ENCOUNTERS AT SEA

PAPER, OBJECTS AND SENTIMENTS IN MOTION ACROSS THE MEDITERRANEAN

An intellectual journey through the collections of the Riccardiana Library in Florence

Giovanni Tarantino
Giorgio Riello
José María Pérez Fernández

With an afterword by Cátia Antunes
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*Cátia Antunes*
In una giornata di sole l'orbo, visto bastione l'esperto, in una manovra si avviò, e gli avversari lo videro. La nave, nonostante la tempesta, mantenne la rotta. I suoi equipaggiati, con l'abilità del maestro di battaglia, resistettero alla prova del mare.

Delle quattro navi, la prima è la più leggera, con 270 pezzi di cannone, e sicuramente si è evoluta. La seconda è la più robusta, con 350 pezzi, e ha comunque mantenuto la sua posizione di leadership. La terza, con 300 pezzi, ha mostrato una certa mobilità, ma ha avuto dei problemi di manovra. La quarta, con 250 pezzi, ha mantenuto una posizione di controllo, ma ha dovuto affrontare una tempesta improvvisa.

Dipinto e riportato del cabotaggio, non si poter vedere.
Acknowledgements

This volume grew out of an exhibition held at the Riccardiana Library in Florence, 13 February–12 June 2020, which was in turn one of the activities organized as part of COST Action 18140 ‘People in Motion: Entangled Histories of Displacement Across the Mediterranean (1492–1923)’ – or ‘PIMo’ for short. The exhibition complemented the symposium Encounters at Sea: Material and Symbolic Mobility Across the Mediterranean, also organized by PIMo, which enjoyed the efficient support of the administrative staff at the University of Florence: Stefano Franci, Denise Cuccia, Sandra Torre, Dario Abbate and Angela Scurosu. The editors of this volume, who also convened the symposium, thank all those who contributed to the success of both the symposium and exhibition. We owe special thanks to Giorgio Riello (Professor of Early Modern Global History at the European University Institute) who not only acted as our keynote speaker, but also accepted to write an essay for this volume. We also warmly thank Cátia Antunes (Professor of Global History at the University of Leiden and member of the PIMo core group) for generously agreeing to write the afterword. We are deeply grateful to the Director of the Riccardiana Library, Dr Francesca Gallori and her wonderful team, especially Teresa Sansone and Rossella Giovannetti, for all their generous support, for their invaluable insights and for their warm friendship. We express our gratitude to the staff of ‘Made Word snc’ for supplying the photographic reproductions of the works displayed in this volume, and also acknowledge the support of the staff at the DIDA Communication Lab of the University of Florence, in particular Susanna Cerri, who designed the volume. All through the entire process we have enjoyed the support of the COST Association, as well as the enthusiastic endorsement of the Department of History, Archaeology, Geography, Fine and Performing Arts (SAGAS), University of Florence. We are delighted to have this volume published under the auspices of the Inter-University Network for Global History (GlobHis) headquarterered at the University of Florence.

Giovanni Tarantino  
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Othering, Mirroring, and Feelings of Displacement in the Early Modern Mediterranean

Giovanni Tarantino
Preface

The Mediterranean has always been the unifying element, for good and bad, of the peoples that live on its shores, and today, more than ever before, it is a sometimes unconscious if not indifferent spectator of the hopes of the men and women who cross it in order to escape war and poverty or just in search of a better future. It is not simple to define and explain what this sea is and what it represents over and above its status as a geographic entity. It has been, and continues to be, a place of exchange, a theatre of war and raiding, a grave for the shipwrecked, a trading route of precious and sought-after goods. It is almost a liquid piazza of an immense country formed by the three continents that give on to it. Sensitive to the theme, the Riccardiana Library was pleased to host the inaugural conference of the COST Action PIMo, whose focus of research is the Mediterranean, and, more specifically, the movement of people, ideas and things across its waters. What is more, the Library was proud to offer readers and the city at large an exhibition on this theme, or rather, through its collections, an authentic voyage across the Mediterranean. The curators José María Pérez Fernández and Giovanni Tarantino, with the assistance of Teresa Sansone and Rossella Giovannetti, examined and explored the library, which once again yielded up innumerable stories. Divided into twelve thematic sections, the exhibition, and this volume that illustrates it, recount the Mediterranean and its peoples with the objects that accompanied them, displaying a wide selection of manuscripts – from the celebrated Virgilio Riccardiano (MS Ricc. 492) to the account of the vicissitudes of Erasmo Magno da Velletri (MS Ricc. 1978) – and marvellous illustrated books in print.

Francesca Gallori
Director of the Biblioteca Riccardiana
Cátia Antunes is Professor of Global Economic Networks: Merchant, Entrepreneurs and Empires at Leiden University. Her research interests include the comparative study of diversity in a global context and the effects of historical globalization on the lives of individuals and communities. She has joined People in Motion COST Action in 2019 as leader of work group 'People in Motion'. She has recently addressed the problem of conceptualization of global history in 'An Old Practitioner Still in Search of the métier d’historien. Response to Peer Vries, ‘The Prospects of Global History: Personal Reflections of an Old Believer', International Review of Social History 64.1 (2019): 123–27.

José María Pérez Fernández is Professor of English Literature at the University of Granada. He has published on topics which approach the intersection of comparative literature, cultural, and translation studies, with practices like diplomacy and the book trade, the international republic of letters and the early modern idea of Europe. He is particularly interested in processes of communication in the early modern world: the paper revolution, the impact of print, and how financial and mercantile processes mirrored the ways in which information and knowledge exchange took place. He has recently joined the People in Motion COST Action as the leader of a work group on ‘Paper in Motion’. His book on Hernando Colón’s library (with E. Wilson-Lee) will be published by Yale in 2021 and he has just joined the project for a critical edition of one of Hernando Colón’s most important catalogues, the Libro de los Epítomes.

Giorgio Riello is Chair of Early Modern Global History at the European University Institute in Florence, and was Professor of Global History and Culture at the University of Warwick until 2019. He is the author of Cotton: The Fabric that Made the Modern World (Cambridge University Press 2013 – winner of the World History Association Book Prize 2014), Luxury: A Rich History (Oxford University Press, 2016), and Back in Fashion: Western Fashion from the Middle Ages to the Present (Yale University Press, 2020). He has published on global trade between Europe and Asia, and on textiles, material culture and fashion in the early modern period. He has recently co-edited Dressing Global Bodies (Routledge, 2020); Re-inventing the Economic History of Industrialisation (McGill, 2020); and The Right to Dress: Sumptuary in a Global Perspective (Cambridge University Press, 2019). He is currently completing a book (with Dagmar Schaefer) entitled Cultures of Innovation: Silk in Pre-Modern Eurasia.

Giovanni Tarantino is a scholar of early modern intellectual history. He is Research Lecturer in History at the University of Florence, Honorary Research Fellow of the ARC Centre of Excellence for the History of Emotions at The University of Western Australia, and Co-Editor of the journals Cromohs and EHCS. He is Chair of the COST Action CA18140 ‘People in Motion: Entangled Histories of Displacement across the Mediterranean (1492–1923)’. Recent publications include: ‘Feeling White in the Pre-Modern Western World: Beneath and Beyond’, in S. Broomhall and A. Lynch, eds, The Routledge History of Emotions in Europe, 1100–1700 (Routledge, 2019); ‘“Whether ’tis lawful for a man to beat his wife”: Casuistical Exercises in Late-Stuart and Early-Hanoverian England’, in C. Ginzburg, ed., A Historical Approach to Casuistry: Norms and Exceptions in a Comparative Perspective (Bloomsbury, 2018); ‘Disaster, Emotions and Cultures: The Unexpected Wink of Shiba Kokan (1738–1818)’, Rivista Storica Italiana 128 (2016). He has recently co-edited (with Charles Zika) Feeling Exclusion: Religious Conflict, Exile and Emotions in Early Modern Europe (Routledge, 2019) and (with Paola von Wyss-Giacosa) Through Your Eyes: Debating Religious Alterities (16th–18th centuries) (Brill, forthcoming).
ENCOUNTERS AT SEA
PAPER, OBJECTS AND SENTIMENTS IN MOTION ACROSS THE MEDITERRANEAN

An intellectual journey through the collections of the Riccardiana Library in Florence
In Montaigne, especially in his defence of Raymond Sebond’s *Theologia naturalis*, Terence Cave has noted the deployment of a ‘logic of antiperistasis’. This is a specific mode of the ‘Pyrrhonian’ attitude and consists of deliberately accentuating the dynamics of opposition and contradiction within discourse. In that celebrated text, in fact, a negative representation of the babelic talk of philosopher sects, and Montaigne’s exhortation to the anonymous princess to rein in the discordance of points of view (‘this infinite and perpetual alteration and discordance of opinions and reasons, which accompany and confound the vain building of human wisdom’) are followed by words of appreciation for the liberty and vivacity of the Ancient World. Unlike the conformism of the moderns, this produced, in philosophy and the human sciences, ‘several sects of different opinions,’ leaving each to judge and take sides with one or the other. Instead, among the moderns, ‘we no more take notice what the coin weighs, and is really worth, but every one receives it according to the estimate that common approbation and use puts upon it’. But the discernibly anti-scholastic topos, that is, the humanistic warning to escape the tyranny of the principle of *auctoritas*, appears to be at odds with the exhortation to those in power to contain novelty and extravagance, setting precise limits on the freedom of opinions, especially in religion and above all in the climate of the time, distinguished by the poisonous spread of the contagion of Reformist ideas. The tension, observed by Cave and recently considered by Paolo Slongo, that characterizes the self-oppositional dynamic of antiperistasis exemplifies the provocatively unresolved nature of the Pyrronistic philosophy of Montaigne, who ‘deconstructs every closure’, readily listens to a contrary view and, by self-displacing himself and putting himself in the shoes of his interlocutor, prepares to make it his own. Slongo points out that Montaigne, in reworking the pages of the *Apologie de Raimond Sebond*, frequently had occasion to observe, ‘having for exercise taken to maintain an opinion contrary to my own, my mind, bending and applying itself that way, does so engage me that way that I no more discern the reason of my former belief, and forsake it. I am, as it were, misled by the side to which I incline, be it what it will, and carried away

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2 For the reflections on Montaigne, I am indebted above all to the studies of Paolo Slongo in his *Governo della vita e ordine politico in Montaigne* (Milan: FrancoAngeli, 2010). The quotations from Montaigne are taken from the English version of the *Essais* by Charles Cotton (1685–86), later edited by William Carew Hazlitt (1877).
by my own weight.’ It is clear, then, noted Cave, that antiperistasis is not a straightforward coincidentia oppositorum, but a movement of transvaluation, ‘that enables one to entertain successively—if not simultaneously—two attitudes, or even several radically different attitudes’, but all legitimate or at least all deserving of an impartial hearing and consideration.\(^3\) The art of conference requires, then, the ability not just to engage but to compare as well, which pushes us to turn our own arguments against ourselves and to conduct a transvaluation of their meaning. This ‘does not prexist but is produced and exceeds in the relation’,\(^4\) when one has had the courage to abandon every formal affectation of language and to allow words to go where thought goes, and the ear grows stronger so it does not succumb to the harshness of a free and frank conversation but accepts the competitive nature of social relations:

I love stout expressions amongst gentle men, and to have them speak as they think; we must fortify and harden our hearing against this tenderness of the ceremonious sound of word. I love a strong and manly familiarity and conversation: a friendship that pleases itself in the sharpness and vigour of its communication, like love in biting and scratching.

A common feeling can only emerge, according to Montaigne, from a fruitful querelleuse relationship, which pertains to love and friendship, and from the continuous mutation and movement that a sincere, perhaps harsh but never disdainful comparison of ideas produces among adversaries.\(^5\) Nevertheless, Montaigne acknowledges, ‘it is hard to bring the men of my time to it: they have not the courage to correct, because they have not the courage to suffer themselves to be corrected; and speak always with dissimulation in the presence of one another’.\(^6\)

No less significantly, notes Slongo, drawing on Jean-Yves Pouilloux, even the apparent ‘disorder’ of the Essais—an issue that has divided Montaigne scholars between those, of a positivistic inclination, who believe it is possible to glimpse, ‘between the lines’, a proto-liberal systematics; and those who, paying greater attention to the literariness of the text, have stressed its ambiguity—must be considered a constituent part of their meaning. Through ‘disorder’, Pouilloux wrote, ‘les Essais sont parvenus à déplacer toute question’, and it is this ‘déplacement’ that comprises the radical difference of the Essais from all the other works of his time.\(^7\) As François Rigolot has observed, it is necessary in fact to understand how Montaigne approached the violent unrest of his historic times with the awareness that the civil catastrophe of the wars of religion had to be subsumed under the much more serious ‘semiotic crisis’,\(^8\) or, as Odo Marquard put it, ‘a hermeneutic war for the absolute text’, the Holy Scriptures, fought over by the
Reformers and the vestals of Tradition. The ‘disorder’ of the *Essais* seems therefore to counter that irreducible disagreement, the bearer of uncommunicability, disconnection, disorientation and death, with a ‘hermeneutics of pluralization’: those who are willing to engage will no longer kill.⁹

Displacement, connectivity, disconnection, moving and plural identities and knowledge, motion and emotions—these are the keywords that describe the approaches and objectives of the COST Action PIMo in the context of which the exhibition *Encounters at Sea: People, Paper and Objects in Motion at the Riccardiana Library* (Florence, 13 February–12 June 2020) was organized. ‘People in Motion: Entangled Histories of Displacement across the Mediterranean (1492–1923)’ – or ‘PIMo’ for short – is a major humanities research project authored and coordinated by myself and Katrina O’Loughlin (Brunel University London). Its aim is to explore the entangled histories of displacement of human subjects within and from the Mediterranean between the fifteenth and twentieth centuries (in his contribution to this volume, José María Pérez Fernández shows how Shakespeare’s *Tempest* ‘contemplates the Caribbean through a Mediterranean lens’ by harking back to the suggestion of *Caliban* being an anagram of the Spanish word *canibal* as well as a tacit and ambivalent quotation from Montaigne’s *Essays*¹⁰). The current migration crisis in Europe is in great need of critical historical contextualization, and this is one of the chief aims of the project, with a particular focus on achieving a greater understanding of the powerful emotional responses of displaced peoples and the communities they orbit and join. The project sets out, first of all, to investigate a range of historical case studies concerning the movement of people; the forces driving such movement may range from religious persecution and missionary work to slavery and indentured labour, trade, exploration, and imperialism, sheer curiosity, and environmental and social stresses. By tracing the intertwined movements of people – and the associated objects, writing, ideas, and emotional upheavals – PIMo conceives of displacement and dislocation as shared human experiences, though it does attend to their geographical, political and historical specificities.¹¹ Networks and diasporas are viewed as ‘emotional communities’ closely linked to other groups, the result perhaps of long- and short-distance relationships, economic dependency, political associations, friendship, scholarly and intellectual exchange, and intergenerational experiences of exile. PIMo researchers also study exchanges such as the circulation of goods and scientific knowledge, together with the production and reception of literary texts within which perceptions of cultural otherness are inscribed. With the introduction of emotion to the study of dislocated people, PIMo is interrogating historical materials in new ways.


¹¹ While ‘connectivity’ as a key heuristic category showing how the unity of the Mediterranean has been historically layered in its fragmentation and de-territorialization was at the heart of Peregrine Horden and Nicholas Purcell’s monumental and ambitious volume, *The Corrupting Sea. A Study of Mediterranean History* (Oxford: Blackwell, 2000), a subsequent rich crop of Mediterranean studies have focussed on the porosity of borders and the role of various go-betweens: instead of implying a naturalised connectivity or indulging the abstract notion of a ‘Mediterranean culture’, they explore specific historical connections. For a thorough historiographic discussion of recent developments in Mediterranean studies, see Giovanna Fiume and Naor Ben-Yehoyada’s comments on *A Companion to Mediterranean History* edited by Peregrine Horden and Sharon Kinoshita (Chichester: Wiley Blackwell, 2014) in *Quaderni storici* 153, no. 3 (2016): 841–66.
and seeking to add new layers of understanding to our research findings, convinced as we are that emotions follow different logics of place, travel and time.  

Pérez Fernández argues in his essay that ‘if a culture can be viewed as a macro-text, a heterogeneous conglomerate of signifiers, then diplomats, travellers, merchants, translators, missionaries, and migrants are among the most relevant agents of exchange that engage in the construction of cultural identities’. Tellingly, the celebrated *Treatise of Arithmetic* commissioned by Lorenzo de’ Medici to educate his third son Giuliano in banking and commerce and now housed in the Riccardiana Library (MS Ricc. 2669) includes—among many luxurious marginal illustrations in gold and silver, which, with a clearly educational and explicative intent, depict the commerce-related exercises and problems described in the text—various sailing scenes, one of which is of a vessel full of monks and friars. While ships per se, as Giorgio Riello graphically notes in his contribution to this volume, were ‘moving microcosms’ and ‘palimpsests of the sea’, pre-Reformation Christianity had a militant global scope.

Nicholas Terpstra has observed that early modern confessionalism ‘normalized and legitimated religious differences, and shaped people’s expectations of themselves and others: long after they ceased fearing the devil in the Other, communities continued voluntarily to separate themselves, preferring to live with their peers, associates, and co-religionists.’ At the same time, however, the consumption of non-essential goods spread slowly but inexorably to increasingly broad sectors of society; as a result, practical coexistence and patterns of religious blending and conversion grew alongside confessional exclusivism in a wide range of different contexts. Whereas ‘coexistence under the *millet* system was purely practical, and the so-called mutual respect that kept the Ottoman Empire in a state of social harmony was more coerced than genuine’, in major trading centres marked by a prevalence of transactions between strangers, and mostly in the early modern Mediterranean world where it was unexceptional to encounter ‘a functionally restricted multilingualism’ or the command of a foreign linguistic variety as a *lingua franca*, the inevitable social intermingling of groups from different religious affiliations not infrequently induced a climate of tolerance and occasionally yielded affiliations between denominations of a very personal and eclectic nature. ‘To understand how a propensity to cooperate develops’, notes political scientist Richard Ned Lebow, ‘we must look at the ways in which reason and emotions interact to create and sustain common identities’. Alexandra Walsham has pointed out that impulses such as enmity and amity, prejudice and benevolence, coexisted in a ‘cyclical rather than linear’ relationship in the early modern period. Periodic upsurges in prejudice or waves of
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violence provided a channel for the psychological deflection and appeasement of guilt and hostility. For instance, northern European Protestant merchants who were in Lisbon in 1755 and escaped the destruction of the major earthquake and the ensuing fire did not stop fearing for their safety when the tremors stopped, as an annotation made by a merchant from Hamburg makes clear:

Since yesterday morning, I have spent the time in anguish and terror, without eating or sleeping. [...] I was sweating from fear, because I figured that the superstitious populace had put into their heads that this sad destiny had been visited on them because of the heretics.

I Viaggi di Enrico Wanton alle terre incognite australi, ed ai Regni delle Scimie, e de’ Cynocefali, the four-volume social critical novel by Zaccaria Seriman (1708–1784), is the Riccardiana Library’s most recent acquisition. It is an emblematic case, albeit literary, Utopian, and moralistic, of the emotional, cognitive, and reflective implications of experiences of sea travel, shipwreck, exile, dynamics of inclusion, exclusion and cultural intermingling. Inevitably, the work also expresses the dissatisfaction felt by the exile, a combination of nostalgia, regret, and the longing to return (‘I learnt from experience that inconstancy is almost the distinguishing feature of man, because he is incapable of fixing his desires and, being unaware of what makes up human happiness, only those things that he lacks seem to be good; and then, once obtained, he neglects, scorns, and even regrets having desired’).

Between 1700 and 1800, the imaginary voyage was particularly popular in countries where fewer barriers were erected against the spread of the Enlightenment. Philip Babcock Gove’s Imaginary Voyage in Prose Fiction (1941) mentions two hundred and fifteen tales, of which one hundred and ninety-one were produced in England, France, or Germany. Just three are by Italian authors and only two are in Italian (Casanova’s Icosameron was written in French). Although a few other imaginary voyages by Italian authors did appear occasionally, none compare with the Viaggi di Enrico Wanton.

Seriman’s work first came out in a two-volume edition in Venice in 1749, and then in an expanded four-volume version printed in 1764 under the false imprint of Berne. It is the account of a voyage supposedly made by a stalwart and enquiring young Englishman named Enrico Wanton to two uncharted countries inhabited by Monkeys and Cynocephalics (reasoning beings with human features but the head of a dog). Seriman appears here to draw on the device of estrangement that had first been employed by Gian Paolo Marana in Espion Turc (1684–1686). Fictive diaries and correspond-
ence, mainly purporting to be written by Eastern travellers describing the world from their own perspective, was a frequently adopted literary device in eighteenth-century European literature. It served to highlight the relativity of religious and civil systems and to push back against the opposition to diversity. The very remote representation of alterity was generally functional to a wholly European cultural debate whose roots lay either in long-running interconfessional disputes or in a more aggressive anticlerical and antiatheist campaign. Seriman arguably offers a proleptic example of Gerd Baumann’s ‘orientalism grammar’, whereby greater knowledge of other religious traditions provided a means of interrogating one’s own culture; identities and alterities could thus be seen as ‘mutually constitutive or potentially dialogical’. If the description of Scimopoli (Monkopolis) reveals an allegorical and biting account of social conventions, especially those of marriage, of the Venetian opulent patriciate (where a young scholar is graphically referred to as ‘the picture of hunger’), the second half of the journey contains a strong Utopian element, where the Kingdom of Cynocephalics is ruled by a benevolent despot with the help of philosopher-statesmen. Enrico is welcomed into ‘the home of a philosopher, where even children learn to cast off prejudices, or, to put it better, they were not given the opportunity to don them’ (though it must be said that Seriman’s overall outlook on human perfectibility inclines towards pessimism). A four-volume Spanish edition, published in Madrid in 1778, states that the work was translated from the ‘idioma ingles al italiano’, and from the Italian into Spanish by Joaquín Vaca de Guzmán y Manrique. The English original is certainly a fiction and the inference is that Joaquin Vaca de Guzmán y Manrique himself ‘faked’ volumes three and four of the Spanish edition, gentle satires of the customs and manners of Spain (a peculiar case of a book-object in motion). The engraved illustrations make Seriman’s Terra Australis look very much like a Renaissance Planet of the Apes.

It should be mentioned that the author himself came from a prominent family of Armenian merchants (named Sarrat or Shariman), who were forcibly displaced to Isfahan after the Persian siege of Julfa in 1604, and then converted to Roman Catholicism when Shah Abbas (1571–1629), anxious to establish friendly relations with Europe, allowed the Carmelites, Capuchins, and Augustinians to mount a missionary offensive against the ‘Gregorian schismatics’ who had settled in the suburb of New Julfa. The Sharimans acquired a role of primary importance in the subsequent campaign to woo the Armenians away from schism and towards unity with the Roman See. In 1691 the Sharimans funded the building of a church to celebrate the Latin rite. A Sunday school was set up to run catechism classes for men, and eventually the Shariman brothers Heights Columbia University Press, 1941). See also Umberto Eco, Storia delle terre e dei luoghi leggendari (Milan: Bompiani, 2013), 341–42, 470 (the book by Seriman, a Venetian born into a family of Armenian origin that had settled in the city three generations previously, features erroneously in Eco’s anthology as a translation from English).


even agreed to finance a bishopric. At the same time they were busy building close ties with various parts of the Italian peninsula and investing their wealth there. Between 1692 and 1698, they loaned a total of 720,000 ducats to the Venetian Republic, which was used, under the direction of the Papal Nuncio, to fund the final stages of the war against the Turks. For these efforts they were granted Roman citizenship and freedom in the ports of Ancona and Civitavecchia. Unsurprisingly, these developments in the Uniat Community produced a violent reaction among the Gregorians in New Julfa, and as a result of their remonstrances the Carmelites were expelled from New Julfa for two years and the Sherimans were fined heavily. Some members of the family, to avoid government reprisals motivated by religious pretexts, even apostatised for a time to the Muhammedan faith, before then resolving to leave New Julfa and begin a new life in the Venetian Republic. The fate of the Armenians in New Julfa would turn to tragedy in the space of a few years, both for the Uniats and the Gregorians, first due to the rapacious Afghan occupation and then the accusation levelled against them by Nadir Shah that they had aided and abetted the Afghan siege of Isfahan. After the death of Nadir Shah in 1747, the Armenians left New Julfa en masse for new lives in Georgia, India, and Baghdad.

Like *Gulliver’s Travels*, Enrico Wanton’s tale starts with a description of his family circumstances and station in life. He has had no proper education, he is set to embark on a profession he does not like, and his home life is very unhappy. Consequently, he runs away to sea where he meets another young Englishman named Roberto, a merchant acting on his father’s behalf. Enrico and Roberto strike up a friendship (the novel, littered with misogynistic remarks, is a celebration of male companionship and friendship). However their ship is blown off course in a storm and runs aground on a sandbank. Enrico and Roberto manage to salvage their firearms and a few books (including Montaigne’s *Essays* with the highly treasured *Apologie de Sebond*), and then make for the shore. By observing the stars, they conclude that the land is part of the region of the Southern hemisphere which had appeared on maps since classical times as the mysterious and basically unexplored *Terra Australis Incognita*. During their long stay in this land, which they traverse as ‘spectators and as spectacle’, they encounter two highly evolved kingdoms (entirely similar to European courts interested in accumulating and showing off the superfluous), one inhabited by monkeys and the other by dogs. In both kingdoms they gradually acquire positions of social prominence after having overcome language barriers and the fear and derision caused by their inescapable outward diversity and ill-concealed moral haughtiness (which Enrico, a slow-digesting reader of
Montaigne, appears at time to recognize in himself and to regret: ‘Oh how easy it is to reproach and mock in others our very same defects, and describe as barbarous those customs which at home are called culture and refinement!’.

Zaccaria Seriman received a typical eighteenth-century education in an expensive Jesuit college in Bologna, where he gained a good grounding in Latin but no instruction whatsoever in science. And in explaining the youthful restlessness that prompted him to prefer the discomforts and uncertainties of an initiatory journey to the East Indies rather than the comforts of a privileged urban lifestyle, Enrico Wanton writes without hesitation:

This intellectual deception of my Father was the source of all my misadventures, because, by always forcing me towards those things that were totally different to and contrary to my inclination, and refusing me the help necessary to acquire science, towards which my intelligence was directed, he made me cut a sorry figure in the world, and I remained lacking in those notions that could have allowed me to distinguish myself. That was the real reason why I abandoned the Country, where I was not permitted to lead a life suited to my inclinations, even though these were guided by honesty and virtue. That by the reading of my vicissitudes those Fathers might learn ... not to wish to condemn their sons to a life full of bitterness out of a proud obstinacy in wishing to inflict violence on their spirits.

But by the time he wrote I viaggi Zaccaria seems to have become acquainted with the Greek philosophy and the writings of various authors commonly associated with the culture of the Early Enlightenment (he alludes to them, jokingly, when, in feigning to be the translator of an English author, he writes that 'many of the things encountered in the work ... could not be endured by an Italian spirit'). In 1756 he was enrolled in the Accademia degli Agiati at Rovereto, around which, just a few years earlier, one of the last great controversies over witchcraft had gravitated. He appears to have been a dedicated financer of literary enterprises, whereas it is uncertain if he died as a priest in Holy Orders or even as a Benedictine monk.

Such an outcome would be something of a surprise if one considers the withering depiction of papal Rome in chapter eight of volume IV of the Viaggi, where it is evoked as ‘Astuteness’ and the capital of the ‘Empire of Blandishments’ (a judgment barely redeemed by the quick declaration of esteem for the ‘Enlightenment Pope’ Benedict XIV). A similar perplexity might arise if one rereads the words, with Latitudinarian and possibly even deistic overtones, that the prudent Roberto addresses to his young headstrong friend Enrico to soothe the melancholy brought about by ‘that solitude of affections in which, as in a desert, a man finds himself when in the midst of unknown and new people’.

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22 Montaigne, appearing at time to recognize in himself and to regret: ‘Oh how easy it is to reproach and mock in others our very same defects, and describe as barbarous those customs which at home are called culture and refinement!’.

23 Zaccaria Seriman received a typical eighteenth-century education in an expensive Jesuit college in Bologna, where he gained a good grounding in Latin but no instruction whatsoever in science. And in explaining the youthful restlessness that prompted him to prefer the discomforts and uncertainties of an initiatory journey to the East Indies rather than the comforts of a privileged urban lifestyle, Enrico Wanton writes without hesitation:

This intellectual deception of my Father was the source of all my misadventures, because, by always forcing me towards those things that were totally different to and contrary to my inclination, and refusing me the help necessary to acquire science, towards which my intelligence was directed, he made me cut a sorry figure in the world, and I remained lacking in those notions that could have allowed me to distinguish myself. That was the real reason why I abandoned the Country, where I was not permitted to lead a life suited to my inclinations, even though these were guided by honesty and virtue. That by the reading of my vicissitudes those Fathers might learn ... not to wish to condemn their sons to a life full of bitterness out of a proud obstinacy in wishing to inflict violence on their spirits.

24 But by the time he wrote I viaggi Zaccaria seems to have become acquainted with the Greek philosophy and the writings of various authors commonly associated with the culture of the Early Enlightenment (he alludes to them, jokingly, when, in feigning to be the translator of an English author, he writes that ‘many of the things encountered in the work ... could not be endured by an Italian spirit’). In 1756 he was enrolled in the Accademia degli Agiati at Rovereto, around which, just a few years earlier, one of the last great controversies over witchcraft had gravitated. He appears to have been a dedicated financer of literary enterprises, whereas it is uncertain if he died as a priest in Holy Orders or even as a Benedictine monk.

25 Such an outcome would be something of a surprise if one considers the withering depiction of papal Rome in chapter eight of volume IV of the Viaggi, where it is evoked as ‘Astuteness’ and the capital of the ‘Empire of Blandishments’ (a judgment barely redeemed by the quick declaration of esteem for the ‘Enlightenment Pope’ Benedict XIV). A similar perplexity might arise if one rereads the words, with Latitudinarian and possibly even deistic overtones, that the prudent Roberto addresses to his young headstrong friend Enrico to soothe the melancholy brought about by ‘that solitude of affections in which, as in a desert, a man finds himself when in the midst of unknown and new people’:


25 [Seriman,] Viaggi di Enrico, tome I, 79.

26 [Seriman,] Viaggi di Enrico, tome I, 2–3.

27 See Riccarda Suitner, ed., Gli illuministi e i demoni: il dibattito...
Man must consider himself a citizen of the world, and should not limit his affections to the narrow confines of a city, or of his family. We, he added, who live upon the earth, are all the children of a single Father, who is God; so all men are brothers, and any place is the homeland for he who considers himself as he is, that is, man. If you abandon the walls within which you were born, you will not for this lack an earth that embraces you, men who love you and with whom you can forge bonds of society, victuals that nourish you, or a sun that warms you. Divine goodness has not restricted its blessings to our country alone; it has distributed them to everyone, and to all living beings has given the gifts necessary for a life in abundance, and a thousand delights to make it pleasurable. In the closing lines of his *Travels*, Enrico notes how his rescuers initially doubted the credibility of his and Roberto’s accounts, because the amazing details they described were the fruit of minds addled by the experience of shipwreck (‘two sorry wretches driven mad by their misfortunes’). In order to gain credibility various sixteenth- and seventeenth-century accounts by survivors of shipwrecks included self-incriminating evidence, for instance, stories of having to eat other people as a final resort to avoid starvation, an ironic overturning of the stereotype of cannibalistic Africans (though ‘less reliable are the narratives of hostile encounters, because of the writers’ interest in defending their own actions’). These accounts also reveal that shipwreck victims, especially in southeastern Africa, interacted openly with local villagers and chiefs, receiving food, information and guidance, and in exchange leaving not only items of material culture but also specimens of their scientific knowledge and religious symbolism. In the Kingdom of the Monkeys, Enrico and Roberto, de-facto ambassadors of European culture (unknown to the point that Enrico was asked by the Cynocephalics to outline the wreck of their ship (the implausibility of this is indirectly noted by Enrico himself, when, in relation to an *operaetta* composed by a Monkey, he relates that it had been criticized because ‘it was incomprehensible that, after a shipwreck, certain ornaments, and, what is worse, the wigs of two passengers, could have been transported to shore in a skiff from a ship grounded on a sandbank’). Giorgio Riello draws attention in his essay to the hemerneutical value of what he calls ‘situational things’, with gift-giving in particular fostering new scholarship in diplomatic history. Gifts played an important part in the practice of the diplomatic service, with strict parameters being introduced in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries to regulate the process of ambassadorial exchange and to discourage corruption. These norms mostly underscored three principles: they...
reflected the rank of the giver and receiver; required reciprocation in order to prevent indebtedness; and demanded equality of value.\[36\]

After having received such honours and beneficences from the King of the Monkeys, we were also obliged to display our gratitude, offering part of our goods, which were what remained from the shipwreck. [...] Roberto was repairing a pocket watch, which had suffered greatly in the water, and turning the Roman numbers into intelligible characters familiar to that people. [...] This watch was intended for the King; to which were added some mirrors, a number of glasses of very fine English crystal, a small eyeglass, two porcelain vases painted in very fine taste, lots of artificial flowers, and finally numerous engravings, which depicted certain European monarchs. [...] All these precious items, as they were new to that Kingdom, were distributed in four different recipients covered with ruby-coloured sendals.\[37\]

The reference to the mirrors, and their function in unmasking false self-perceptions artfully sustained by the base adulation of courtiers and false friends, recurs repeatedly in the course of the sometimes long-winded and tedious account of Enrico’s vicissitudes. If the narrative expedient of estrangement suggests how an alien gaze can offer us a representation of our culture untainted by prejudice or tradition, the metaphor of the mirror is an exhortation to look at and see oneself without simulation, to recognize one’s limitations and imperfections so that one might then be disposed to benevolently accept those of others in a spirit of mutual and charitable recognition of the limits of human knowledge. As Nancy M. Frelick's effectively notes in her introduction to The Mirror in Medieval and Early Modern Culture: Specular Reflections, the mirror, besides being a frivolous and obvious incentive to coquetry, was also an aid for self-examination, self-knowledge, and ‘self-fashioning’ (to borrow Stephen Greenblatt’s term). Mirrors also served as ‘metaphors for the illusory nature of representation’.\[38\] It is significant that the four-volume account of Enrico's travels is followed by Zaccaria’s short poem entitled Lo specchio (The Mirror), which include the following verses:

Se a quel vetro m'affaccio, egli s'cerno  
Ripeterà i miei danni: a che lagnarmi  
Se mentire non sa? L'ira in tal caso  
Certa vergogna aggiungerebbe al male.  
[...]
Mentir non so, non so adular, non tolgo,  
Non aggiungo alle cose, ed il difetto,  
Qualunque sia, semplicemente lo pingo.\[39\]
Leading historians of emotions are in agreement that instead of trying to reenact historical actors’ actual experience of emotions—a virtually unachievable goal—scholars should work to reconstruct social attitudes to them. That the focus, in a specific culture and a given emotional community, should be on how feelings are ‘valorized, marginalised, scientifically defined, or religiously encoded’. One rather particular key to unlocking early modern collective emotional experiences of belonging, resistance, displacement, exile, and alienation is offered by maps (which can, in a way, be regarded as exemplary ‘objects in motion’ as well as ‘moving objects’). These may be real maps accompanied by iconic signifiers, for instance the 17th-century illuminated navigational chart by the Mayorcan cartographer Placido Caloiro y Oliva that features in this catalogue (Fig. 2.9), elaborately embellished with emblematic cities dotted along coastlines, flags, a unicorn—perhaps deriving from the Afro-Arabian horse-antelope, oryx—and a camel with a turbaned rider; also included are a ‘Madonna of the Letter’, the patron of Messina, and a schematic representation of the Calvary surmounted by three crosses in the Holy Land. The maps may also be exercises in Utopian cartography or allegorical and sentimental topography. In this category, François Chauveau’s ‘Carte de Tendre’ illustrating the first part of Madeleine de Scudéry’s 1654–1661 novel Clelie, or Matthaeus Seutter’s 1730 Attack of Love, are among the most effective attempts to exploit cartographic conventions to represent, parody, or rewrite the sentimental conventions of an age, culture, or group. The third book of Seriman’s Viaggi—a celebration of an unprejudiced and entirely worldly frame of mind and pursuit of knowledge nourished through the affectionate friendship of enlightened (mostly male) companions—includes the small map, reproduced in the catalogue (Fig. 7.1), of the ‘Province of Philosophers’, a further Utopian kingdom (a journey within a journey) separated from the Kingdom of Cynocephalics by a ‘river of gold’. Although the telling name of the capital of this kingdom is ‘Prison of Passions’, the disillusionment displayed by those sages who had hoped to pursue their happiness by retreating from the world (one of them is unequivocally named Fuggimondo, or ‘world escaper’) and the more worldly experience of other philosophical practitioners seem to suggest to Enrico and Roberto that emotions should not be sidelined by a philosopher aiming to be thoroughly human and that he should instead work towards a kind of ‘tempered hedonism’.
Encounters at Sea
Paper, Objects and Sentiments in Motion
Across the Mediterranean
Passions are born and will die with us; they form the essence of our heart, they are the machines of our operations. It is impossible to destroy them; and were it possible, the living person would become like a plant, to which, besides vegetation, other faculties seem not to be granted. If someone wishes to totally halt the course of a passion with the idea of destroying it, like a stream it will turn in another direction, and changing name, and path, will, thus masked, cause greater damage [...] The true antidote consists, then, in directing it to a good end; so with natural actions they will become virtues, while, either by restricting them or by abandoning them to a blind and unreasonable path, they will turn into vices.

It would be better though not to take ‘affective cartography’ to include early modern fictional or allegorical maps, more conveniently described as ‘sentimental maps’. Consideration should rather be given to real maps, seen as being anchored in affect. Elsewhere I have explored how, in the seventeenth century, the persecuted Protestant minorities who had settled in the Piedmontese Alpine valleys produced maps singularly oriented with South on the left and East at the bottom. Their subtle aim was to reinforce a painful awareness in the Waldensian community of an ancient persecution, combined with pride at their unique uninterrupted upholding of the apostolic faith. Conversely, all the Sabaudian cartographers needed to do was to orient their maps with the West on the left (i.e., the ‘modern’ cartographic representation) in order to graphically downplay the symbolic, evocative, and emotional centrality of the Protestant valleys, or at least to ensure that it was not immediately striking.

Waldensian maps circulated widely as inserts to influential Protestant martyrologies, such as Samuel Morland's *History of the Evangelical Churches of the Valleys of Piemont* (1658), whose horrifying illustrations of the massacre of the Piedmontese Waldensians in 1655 so outraged and upset European Protestants that they raised substantial amounts of money to support exiled survivors. Conflicts stemming from the religious changes introduced by the Reformation were experienced viscerally and psychologically. The antagonistic invocation of collective emotions was an expedient common to all the contending groups. Richard Verstegan’s *Theatrum crudelitatum haereticorum nostri temporis*, illustrated in this catalogue (Fig. 8.9), was first published in Antwerp in September 1587 (and in a French translation a year later). Verstegan was a London-born Catholic exiled in Antwerp, and in his work he used descriptions of the torture, persecution, and martyrdom of English and Irish Catholics to stoke emotions and to call for the creation of a Catholic international in response to a growing international Calvinism. Above all, though, Verstegan produced what has been persuasively described as an Armada pamphlet, a consummate exercise in propaganda on behalf of the King of Spain. Verstegan’s text, and the accompanying images, by focusing on
the sufferings and example of the English Catholic martyrs tortured and executed by a heretical Calvinist government, provided preemptive justification for Spain’s invasion of England, framing it as a Crusade. Furthermore, as Frank Lestringant observed in a poignant comment on Louis Richeome’s *La peinture spirituelle* (1611), emotionally loaded images like these conveyed the horror of massacre in the certainty of victory.46

The section of the *Theatrum* devoted to the *horribilia scelera ad Huguenotis in Gal-lis perpetrata* concludes with an engraving depicting the cruel massacre of a group of forty Jesuits by corsairs. Headed by the Portuguese Jesuit missionary Inácio de Azevedo, the group was on its way to America aboard the merchant vessel *Santiago*, when, on 5 June 1570, it was attacked by French Huguenot corsairs led by Jacques de Sores off La Palma in the Canary Islands. Azevedo had already travelled to the Jesuit colleges and villages in Brazil as a visitor appointed by the Father General of the Society between 1566 and 1568. After he returned to Portugal and Rome, he was appointed Provincial of the Brazilian mission and granted permission to gather together a group of companions to go out and work there.

After being killed by the French, Azevedo’s body was thrown into the sea but, according to witnesses, miraculously remained afloat. The ‘Forty Martyrs of Brazil’ were beatified by Pope Pius IX in 1854. In devotional images—with contact relics, a further emblematic ‘moving object’ by virtue of their high reproducibility—Azevedo is depicted together with an image of the Virgin, both at the moment when he was martyred and in other settings as well. The image is a copy of an original thought to have been painted by Saint Luke and regarded as miraculous, which is in Santa Maria Maggiore in Rome. During his martyrdom, the corsairs tried to prise it away from him, but Azevedo hung on to it, so he was thrown into the sea with the image still in his arms. As night fell, his body was found by a Portuguese boatsman, who reached out and took the holy image. When he landed in Madeira, he handed the image over to the Jesuits. From there it was taken to Brazil, where, it is said, it was preserved in the College of Bahia.47

For a twenty-first-century reader sensitive to current events, that heartrending image of floating bodies is likely to conjure up images of other bodies bobbing in the waters of the Mediterranean today, and an object which perhaps best exemplifies the present situation—the shoddy lifejackets sold at extortionate expense to would-be immigrants crammed into unseaworthy boats. As the Algerian sociologist Abdelmalek Sayad wrote, ‘death during emigration and in exile is a moment of truth, the death of the foreigner and death in a foreign land is a moment of truth for everyone.’48

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Traité Nouveau & CuryeuX de
Café de Thé et de Chocolat
Composé
Par Philippe, Sylvester Dupfour
On the 18 November 1487 a large crowd gathered in Piazza della Signoria in Florence. A ceremonial platform had been erected where the city’s ruling elite stood. The centre of everyone’s attention was an animal that many believed had never been seen before in Europe. It was sent by Sultan Qā’itbāy (c. 1416–96) of Egypt in the hope of enticing the support of the de facto ruler of Florence, Lorenzo de Medici, against the Ottomans. This animal was a giraffe. It was not quite true that giraffes had never been seen in Europe: in 1261 Fredrick II of the Two Sicilies was given one by the sultan of Egypt in exchange for a white bear. Yet no other animal of this kind had crossed the Mediterranean for over two centuries.

A giraffe in the streets of Florence – paraded much to the astonishment of the inhabitants – is for us an entry point into the mobility of material things in early modern Europe. The past decades have seen a reframing of the idea of early modernity (c. 1400–1800) and the Renaissance as spatially bounded categories. The rise of global history has alerted us that well before the modern age of globalisation, in the fifteenth to the eighteenth century the world became increasingly connected; people and things moved not just more widely but in larger numbers. There is a tendency to see what has been termed ‘the first global age’ as having similar features to our present-day globalised world made of consumerism, long-distance travel and instant access to information. Yet this was not the case. The giraffe alerts us that the connectivity that objects created might include animate as well inanimate ‘things’. Whilst it would be difficult to oppose the fact that goods were traded as luxuries and commodities across long distances (think of silk cloth, spices and fur just to cite some well-known examples), this ‘world of things’ included also rare shells and botanic specimens, precious stones and coconut cups to be collected by the elites, as well as animals and – too often forgotten – people, enslaved and transported against their will to other lands.

We should also be careful not to reduce what have been called ‘global things’ to a narrow European narrative of commodification and trade. Europe features prominently in many global histories of the early modern period but the exchange of objects set in
motion by new global processes extended well beyond this continent. Just a few years
after the giraffe reached Florence a ‘New World’ opened up with the so-called ‘discovery
of the Americas’. Yet the old world of Europe, Africa and Asia (now referred to as
Afro-Eurasia) remained important as was the intersection between different seas from
the Mediterranean to the Indian Ocean and the China sea. Europe was not always at the
forefront of such processes and might be said to have lagged behind great empires such
as Ming China and the rising new Islamic empires of the Ottomans, Mughals and Safa-
vids. In Florence a giraffe was much admired, and a similar situation occurred at the
Ming court in Beijing where one from the city of Melinda in East Africa was presented
in 1415 by the famous Admiral Zheng He, who had acquired the animal during his
first voyage to the Indian Ocean. In Beijing as in Florence, the giraffe was an object of
wonder. In China it was deemed to be qilin, a mythical hooved chimerical creature. In
Florence it was the topic of disquisition with the Ancient authors of classical literature
being the last to mention these remarkable animals.

Part of the allure of a giraffe, and things from far away more generally, was the
prestige that they brought to their owners. Exotic animals, for instance, were a must
for rulers. In fifteenth-century Florence, there were no fewer than twenty-five lions
living in the Palazzo Vecchio itself. The Medici maintained a large menagerie that had
previously featured a giant mannequin of a giraffe before being replaced by a real one.
Yet the prestige of what are often (though inaccurately) called ‘exotic things’ rested on
their visibility as well. This is the reason why the Medici’s lions were set loose in an im-
provised arena of Piazza della Signoria together with wolves, Corsican dogs and boars.

The ‘global things’ that reached Florence or Beijing were not just luxury commod-
ities that provided lustre to the elites and entertained the masses. They created new
systems of knowledge, challenged established disciplinary boundaries and stimulated
visual, tactile and olfactory imagination through the collecting of beautiful objects of
nature and artefacts, as well as the rare, the arcane, and sometimes the bizarre. Ren-
aissance scholars and rulers collected naturalia, objects that exist in nature, produced
without human intervention, such as animals, but also beautiful shells, and specimens
of flora and fauna. Their cabinets of curiosities included also artificialia, artefacts (from
ars and facere), works of art but more generally human-made objects whose production
fulfilled specific semiotic functions that were scientific, religious, as well as practical.
Whilst these two categories shaped ideas of materiality and materials (for instance the
difference between natural materials and man-made things), they should be seen in a
continuum. Early modern Europeans delighted in man-made imitations of the natural

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world or in transforming nature into artefacts as for instance through the setting of rare coconut and large nautilus shells in silver mounts.

Today access to these objects is possible through museum collections that are becoming more aware of the need to explain the material entanglements of the pre-modern world. Many such objects have also disappeared, lost through war, fires, neglect and the simple passing of time. This exhibition shows the potential to recover ‘objects in motion’ through paper documents, by focusing on the ways in which things were described and represented in codices, travel diaries, treatises, maps, letters, and books. All of these materials are artefacts themselves and help us to retrieve little-known stories that connect people, objects and their meaning. I highlight here three ways in which ‘global things’ can be studied and interpreted. First by considering the connectivity that was shaped and that objects in turn shaped: such connectivity can be studied through the trade of luxury and commodities and the exchange of gifts. Second by focusing on the mobility of objects themselves, for instance through travel and the changing meaning bestowed on material things. And finally by reflecting on the ways in which natural and man-made objects, and representations of the world in maps and books helped create new categories and ideas – what we might define world views – during the Renaissance.

Connectivity and the World of Things

Scholars and broadcasters have used material artefacts to account for and illustrate pre-modern connectivity. Objects have been given pride of place in narratives that have developed a conceptual apparatus that includes terms such as ‘contact’, ‘entanglement’, first and second ‘encounter’, but also ‘hybridity’, ‘translation’, and ‘negotiation’. Material goods created connectivity as they brought into contact and shaped symbiotic relationships between areas of the world that had been previously disconnected. The production and trade of silk and cotton textiles show that this was not just a relationship between the pre-modern manufacturing powerhouses of Asia (China and India) and Europe but extended in a truly global fashion to include Southeast Asia, Africa and the Atlantic.7

Beyond textiles, the trade from the Americas of produce and foodstuffs such as cocoa, coffee, sugar – transplanted from Eurasia and reshaped into plantation production through the use of slave labour – adds a further important dimension and connects what Jan de Vries has indicated as the Atlantic and the Asian sides of pre-modern world trade.8 Historians have gone beyond classic economic narratives by considering the political and cultural dimensions of production, exchange and consumption.9 In the

Traitez Nouveaux & Curieux du Café, Thé et du Chocolat (1688) by the French Protestant apothecary Sylvestre Dufour, tea, coffee and chocolate are encoded within their cultures of origin (China, East Africa and the Middle East, and the Americas respectively) and represented by male figures wearing typical costume: a true world brought to the table of Europe (Fig. 1). If Dufour uses a ‘Euro-centred’ perspective, the study of tobacco and its smoking reveal the complex ways in which this commodity was negotiated culturally and from a gender point of view in different parts of the world, starting with its cultural connotations in the Americas, its opposition in Europe, Russia and China and its eventual acceptance as part of new social practices in most of the world. These works also point to a new sensibility among historians that requires commodities be considered beyond their European remit of circulation. Whilst the existing literature still underlines the centrality of Europe in early modern global trade and in the processes of early modern globalisation, the role of other parts of the world, the importance of localized production and the complexity of multilateral exchange bring a wider lens to the history of pre-modern global material history.

But connectivity was not just the result of commerce. What is now called New Diplomatic History considers the materiality of festivities and gift-giving as a lens through which to read the complex cultural and economic relationships of power (and its representation) in transcultural diplomacy. The Florentine giraffe was not an object of trade, but was central to the fostering of a political connection between the Republic and Mamluk Egypt. Diplomatic gifts can be interpreted as both creating cohesion and facilitating shared regimes of value, while at the same time highlighting differences in meaning. Yet, the deeper we go into the history of diplomatic gifts, the more difficult it becomes to establish exactly where the boundaries between gifts, luxury commodities, tribute and booty can be drawn. This is the case of the intense diplomatic exchange and associated gifts between Italian renaissance states – the very inventors of modern diplomacy – and the rest of the world, especially North Africa, the Ottoman Empire and the Middle East. Luca Molà has argued that the Ottoman ‘requests’ to the Venetian Republic were no simple gifts but included enormous quantities of precious silks, sophisticated glassware and a variety of artefacts such as plain glass whose specifications turned out to be a major technological challenge for Venetian craftsmen. If the history of technology and technological transfer might have something to do with diplomacy, the same could be said of the history of food and the more mundane appreciation of culinary delicacies such as the shipload of Italian cheese that the Ottoman Sultan Bayezid received with great pleasure from the ruler of Mantua in 1491.
Material objects have a fascinating power: they convey stories, raise unknown aspects, and lead us to ask open questions that defy easy disciplinary, thematic and chronological divides. Yet it is worth highlighting that commodities, luxuries and artefacts can also reproduce established tropes. Whilst the gravest danger of falling into a teleology of increasing connectivity is most often avoided, this is not the case when we consider the type of connectivity at stake. Most often than not, artefacts lead us to highlight positive and enriching connections – those of embassies, of trade, of cultural exchange and of conspicuous consumption – rather than the negative outcomes of connection: exploitation, abuse, oppression, coercion and obliteration. To recover those narratives – as for instance in the case of slavery – historians need to read objects ‘against the grain’ and integrate them with visual and written sources. Even more complex is the use of material methodologies for the analysis of disconnection. As the world was reshaped in both local and global terms, many areas either remained unaffected by global forces and processes or were newly excluded from it. Whilst material culture might be indeed a way to recover little-known spatial ties in the early modern world, the same cannot be said of places that might have been ‘cut off’ as in the case of the Central Asian silk roads.

**Mobility: Things, People and Vessels**

In the early modern period material artefacts were as mobile – if not more – than people. This was a time in which the movement of things, people and information went together and were constrained by the maximum speed of horses, coaches and ships. Travel across the Mediterranean was counted in days and months, though Homer’s *Odyssey* came as a warning about the challenges and perils of sea travel. The opening of European direct travel to Asia via the Cape of Good Hope dramatically reduced the time it took to reach India and China. The city of Alexandria, that for centuries had – as Sebastian Münster in his *Cosmographiae Universalis* (1552) reminds us – acted as the entrepot between Asia and Europe in the trade of spices and luxuries, was replaced by new routes. Mobility increased though danger was never far away. More than a hundred of the 1,150 vessels of the Portuguese Carreira da Índia sent to Asia in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries never returned, often losing both cargo and the lives of their crew. The world of Renaissance explorers, travellers and merchants remained slow taking the best of three years to travel from Europe to China and back. The Florentine Francesco Carletti was the first European merchant to circumnavigate the world, spending fourteen years away from home by crossing the Atlantic, the Pacific and the Indian Oceans. As for an increasing number of traders, Carletti’s aim was to exchange commodities, species (silver) and slaves.
Mobility relied on technologies. Of fundamental importance in global maritime routes, ships remain little studied beyond histories of technologies charting their different types and technical solutions. They were instead ‘moving microcosms’ that for months – and sometimes years – travelled across seas and oceans bringing together people and goods from different corners of the world. Their materiality was continuously reshaped as it is estimated that within 36 months most parts of a vessel had to be replaced. These ‘palimpsests of the sea’ were the stage for revolts and mutinies, of contagious outbreaks, of language learning (as long voyages served to acquire linguistic expertise) and of terrible suffering as in the case of ships deployed in the slave trade. Often seen as tools of globalization, ships were not just a means of transport for moving intercontinentally; they were intrinsically part of the experience of the global in the pre-modern period: they shaped people’s perspective of space, place and connectivity.

Ships are today among the most fascinating research projects that bring together archaeologists, historians, museum curators, surveyors, conservators and archivists in the study of existing vessels including Roman, Byzantine, later medieval and Renaissance shipwrecks. Maritime archaeology has unearthed remarkable cargoes. The study of shipwrecks brings to our attention the fact that much research on global material culture and mobility goes beyond the field of history. Archaeology has provided extremely important findings dated well before the chronological parameters of early modernity. This the case of the ninth-century Tang Shipwreck now displayed at the Museum of Asian Civilizations in Singapore from which more than a thousand pieces of ceramics, gold, and silver were recovered. Equally important is the cargo of the *Esmeralda* and the *São Pedro*, part of Vasco de Gama’s second voyage to India, which were wrecked in 1503 off the coast of Oman.

Museums, archives and archaeology provide a profusion of material artefacts for historians to consider. Yet these materials raise several methodological issues. The first is conceptual. As ideas, concepts and thoughts were not just codified in texts or embodied in people, but also relied on the action of objects. Yet objects changed meaning and were re-conceptualised in material and abstract terms as they moved in space and time. Their immanence might also limit the impact of their action: in the 1550s the French traveller and diplomat Pierre Belon had the opportunity to see a giraffe in Cairo where it was known as Zurnapa: ‘a very beautiful beast of the gentlest possible disposition’, he observed. We know of this from his travel diary and from the visual representation that he included (*Fig. 2*). We do not know whether Belon knew about the giraffe that had arrived in Florence more than 60 years earlier. It is the power of reproduction of
representation – rather than the real animal – that allowed the giraffe to enter the European imaginary.

The printed giraffe reminds us that the material is not just to be found in surviving artefacts but also in written sources, allowing us to read them differently. Yet there is a second problem in using the material as well as the written record to construct narratives of mobility. Recent scholarly critiques have made us aware that parts of global history and global material culture prioritize the cosmopolitan over the provincial, the mobile over the static, and might reproduce present-day historians’ liberal ideologies. Material culture and ‘beautiful things’ might be a good example of this trend as they embody a global history gripped by issues of mobility and movement, oblivious of so-called ‘small spaces’, of the specificity of contexts – in works that, as John-Paul Ghobrial recently noted – ‘prioritize the movement of global historical phenomena over the explanation of their occurrence in particular contexts’. By doing so material histories of mobility become exclusionary, surely of those who did not move, who did not trade, or did not consume commodities and luxuries produced elsewhere in the world.

The Material that Makes the World
The value of material culture is that of articulating space in ways that are not necessarily conveyed in documentary sources and perhaps in ways that were not even recognised or understood by the people at the time: as Eugenio Menegon recently observed, ‘historical actors at the time would have been only rarely in a position to realize the magnitude and extension of those same [global] networks’. Things, artefacts, luxuries and commodities were not just the embodiment of an extraneous system of connections, but created themselves global spaces: things as ‘actants’ to borrow Bruno Latour’s terminology. What present-day theorists have called a ‘global imaginary’ came into being in the course of the sixteenth and seventeenth century when Europeans confronted widening mental and geographic spaces.

Cartography is often considered as one of the ways in which renaissance Europeans gave material and visual expression to the new geographies of the world. The Hall of Geographical Maps at Palazzo Vecchio built by Giorgio Vasari and commissioned by Cosimo I de’ Medici is a splendid example of the ways in which the world was materialised in a room. Yet such maps and globes (more can be seen in the nearby Museo Galileo) should not be interpreted simply as factual reproductions. Maps were used to bring imaginary places to life; cartographers conjured places that were only rumoured to exist and that they hoped could one day be charted. This need to visualise and materialise...
SECONDE LIVRE DES SINGULIERS.

Portrait de la Girafe.

quand elle court, les deux
pieds de devant vont en-
semble. Elle se couche le
ventre contre terre, & a
une dureté à la poitrine &
aux cuisses comme un cha-
meau. Elle ne saurait pa-
isre en terre étant debout
sans eslargir grandement les
jambes de devant, encore est
ce avec grande difficulté.
Parquoy il est aisé à croire
qu'elle ne vit aux champs
sinon des branches des ar-
bres, ayant le col ainsi long,
tellement qu'elle pourroit ar-
river de la teste à la hau-
teur d'une demie piecque. Et
l'ayant fait retirer au na-
turel, j'en ay bien voulu icy
mettre le portrait.

D'UN MOUV'T BEAU PETIT BOEUF

d'Aphrique, que les anciens Grecs nommerent Bubalus.

Chapitre L.

E plaisir qu'un homme curieux peut recevoir de ren-
contrer un animal estrange & singulier, est de lui
troquer quant & quant son nom ancien, pour le sa-
voir exprimer, car celui qui a quelque chose à de-
crire, sans le nommer de son propre, me semble faire
cornée d'en prendre la peine. Parquoy m'estant trouvé
d'voir un petit bœuf d'Aphrique, trappe & ramas-
se, gras, poly, de petit costume, bien formé, soudainement me tomba en la me-
me, estant celui que les Grecs souvinoient ancienement nommé Bubalos:
mais
the known as well as the unknown is visible in the beautiful representations of cities included in Georg Braun and Franz Hogenberg’s *Civitates orbis terrarum* (1572–1617), a large collection of 546 bird’s-eye views of cities around the world (Fig. 3). The unit of the walled city is here taken to be a separate and distinct space. The urban space is populated by its inhabitants who, standing at the front of the image, capture the social life of the city itself. There is a clear relationship here between the world-making power of cartography and topography expressed through the costume worn by the local inhabitants. The space (real or not) of Jerusalem is populated by figures that are drawn from collections of the costumes of different people in Europe and other parts of the world, Renaissance publications today known as costume books.26 Hundreds of plates of costumes allowed so-called ‘armchair travellers’ to visualise people of distant lands bringing them closer.

Artefacts such as maps and costume books can therefore be used to revise our understanding of distance, not just geographical but also cultural.27 Material culture studies consider the poly-semantic value of ‘things’: their function to either bridge or reinforce cultural gaps, their value in creating strangeness and familiarity, and at gazing at other cultures, often unknown in the pre-modern world through verbal or written means. Global historians are increasingly asked to reflect on what people at the time made of such global phenomena, how they perceived, understood and often misunderstood the world around them.28 Once the terrain of intellectual historians and historians of ideas, material culture provides a means to reflect on how the global was constructed not just through concepts, models and thoughts but also through materiality.

**Conclusion**

The success of Belon’s book cannot be attributed to the representation of a giraffe for his reading public, though the enduring legacy of this image needs to be acknowledged. Global material histories run into the danger of creating narratives in which over time the world became more connected and people and things more mobile. Yet it was not until 1827 that another giraffe reached Europe, this time a present from Muhammed Ali Pasha, then Governor of Egypt, to King George IV of Britain. Belon’s giraffe on paper as well as the animal’s representations in texts, paintings and frescos became symptomatic of a material connection that did no longer exist. It was the perception (construction) in the European imaginary of what a giraffe looked like which in all probability inspired the artist Bernardino Poccetti in his decorative scheme of the vaulted ceiling in the Grotta Grande in the Boboli Gardens in Florence completed in 1586–87. A century...

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after it was last seen in Florence, a giraffe here is imagined with the attributes of a deer, a much more familiar animal to Florentines of the time. It is the interplay and distance between the extant and the lost object, the imagined and the real, and the visual and the material that allows historians to delineate histories of material change increasingly written on a global canvas.
Encounters at Sea
Paper, Objects and Sentiments in Motion
Across the Mediterranean
La Fagara una sua spezie è stata descritta diligentemente da gli Arabi, e questa io chiamo maggiore: ma ne è un'altra spezie minore a Fagare.

**ANNOTATIONE DEL FERRO**

Chi desidera maggior dichiarazione della Fagare, veda il Clas. de Escribiti lib. primo in Car- ria dall'oro al cap. 24; dello Cabebe il quale ne da contezza più particolare.

**INCHIOSTRO INDIANO**

(illustrazione)

**INCHIOSTRO INDIANO**

(illustrazione)

Inchiestro Indiano.

Sono nelle Indie occidentali in vio de' scrittori due maniere d'inchiostro, e ne l'uno, e l'altro de quali si prepara nelle botteghe: il primo è il rosso e composto di polce fortificata di raschiatura di vernizone ammalfata con certa spezie di gomma; il nero è fatto di terra bituminosa, con l'istessa maniera de' glutinosi ammalfati li detti inchiostri in tavolette e sigillati come nelle foggette figure si rappre-

**INCHIOSTRO INDIANO NERO**

(in una cassetta)
In page 677 of Ferrante Imperato’s *Historia Naturale* (Naples, 1599) the reader finds a series of objects bearing Chinese characters, in spite of which the captions describe them as ‘*inchiostro indiano rosso*’ and ‘*inchiostro indiano nero nella sua cassetta*’ (Fig. 12.5). They may have appeared somewhat out of place in a book whose subtitle announces minerals and rocks as its main subject, with some more information about plants and animals ‘never seen before’: ‘nella quale ordinatamente si tratta della diversa condi-
tion di miniere, e pietre. Con alcune historie de piante, & animale, *fin hora non date in luce*’. The fact is that in his ponderous 800-page tome, Ferrante does not describe plants, rocks, and animals with an exclusively disinterested scientific scope. He also focuses on their use once these natural products have been processed into goods that can be put to a practical, and in general profit-oriented, purpose.¹

These Chinese artefacts evoke a series of phenomena and processes, like the distribution in Europe of information about *exotic* lands during the early modern period. These exciting reports were brought back to Europe by sailors and merchants, and recorded not just in manuscript and printed travelogues, but also in the ‘never seen before’ objects and goods they transported with them. In the particular case of the *inchiostro indiano nero nella sua cassetta* these artefacts also evoke the use of ink not just for drawing, but also for ideograms and script: as the material means, in other words, employed to register and communicate information. They finally remind us that the Chinese had invented print and paper centuries before they were embraced in Europe and turned into two of the most important factors in the onset of what has come to be traditionally known as modernity.

Brought to the attention of European readers by sailors, merchants, diplomats and missionaries, these objects can be taken as allegories of some of the topics we would like to cover with our exhibition and catalogue. People, ideas, paper and things in motion are just different aspects—agents, content, media—within the general phenomenon of human communication in all its complex diversity.

* The research that led to the elaboration of this essay and also to the different introductions for each of the respective sections in the book was made possible by a STSM scholarship from the PIMo COST Action. I am grateful to its chair, Giovanni Tarantino (who first proposed the idea of organizing an exhibition alongside the conference), for giving me the opportunity to work in a place like the Biblioteca Riccardiana. I must also express my gratitude to its director, Francesca Gallori, and librarians Teresa Sansone and Rossella Giovannetti, for their kind and generous support during my stay at the Palazzo Medici-Riccardi.
Our exhibition and catalogue offer visitors and readers a series of relevant samples from the collections of the Biblioteca Riccardiana whose variety and exceptional value turns them into excellent case studies of Mediterranean mobility. Whereas Giovanni Tarantino provides an interpretation within the general methodological and thematic scopes of the PIMo project, and Giorgio Riello addresses these samples as case studies for connectivity, entanglement, and the material turn in global history, my essay will approach their symbolic and communicative dimensions.

I will provide a brief survey of the way in which some of these documents, their genres (diplomatic relazioni, cartography, scientific treatises, travelogues, tariffs, prose fiction, poetry), their formats (manuscript, print, books, letters, leaflets), the material media they employed (paper, parchment), and the semiotic systems they used (script, iconic cartography, emblems, tables, catalogues) all constitute case studies of complex signifiers employed for the codification and communication of information and knowledge.

One of our aims is to illustrate the emergence of an increasingly globalized Mediterranean in which mobility and exchange of all sorts, while still subject to the powerful impulses of pre-existing trends, were also unfolding in different directions and gaining unprecedented levels of intensity and speed on account of innovative technology in fields like navigation, cosmography and cartography. These also included the improvement of already well-established methods, as well as the development of novel systems, for the codification, communication and administration of knowledge and information, mostly (although not exclusively) based on the so-called paper revolution. Paper itself constitutes a successful case of material mobility, since it arrived in Europe all the way from China via the Silk Road in the caravans of Arab merchants, who then spread its production and use across the Mediterranean around the 13th century.²

Paper-based libraries and archives are important when it comes to traditional approaches to the discipline of history. They also become iconic institutions in their own right which are frequently employed as beacons of prestige and power. But we intend to widen our scope beyond books and other paper-based documents, in order to include objects as both the material foundation for ideas in motion, and as artefacts which were very frequently invested with a significant emotional capital by individuals and communities.³

An eclectic approach to these phenomena should contribute to achieve David Armitage’s desideratum for a new interdisciplinary type of cultural historical approach to international relations, which can go beyond ‘a more traditional diplomatic his-

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tory centred on the archives and activities of states and their formal agents’.

Whereas Armitage centres upon diplomatic history and international relations, the scope of the PIMo COST Action and the particular focus of our exhibition and catalogue require a more comprehensive and heterogeneous series of samples that can illustrate important aspects of mobility within the geocultural spaces of the Mediterranean. We focus on people, paper, ideas and things in motion, and especially upon what they all have in common: (a) the fact that they are mobilized, in one way or another, as connecting agents, and (b) that most, if not all, of this connectivity is of a semiotic nature. The production, exchange, and reception of these documents consequently fall within the general scope of communication. By documents here I mean not just paper or parchment, but objects in general, whose material foundation has been charged, or mobilized, with a semiotic function. This will allow for a comprehensive approach to both the linguistic and the material aspects of history, culture, and the emotions.

Our exhibition and catalogue illustrate a variety of typologies by means of which the construction of both self and community often rely on the simultaneous construction of an other—as demonstrated by the title page of Histoire Generale de la Religion des Turcs, which displays with forceful visual eloquence parallel images of Islam vs Christianity with a clear bias towards the latter, or the map of the Turkish Empire in the Archontologia Cosmica, significantly placed immediately after page 666 (Figs. 5.16 and 1.6). This is the case not only in political discourse, in literary texts, diplomatic relazioni, historical chronicles, sermons, news reports, and in general in any of the textual genres recorded in script upon media such as paper or parchment. This symbiotic construction of self and other also takes place in non-discursive, more iconic realms like the visual arts; in practices such as religious, courtly and diplomatic rituals and protocols (which other than semiotically invested objects, garments, and script, also involve people); and in the general production, circulation, and reception of symbolically mobilized objects (which in some cases may combine iconic signifiers with the use of script, such as the simultaneous use of images and texts in ensigns or coats of arms).

There is therefore a decidedly material foundation for the semiotic and communicative exchanges in which the samples that we use engage. They were employed for the production and projection of narratives of self-identities, which, in Richard N. Lebow’s terms, were then used to weave a network of international relations based on a competition for hegemony. Lebow claims that the establishment of international political relations is not merely founded upon the pursuit of material interest, but upon the construction and consolidation of ‘identities that offer meaning, order and

6 ‘Any object can be a thing, but once it is framed as or entered into evidence—one it is mobilized—it becomes a document, an instance proper to that genre’, Lisa Gitelman, Paper Knowledge. Toward a Media History of Documents (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2014), 3.
predictability’ to the communities whose identity is at stake. Lebow’s approach presupposes (a) a semiotic and narrative component and (b) an emotional substratum which informs these identities. Incorporating Lebow’s conceptual tools facilitates an eclectic methodological framework for the interpretation of the emotional component in identity construction.

Within this eclectic framework connectivity is inseparable from communicability: the material mobility of things and people is inextricably tied to their natures as semiotically charged artefacts, on the one hand, and on the other, as individuals and communities that generate signifiers used for the construction of self-identity and for their relations with others. These processes naturally involve the intervention of traditional constituents in semiotics, such as sender, receiver, and message. To this classic triad we should add the material media upon which the message is codified. Beyond the semantic content of the message, we also need to address components such as the power relations between sender and receiver, and their respective universes of discourse, all of which determine the performative power of the message.

If we turn to diplomacy—arguably the most institutionalized and, consequently, regulated practice in international relations—it is easy to understand that it should be conducted by agents with advanced skills in translinguistic and transcultural communication, whose ultimate aim is the projection and defence of power. The purpose of some of the diplomatic documents we display (e.g. MS Ricc. 1826) is precisely to train would-be Venetian and English diplomats in the rituals, uses, and eventually, cultural values, of the Ottoman and the Persian courts, with a view to providing efficient communication and avoiding the pitfalls of cultural misunderstandings, which could have fatal political, economic, or even military, consequences (Figs. 10.5, 10.6, 10.7, 5.3). Diplomatic credentials are also a clear case of semiotically mobilized papers with a powerful performative function, for these documents did not just identify ambassadors before a foreign court: they also legitimized them to conduct negotiations and sign politically and / or contractually binding agreements—recorded, of course, in documents.

If a culture can be viewed as a macro-text, a heterogeneous conglomerate of signifiers, then diplomats, travellers, merchants, translators, missionaries, and migrants are among the most relevant agents of exchange that engage in the construction of cultural identities. They are responsible for the codification of messages in a variety of media with a diversity of purposes and varying degrees of performative power—the latter of which will depend on their position within the hierarchies of their respective institutions and / or communities. What is even more relevant to our purposes, they also
double up as actual people in motion facilitating the simultaneous movement of ideas, paper, and things.

In his essay, Giorgio Riello underlines the polyvalent nature of objects, and the fact that they can be mustered for the establishment of networked transcultural and / or transnational spaces. This of course, turns such things into fundamental primary sources, into documents, in other words, for the interpretation of the cultural historian. ‘Things, artefacts, luxuries and commodities’, he concludes, ‘were not the embodiment of an extraneous system of connections, but created themselves global spaces: things as actants to borrow Bruno Latour’s terminology’.10 Things as actants is indeed another way of describing the phenomenon of semiotically mobilized objects.

II

It would be redundant to say that this is an essay that accompanies the catalogue of an exhibition with primary documents deposited in a library if it were not for the fact that the Riccardiana is a repository of information and knowledge of many different kinds in its own right. This turns it into one among the series of case studies that the PIMo Action seeks to sample, which include libraries, archives, cabinets of curiosities, museums, catalogues, tables, lists and collections of any kind.

Like archives, libraries are material records, parchment and paper-based memorials that register important aspects of the phenomena, the artefacts, the signifiers and the signifieds, involved in human mobility and communication.11 There are, of course, libraries that use other media, such as Ashurbanipal’s Library, which consists of clay tablets.12 While using different media, Ashurbanipal’s collection still served in its own day purposes very similar to more modern paper-based libraries and archives: the registration and administration of information and knowledge, and their use as one of the logistical infrastructures for the upkeep and expansion of empires—alongside other infrastructures, such as a network of engineering works and means for the transport of victuals, people, goods and troops. In the case of Ashurbanipal’s Library, this power-projecting function has now been repurposed, after the original library has been subsumed—i.e. re-signified—as part of a much larger library, archive, and museum. For the British Museum is a complex signifier made up of a heterogeneous collection of artefacts that have been recontextualized to project a sort of performative power different from that for which they had been originally produced. The materiality of the clay artefacts in Ashurbanipal’s library in London, or the basalt stele used as the medium

11 See for instance the Regole per fondare una libreria pubblica (MS Ricc. 2112, fols. 141–142, Fig. 11.2).
12 Further details at https://blog.britishmuseum.org/a-library-fit-for-a-king/ (accessed on 06/02/2020).
13 Tommaso Campanella, La Città del Sole: Dialogo Poetico. The City of the Sun: A Poetical Dialogue, translated with introduction and notes by Daniel J. Donno (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 1981), 31. See also Fig. 7.6.
for the codification of the Law Code of Hammurabi in Paris, now project a re-purposed performative power for audiences in the British Museum and the Louvre as they also display a potential for different interpretations depending on the disposition of the receiver. A French or an English nationalist, a Marxist internationalist, or a historian of a post-colonialist persuasion, to name just a few, will project very different gazes upon them.

Beyond their functional uses as repositories of information and knowledge, documents, books and libraries also feature in some of the items on display. In Tommaso Campanella’s *La Città del Sole* a book presides over the central core of the *Solar City*, which stands itself as an urban encyclopaedia of sorts:

Nothing rests on the altar but a huge celestial globe, upon which all the heavens are described, with a terrestrial globe beside it. On the vault of the dome overhead appear all the larger stars with their names and the influences they each have upon earthly things set down in three verses. The poles and circles are indicated [i.e. the parallels and meridians], but not entirely since there is no wall below. Instead they are completed on the globes resting on the altar below. Seven lamps, each named for one of the seven planets, are always kept burning.

Around the cupola at the top of the temple there are cells, and there are as many other larger ones above the cloisters. These are inhabited by the clergy, who are forty in number. Rising above the cupola there is a pennon to indicate the various winds, these being thirty-six in all, and the weather that accompanies each of these is known. Here too there is a book in which matters of the utmost importance are inscribed in letters of gold."13

In *I Mondi del Doni* books stand for the worlds of knowledge which, like the new territories opening up before the eyes of European explorers, were coming under the ken of scholars (Figs. 11.3 and 11.4). An emblem with a similar analogy also features in the title page of Francis Bacon’s *Instauratio Magna*.14 They have, in short, and just like all the items on display in the exhibition, as well as those included in this catalogue, a material dimension which constitutes the foundation for their double function, practical and symbolic, and their status as material tools and icons.

The exhibition and the catalogue also include items that illustrate
the birth of modern science and the development of different disciplines of knowledge such as mineralogy, botany, zoology and anthropology, many of them produced within a pre-disciplinary context in which reliable accounts (empirical or scientific, we would call them today) of natural phenomena, cultural others and indigenous peoples are frequently indistinguishable from fantasy, myth and fiction.

The semiotic mobilization of things in motion includes processed goods that were subject to trade. Some of these, like coffee, tea, and chocolate are identified with the ethnic and cultural background of the regions where they were produced and from which they were subsequently exported to Europe: Arabia, China, and Mexico (Fig. 4.6). They flaunt their double value, first as a case of material goods in which a natural product is processed and traded for a profit, and then also as icons whose material nature is semiotically processed and turned into a signifier of the cultures and the peoples that produced them. The excitement involved in the consumption of a novel product was thus compounded by the allure of its exotic nature. We need not go very far back in time to remember how products of this sort were advertised in 20th-century media, with stereotypes reminiscent of the ethnic groups and cultures associated to them, and whose use today would be considered offensive and politically incorrect. This is a significant case that demonstrates how a change in cultural values renders certain icons not just obsolete, but also socially unacceptable—or in other words, how shifts in social paradigms can alter the nature of their perlocutionary effects.

Plants and vegetables that produced consumer goods like coffee, chocolate and tea frequently emerged from the pages of treatises in natural philosophy to evolve into icons subsequently appropriated by the European bourgeoisie as symbols of their own genteel metropolitan habits, and by cultural historians and philosophers as metonymies of new social and ideological paradigms. The consumption of tea came to embody traditional values of sociability within private domestic spaces, whereas coffee houses
turned into emblematic public spaces for the exchange of ideas and political opinions.

The European appropriation of cultural, religious and political others also manifests itself in the way in which Western hegemony, on the one hand, and on the other the non-European communities upon which the former sought to prevail, all came to be represented in maps. As our samples prove, early cosmographic volumes combined the disciplines of chronography and cartography with anthropology. But this phenomenon also features in more specialized books on mineralogy and botany (Figs. 12.3, 12.4). In these printed spaces faithful visual reproductions of real plants and rocks appear alongside animals on display as monstrous alterities, residues of the vocabulary and iconography of sixteenth and seventeenth century natural philosophy, which were still indebted to authoritative texts like Pliny's *Historia Naturalis* (Figs. 8.3, 8.4, 12.7).

A certain Whig view of the history of science has also tended to occlude important contributions by non-European cultures to the emergence of the most technological and scientific aspects of modernity—such as Muslim contributions to navigation techniques, which in our catalogue is exemplified by the use of highly technical Muslim cartographic information by Ramusio in his *Navigazioni et Viaggi*, buried underneath a mass of exclusively European travelogues (Fig. 3.8). Another good example that encodes this competition for the appropriation of political, religious and cultural capital across the Mediterranean during the almost 500 year-span covered by our project appears in the *Racconto historico della veneta guerra in Levante*, one of whose illustrations shows a ‘Veduta d’Atene da Mezzo Giorno’, with a view of Athens dominated by the Parthenon turned into the ‘Gran Moschea’, standing on top of the Acropolis, with the ruins of the Areopagus and Hadrian’s palace at its feet (Fig. 5.5). They all stand as architectonic icons of the past power of Greece and Rome, glorious mirrors upon which Christian Europe sought to contemplate itself, and which now appear defeated, and flanked by ostentatiously Muslim buildings within a redefined urban context that symbolized Ottoman occupation. Three major Mediterranean powers and cultures, Greece, Rome and Turkey, combined in one single city.

In contrast with the *Racconto historico della veneta guerra*, MS Ricc. 3490 illustrates an attempt to build bridges across different religious identities and sentiments. This is a manuscript sammelband with letters and documents that belonged to Angelo Maria
Querini (1680–1755, Fig. 11.1). A librarian and a scholar, Cardinal Querini displayed an ecumenical spirit with respect to the European religious civil wars of the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries, and some of these letters describe the efforts that went into his edition of Cardinal Pole’s correspondence. Reginald Pole (1500–1558) was a victim himself of Henry VIII’s break with Rome, and he was for some time deemed by some as a possible leader for a *via media* between Protestantism and Roman Catholicism. Querini’s letters illustrate the process and the challenges of dealing with correspondence and using personal papers as modular pieces of information which, once properly processed, could become some of the building blocks within the historical narrative of a critical edition. They also bring to the foreground a significant link between two different moments in the early modern history of Europe. The early sixteenth-century competition for hegemony among different European powers during the Italian Wars was soon compounded by a different sort of conflict when Luther triggered the Protestant Reformation. Domestic conflict at home gave rise to important concerns about the necessity for a common response to the Ottoman threat which materialized, inter alia, in eirenic proposals by humanists like Erasmus and Juan Luis Vives. About two hundred years later, this eirenic tradition found an enlightened continuation of sorts in the ecumenical efforts of scholars like Querini.  

The Riccardiana also custodies significant cases of political communication in the form of diplomatic reports, such as *Relazione di Costantinopoli* (MS Ricc. 1826), a collection of diplomatic documents that provides an overview of the sort of exchanges established by European diplomats with the Ottoman and the Persian Empires during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. The *relazione* that gives the sammelband its title is a very long document (59 fols.) by Bernardo Navagero (1507–1565), Venetian Ambassador to the Ottoman Court (Fig. 5.2). After a mission to Constantinople he elaborated this account of the habits and rituals of the Turkish court for the Venetian senate, which, beyond its immediate use as political communication,
could be employed in the training of subsequent Venetian envoys. Beyond the Ottoman Empire there is also a copy of another relazione by Robert Shirley, the well-known English ambassador to the Persian kingdom (Fig. 5.3). Both must have been read by potential diplomats alongside another relazione included in the manuscript, such as the anonymous ‘Modo di negotiare della corte di Costantinopoli’ (Fig. 10.7).

III

Like the Homeric poems which constitute its main source, the Aeneid is full of episodes at sea that reverberate down the centuries for those who venture on the waters of the Mare Nostrum (Figs. 3.1, 3.2, 3.3). Its hero, Aeneas, can be viewed as a polysemic icon of Mediterranean mobility. Heroic or not, travellers’ accounts, frequently including shipwrecks, punctuate the folklore and the literature of the different traditions and linguistic communities that surround the Mediterranean basin. Towards the end of the Middle Ages, and after the contribution of Arab science to navigation with the compass and the astrolabe, they run parallel, and sometimes also become entangled, with more technical accounts of the invention and history of navigation. This is the case of the Arte de Navegar, by Pedro de Medina, first published in 1545 (Valladolid: Francisco Fernández de Córdoba) and subsequently translated into different languages, of which we display two different editions, in Italian and French (Figs. 3.12, 3.13). Medina’s work is an excellent case of ideas and knowledge in motion, collected and processed by people in motion (pilots and sailors), and then turned into beautifully illustrated book-objects that were distributed in their original and in translation. Conceived in the Sevillian milieu of the Casa de la Contratación, Medina’s work is a typical product of its own time. After its Spanish princeps, it was very soon translated into French, Italian, Dutch and English, during an age when any sort of information on the skills and techniques involved in cartography and navigation amounted to an intangible product of enormous value in the competition among European powers for global expansion. Medina’s work is also the product of the increasingly sophisticated use of alphanumerical techniques for the recording of information that resulted from the observation of
Communication and Mobility Across the Mediterranean

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natural phenomena by international networks of sailors and cartographers (Fig. 3.21).

Travelling heroes and sailors meet merchants and financiers in Lorenzo de’ Medici’s *Rime*, where this most famous of Renaissance merchant bankers rhapsodizes about the myth of the Golden Age—an ideal time, he recounts, well before cartography taught men to measure the land and the coast, before navigation was developed, even before money was invented and trade developed (Fig. 3.11). And well before, indeed, paper facilitated the gradual dematerialization of global finance—for without the paper-based credit that circulated across the Mediterranean, and then across the globe, many of the exchanges illustrated by the items in the catalogue would not have been possible, or would have run a much slower course.

*Teneva occulte nel ventre la terra
le triste vene in sé d’ogni metallo;
né il fèr disio i cor mortali afferra
d’oro; e non era per paura giálo,
né ferro si trovava atto alla guerra;
né col freno o col piè suona il cavallo;
né il bronzo propagava la memoria;
né sete alcuna era di mortal gloria.*

*Nereo quieto e ciascuna sua figlia
d’Argo ancor la prim’ombra ne’ lor regni
non avièn visto pien di maraviglia,
o da remo o da vento mover legni;
né misurar il mare e i liti a miglia,
con mille altri dannosi e novi ingegni.
D’isole anchor non s’era il nome udito:
parea finissi il mondo ov’era lito.*

The myth of the Golden Age is also closely linked to travelogues through their connection with utopian literature, which in this period frequently avails itself of a traveller’s account as the narrative framework. Some of the most prominent cases include the imaginary John of Mandeville, Thomas More’s *Utopia* (whose narrator Raphael Hythlodaeus claims to have been one of Vespucci’s companions), Tommaso Campanella’s *La Città del Sole* (a dialogue between a Genoese sailor and a Knight Hospitalier), and Francis Bacon’s *New Atlantis* (an imaginary island discovered by some European castaways off the coast of Peru). In all of these cases, readers hear about fabulous new lands through the diegetic voice of a traveller not dissimilar to the voices we read in the printed letters and *relazioni* by Columbus, Vespucci, and Ramusio. Not infrequently, some of these narratives resorted to devices based on cartography—Thomas More’s map of *Utopia*
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is a case in point, as is the use of maps in Zaccaria Seriman’s *Viaggi di Enrico Wanton alle terre incognite australi ed ai regni delle Scimmie e dei Cinocefali* (Fig. 7.1). We have already mentioned how the allegorical devices employed by Campanella include ideas borrowed from cartography. And in their own turn, sixteenth and seventeenth century cartographers populated their treatises and maps with fantastical accounts of monsters and imaginary kingdoms—such as Prester John, whose kingdom appears as late as 1649 in the *Archontologia Cosmica* (Fig. 2.13).

In a figure like Leo Africanus we find a 16th-century Odysseus, a new sort of Aeneas. Like the Troyan hero, he stands as the epitome of an exile who must cross the sea, forcibly displaced by military conflict and occupation. Like so many other heterodox Europeans—for Leo was born as a Muslim European—in the sixteenth century, he experienced exile, and was also encouraged to switch allegiance and identity in order to survive on both shores of the Mediterranean. Like many of these travellers, he also became a mediator between Europe and Africa, whose description he provided for Ramusio’s *Navigationi et Viaggi* (Figs. 3.5, 3.10). Leo Africanus was a victim of this particular form of displacement, from the North to the South and the East of the Mediterranean, in a pattern which in the sixteenth century also included the Jewish communities forced to convert or leave the Iberian Peninsula after 1492: a part of the story of those who moved to the Ottoman Empire is in chapter thirteen of Pierre Belon’s *Les observations des plusieurs singularitez* (Fig. 5.14). Hispanic Jewish communities, or Muslims like Leo Africanus were part of the first wave of non-Christian European exiles, who were followed decades later by Spanish Moriscos expelled in 1609, victims of religious intolerance and the fragile political and military situation on the Northern and Southern shores of the *Mare Nostrum*. Their predicament, and the political and military context that determined their fate are inscribed in the manuscript copy of an *Ordenanza* issued at El Escorial on June 4th 1607, which regulates the function and uses of Spanish galleys. Its fols. 39r–39v establish that the main function of these galleys should be to provide security for the Strait of Gibraltar and protect trade with the Indies. The galleys—manned by slaves and forced labour, whose presence is also regulated—should in particular secure the coast of the Kingdom of Granada from the onslaught of corsairs, so that the new population of *Cristianos viejos* who had moved in to replace expelled Muslims could settle down safely (Figs. 3.16, 3.17, 3.18).

As an exile forced to leave his home, Aeneas prefigures the fate of

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21 Prester John and his kingdom also feature in Ramusio (Vol. I, fol. 290v).

21 Prester John and his kingdom also feature in Ramusio (Vol. I, fol. 290v).
many individuals and communities who underwent similar predicaments. The shores of the Mediterranean have seen many sail away in search of a new land, and its bosom has turned into a necropolis which continues to receive human remains, from mythical figures like Aeneas’ steersman Palinurus, to the wretched Northern and Sub-Saharan African migrants, who, alongside Eastern Mediterranean and Middle Eastern refugees, have drowned by the thousands since the current immigration crisis started—all of them displaced by famine, deprivation, war and poverty in their respective homelands.

A tempest, illustrated in the beautiful Virgilio Riccardiano, drove Aeneas to the Carthaginian coast, and under the protection of Queen Dido. A tempest also witnessed the consummation of their love in *Aeneid* IV.160–172. And a combination of Virgil’s characters with contemporary accounts of sailors and shipwrecks in fabulous islands stirred Shakespeare’s imagination in *The Tempest*, a play in which the sea oscillates between the Mediterranean and the Caribbean—patent proof of the symbolic power of seafaring upon the European imagination during this early age of exploration. In Shakespeare’s *The Tempest* a shipwreck sets in motion a plot that involves the righting of wrongs brought about by the forced displacement of Duke Prospero of Milan and his daughter Miranda. The play also involves relations between the communities on the Southern and Northern shores of the Mediterranean: the ship which Prospero’s magic causes to flounder and eventually come ashore on his island is carrying the King of Naples and his entourage back to the Italian Peninsula from a trip to Tunis:

*Gonzalo:* Methinks our garments are now as fresh as when we put them on first in Africa, at the marriage of the King’s fair daughter Claribel to the King of Tunis

*Sebastian:* ’Twas a sweet marriage, and we prosper well in our return

*Adrian:* Tunis was never graced before with such a paragon to their queen.

*Gonzalo:* Not since widow Dido’s time.

*Antonio:* Widow? A pox o’that. How came that widow in? Widow Dido!

*Sebastian:* What if he had said widower Aeneas too? Good lord, how you take it.

*Adrian:* Widow Dido, said you? You make me study of that. She was of Carthage, not of Tunis.

*Gonzalo:* This Tunis, sir, was Carthage.

*The Tempest,* 2.1.70–84

Another of the characters, Caliban, bears the name of the Caribbean natives that were used by Montaigne in one of his essays to denounce the treatment of natives in the new territories (*Des Cannibals*, in *Essais* I.31, 1580). Shakespeare thus contemplates the Caribbean through a Mediterranean lens, as much as he casts classic Mediterranean and European myths, such as the
Golden Age, upon his plot. Gonzalo, one of Prospero’s councillors, describes the island as a combination of More’s *Utopia* and Lorenzo de’ Medici’s *Golden Age*:

I’ th’ commonwealth I would by contraries
Execute all things, for no kind of traffic
Would I admit; no name of magistrate;
Letters should not be known; riches, poverty,
And use of service, none; contract, succession,
Bourn, bound of land, tilth, vineyard, none;
No use of metal, corn, or wine, or oil;
No occupation; all men idle, all,
And women too, but innocent and pure;
No sovereignty—
[...]  
All things in common nature should produce
Without sweat or endeavour: treason, felony,
Sword, pike, knife, gun, or need of any engine,
Would I not have; but nature should bring forth
Of its own kind, all foison, all abundance,
To feed my innocent people.

(2.1.162–171; 175–180)

The island is ‘full of noises, / Sounds, and sweet airs, that give delight and hurt not’, says Caliban, who has been interpreted as a symbol of European ambivalence towards the natives: half carnivorous beasts, half blessed, prelapsarian creatures untainted by civilization, he stands as an allegory for victims of colonialist exploitation and deprivation. In a very interesting case of more recent cultural translation, the Caribbean has been described as the Mediterranean of the New World, a mirror-like image of the fertile combination of languages, cultures, and ethnic groups knit together by sea routes in the *Mare Nostrum*. The Nobel laureate Derek Walcott (1930–2017) recreated his native Caribbean following the literary, cultural, and symbolic archetypes that have come to be associated with the Mediterranean of the *Odyssey* in his *Omeros* (1990). From the Greek Homer to the Caribbean *Omeros*, Mediterranean cultural patterns, iconic and narrative blueprints of sea travel, emigration, and cross-fertilization still contribute to generate new myth-making—i.e. poetic—accounts of traumatic displacement like transatlantic slavery.

As the mythical founder of the first pan-Mediterranean Empire,
Communication and Mobility Across the Mediterranean
José María Pérez Fernández

Aeneas also symbolizes colonial competition for hegemony in military, political and cultural terms. All subsequent powers with imperial ambitions have sought to appropriate the legitimacy that comes with imperial Rome’s cultural and political capital. Romans explained their enmity with Carthage by tracing its mythical origins to the tempestuous and tragic love affair between Dido and Aeneas. ‘This Tunis, sir, was Carthage’, says the wise counsellor Gonzalo in *The Tempest*. The identification of Tunis with Carthage was something that the well-read Gonzalo might have encountered in several different accounts. The *Civitates Orbis Terrarum* (Ricc. Stamp. 10939) illustrates a map of Tunis with the battle that led to its definitive Ottoman conquest in the summer of 1574 against the background of the ancient ruins of Carthage (*veteris Carthaginis ruinae*, to the right of the engraving, Fig. 9.5). Tunis and La Goleta had been incorporated almost four decades before into the dominions of the Hispanic monarchy, as a result of the so-called *Jornada de Túnez*, Charles V’s successful expedition in 1535. This is an event that features in several media in the period, from inexpensive and popular news pamphlets, to the exclusive Flemish tapestries that celebrated the victory—the latter of which constitute an interesting case of luxury objects in motion. The *Jornada de Túnez* also features in Münster’s *Cosmography* (Ricc. Stamp. 10933), where the history of Carthage and Rome appears alongside an account of the imperial expedition against Barbarossa (Figs. 9.6, 9.7, 9.8, 9.9). The Spanish poet Garcilaso de la Vega was among the soldiers who participated: he was wounded and his convalescence in *La Goleta* gave him some spare time to compose his sonnet XXXV, in which he proclaimed that the Roman Empire was undergoing a rebirth in those ancient Carthaginian parts:

Boscán, las armas y el furor de Marte,
que con su propia sangre el africano
suelo regando, hacen que el romano
imperio reverdesca en esta parte,

han reducido a la memoria el arte
y el antiguo valor italiano,
por cuya fuerza y valerosa mano
África se aterró de parte a parte.

Aquí donde el romano entendimiento,
donde el fuego y la llama licenciosa
solo el nombre dejaron a Cartago,

vuelve y revuelve amor mi pensamiento,
hiere y enciende el alma temerosa,
y en llanto y en ceniza me deshago.
Encounters at Sea
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Some of the items on display also codify a diversity of religious and identitarian sentiments which constitute the background for cultural and doctrinal controversies, as well as more violent encounters. Many of these resulted in religious persecution, slavery, exile, imprisonment and in general several forms of enforced, and therefore traumatic, displacement across the Mediterranean. Derek Walcott’s account of Afro-Caribbean slavery in a poem with a strong Mediterranean background also carries distant echoes of the African-Mediterranean slave trade that preceded its transatlantic counterpart, and coexisted with it after 1492, when African slaves that had usually circulated throughout the Mediterranean, began to be transported to the Americas en masse. Next to religious and political exiles the Mediterranean also teemed with vessels powered by slave labour (Fig. 5.9).

Rome and Carthage, the images and symbols usually associated to them, were appropriated, refashioned and used by sixteenth century Christian Europe to account for their confrontation with an enemy that came from the East, in this case Muslim infidels. In these, and in many other cases, the Mediterranean served a double purpose, as a road for traffic, trade and peaceful exchange of people, goods and ideas, but also as a path for displacement and exile, a battlefield between different communities, their interests and their beliefs.

IV

Like Leo Africanus, fifteenth-century Greek scholars who moved to Europe under pressure from Ottoman expansion on the Eastern Mediterranean constitute well-known cases of people and ideas in motion. They brought both manuscripts and linguistic skills with them, and alongside their European students, collated, edited, translated and distributed the works of authors like Pausanias, Strabo and Ptolemy (Figs. 2.1 to 2.8). The result was a redefinition of cosmography and cartography which also built upon the know-how and the instruments imported into Christian Europe from the Islamic world.

The exhibition and catalogue include maps elaborated with traditional techniques, such as the early 17th-century Carta nautica fatta da Messina, which proves that portolans, although gradually rendered obsolete by more advanced methods for cartographic representation, coexisted with the great works of universal cosmography like Ortelius, Münster, or Mercator (Figs. 2.9, 1.2, 6.2, 6.3). Theirs was a new sort of cartography which combined Biblical chronography, anthropolo-
gy, zoology and botany with geometry, trigonometry, and astronomy. They resorted to the use of alphanumerical techniques for the recording of empirical astronomic and geographic information—which was frequently provided by their own direct observation, or sent by international networks of pilots and correspondents—with a view to its subsequent translation into visual maps and ekphrastic accounts (Figs. 2.1 to 2.4, 6.1). Münster is an interesting example of this predisciplinary stage, since he includes information that today would remain within the bounds of separate disciplines.

Ekphrastic cartography is represented in our catalogue by the Frammento di Portolano ossia Guida di Navigazione. A manuscript collection of information for navigation along the coasts of Spain and Italy and then on to Malta, it proves the variety of formats and methods employed by pilots. Its eminently practical description of the capes, bays and currents, the data about distances between different locations, couched in a plain, discursive format constitutes a revealing contrast with the highly technical languages and symbols of mathematics and trigonometry employed in Ptolemaic cartography and with the mostly visual conventions used in portolans (Fig. 6.1).

Trade also featured among the main impulses behind the mobility of people, primary goods and manufactured products, all of which became also vehicles for the circulation of knowledge and ideas. This combination of goods and information is exemplified by the Tariffe in our exhibition, which shows that traffic between Italy and the Levant consisted of material goods like paper, but also more immaterial services related to linguistic mediation (Figs. 4.1, 4.2). Translation amounted to a fundamental strategic infrastructure of a virtual nature, a service in other words, not quantifiable in material terms, but financially accounted for as an expense with the rest of the parameters that intervened in the commercial exchanges between these two regions of the Mediterranean. And of course, translation in general was also fundamental for the exchange and distribution of ideas, and for the establishment of national identities through the construction of a literary canon (Figs. 10.2, 10.3).

The expenses on turcimanarie recorded in the Tariffe mercantili del Levante thus constitute very interesting case studies for the simultaneous trade in goods and information (fol. 65r ‘Tarriffe di Turcimanarie’, Fig. 4.2). Accurate and timely information was also of the essence when, beyond trade in material products, it came to more sophisticated paper-based financial operations such as letters of credit or letters of exchange, which required good coordination between the different agents located in the places throughout which paper money and credit circulated.
Our project aims to put into historical perspective current migratory phenomena and the emotions generated by and around them. These new waves of people in motion across the Mediterranean have come to compound pre-existing crises in traditionally established European national identities, which have for some time now been put under considerable pressure by the forces of cultural, demographic, and economic globalization. The latter have in turn been facilitated by the exponential development and universal reach of digital-electronic mass media as well as by new technologies and material infrastructures for unprecedentedly fast and efficient traffic of news, goods, people and capital across vast distances. The emotionally charged reactions among important sectors of European public opinion to these movements of people across the Mediterranean, and the political weaponization of those emotions by neopopulist nationalism emphasize the relevance of a close examination of case studies culled from the period that goes between the end of the 15th and the 18th centuries, when currently threatened national identities were undergoing, albeit through a far less accelerated pace of semiotic mobility, a period of formation in a vis a vis a series of cultural others. The vocabularies and the iconographies of these cultural-national identities have been in circulation for centuries, they reverberate with considerable vigour today, and still play an important role within current culture wars and political debates. The exhibition and the catalogue provide a series of samples that exemplify a phase in the ongoing dialectic between local identities versus connected and communicative globalization, of the sort proposed by Armitage, a series of case studies in the cultural history of international relations that prefigure what Étienne Balibar described as ‘an open process of immanent transformation of national identity, national sovereignty, and national membership... the transnationalization of the political whose results are not really predictable’. Two decades after Balibar published this statement, the unpredictable results are fast catching up with us.

ENCOUNTERS AT SEA
PAPER, OBJECTS AND SENTIMENTS IN MOTION ACROSS THE MEDITERRANEAN

CATALOGUE
texts by José María Pérez Fernández
COSMOPHOMOGRAPHIAE
universalis Lib. VI. in
quibus, iuxta ceteros fidei scriptorum
traditionem descriptur,
Omnia habitabilia orbis partibus, propriis doctores,
Regiis Topographiae effigies.
Terraeque, quibus sicutem differentes & varias
species, & animates & inanimates ferae.
Animalium peregrinorum naturae & picture,
Nobilium cœtis effigies & descriptiones,
Regni rei, incrementum & translationes.
Omnia gentium mores, leges, religiones, gentium mutationes, item regum & principum genealogiae.

Autore Sebast. Munsterio.
From Venice to Jerusalem

The Travels of Sir John Mandeville and Marco Polo’s Il Milione are two of the most important travelogues from the late Middle Ages. Composed and distributed in the age of manuscript, their narratives still exerted a significant influence upon the new sorts of travel literature that started to be created and distributed after the invention of print. Mandeville in particular symbolizes the highly emotional pull of Jerusalem, the spiritual and cartographic centre of the world, as featured in high medieval mappae mundi, whereas Marco Polo is an epitome of Venetian maritime hegemony, the result of travellers and merchants who dared go well beyond the Mediterranean basin, and consequently represent a stage in global mobility that predates the late 15th-century age of exploration (as does Zanobi’s Viaggio in Oriente, Fig. 8.8). We display Mandeville in manuscript and in print (Figs. 1.7 and 1.8), whereas Marco Polo appears within the framework of the magnum opus of early modern travelogues, Ramusio’s Navigationi et Viaggi as well as in a 16th-century manuscript version (Figs. 3.4, 3.6 and 3.7). Both constitute pre-disciplinary descriptions of distant, exotic territories which also weave truth and fiction in their accounts. Both are also the result of complex processes in which information was collected—either first-hand, in Marco Polo’s case, or as an armchair traveller, in Mandeville. Both were distributed in a variety of formats, and both were also translated into several different languages. They constitute, in short, eminent cases of book-objects, people and ideas in motion.

The coexistence of truth and fiction, of mythical patterns and early modern science, within the same text is illustrated by Münster’s inclusion of the Kingdom of Prester John (Figs. 8.5 and 8.6). The Cosmographiae Universalis also demonstrates the alliance between cosmography and empire, with its project for a Universitas Christiana (Fig. 1.2). This common interest in the universal informs Münster’s title page, which displays the imperial order, both secular and religious, at the top with a host of princes, bishops and their different nations (Fig. 1.1). It stands in sharp contrast with the landscape located at the bottom, populated by naked or semi-naked natives, wild creatures and the plants out of which clove (gariofili), nutmeg (muscata) and peper (piper) are harvested. This is an early case of the representation of a product that stands for the cultural and natural other that produces it, and in the long run would become part of the iconographic lexicon used to denote these new, exotic lands—alongside wild beasts, exotic landscapes and sea monsters (Fig. 4.6).
Between these imperial hierarchies at the top and savage nature at the bottom, the reader finds images of Ottomans, allegories of near cultural others that mediated between distant savages, untamed nature and civilized Europe. Although they were perceived with a significant degree of exoticism and alterity, the sophistication of their culture, their economic and military power, alongside their geographical proximity, turned the Ottomans into far more unsettling others, and more of an actual threat than the distant natives in the Americas or the Pacific (Figs. 1.5 and 1.6).

Münster also exemplifies the new cartography that resorted to the practical application of disciplines like mathematics, geometry and trigonometry as measuring techniques for the accurate representation of the cosmos and the earth, in both tabular-numerical and iconic terms (Figs. 1.3 and 1.4). It combines these maps with texts that pertain to other disciplines (history, anthropology, natural philosophy) and includes a map of Jerusalem, described with regret as the ‘Holy City, once the capital city of the Jews, today a Turkish colony’ (Figs. 1.10, 1.11), the spiritual counterpart of Athens in section 5, which also appears under Ottoman occupation (Fig. 5.5).

The Civitates Orbis Terrarum provided an illustrated tour of all the great cities in the world which ends with an image of Jerusalem, thus turning the reader into an armchair pilgrim of sorts. This pilgrimage also included Damascus, another iconic place for Christianity, since this city was Paul’s destination when his sudden conversion took place (Fig. 1.9).
Encounters at Sea
Paper, Objects and Sentiments in Motion 
Across the Mediterranean


This conceptual and methodological framework for analysing Mediterranean mobilities is heavily inspired by a new wave of considerations about Global History as framed in James Belich, John

Map of Constantinople.
1.6
Map of the ‘Turcicum Imperium’, placed immediately after page 666.
1.7
Ed. r. 271.2. Giovanni Mandeville, Viaggi di Terra Santa. Firenze, a petizione di Ser P. Pacini da Pescia, 14... [sic] (1505?).

opposite page

1.8
Encounters at Sea
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In questo mondo, impo dell'eternità
ed in mezzo l'eternità dista l'eternità
del mondo. Si chiamano diroeci,
lo sfera. Tutti i santi in mezzo li consti,
Inglia digemina terrae sola et il
he celestiale, dirottamente et
offrire percosse e unificati delli
rendi di santi. In sante sopra e
morte e posizione e amore e
partecipatemi e liberare delle
penetralia et della cerbi
le et petra morte et penumbra
del nostro primum padre Adamo.
Considerato che non meglio
in mezzo alle alci. Ma alcune ma
più beneformi sono, il che telefi
alle, in mezzo dista, più che alcham
habitate. Et in sante sopra e
posizione. Perciò che sante
sonti, alcuni dolce acce
apparire, il che lafa
guida e manifeste in mezzo
della patria acce che è l'etern
ebra fa soffrire, in mezzo
Simile mente il creatore del mondo
volle e acce e posizione in
spesiere e unificati e nel mezzo
del mondo acce che l'acce
fui pubblicato e sopra per
tutto l'universo mondo. Si chiam
egli alcun richiamo, chong's
sistema pero gli uomini del mondo
e che lui ancora facto e omen alla
imagine e similmente suo et
y dimostrare lo infinito epoche.
1.9
Encounters at Sea
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1.10
1.11
Stamp. 10933. Sebastian Münster, Cosmographiae Universalis libri VI. Basileae, apud Henrichum Petri, 1552. ‘Jerusalem’.
Pedro de Medina’s *Arte de Navegar* is an excellent case of ideas and knowledge in motion, collected and processed by people in motion (pilots and sailors, in this case, working for the Hispanic Monarchy), and then turned into beautifully illustrated book-objects that were distributed in their original and in translation (*Figs. 3.12 and 3.13*). Conceived in the Sevillian milieu of the *Casa de la Contratación*, Medina’s work is a typical product of its own time. First published in Valladolid in 1545, it was very soon translated into French, Italian, Dutch and English, during an age when any sort of information on the skills and techniques involved in cartography and navigation amounted to an intangible product of enormous value in the competition among European powers for global expansion. Medina’s work is also the product of the increasingly sophisticated use of alphanumerical techniques for the recording of information that resulted from the observation of natural phenomena by international networks of sailors and cartographers. These universal methods displaced more traditional forms of representation as vessels ventured beyond the much better-known bounds of the Mediterranean, where portolans had been in use for centuries by pilots who were sometimes illiterate. The practical and visual nature of portolans, and their merely regional scope, turned them into tools that even an experienced but poorly educated sailor could put to good use. Although produced in 1629, the ‘Carta Nautica fatta a Messina’ (1629) shows that old-fashioned portolans still coexisted with their more sophisticated and universal Ptolemaic methods (*Fig. 2.9*).

The new sort of knowledge generated in the early decades of the sixteenth century resulted then from a combination of empirical observation and bookish data gathering. The latter included texts like Pomponius Mela’s ekphrastic description of the known world in Classical Antiquity, which enjoyed the intellectual capital of Greek science represented in our copy by the presence of a Ptolemaic *mappa mundi* (*Figs. 2.1 to 2.4*). Empirical data were then combined with new developments on the mathematics and geometry of the sphere, well known since the Middle Ages, and now made even more relevant by the global scope of sailing expeditions (*Fig. 3.19*).

Pausanias is also the result of the migration of manuscripts from the Eastern Mediterranean, brought to Europe by Greek scholars fleeing Ottoman expansion in those territories. These exiles brought with them not just the manuscripts, but also the linguistic and philological skills required to edit and translate them. They constitute,
in other words, excellent cases of people, objects, ideas and paper in motion (Fig. 2.5).

Once in Europe, these wandering Hellenists, their students, and publishers like Aldo Manuzio further extended these networks by producing scholarly editions which, from Venice and other Italian presses, subsequently spread over the rest of Europe. Stamp. 10962 is Aldus’ first edition of Strabo in Latin—which he had published in the original Greek text in July of that same year (i.e. 1516, Figs. 2.6 and 2.7)—two different phases in the process that led to more sophisticated editions, such as Casaubon’s bilingual text, which would be published in Paris a hundred years later (1620).

Nigri’s long subtitle demonstrates that it is also a product of this sort of processes: i.e. the translation and edition of classical texts (Strabo in this case), which were then commented and epitomized, to expand knowledge about universal geography (orbis totius habitabilis loca, regiones, provinciae, urbes, montes insulae, maria, flumina, & caetera), anthropology and ethnography (uerrum etiam omnium fere populorum & uariarum gentium mores, leges ac ritus tam sacri quam prophani exacte describuntur, Fig. 2.8). Nigri constitutes a prelude to the Galleria universale di tutti i popoli del mondo (1838, Fig. 12.1).

The title page also demonstrates how books were used to create global textual spaces by providing European readers with information about exotic distant peoples and places.

The accumulated knowledge in cartography, cosmography, and other disciplines which in these decades were attached to them resulted, already in the seventeenth century, in the monumental Archontologia Cosmica, a discursive and iconic statement of universal European intellectual and political hegemony in fields such as cosmography, history, anthropology and natural philosophy. Its title page shows an allegory of Europe standing above allegories of Africa, Asia and America and provided its readers with a journey throughout the globe that included places like Morocco, Persia, and the African Kingdom of Prester John (Figs. 2.10 to 2.12).
Hermolai Barbari in Pomponii Melam ad
Alexandrum Sextum pontificem maximum.

Prefatio

Cum Pomponii Melae coterranei tui princeps
maxime libellum a tuore, in usque letho, ut nostrum
hunc diem ulq. adeo medita setebat, ut nec agno
scire auctorem suum posset, nec agnosci. Trectenta in es
quae manabat ulcera utel cicatrice; ul splenio continximus.
Illud omnino paucissimis demptis affectus ut, si maiestati
tue no barbarae & hispanicae facie; sed latina & hispana re
presentare posset. Hoc ipsum, in Senecas & Q. uirtulanos
& Columella praeitimus qdem locis aliquot per transitut
& iter ceteros. Verum de is quos pluris mihi differente fo
ret secretus opere dedit mine inter hanc quas turbam eme
dationum luculentissima tuor: ita diem municipum atq;
cuium monumenta negligeantibus haberii uiderentur. Sed
uoicant nos maiora quaedam studia: uingmusq; nostrum
illud utus omnem Aristoteles libros in latinum uetendi ex
ponendiq; propositionum. Q; uod si ad exitum perduxero:
iam bona eius pars iam pridem peracta eis: nol dubito fut
urum qui de reliquo in litterarum labore gratia mihi fiat. Na
Dioscorides cunostratto corollario propedie exitus e.

Vale.

Liber Primus.

Pomponii Melae Cosmiographi de
sitiorbis liber primus.

Proœemium.

RBIS Situm dicere aggregior impeditum
opus & facundia minime capax. Cœcitas eni
fere gentium locorum nominibus: & corù
perplexo fatis ordine qaeum perque longa
est magis q; benigna materia. Venum apici
tamen cognoscitq; dignissimum: & quod si non ope inge
nii orantisse, ipsi suae contemplatione praetium operae at
attendéntium absolvat. Dicam autem alias plura & exactius.
Nunc autem ut quæq; eut clarissima & frictissae primo
qdem q; sit forntotaq; quæ maximae partes; quo singulae
modo sinturq; habitentur expediam. Deinde rursus oras
omnium & litteras intra extraq; funct: etq; quæ subit ac
circumulat pelagus: additis quæ in natura regione incola-
rumq; memorandâ funct. Id quæ facilitus scio posser atq; ac
cripi: paulo altius summa repeténtur.

Mundi in quaquar partes diuisio.

Mne igitur hoc quæq; esseq; mundi coelique
nomem indidimus: unum ideas: & uno ambitu
se cunctaque amplectit: partibus differt. Vnde
solvitur: oriens nuncupatur: aut ortus: quæ demeritur:
ocident: uel occaquis; qua decurrit: meridies. Ab adeunq;
partes: septentrio. Huic medio terra sublimis cingitur un
dig maximae: deindeq; in duo lateraq; hemisphaeriq; nomi
naturæ: oriente diuisa ad occaquis zonis: quinque: diffin:

a ii.
Pomponii Melaæ De situ orbis libri tres. Aethici Cosmographia. H. Glareani compendiaria descriptio orbis terrarum.

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2.5
MS Ricc. 29.
...
2.8 Stamp. 10955. Domenico Mario Negro veneto, Geographiae Commentariorum libri IX. Una cum Laurentii Corvini Novoforensis Geographia et Strabonis epitome per D. Hieronymum Gemusaeum translata, etc. Basileae, per Henrichum Petri, 1557.

opposite page


2.7 Ed. r. 305. Pausanias, Pausaniae Commentarii Graeciam describentes. Impressum Venetiis, in aedibus Aldi, et Andreae Soceri, 1516. This is the Aldine edition of the original Greek text, whose Latin translation Aldus would publish a few months later.
MS Ricc. 3829. Placido Calorro y Oliva, *Carta Nautica fatta a Messina*. Parchment portolan chart, 1629.
2.10

*opposite page*

2.11
2.12
Map of ‘Persia sive Sophorum Regnum’.
2.13
Map of ‘Aethiopia sive Presbiteri Ioannis Imperium’.


**Navigation Culture**

MS Ricc. 1929 (*Portolano da Genova in diversi mari*) is the ekphrastic counterpart to MS Ricc. 3829 (*Carta Nautica fatta a Messina* (Fig. 2.9). A very practical discursive description for safe sailing along the coast, it lists milestones (capes, bays, dangerous areas) and distances between different places from the South of Spain to Italy and then all the way down to Malta. In contrast, Pedro de Medina’s *Arte de Navegar* combines images with cosmographic techniques based on trigonometry (*Figs. 3.12 and 3.13*). The Riccardiana has one of its numerous French translations, and the image that features in fol. 108r flaunts the geographical centrality of Europe in the globe (cf. *Fig. 2.10* above). Its title page includes a navigation scene that evokes in visual terms the shipwreck that set in motion one of the most famous episodes in Virgil’s *Aeneid*, beautifully represented in the *Virgilio Riccardiano*.

As one of the most ubiquitous and influential archetypes of the Mediterranean traveller, Aeneas, and Odysseus as his predecessor, have both circulated as cultural icons throughout maps, poems, and founding myths across the Mediterranean and beyond (*Figs. 3.1 to 3.3*). Mythical travellers, from Odysseus to Aeneas and Mandeville, actual merchant adventurers like Marco Polo and early modern exiles like Leo Africanus coexist in the compilation of sea voyages put together by Ramusio, who turned his book into a major paper-based hub for the collection and distribution of ideas and knowledge about people and things in motion (*Fig. 3.9*). Marco Polo’s *Il Milione* brought Asia to European readers like few had done since the times of Pliny the Elder, whereas Leo Africanus created a common textual space between Europe and Africa by penning the first modern account of that continent for Ramusio’s readers (*Figs. 3.5 and 3.10*).

If Ramusio created a textual space in print for global armchair travellers, the manuscript *Codice Vaglienti* exemplified the entanglement between people, ideas and narratives in motion, and the role played by translation in the establishment of transcultural networks. This remarkable manuscript combines old and new, fact and fiction, the text of Marco Polo’s *Il Milione* with an excerpt from Mandeville, copies of letters from Vespucci, and the first Italian translation of the Qu’ran (*Figs. 3.4 and 10.4*). A translator played a fundamental role in the distribution of Marco Polo’s account of his travels to the Far East—Francesco Pipino, whose preface also features in Ramusio’s edition (*Figs. 3.6 and 3.7*). Marco Polo’s account is preceded by a *dichiaratione* by Ramusio himself, which includes, on p. 18, a table with the longitudes and the latitudes of some of the places mentioned in
the narrative, taken from *Abilfada Ismael* (Ismael Abulfeda)—this is a tabular, numerical counterpart to the maps that the reader could also find in Ramusio (Fig. 3.8).

As characters from Classical Latin and Greek Antiquity, and widespread allegories of the Mediterranean seafarer, Odysseus and Aeneas are also closely related to the myth of the Golden Age, used by Lorenzo de’ Medici in one of his *rima*. Here *Il Magnifico* rehearses a lament for a lost prelapsarian utopia before the development of navigation techniques and measuring instruments like that represented in Giovanni Paolo Gallucci’s *Theatrum Mundi et Temporis*, used to calculate the position of the sun and the moon in the zodiac (Fig. 3.21). The invention of money is also included by Lorenzo de’ Medici as a symptom of our fallen, iron age, paradoxically voiced by the leading member of one of the most successful merchant banking families in Europe (Fig. 3.11).

The most down to earth, technical aspects of navigation are illustrated by MS Ricc. 1929 (‘Descrittione de Legniami che Vanno à fare una Galera, et come va Composta’), which describes the different parts that go into the construction of a ship and the different types of wood employed in it. It also provides information on how to manufacture sails (‘Modo di Tagliar Veli di Tutte le Sorti’, fols. 92r–93v), and the components for a galley of 28 benches (‘A chi vol sapere di una Galera de Banchi 28’, fols. 94r–97r). It combines this with practical information about winds, currents and sea routes (‘Nota delle corse e di venti, e miglie, che sono da un luogo all’altro da Genou a Levante’, fols. 68v–77v; ‘Nota delle corse da Ponente’, fols. 77v–85v; ‘Institutione del Faro de Messina delle Corrente, et delli Bassi fondi, come bisogna Governarsi hauendo da lì passare navigando’), the times of sunrise and sunset according to the times of the year (‘Per sapere Dove si leva, et va sotto il sole di mese in mese’, fol. 67v), and methods for the observation of the sun, the moon and meteorological events to predict the weather and help navigation (‘Segni delle Mutationi dell’Aria, overo di Tempi Osseruati nel Sole’, fol. 86r–v; ‘Segni delle Mutationi dell’Aria, overo di Tempi Osseruati nella Luna’, fols. 86v–87v; ‘... nelli Stelli’, fols. 87v–88) (Figs. 3.14 and 3.15).

The perils and pitfalls of navigation in the Mediterranean are represented in the *Ordini da Osservarsi sulle Galere di Spagna*, a document issued at El Escorial on June 4th 1607, which addresses a series of aspects involved in the construction and use of Spanish galleys (to defend trade and new Christian settlements in the South of Spain against corsairs), as well as their internal regulation—including the use of slaves and forced labour. It establishes, for instance, the number of slaves that there should be on each of the galleys and provides funds for further purchase in case some of them had to be replaced (Figs. 3.16 to 3.18). A more sophisticated phase in the regulation of sea transport features in the *Sistema universale del diritto marittimo dell’Europa* (Fig. 3.20).
3.4
MS Ricc. 1910. Codice Vaglienti, 16th c., fol.1r (Il Milione by Marco Polo).
3.5


Del Prete Ianni, Commissionato...


Leo Africanus’s description of Africa.
SECOND LIVRE
DE LA MER ET DE SES
MOUVEMENTS ET COMMENT
L'ART DE NAVIGATION
FUT INVENTE.

3.14 MS Ricc. 1929. *Frammento di Portolano, da Genova in diversi mari*, 17th c., fol. 94r (‘A chi vol sapere di una Galera de Banchi 28’).

3.15 MS Ricc. 1929. *Frammento di Portolano, da Genova in diversi mari*, 17th c., fol. 97v (‘Descrittione de Legniami che Vanno à fare una Galera, et come và Composta’).
Encounters at Sea
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3.16 MS Ricc. 2542. Ordini da Osservarsi sulle Galee di Spagna, 17th c., fol. 4v.

3.17 MS Ricc. 2542. Ordini da Osservarsi sulle Galee di Spagna, 17th c., fol. 5r.

3.18 MS Ricc. 2542. Ordini da Osservarsi sulle Galee di Spagna, 17th c., fol. 29r.
SISTEMA UNIVERSALE
DE I PRINCIPI
DEL DIRITTO MARITTIMO
DELL’EUROPA
DEL SENATORE
DOMENICO ALBERTO AZUNI
PATRIZIO SASSARESE
Socio della R. Accademia della Scienze e B. A. di Napoli,
Corrispondente della R. Accad. delle Scienze e Membro
della R. Società Agraria di Torino, della R. Accad. di
Firenze, della Ducale Accad. delle Scienze di Modena,
egli Immobili d’ Alessandria e dell’Aruntica di Carrara.
Tomo Primo.
FIRENZE MDCCXCV.
PER GAETANO CAMBIAGI STAMP. GRANDUCALE
CON APPROVAZIONE.

opposite page


Objects in Motion: Mobility, Connectivity and the Imaginary in Early Modern Global Things

Giorgio Riello

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Raw materials and processed goods are among the most significant objects in motion during this period. The title page of Stamp. 10108: *Herbario Novo* (1667) proves how early modern botany appears entangled with the practice of navigation and exploration, as well as with the processing of such raw materials with a commercial scope (*Fig. 4.10*). Prospero Alpinus is another interesting case of the description of plants and the way in which they could be processed into consumer goods and other objects that could be subject to trade—coffee among them (*Fig. 4.8*). Alpini also includes a description of papyrus in his *Herbario*, alongside an account of its use as one of the important media used for the recording and exchange of information in the Mediterranean before the arrival of paper. The *Tariffe Mercantili del Levante* also proves that, among the different goods that were traded between Italy and the Eastern Mediterranean, there were materials such as paper but also intangible valuables like the services provided by interpreters, linguistic mediators without whose intervention the exchange of information required for trade and finance would not have been possible (*Figs. 4.1 and 4.2*). *La Carte Generale de la Mer Mediterranee*, in its own turn is the visual, cartographic counterpart of the regions described in mercantile and financial terms by the *Tariffe* (*Fig. 4.3*). The circulation of goods, thus, frequently took place alongside the circulation of information, and of knowledge. In the *Civitates Orbis Terrarum* (*Figs. 4.4 and 4.5*) Alexandria is described both as the location of the famous library, and also as an ‘insigne emporium’ that once mediated between India and Europe, before new routes were discovered by the Portuguese and the Spaniards. Cesare Vecellio’s well known catalogue of dress codes proves to what extent trade was a social practice that was regulated down to the sort of costumes worn by its practitioners in a major trading center like late 16th-century Venice. Beyond the Mediterranean, Stamp. 2834: *Traitez nouveaux et curieux du café, du the et du chocolate*, proves how these plants, once they had been processed as beverages for consumers in Europe also came to be used as iconic metonymies for the cultures and the ethnic groups that produced them (*Figs. 4.6 and 4.7*).
Encounters at Sea
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4.5

4.6

4.7

*opposite page*
Ad Cap. X X X VI.

De Papyro.

Ludovicus Hasse, noster overspicerii, anterioribus exemplis, recentioribus, & antiquis cognitae, & auctores recensitantur industriis, & industriis investigatam. Hinc præter radicem inundationem & recentiorum, foliorum potentiam, vel augilium, & auctores quosque tum amarius, tum dulcior, odoribus fragranti, vel affrentia, &...

Ad Cap. X X X VII.

De Cypero.

Cyperi plures species, & antiquis cognitae, & recentiorum industriis investigatam. Hinc præter radicem inundationem & recentiorum, foliorum potentiam, vel augilium, & auctores quosque tum amarius, tum dulcior, odoribus fragranti, vel affrentia, &...
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4.10

opposite page
4.8

4.9
A ‘Turkish Pond’

The powerful Ottoman was throughout this period the archenemy with whom European powers competed for hegemony in the Mediterranean, a sophisticated but at the same time exotic civilization which provoked simultaneous hatred, fear, and fascination for European audiences and yielded a series of responses that include famous musical masterpieces like the third movement (alla turca) in Mozart’s piano sonata in A major. Traces of its iconic and textual presence abound in any European library. One of the most significant images in the Riccardiana collection appears in Alessandro Locatelli’s Racconto storico della veneta guerra in Levante (Stamp. 12127). It is a view of Athens, a powerful icon itself of Classical Greek civilization, the secular and intellectual counterpart to the image of Jerusalem in Münster’s Cosmography (Fig. 1.11), which also appears under Ottoman rule. This image of the city is dominated by the Parthenon turned into the ‘Gran Moschea’, standing on top of the Acropolis, with the ruins of the Areopagus and Hadrian’s palace at its feet. They all stand as architectonic icons of the past power of Greece and Rome, glorious mirrors upon which Christian Europe sought to contemplate itself, and which now appear defeated, and flanked by ostentatiously Muslim buildings within a redefined urban context that symbolized Ottoman occupation (Fig. 5.5).

More aggressive traces of Ottoman presence feature in the Civitates Orbis Terrarum where a Hungarian city (Sancto Nicolaum) is displayed under the fire and the destruction caused by the Ottomans (Fig. 5.1). Erasmo Magno’s Imprese fatte dalle galere toscane is a beautifully illustrated manuscript that portrays a number of military encounters between the Tuscan navy and its Ottoman foe (Figs. 5.9 to 5.12).

The abundant circulation of news pamphlets about military encounters with the Ottomans and also on their domestic political situation are illustrated by the Aviso di Constantinopoli, which stands side by side with a treatise on the Histoire Generale de la Religion des Turcs, whose title page displays parallel images of Islam vs Christianity with a clear bias towards the latter (Figs. 5.4 and 5.16). They are shown with the cartographic representation of the Turkish Empire in the Archontologia Cosmica—a map significantly placed immediately after page 666 in the volume (see Fig. 1.6 above). European interest for all things Ottoman descends in the Cosmographie de Levant to
an account of its *deruistars*, who are described as ascetic monks with a vow of poverty—represented in the illustration on display by two individuals, one of whom vaguely evokes the iconography of European Franciscans or mendicant friars, whereas the other reminds the viewer of a classical pagan nude (Fig. 5.18). Both of them stand before two men dressed in standard Turkish clothes. The interest for all things Ottoman extended naturally to their language, habits, customs, and also to the Jewish communities that lived among them (Figs. 5.13 to 5.15).

Public news on the Ottomans distributed in print coexisted with more private manuscript diplomatic reports, which in the Riccardiana feature in a sammelband under the general title *Relazione di Costantinopoli* (Fig. 5.2). Besides the long document (59 fols.) penned by the Venetian diplomat Bernardo Navagero that gives it its title, the manuscript includes a rather heterogeneous collection with letters and *relazioni*, dating from different years, in different sizes and formats. They include a copy of *Relazione fatta dal conte Ruberto Sirlei* (i.e. Robert Shirley, English ambassador in Persia, Fig. 5.3), instructions for the conduct of negotiations at the Ottoman court (*Modo di negotiare della corte di Costantinopoli*) and a summary of the peace treaty signed with the Turks in Vienna in 1615 (*Compendio delle Capitolazioni della Pace fatta in Vienna cogli ambasciatori del Gran Turco il 1615*).

The long history of military clashes with the Ottomans is punctuated by a series of encounters that became emotionally charged signifiers, of either victory or defeat. The loss of Negroponte is one of the episodes that left a trace of texts and images in the same way in which *La Jornada de Túnez* was celebrated as a great victory in a variety of media, from popular inexpensive printed pamphlets to exclusive luxury products like tapestry (Figs. 5.6, 5.7, 5.8, 5.17 Stamp. 14453; see also Figs. 9.5 to 9.9 below).
MS Ricc. 1826. Relazione di Costantinopoli, 17th c.
5.3

5.4
Misc. 219.5. *Aviso di Constantinopoli del modo tenuto dalla Roscia moglie del s. Gran Turcho per far morire Mustafà primogenito suo*; *a la cagione di tal morte, et quella di Giungh il Gobbo pur suo figliuolo, con la dissoluzione del Matrimonio del la detta Roscia e disgraziatione di Rustan Basia*. In Roma, per Antonio Blado, 1554.
Encounters at Sea
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5.7 Ed. r. 675.10. Lamento di Negroponte, [Firenze], s.n.t.

5.6 Stamp. 12127. Alessandro Locatelli, Racconto historico della veneta guerra in Levante, Colonia [i.e. Venezia], Girolamo Albrizzi, 1691. ‘Fortress and walls of Negroponte’.
5.8
Stamp. 10997. G. Battista Moro e M. V. Coronelli, Memorie istoriografiche delle regni della Morea e Negroponte e luoghi adiacenti. In Venetia, Ruinetti, 1685. ‘Mare di Sapienza’.
Encounters at Sea
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5.9
‘Cattura di schiavi Turchi e assedio della città di Bône’.
5.10 & 5.11
5.12
A 'Turkish Pond'

opposite page


Stamp. 14453. Vincenzo Coronelli, Memorie istoriografiche de' Regni della Morea, Negroponte e littorali fin'a Salonichi accresciute in questa seconda edizione. [Venezia,] si vende alla Libraria del Colosso sul Ponte di Rialto, [1686]. ‘Mar di Sapienza’.
Dell' Africa neg.

Africa quale ai loco invenio del cangro naturale e il maestoso
monumento. Dal substrato e il merito de l'ignota parte
prima sì dico che esser le partho areopagite con
l'ologio della nostra suddetta cappella e la grandezza
e grandezza della genti che la formano. E l'oggetto e la
significato de l'obispo in età del nostro

Africa in tiende per nave e de L'Arc, Marocco, d'Alger,
di Tunis e di longitudine d'Arar. L'Arc com'è L'Arc e
Marocco in tuendo e grande, giunto il mare delle sue
punte. La medesima del regio di Algeri, Marocco ha
un'estensione del mare nel primo Punico, quattero grandi
popolazioni della regione attorno al mare, e popolazioni
attorno al mare di una vasta e prera uogneri in giudicini e
stanze, grandi uogneri: Nuove Sementi, e Toggi,
mar. La port' di Algeri, Marocco e le sue onde, tali con
ebbia baro in giro, e marocco e le sue onde, e baro in giro: Marocco e
in fondo sul mare e di lavoro al mare. Spesso in questo regi-
ne il Toggi o Marocco e Toggi sul mare verso il regi
ne. L'Arc ha il mare al centro de. Marocco e per regi
d'obispo, da biar e il mare, le sue uogneri e le sue
punte. La medesima del mare Sementi, e

nera le uogneri del mare e le uogneri del mare
le uogneri del mare e le uogneri del mare.
Views of Africa

The Mediterranean sixteenth century has in Leo Africanus a new Aeneas of sorts. A polymorphous exile, born and raised in the last Muslim stronghold in Western Europe, he fled his native Granada when the Catholic Monarchs took over the Kingdom in the fateful year of 1492. This predicament led him to switch his identity and religious allegiance on more than one occasion throughout his life. After leaving Granada he set off on a long series of journeys that took him to several places around the Mediterranean—maybe also to African and Middle Eastern outposts like Timbuktu and Arabia. A scholar, translator and lexicographer, he is a major agent of cultural and linguistic exchange among the different peoples that populate the shores of the Mare Nostrum, and also the author of the first major account of Africa published in early modern Europe as part of Ramusio’s monumental Navigationi et Viaggi, of which we display a map of Africa that precedes his account of that continent (see Figs. 3.5 and 3.10 above). We also include the 17th-century Geografia o descrizione delle parti di tutta la Terra, a manuscript ekphrastic description of the world one of whose sections contains an account of Africa (Fig. 6.1). Pierre Belon included among his plusieurs singularitez the image of a giraffe (the subject of Giorgio Riello’s essay), and human social types of Egyptian females and Arab archers (Figs. 6.6 to 6.8). Filippo Pigafetta’s Relatione del Reame di Congo illustrates the way in which sixteenth-century Europe construed social classes and gender stereotypes in the Kindgom of Congo (Fig. 6.5). Mercator, Ortelius and Münster provided cartographic information about the Northern African coast in Egypt and its continuity towards Holy Land, a detailed map of the African territories South of the so-called Barbary Coast, as well as a geographic description of the Bay of Senegal and its inhabitants (Figs. 6.2 to 6.4). Os Luisiadas celebrates in an epic poem of Virgilian inspiration the voyages of the Portuguese along the West coast of Africa and around the Cape of Good Hope on their path towards the Indian Ocean (Fig. 6.9).
6.3
‘De sinu Senegae’.
6.5

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Across the Mediterranean

6.8

6.9
Utopian Literature

A certain type of sixteenth and seventeenth-century utopian literature share with their contemporary travelogues a common narrative structure in which a sailor returns from an exotic land and recounts his adventures for amazed European audiences. More’s ground-breaking *Utopia*—a myth-making work of fiction and political philosophy, if there ever was one—rewrites Plato’s *Republic* by turning a distant island into a model for the perfect system of governance with decidedly ironic overtones (Fig. 7.5). This is something that More himself acknowledges in the original title: ‘*Libellus vere aureus, nec minus salutaris quam festivus, de optimo rei publicae statu deque nova insula Utopia*’. In order to lend veracity to his otherwise *festivus* account, the first edition featured not just a map of the island of Utopia, but also the alphabet of the *Utopian* language and a sample of its poetry in its original and in Latin translation. If More’s narrator, Hythlodaeus, claims to be one of Vespucci’s companions, Campanella couches his account in the form of a dialogue between a Genoese sailor and a Knight Hospitalier (Fig. 7.6). As opposed to More, however, he takes a rather more earnest approach to Plato’s *Republic*. He turns the urban design of his *City of the Sun* into an allegory of universal order and transcendent wisdom. The core of his *Civitas Solis* features a temple with a majestic dome presided by a book inscribed with golden letters. Bacon’s unfinished *New Atlantis* is the description of an ideal community encountered by sailors off the west coast of Peru. Here Bacon portrays Bensalem and its research institution, Salomon’s House, as places devoted to research leading to progress in knowledge and human moral improvement (Fig. 7.7). The tradition of combining cartography with utopian literature to create ideal locations that symbolize superior knowledge also features in Zaccaria Seliman’s *Viaggi di Enrico Wanton*, whose *cinocefali* and the regions they inhabit evoke European fascination with Egyptian hieroglyphs, which some viewed as arcane semiotic instruments that codified a superior form of ancient prelapsarian wisdom (Figs. 7.1 to 7.4).

"In aperta, non oblitias, quid foret deus, praesentia * * * praesentiae. Hoc est, si quis, nec \sloped\ nunc, in \footnote\ quidem animata frequenti natatione fortes ac squalorem contrahunt, solum hoc ad eum quem instituit locum nando peruenit, nec tamen villis a natuo colore transcurrant, aut foribus inquinatur.

1. Quid Cynocephalum pingentes demonstrant.

Lunam demonstrantes, aut terrarum orbem, aut litteras, aut sacrificium, aut iram, aut nationem, Cynocephalum pingunt. Lunam quidem, propter quod animal hoc confusum quendam cum Dei congruunt quo & affici solet, habet. Vbi enim aliquanto tempore Luna cum Sole congruens, expers luminis opaqa, permanet, tum mas quod

monumento di felle, restituito il mondo. Per la providenza ebraica finisce; e quale certamente in tutto, una cosa potrebbe essere fatta. In onore di Dio, il sole, perché esso nasce dal motto delle stelle. In numero quinquennio, perché essendo inizio di veri fori di felle, solamente cinque mosse da quel le governo il mondo.

Quando disegnano un Cynocephalo che vogliono dinotare.

Certificando la Luna, pouto l'undo, a lettere, aire, a notare, disegnano un Cynocephalo. La Luna, perché quello animale uscirà prima e disegna al centro della Luna che quanto la Luna non appare congiunta al Sole, allora il Cynocephalo risorge, ne nede, ne si gira, e sta di mezzo ai suoi, avendo nel suo stesso verso la terra, che per filamenti della resina della Luna. Ma la femmina, in sacro che la nube, la catena quello chio istesso; bause di più il delfo di sangue nero grande. Onde nei luoghi faccia uirare a questi temporali a Cynocephali, che gli ha per mezzo di quelli manifesti la conjugazione del sole e della Luna, significante il mondo, perché dio no essere iuventi del mondo settentrionali. Esa effetti di quegli animali diligentemente ne i farsi nudi, di e governati, non mororono, si come altrui, in un sol giorno, ma ad giorno per giorno più manca una parte del corpo, quale i facendo l'espulsione; e l'al travivamente s'inde in sua propria natura, e così fa

7.2 & 7.3

7.4
Stamp. 15815. Tommaso Campanella, Città del sole. Francofurti, impensis Godefridi Tampachii, 1623.
NOVA ATLANTIS
Fragmentorum alterum.
PER
Franciscum Baconum,
Baronem de Verulamio,
Vice-Comitem S. Albani.

LONDINI,
Typis Ioh. Haviland.
Proflant ad Insignia Regia in Cœmterio D. Pauli,
apud Iocam Norton & Richardum Whitakerum.
1638.

7.7
Stamp. 16785. Francis Bacon, 
 Opera Omnia. Londini, 
 excusum typis Edwardi 
 Griffini apud Richardum 
 Whitakerum, 1638.

**Travel Diaries and Travelogues**

The utopian literature displayed in the previous section was inspired by the accounts of world-famous explorers like Columbus and Vespucci (Figs. 8.1 and 8.2). The sailing routes that they opened, the new cosmographic and cartographic developments that they applied and contributed to develop, and above all their accounts of fabulous new lands across the ocean stirred the imagination of Europeans. Unable to find a vocabulary and a discursive pattern to make sense of all these brave new worlds, the authors of travelogues turned to pre-existing models for their description. Thus, they resorted to images and topoi culled from Marco Polo and Pliny, and even to analogies with the fabulous imaginary places described in romance and chivalric fiction. In his *Cosmographiae Universalis* Münster includes images of natives of Greater Asia (Asia Maior) that had been in circulation since Pliny’s *Historia Naturalis*, as he continues to provide accounts of the Kingdom of Prester John (Figs. 8.3, and 8.5 to 8.7). A similar combination of exotic animals, like the Giraffe, coexist in Pierre Belon with winged serpents that belong to the realms of fantasy (Fig. 8.4; cf. also Fig. 6.8 above).

The exciting allure of navigation in remote lands, the ever-present danger of shipwreck, and their iconic counterparts resulted in illustrations like the engraving displayed in Richard Verstegan’s *Theatrum Crudelitatem Haereticorum* where the tragic visual impact of sea drowning is put at the service of pro-Catholic and anti-Protestant propaganda (Fig. 8.9). They also went into dramas like Shakespeare’s *The Tempest*, inspired in part by a recent London pamphlet which reported news about English castaways in the Caribbean. These narrative and generic hybrids emerged out of a proliferation of publications triggered first by Columbus and Vespucci, which included pamphlets that spread swiftly all across Europe thanks to translators and printers, but also ponderous volumes which included maps and images of the cities and the natives across the ocean. A comparison between Vespucci, Columbus, or Cortes’ letters on the conquest of Mexico, with the narrative devices employed by Bacon, Campanella or More demonstrate that they all used the same type of discourse—and frequently also the same publishing design. Early modern utopias and the prehistory of science fiction all grow out of a combination of these letters with pre-existing narratives like Mandeville, Marco Polo, and Pliny. And so, the merchant explorer became an errant knight of sorts, a second Odysseus, or an Amadís, as demonstrated in a 1555 speech by an English courtier in praise of the new merchant company: ‘Hee [i.e. the merchant adventurer] shall seeke strange and unknowne kingdoms. He shall commit his safetie to barbarous and cruell people, and shall hazard his life amongst the monstrous and terrible beastes of the sea’.
8.2
MS Ricc. 2112bis., 16th c., fol. 5r. This sammelband includes (inter alia) a letter attributed to Vespucci, and addressed to Lorenzo di Pier Francesco de’ Medici, alongside other Italian accounts of Portuguese expeditions, including one led by Vasco da Gama.
8.3
Stamp. 10933. Sebastian Münster, Cosmographiae Universalis libri VI. Basileae, apud Henrichum Petri, 1552. ‘De terris Asiae maioris’.

De terris Asiae maioris

De India ultra Can.


*Observées par P. Belon.*

can eschauffant y avoit deux ou trois hommes, afin que voyant de loing si il y avoit aucune embusche, ils peusent advertir les habitants de la ville à se donner de garde, qui estchose totalement conforme ce que Pline raconte des regards ou eschaugettes des Carthaginois nommée en Latin *specula*, dont il se servoit lors que les Romains leurs faisoient la guerre: car ils en avoient de telles par les plaines de leurs pays qui est voi comme une mer & de sert comme est celui de Sues. Estant arrivé audit puits de Sues pour la seconde fois, repositives dessus les plottes formes jetées au soir bien tard: puis rechargées nos chameaux à deues heures de nuit; & ainsicelimens en diligence toute nuit, & tout le jour en seyeant sans nous repose arrivéis au rinage du Nil, qu'il estoit desabient tard, coucherme au meme lieu dont nous estoions partis en allant au mont Sinai. Il servoit nostre voyage du mont Sinai, lequel nous paracheusmes en vingt jour, & de neu fut dix chevaux qu'on avoit mené, il n'en renoua que trois: car la reste mourut par chemin, les Arabes ne leur donnont a manger que des fèves & de l'orge, tout ainsi comme aux chameaux: desquel chameaux en mourut aussi la plus grande partie. Ce jourd'hui environ mié en Arabes conduisant des chameaux aduasant une vipere de loing en la campagne, ayant seulement été un cri en son langage à ses compaignons; Vipere, Vipere, coururent la suer Vipere, à coups de pieire, qui me fisent dire qu'il les ayent en grande horreur. Les Viperes & Cerastes d'Egypte ont la peau fort obéissant, chose que on con- gue par les remplissant: car les ayant escorché, & emply leurs peaux de...
Encounters at Sea
Paper, Objects and Sentiments in Motion
Across the Mediterranean
8.8
Horribilia scelera ab Huguenotis in Gallijs perpetrata.

Nec terris solum gravatatur, at innix reddit
Aequora, consensisque fuit sequimur classe
Impietas, simulque sacro scelerata crune
Infinit, externis Christian ut procul aseatoris.
Scilicet ut genio qua negligit ipsa nescando
Per cades adinat populus ea dona remotis.

Anno

Stamp. 7922.
Richard Verstegan,
Theatrum crudelitatum haereticorum nostri temporis. Antuerpiae, apud Adrianum Huberti, 1587.
LAMENTO
DEL SIGNOR
GIOVAN PAOLO
Baglione.

Con il Pianto d'Italia, & il
lamento di Rodi.

Et di nuovo con dili-
genza flampato.
Alongside geographic discoveries, military encounters with the Ottomans also provided dramatic episodes and exciting plots for European readers. In some cases, they were invested with epic overtones, whereas in some other occasions they turned into tragic episodes of defeat. In all cases, responses to the Ottomans were always tinged with highly emotional components. Among the different series of military encounters with the Ottomans, the loss of Negroponte (1470) left an abundant trace of printed testimonies. The online digital catalogue of Italian 16th century printed matter (EDIT 16, Censimento nazionale delle edizioni italiane del XVI secolo) records 16 different entries under the title ‘Lamento di Negroponte’, which in turn is part of a subgenre of lamenti or complaints about military disasters—generally against the Ottoman and frequently also about episodes of the Italian Wars (Fig. 9.1).

The Civitates Orbis Terrarum includes a map that represents the final Ottoman conquest of Tunisia in the Summer of 1574 (Fig. 9.5). This strategic outpost in the north of Africa had come under the power of the Hispanic monarchy after the so-called Jornada de Túnez, Charles V’s expedition in 1535 against Barbarossa, which features in Münster’s Cosmography, where the Emperor’s victory is compared to the Roman defeat of Carthage in their competition for Mediterranean hegemony (Figs. 9.6 to 9.9). The presence of the classical world and its epic patterns as archetypes in the European imaginary also features in Pierre Belon, who in fol. 78r includes a map of the coasts of Europe and Asia around Constantinople which includes the ruins of Troy and the island of Tenedos (Fig. 9.10).

Erasmo Magno’s Imprese fatte dalle galere toscane depicts in fols. 182v–183r the capture of Turkish slaves in the North of Africa (‘Cattura di schiavi Turchi e assedio della città di Bone’, now Annaba, in Algeria). European confrontation with a Muslim other had furnished epic poetry since the onset of the Carolingian saga, with the Chanson de Roland as one of its best-known texts. The meter employed in many of its Italian counterparts (ottava rima, of which Boiardo and Ariosto constitute central examples) was also used for poetic reports of actual encounters (Fig. 9.3). Epic fiction and real historical episodes recounted in the genre of guerre in ottava rima did not just share the same meter, but frequently the same publishing format too. The Sotterranea Confusione, over Tragedia sopra la morte di Sinam Basà is another interestingly similar case (Fig. 9.4). Inspired by a real Ottoman admiral who died in 1553, this poem turns him into a Faustian, larger-than life anti-hero. Its author, Giulio Cesare Croce describes his descent
to hell after his death in two dialogues composed in terza rima. Besides its protagonist, other characters include Caronte, Pluto and the Chimaera. The result is an interesting hybrid between a descent to the underworld with Virgilian overtones, and a recreation of Dante’s Inferno, both put at the service of anti-Ottoman propaganda.¹

¹ Other victorious publications include a celebration of the liberation of Vienna from Ottoman siege (see Fig. 9.2).

9.2

9.3

9.4
Breve discorso fatto in ottavaria
Dalla S. Pellegrina.
Sopra gli apparecchi et imprese
fatte per Mare, & Terra dal Sereniss.
Gran Duca di Toscana.
Con la nuova fatta dal Galeone, & Bertoni
di Madama Sereniss.
Dedicata al Sereniss. Gran
Principe di Toscana.

In Firenze:
Alle Scale di Badia. Con licenza de Sup. 1607.

Sotterranea
Confusione
Ober Tragedia
Sopra la morte di Sinam Bassà
Famoso Capitano de’ Turchi.
Di Giulio Cesare Croce.

Ologna, per Bartolomeo Cochi. 1620. Con licenza de' super-
9.5
Stamp. 10939. Georg Braun, Civitates Orbis Terrarum. Coloniae Agrippinae, apud Petrum a Brachel, 1523 [i.e. 1623], vol. I. Tunisia and La Goleta.
Catalogue
Wars in Ottava Rima

Liber VI.

Excidium Carthaginem.

Vicinique propter Carthaginem potest. Eamque prudens consti.

De Africe regionibus.

Carthago a Romanis rediscovora.

opposite page


SEAFARING

Travellers, diplomats, exiles, missionaries and merchants are among the most relevant cases of people in motion during this period. They frequently included translation among their skills, which turns them also into translinguistic and transcultural mediators who contributed to the circulation of ideas. We have seen in sections 3 and 6 (e.g. Fig. 3.10) relevant cases like Leo Africanus, who was both a translator and a lexicographer: these two skills, and the materials they provided, were essential for cultural mediation. This section includes what is probably the first translation of the Qu’ran into a European vernacular (part of the so-called Codice Vaglioni, MS Ricc. 1910), and also an early (ca. 13th century) Arabic lexicon (Figs. 10.4, 10.1). There is also a list of translations, the ‘Opere racolte insieme tradotte’ in Francesco Doni’s La Libraria del Doni, a virtual library that includes translations from Scripture, some of which contributed to generate the controversies involved in the Protestant Reformation (Figs. 10.2 and 10.3). The Pausanias issued by Aldus in 1516 embodies the combination of two different types of agents of exchange, to wit, editors and publishers. This Pausanias and other similar texts, like the first Ptolemaic manuscripts to reach Europe, were the result of linguistic and philological skills in classical Greek. State of the art editions like those produced by Aldus were to a large extent made possible by Greek exiles who reached Europe under pressure from Ottoman expansion bringing with them important manuscripts. Publishers like Aldus, their teams of editors and translators, all contributed to spread Classical Greek culture to the rest of Europe not just by yielding texts for specialists, but also translations that readers could access in Latin and in their own languages, distributed in inexpensive and easily portable small formats which a much larger public could now afford (Figs. 2.6 and 2.7). Skills in translation for the conduct of cultural and linguistic mediation were also among the tools required of diplomats. Ambassadors and envoys of all sorts constitute another significant category of people in motion. They frequently doubled up as agents of cultural exchange and engaged in activities like translation and in the collection of all sorts of items, from art objects, to books, and curios. Manuscript 1826 brings together a series of texts with relazioni and other documents employed in political communication with the Ottomans and the Persians: one of them is a translation of a letter, while the revealing title of another of its texts is ‘Modo di negotiare della corte di Costantinopoli’ (Figs. 10.5 to 10.7).
OPERE RACOLTE
INSIEME TRADOTTE.

Sopra la sacra scrittura, Da lo Spagnolo, Historic, Epistole, Comedie, Tragedie, 
& in Medicina.

PARTE QUARTA
AL MOLTO MAGNIFICO
M. IACOMO MURU.

L'umani pigliano amicizia l'un' con 
l'altro, Signor mio per diuerse cagio-
ni, tagliolata per le uirgini, altre per le 
lodi che gli fon date, molteplice amore 
umiversale, ultimamente per la 
buona fama laguale e il privilegio di 
quell'o modo, o altre degne cagioni. 
Quelli son tutti mezzi honorati & nobili. Egli 
non sempre mio costume dono io tanto far menzione, delle 
rare qualità d'un uomo, di farne un certo meritevole 
mezzaniero mio, & nel rimanente poi per le lodi, che io gli 
ho adito generalmente donare se pongo affezione par-
ticolare, & non piccola. Voi signor mio fatemi un di que 
gli intelletti rari, che io rigorisco, & per dar principio a 
dimofrato con qualche segno d'amoreuolezza acco 
che voi conosciate l'amore ch'io posso alla nobilità della 
nostra persona; me piacerebbe di scrivere quelle quattro 
che nella mia libreria, & accioche Vergiando nel legge 
there qualche autore che le sue composizioni si distingano.
V. S. truovi anch'ora il Doni che nel pregurio che volgi, 
comandate molto la raccomanda. Di Vinegia.

Il Doni

Sacra Scrittura
et spirituali.

Agostino del Ben della peruva 
segnanza & altro
Sermoni di San Leon Papa
Antonio Arcincono con-
sessionale
Trattato d'Orazione del
Angela da Foligno
Compendio
Bibbia
Grifonismo, che n'è scritto.
Comento sopra la Bibbia
Consolation de Peccator
Vita de Santi Padri
Dialogo di San Gregorio
Epistole di S. Agostino
Epistole di san Capriano
Epistole di S. Girolamo
Esondazione di Nicolò Mo-
refusii
Vatere di dini Amorni
Giano Geron della Imi-
Sagion di Cristo, et di
Fregio del Mondo
Girolamo Spagnolo
Contra il Mistero
Leggiadri de santi
Manisales Curatorum
Libro da giocare a scacchi
Meditationi di S. Bernardo
Meditationi di S. Anselmo
Meditationi di San Bena
Nentura
Medicina dell'amore
Omletio di San Gregorio
Omelati o.

Spirito di Gni
Sibiloquio.

E i i
10.4
MS Ricc. 1910. Codice Vaglienti, 16th c., fol. 167r. Probably the first translation of the Qu'ran into a European vernacular.

opposite page
10.2

10.3
Spara maremme a Modello Mar. Dopo la teoria di una teoria nel diavolo, non si distingue la
memoria con l'ombra di un giorno, fino a che nella finzione di quel giorno, non si
venga alla luce del sole, che è la luce di un giorno. Insieme alla luce del sole, si
vanno le ombre della memoria. Nella memoria, come nella luce, la luce si
spende nell'ombra, e l'ombra si spende nella luce. Nella memoria, come nella luce,
la luce si spende nell'ombra, e l'ombra si spende nella luce. Nella memoria, come nella luce,
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Encounters at Sea
Paper, Objects and Sentiments in Motion
Across the Mediterranean

10.7
MS Ricc. 1826. Relazione di Costantinopoli, 17th c., fol. 287r. ‘Modo di negoziare della corte di Costantinopoli’.

opposite page
10.5
MS Ricc. 1826. Relazione di Costantinopoli, 17th c., fol. 299r. ‘Lettera mandata a Abderraman el Emir’.

10.6
MS Ricc. 1826. Relazione di Costantinopoli, 17th c., fol. 300v. ‘Lettera mandata a Abderraman el Emir’.
**Paper and Ideas in Motion**

Francesco Doni’s *Mondi* are aptly symbolized by a pile of books—the visual counterpart of the globes that stand as cosmic symbols displayed on the title page of this volume. We have also found the book as an icon that stands for the world in Campanella’s *Civitas Solis* and here Doni’s reproduction of the symbolic valence of the book appears next to an illustration of its material aspect (Figs. 11.3 and 11.4). The engraving in Hartmann Schopper’s *De omnibus illiberalibus sive mechanicis artibus* illustrates an artisan engaged in paper-making, the material media employed for the distribution of knowledge and ideas in formats as diverse as manuscript letters, pamphlets and books (Fig. 11.5). Brought from China to Europe in the 13th century by Arab merchants travelling along the Silk Road, the skills involved in the production of paper, and paper itself, constitute eminent cases of Mediterranean mobility. The proliferation of books made possible by the combined effect of inexpensive, easy-to-transport media like paper, and the technology of print, which could produce large amounts of copies in an unprecedentedly record time, is parodied in the famous *Stultifera Navis*. Sebastian Brant here mocks the *inutilitas librorum* in an engraving in which a scholar is depicted donning a fool’s cap in his study, surrounded by volumes of all sorts (Fig. 11.6). Another effect of the dramatic increase in book production was the creation of innumerable new libraries, both private and public. Libraries of course predate Gutenberg, but print led them to redefine their nature and functions. We display a proposal for the creation and administration of the Riccardiana library in manuscript 2112, the ‘*Regole per fondare una libreria publica*’ (Fig. 11.2). Paper as a versatile media for communication and the recording of information is illustrated by another sammelband (MS Ricc. 3490), which brings together a series of letters by Cardinal Angelo Maria Querini (1680–1755), in which he informs Lorenzo Mehus about his project for a critical edition of his fellow sixteenth-century Cardinal, Reginald Pole’s correspondence (Fig. 11.1).1

1 *Epistolae Reginaldi Poli S.R.E. cardinalis et aliorum ad ipsum*, 5 vols (Brescia, 1744–1757).
MS Ricc. 2112. Regole per fondare una libreria pubblica, 18th c.
L'ACADEMIA PEREGRINA
EI MONDI SOPRA LE MEDAGLIE DEL DONI.
ALLO ILLVSTRISS. ET ECCELL. S. PIETRO STROZZI DEDICATA.

IN VINEGIA NELL'ACADEMIA F. MDLII.

11.3
Stamp. 3388. Anton Francesco Doni, L'academia peregrina e i mondi sopra le medaglie del Doni. In Vinegia, per Francesco Marcolini, 1552.
11.4

opposite page

11.5
Stamp. 14677. Schopper Hartmann, De omnibus illiberalibus sive mechanicis artibus. Francofurti ad Moenum, 1574.

11.6
Ed. r. 580. Sebastian Brant, Stultifera Navis [Das Narrenschiff]. Basel, Johann Bergmann, 1497, ‘Inutilitas librorum’.
Encounters at Sea
Paper, Objects and Sentiments in Motion
Across the Mediterranean
La Danza di Sango in Congo.

Profilo.

Piano.

Una nave di Schiavi.
Cabinets of Curiosities

If a book stood for the world in Campanella’s *Civitas Solis* the subjects of our last section are collections that also aspire to become universal repositories of samples brought to Europe from all over the world. One of them is Ole Worm’s *Museum Wormianum* (Fig. 12.6). This Danish scholar is a typical representative of a pre-disciplinary age, when a scholar could be an expert in realms as diverse as zoology, botany, physics, philology or medicine. The result of this heterogeneous variety of interests was his cabinet of curiosities, represented in the *Museum Wormianum*, whose title constitutes a revealing description of the general categories into which these objects were classified. Beyond a mere collection, this aspires to be a history of different rare things (*Historia rerum rariorum*), a term which presupposes a narrative and a certain order of sorts, including natural, unprocessed objects, alongside human-made artefacts. They all have a similarly comprehensive scope as regards their origins too, since they are brought into the cabinet from both domestic and exotic spaces (*tam Naturalium quam Artificialium, tam Domesticarum quam Exoticarum*, the subtitle proclaims). This links the contents of this showcase with the products listed in the *Tariffe Mercantili del Levante* many of which belonged in the category of raw or primary materials (see Figs. 4.1 and 4.3 above). Such materials also feature in Ferrante Imperato’s cabinet of curiosities, displayed in the exhibition, and also in the rest of his 800-page volume, the *Historia Naturale*, which lists a series of minerals, plants and animals. A number of them are described in terms of their potential to be processed into marketable goods, or into any sort of artefact that could be put to some practical use (Figs. 12.2 to 12.5). The collection of all these samples was made possible by the dynamics set in motion by exploration, and they were brought to these spaces in Europe by agents of exchange that included merchants, missionaries, or diplomats, and later on, during a more sophisticated phase, by networks of correspondents created by early scientific societies. The third item on display, Levin Vincent’s *Elenchus Tabularum Pinacothecarum atque Nonnullorum Cimeriorum*, shows a more systematic and exhaustive classification, which in this case comprehends not just animals, minerals and plants from exotic lands, but also other samples that fall within the scope of anthropology, as well as books (Figs. 12.10 to 12.13). The use of pre-existing categories for the classification of nature features in Ceruti’s *Musaeum*, who describes a wild creature as similar to the mythic basilisk and also enlists Egyptian hieroglyphs among his curios (Figs. 12.7 to 12.8).
Finally, the *Galleria universale di tutti i popoli del mondo* displays a systematic classification of ethnic communities, their culture, customs and habits with a universal ambition (*Fig. 12.1*). It provides a revealing contrast between some early modern samples and 19th-century colonial anthropology (see *Fig. 2.10* above). In table 33 of its second volume there is an image of a slave ship, and in page 248 the author exonerates Europe from the unfair (says he) charge of having invented slavery, which he claims has existed in Africa since time immemorial—a suggestion he supports with cases like the history of ancient Carthage and archaeological remains in Nubia. He concludes that slavery is a natural condition in Africa, which many of its natives are ready to embrace. Under cover of a universalist ethnographic encyclopaedia, slavery is normalized as a historical constant and one among the usual habits of African peoples.
Encounters at Sea
Paper, Objects and Sentiments in Motion
Across the Mediterranean
LIBRO VIGESIMO OTTAVO. 677

La Fagara una sua spezie è stata descritta diligentemente da gli Arabi, e questa io chiamo maggiore: ma ne è un'altra spezie minore, portataci similmente da paesi orientali.

NOTE DEL FERRO
Chi desidera maggior dichiarazione della Fagara, vedrà il cap. de' frutti lib. primo in Grecia dall'orto al cap. 23, delle Cabece il quale ne da cenni più particolari.

Inchiostro indiano

Inchiostro indiano.

Sono nelle Indie occidentali in vito d'essercitteri due maniere d'inchiostri dico, e nero, e rosso l'uno, e l'altro da quali si prepara nelle botteghe, il rosso è composto di polve sottilissima di rafchatura di verzu, ammasfata con certa spezie di gomma; il nero è fatto di terra bituminosa nera, con l'esscrta maniera de glutinoso ammasfati, li detti inchiostri in tavole, e sigillati come nelle foggette figure si rappresenta.

Inchiostro indiano nero nella sua cofetta.
12.7

opposite page
12.6
12.8

opposite page
12.9 & 12.10
LIBRI LATINI, &c. 49

Ad hoc Museu pertinentes.

In Folio.

1 Ulysses Aldrovandus de Avibus.
2 ——— De Quadrupedibus Bisulcis. De Quadrupedibus Solidipedibus.
4 Con. Gesnerus de Quadrupedibus. De Quadrupedibus Oviparis.
5 ——— De Quadrupedibus Oviparís. De Avibus.
6 ——— De Aquatiliibus.
8 ——— De Aquatiliibus.
9 Salvianus de Piæibus.
10 Aristoteles de Animalibus, cum Commentariis Iulii Caesaris Scaligeri. Tolosae, 1619.
11 Fr. Willoughby Ichthyographia, sive Piæum Icones.
12 ——— Historia Piæum.
13 ——— De Avibus.
14 Plinii Secundi Naturalis Historia.
16 ——— De Avibus. De Infectis. De Serpentibus et Draconibus.

H 17 M.

opposite page  

ENCOUNTERS AT SEA
PAPER, OBJECTS AND SENTIMENTS IN MOTION ACROSS THE MEDITERRANEAN

AFTERWORD
Adimandiasi partendosi queste navi annora medesima Luna dalinorno la
utra da Marsilia iniquati di fiscoter
rano insieme facesi tinona sono
numero eh abbii et sara
poi dirai eh e raolo
fa et g elpartitore ora part
neviene er em di fiscoterrano
Global Insights into *Encounters at Sea*

‘People in Motion: Entangled Histories of Displacement across the Mediterranean (1492–1923),’ or COST Action PIMo, held its first (of four) major conferences in Florence, Italy, in February 2020. The results of this conference – framed, hosted and curated by the Riccardiana Library, working with PIMo members – served as the basis for the magnificent ‘Encounters at Sea: People, Paper and Objects in Motion’ exhibition of material culture and for broad-ranging discussions regarding the nature of mobility in the Mediterranean for people, objects, paper and ideas. The outputs of the exhibition and some of these discussions have now been transposed into this multi-disciplinary volume of scholarship.

*Encounters at Sea* was inspired by the idea of the Mediterranean as envisaged by Fernand Braudel in his seminal work *La Méditerranée*, which was first published in France in 1949 and marked the start of a new era in historical studies across Europe and, somewhat later, in the United States. Contrary to Braudel’s opus magnum, which was the product of his memory while imprisoned during the Second World War, Encounters at Sea does not result from the imagination and inherent knowledge of its convenors, but is instead a fundamentally archive-guided and researched piece of scholarship. It departs from a selection of the many treasures held at the Riccardiana and which speak to memory, transmission, representation, transposition and apprehension of and in a Mediterranean as seen within its connections and entanglements with the broader world. Like Braudel, however, the exhibition curators and the authors of the three essays opening this concomitant volume portray a Mediterranean where encounters and dis-encounters, mobility and immobility, and placement and displacement, seem to affect human beings and their imagination just as much as the objects they created and recreated to mark such events. These objects include maps, illustrations, travel diaries, travelogues and cabinets of curiosities that share and convene the idea of a Mediterranean embedded in a global world at different moments in history.

While this exhibition and the concomitant discussions about individuals and imagery seem to have been inspired by Braudel’s proposition of what the Mediterranean...
world entailed, the paths the exhibition follows differ somewhat from his primordial analysis of a world framed by structures, conjunctures and events specific to the societal environment that developed along the shores of the Mediterranean. Rather, the analytical framework and intersectional theoretical perception of the Riccardiana materials reflect David Abulafia’s premise that the Mediterranean is primarily a body of water, articulated by islands, that is open, naturally or artificially, to other bodies of water and, as such, part – if not centrally, at least primordially – of a globalized world.3

The sea itself stands central in the sections relating to ‘Cartography’, ‘Navigation Culture’, ‘Trade’ and ‘A Turkish Pound’, as well as in some of the ‘Travel diaries and travelogues’ and in ‘Seafaring’. What they all have in common is a threefold reflection of the Mediterranean as a body of water. In the first place, they portray a reality as perceived by their authors, contextualized in this volume in their time and their mental and cultural spaces. Secondly, the sea is mirrored as an individual and collective experience rooted as much on knowledge as on imagination of what a body of water should encase. Lastly, these commentaries transpose different epochs’ perceptions of the sea’s function into people’s cultural framing of the world. In this context, the sea is not only an element of study, a subject of art and a portrayal of dreams, but also and primarily a dynamic, well-rooted and living topographical element.

But while the Mediterranean stands central in this volume as a body of water, the commentaries also portray this water as an open world, enjoying at the one end a particular and deepening connection with Africa and Asia Minor through maritime, land and river connections, and at the other end developing and maintaining an intense relationship with the open Atlantic and its immense potential. In this analysis of openness, the Mediterranean appears as a key piece in a Eurasian world economy, as portrayed by Janet Abu-Lughod, but at the same time far from unique in the developing globalized world.4

The dynamic fluidity inculcated by the Mediterranean on its islands and shores, and even beyond its natural borders, offers historians a rare sense of permanent movement. These movements have translated into various types of historical events, ranging from mass migrations to trade and warfare in a plurality of directions and within different cultural constellations. Wherever they occur, these events are rarely simple to explain; in the Mediterranean world, however, migrations have often been multi-ethnic and pluri-‘national’, while trade has frequently been multidirectional instead of bilateral, and warfare has rarely pitted one country or city against another, but has instead tended to involve a complex alliance of cultural groups defined by ethnicity, language,

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religion, place of origin or family kinship. The sections on ‘Seafaring’, ‘Wars in Ottava Rima’ and ‘Views of Africa’ consequently showcase the fluid complexity that the Mediterranean imposed on its peoples and visitors.

Complex environments, like complex stories, tend to provoke human imagination, while imagination itself becomes an instrument for comprehending, dissecting and understanding the complexity. For these reasons, and for countless generations, the Mediterranean has been the source of inspiration for many. The sections on ‘Utopian Literature’, ‘Travel Diaries and Travelogues’, ‘Paper and Ideas in Motion’ and ‘Cabinets of Curiosities’ introduce readers to the multifaceted forms in which authors, curators and observers have sought to apprehend and represent the multiple complexities brought about by Mediterranean fluidity. Instead of a unitary focus on the exotic, the beautiful or the singular, writers and collectors have deconstructed the Mediterranean, in all its facets, in order to question, explain and preserve the idea of this fluid space as part of personal and collective memory formation. In this sense, many of the objects now considered works of art embody the conceptual definition of lieux de mémoire as introduced in current historiography by Pierre Nora.5

In this broad view of the Mediterranean, we can identify markers of what may be considered a global world. Each object, and its respective analysis by the various contributors to this volume, mirrors bilateral, trilateral and multilateral forms of contact. These multiple forms of contact, in turn, are consistent with a dynamic world of people heavily reliant on exchanges outside their original prescriptive intellectual and physical environments, in an open conceptualization of their own space.

In these different forms of contact we can see interchangeable forms of communication that have facilitated interactions over time. These interactions, expressed in individual and collective terms, went beyond the commonalities of trade or the formation of markets where commodities were bought and sold. Interactions originated, developed and crystalized in the marketplace, as much as in the different actors’ lodges, study rooms and cabinets of curiosities.

While contacts stand at the very inception of interactions, the two cannot be conceived without the circulation that the Mediterranean and its outside links, in their fluidity and dynamism, have fostered for as far back as the region’s history has been recorded. Circulation stands at the very core of transferences of perceptions, knowledge and distinct know-how across different social spaces, political borders and intellectual frontiers. In this sense, it cannot be conceived without the displacement and replacement of people, ideas and commodities within and far beyond the Mediterranean.
The intricacies and co-dependencies forged by contacts, interactions and circulations resulted in a level of integration between the maritime and the landed frontier of the Mediterranean, on the one hand, and between the Mediterranean as a whole and the rest of the known world, on the other. This integration, in permanent transformation, is possibly the best mechanism for measuring the intensity of both endogenous and exogenous connections across this complex, although fascinating space.

Perhaps one of the best examples of contact that developed into interaction and, through circulation, became integrated and transposed in its entirety to other parts of the world is the practice of commercial and maritime law imported from the Mediterranean by the actions of European and Ottoman subjects in Eurasia, Africa and later the Atlantic world, as substantially argued by Maria Fusaro. Indeed, almost all the selected objects contain substantial traces of many of Fusaro’s arguments.

In order to decodify and integrate the Mediterranean experience, as portrayed in Encounters at Sea, as part of a universal historical process, we need to contextualize it along its different roads of diffusion. This diffusing of Mediterranean mobilities and the transposition of these mobilities into the wider world through individuals (mariners and seafarers, for example) or ideas (such as the system of law) created a mutual world of influences in their wake. Indeed, the Mediterranean’s role in transmitting its view of the universe to other systems and worlds was as significant as its receptiveness to being influenced by the diffusion of similar or critically different perceptions as outputs of other maritime worlds. The relationships between the Eastern Mediterranean and the Arabian and Red Seas, the intimate link to the Indian Ocean, traceable for millennia, or the permanent searches beyond the pillars of Hercules into the Atlantic are but a few examples of such mutually influential streams of diffusion.

While diffusion is often difficult to identify and study in primary sources, it can be assessed by a systematic analysis of the outreach that people, objects, ideas, commodities and markets facilitate. This outreach can be measured both quantitatively and qualitatively, having in mind the specific objects the Riccardiana made available for the original exhibition and also this overview. In a nutshell, outreach opens a window of understanding for researchers seeking to identify the Mediterranean in the world and similarly the world as perceived within the Mediterranean in its different facets. Contrary to contemporary perceptions, however, outreach does not necessarily imply only positive outcomes, but rather encompasses a world of both positive and negative outcomes, and positive and negative co- and interdependencies, all of which are bound to change over time.

Outreach is often used as a synonym of dispersal and expansion. However, these are three distinct concepts. Dispersal, in the particular case of the Mediterranean and the work at hand, is exemplified by the internal and external voyages of the objects and ideas, either supported physically by specific materials or conveyed simply by being displayed within the internal workings of this particular space. At times, this internal dispersal overcomes the borders of the space itself and takes on a global significance, as exemplified in many of the objects reproduced in this current volume.

Outreach and dispersal tend to work in tandem and are often wrongfully identified as markers of a civilization in the sense of a common system of values or as part of a cultural unity. From this perspective, both themes are prone to be associated with civilizational expansion. This is a concept often loosely mentioned by historians and easily operationalized for the Mediterranean world, given that this was a space that was bound, well into the twentieth century, by the inner and outer workings of multiple and diverse empires. In this context, expansion is often uniquely applied when connecting the idea of the Mediterranean with that of empire, rather than when connecting it with the outreach and dispersal of processes that can be regarded as universal and thus global in their many facets.  

The need to extrapolate the notion of expansion is paramount to understanding the attraction that the mobility of people, objects and ideas has had for scholars, both now and in the past. This attraction, formed in and around the co-, inter- and intra-dependencies of Mediterranean history, reflects the multiple global relationships between this space and the wider world, and transformed this fluid space into the ‘Great Sea’ as voiced within the Hebraic tradition.

\[7\] This conceptual and methodological framework for analysing Mediterranean mobilities is heavily inspired by a new wave of considerations about Global History as framed in James Belich, John Darwin, Margret Frenz and Chris Wickham, eds, *The Prospect of Global History* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2016).
This volume arose from an exhibition at the Riccardiana Library in Florence (13 February – 12 June 2020), organized as part of the COST Action CA18140 ‘People in Motion: Entangled Histories of Displacement Across the Mediterranean (1492–1923)’. Known as ‘PIMo’ for short, this major humanities research project is authored and coordinated by Giovanni Tarantino (University of Florence) and Katrina O’Loughlin (Brunel University London), and explores issues relating to displacement, connectivity, disconnection, moving and plural identities and knowledge, motion and emotions. Its aim is to unravel and chart the entangled histories of displacement of human subjects within and from the Mediterranean between the fifteenth and twentieth centuries. By introducing emotion to the study of dislocated people, PIMo interrogates historical materials in fresh ways, and seeks to add new layers of understanding to research findings, in the conviction that emotions follow different logics of place, travel, and time.

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