposed by Emil Jacobs in “Die Mehemed-Medaile des Bertoldo,” *Jahrbuch der Preussischen Kunstsammlungen* 2 (1927): 215–219. Babinger discounted this assertion claiming that “Magna Graeca” refers instead to mainland Greece and the Peloponnesus. A more recent study by Julian Raby, however, affirms Jacobs’ original suggestion: “Pride and Prejudice:

Mehmed the Conqueror and the Italian Portrait Medal,” in J. Graham Pollard ed., *Studies in the History of Art*, vol. 21, *Italian Medals* (Washington, DC: National Gallery of Art, 1987), 171–94.

188. Berlinghieri, *Geographia*, 3.12: “Furon d’hipponio inpria le mura conte/ et nella magna Grecia hor preterisco/ et Oppido & Gieraci & Aspramonte/ Catazano et Meleto & non ardisco/ Abystro referire ancho et Nicastro / et Petilia col muro anticho & prisco.”

189. John Lerner, in his review of Brotton’s *Trading Territories* called into question the possibility of such a dedication: *Renaissance Studies* 12 (1998): 439–443.

190. James Hankins has pointed to the vast number of unsolicited books dedicated and sent to Lorenzo de’ Medici: “Lorenzo de’ Medici as a Patron of Philosophy,” *Rinascimento* 34 (1994): 15–54.

191. R. A. Skelton, *Francesco Berlinghieri: Geographia, Florence 1482* (Amsterdam: Theatrum Orbis Terrarum, 1966), vii.

192. Wilhelm von Bode, *Bertoldo und Lorenzo dei Medici: die Kunstpolitik des Lorenzo il Magnifico im Spiegel der Werke seines Lieblingkünstlers Bertoldo di Giovanni* (Freiburg im Breisgau: Pontos-Verlag, 1925), 18–20; and James David Draper, *Bertoldo di Giovanni, Sculptor of the Medici Household* (Columbia: University of Missouri Press, 1992).

193. See Sean Roberts and Timothy McCall, “Introduction: Revealing Renaissance Secrets,” in Giancarlo Fiorenza, McCall, and Roberts eds., *The Visual Culture of Secrecy in Early Modern Europe* (forthcoming Truman State University Press).

194. Robert Black, *Benedetto Accolti and the Florentine Renaissance* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1985), 224–285.

195. See also Black’s excellent evaluation of literature on the politics of the Florentine chancellors: “The Political Thought of Florentine Chancellors,” *The Historical Journal* 29 (1986): 991–1003.

196. Felix Gilbert, “Venice in the Crisis of the League of Cambrai,” in J. R. Hale ed., *Renaissance Venice* (London: Faber, 1973), 278. Historians of Florentine society have long emphasized the permeability and continuity of familial, sacred, and political experience in the Medieval and Early Modern periods. In his *Public Life in Renaissance Florence* (New York: Academic Press, 1980), Richard Trexler observed what he considered to be one of the greatest impediments to the comprehension of pre-modern culture, namely that “Public and private formal behavior have been the subject of separate discourses . . .”: xxiv.

197. Giorgio Chitollini, “The ‘Private,’ the ‘Public,’ the ‘State,’” *The Journal of Modern History* 67 (1995): 534–561. See also Wilson and Yachnin eds., *Making Publics in Early Modern Europe*.

198. On the operations of the Florentine government in the fifteenth century see Nicolai Rubinstein, *The Government of Florence Under the Medici, 1434–1494* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1966, new edition 1997), 10–15.

199. Assunto Mori, “Un geografo del Rinascimento (Francesco di Niccolò Berlinghieri),” *Archivio storico italiano* 13 (1894): 342. A letter from Ficino congratulates Berlinghieri on his election as Gonfaloniere di Compagnia: *The Letters of Marsilio Ficino*, vol. 5, 50.

200. Berlinghieri, *Geographia*, 4.9: “Vedi Leondapolite pastura/ metropoli Leondo ove marzochol/ chome ad Firenze si nutrica & cura.”

201. *Ibid.*, 5.19: “Betulia onde di maxima virtuel/ era giudetta che uccise olopherne/ Nectalim patria di tubbia e pive.” On Judith as a symbol of the Florentine Republic see Randolph, *Engaging Symbols*, 253–256, 278–285.

202. Berlinghieri, *Geographia*, 5.3: “In Ionia Smyrna quivi pianta/ a smyrna sua moglera in monumento/ theseo el quale di thesallia sammanta/ Tutto di pietra hebbe el suo pavimento/ chome firenze vostra o fabbricata/ fu dalli ephessii infin dal fondamento.” This information on Smyrna’s pavement is taken from Strabo and Berlinghieri decorously skirts the ancient geographer’s criticism that “when they paved the streets they did not give them underground drainage; instead, filth covers the surface, and particularly during rains, when the cast-off filth is discharged upon the streets.” Strabo, *Geography*, 14.1 and 14.38.

203. Berlinghieri, *Geographia*, 3.10: “d’appenin cicta & Tibri & mare & macra/ Vedesi appresso alle sue vaghe rive/ Serrezana cictate onde Nichola/ delli alti ingegni fautor si scrive.”

204. *Ibid.*, 3.10: “Toscana a sommi iddei di nuova sacra/ per la religion che in quella vive.”

205. *Ibid.*, 3.9: “Sancterno in pria Vatreno era chiamato/ che nasce a Firenzuola fiorentina/ a chi firenze ha il muro intorno dato.”

206. *Ibid.*, 3.10: “Di Fiesole si vede la ruina/ dove superato Radagasol/ dall’arte & dalla forza fiorentina” and 3.13: “poi Traina si vide et Tolentino/ cicta di divo Nicholao ornata/ et del capitan vostro qual del sancto/ Zanobi voi d’una chasa honorata.”

207. *Ibid.*, 3.10: “Ecco Grieve et poi Pesa et l’altra valle/ e/ che fa L’elsa et poi vedi Era dove volse a Firenze Pisa le sue spalle:/ Quella che facte havea si magne pruove/ fu dalle vostre forze superata/ et dalle arti di Gino optime et nuove.”

### Conclusion: Resurrection and Necromancy

1. On the long-standing and cross-cultural traditions constructing a binary of material and immaterial see especially Daniel Miller, “Materiality: An Introduction,” in Miller ed. *Materiality* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2005), 2–4.

2. Francesco Berlinghieri, *Geographia*, 1.3.

3. Alison Brown, *The Return of Lucretius to Renaissance Florence* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2010). See also Stephen J. Campbell, “Giorgione’s Tempest, *Studiolo* Culture, and the Renaissance Lucretius,” *Renaissance Quarterly* 56 (2003), 299–332; and Stephen Greenblatt, *The Swerve* (New York: Norton, 2011).

4. See Dennis Geronimus, *Piero di Cosimo: Visions Beautiful and Strange* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2006), 132–134; and Patricia Emison, “The Word Made Naked in Pollaiuolo’s *Battle of the Nudes*,” *Art History* 13 (1990): 261–270.

5. William Shakespeare, *A Midsummer Night’s Dream*, 5.1 12–17.

6. Jean Baudrillard, *The System of Objects*, trans. James Benedict (New York: Verso, 1996).

7. Daniel Miller, *The Comfort of Things* (Cambridge: Polity Press, 2008), 2–7. See also Miller ed., *Materiality*; and Fiona Candlin and Raiford Guins eds., *The Object Reader* (New York: Routledge, 2009).

8. See esp. Bruno Latour, *Reassembling the Social: An Introduction to Actor-Network Theory* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005).

9. Alfred Gell, *Art and Agency: An Anthropological Theory* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1998).

10. Lorraine Daston “Things that Talk,” in Daston ed., *Things That Talk: Objects Lessons from Art and Science* (Boston: Zone, 2004), 12.

11. Miller, *Materiality*, 5–7.

12. Bruce R. Smith, *The Key of Green: Passion and Perception in Renaissance Culture* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2009), 8.

13. See esp. James Elkins, *The Poetics of Perspective* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1994), 46–48.

14. Charles Dempsey, *The Portrayal of Love: Botticelli’s Primavera and Humanist Culture at the Time of Lorenzo the Magnificent* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1997); and Stephen J. Campbell, *The Cabinet of Eros: Renaissance Mythological Painting and the Studiolo of Isabella d’Este* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2004). Anthony Colantuono, likewise has called attention to the ways in which translation and emulation produced new forms under the guise of repetition and transcription: “Dies Alcyoniae: The Invention of Bellini’s Feast of the Gods,” *The Art Bulletin* 73 (1991): 237–256; and *Titian, Colonna, and the Renaissance Science of Procreation* (Burlington: Ashgate, 2010).

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17. Michael W. Cole, “Cellini’s Blood,” *The Art Bulletin* 81 (1999): 221–222 and see his *Cellini and the Principles of Sculpture* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002), 43–78. See also Pamela H. Smith, “Vermillion, Mercury, Blood, and Lizards: Matter and Meaning in Metalworking,” in Ursula Klein and E. C. Spary eds., *Materials and Expertise in Early Modern Europe* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2010), 29–49.

18. On the paradigmatic shift toward the idea of invention see especially James Dougal Fleming ed., *The Invention of Discovery* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2011), 2–3 and 181–187. An emphasis on discovery was perhaps even more troubling in the context of

scholarly evaluations of Ottoman science, cartography and navigation: See Bernard Lewis, *The Muslim Discovery of Europe* (New York: Norton, 1982 repr. 2001); Palmira Brummett, *Ottoman Seapower and Levantine Diplomacy in the Age of Discovery* (Albany: SUNY Press, 1994), 1–12; and Giancarlo Casale, *The Ottoman Age of Exploration* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010), 3–10.

19. John Florio, *A World of Wordes* (London: 1598).

20. Leonard Barkan, “The Classical Undead: Renaissance and Antiquity Face to Face,” *RES: Anthropology and Aesthetics* 34 (1998): 9–19. On Renaissance archaeology and the trope of resurrection see also Marina Belozerskaya, *To Wake the Dead: A Renaissance Merchant and the Birth of Archaeology* (New York: Norton, 2009); and Greenblatt, *The Swerve*, 120.





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