8 • *Isolarii,* Fifteenth to Seventeenth Century

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Definitions and Origins

A first reaction to the "island books" known as *isolarii* is likely to be one of amazement and perplexity. The *isolarii* do not readily fit into the pattern of geographical literature we are used to: they seem to reflect an "underground" geographical culture, an unfamiliar kind of geography that flourished in the experimental and tolerant climate of the Renaissance but has now slipped out of our grasp. And the *isolario* did in fact die out without ever establishing its place in the official canon of geography, even though up to a certain time it was integrally linked with the early development of that science. That is why so much has been said and written about the origins of *isolarii.*[1]

Historians of cartography who have studied the various manifestations of the genre, especially those of the early period, have come up with many interpretations. Some, centering their analysis on the cartographic material of the *isolarii,* see them as early examples of regional island atlases.[2] Others, concentrating chiefly on the narrative material of the *isolarii,* consider them a subdivision of travel literature or of the literature of the Turkish-Venetian rivalry in the Aegean islands, Crete and Cyprus.[3] Others regard them as expressions of Renaissance "singularity," while others see them as primitive tourist guides.[4] In addition, various assessments have been made of the political content often found in *isolarii.*[5]

What is remarkable is that these explanations (which do, in fact, tally with the several functions of *isolarii,* varying with the communities that produced and used them) are all perfectly valid interpretations of this protean genre, which displayed such astonishing typological multiformity during its long lifetime of three hundred years. This fact is explained in part by the peculiarity of the genre—a genre that belongs somewhere within the shadowy bounds of geographical, historical, and travel literature and nautical manuals—and in part by the inherent fluidity of the discipline of geography.[6]

Translated from the Greek by Timothy Cullen.

Abbreviations used in this chapter include: *DBI* for *Dizionario biografico degli Italiani* (Rome: Istituto della Enciclopedia Italiani, 1960–); *Géographie du monde* for Monique Pelletier, ed., *Géographie du monde au Moyen Âge et à la Renaissance* (Paris: Éditions du C.T.H.S., 1989); and *Navigare e descrivere* for Camillo Tonini and Piero Lucchi, eds., *Navigare e descrivere: Isolari e portolani del Museo Correr di Venezia, XV–XVIII secolo* (Venice: Marsilio, 2001).

1. The main source books used for this chapter have been Philip Pandely Argenti, *Bibliography of Chios: From Classical Times to 1936* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1940); Andreas Stylianou and Judith A. Stylianou, *The History of the Cartography of Cyprus* (Nicosia: Cyprus Research Centre, 1980); W. Sidney Allen, "Kalóyeros: An Atlantis in Microcosm?" *Imago Mundi* 29 (1977): 54–71; Tarcisio Lancioni, *Viaggio tra gli Isolari,* Almanacco del Bibliofilo 1991 (Milan: Edizioni Rovello, 1992), with a bibliographical appendix by Paolo Pampaloni; *Navigare e descrivere;* Evangelos Livieratos and Ilias Beriatos, eds., *L'Eptaneso nelle carte: Da Tolomeo ai satelliti* (Padua: Il Poligrafo, 2004); and George Tolias, *Τα Νησολόγια* (Athens: Olkos, 2002). An approach to the historical aspect of *isolarii* can be found in *Géographie du monde,* especially the section headed "Cartographie des Îles," 165–228. For a general review, see Frank Lestringant, "Insulaires," in *Cartes et figures de la terre* (Paris: Centre Georges Pompidou, 1980), 470–75; idem, "Fortunes de la singularité à la Renaissance: Le genre de l'Isolario,'" *Studi Francesi* 27 (1984): 415–36; and idem, "Insulaires de la Renaissance," *Préfaces 5* (1987–88): 94–99. Furthermore, islands came to be a favorite subject of literature. See Frank Lestringant, *Le livre des îles: Atlas et récits insulaires de la Genèse à Jules Verne* (Geneva: Droz, 2002), and François Moureau, ed., *L'île, territoire mythique* (Paris: Aux Amateurs de Livres, 1989).

2. Tony Campbell, *The Earliest Printed Maps, 1472–1500* (London: British Library, 1987), 89–92; Numa Broc, *La géographie de la Renaissance (1420–1620)* (Paris: Bibliothèque Nationale, 1980); and Denis E. Cosgrove, *Apollo's Eye: A Cartographic Genealogy of the Earth in the Western Imagination* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2001), 79–101.

3. Marziano Guglielminetti, "Per un sottogenere della letteratura di viaggio: Gl'isolari fra quattro e cinquecento," in *La letteratura di viaggio dal Medioevo al Rinascimento: Generi e problemi* (Alessandria: Edizioni dell'Orso, 1989), 107–17, and Laura Cassi and Adele Dei, "Le esplorazioni vicine: Geografia e letteratura negli Isolari," *Rivista Geografica Italiana* 100 (1993): 205–69.

4. Lestringant, "Fortunes de la singularité," and idem, "Insulaires de la Renaissance." See also R. A. Skelton, "Bibliographical Note," in *Libro . . . de tutte l'isole del mondo, Venice 1528,* by Benedetto Bordone (Amsterdam: Theatrum Orbis Terrarum, 1966), V–XII.

5. François-Xavier Leduc, "Les insulaires (isolarii): Les îles décrites et illustrées," in *Couleurs de la terre: Des mappemondes médiévales aux images satellitales,* ed. Monique Pelletier (Paris: Seuil/Bibliothèque Nationale, 1998), 56–61, esp. 57: "The 'Liber insularum,' under cover of a description of the Aegean Sea, acts as a treatise on Turkish culture and even the love of the culture."

6. See Giacomo Corna Pellegrini and Elisa Bianchi, eds., *Varietà delle geografie: Limiti e forza della disciplina* (Milan: Cisalpino, Istituto Editoriale Universitario, 1992), especially Paul Claval, "Varietà delle geografie: Limiti e forza della disciplina," 23–67, esp. 43–67.

The conventional term *isolario* is used to denote manuscript or printed atlases that—regardless of title, format, or structure, and of whether a work contained text—consist of maps, mostly of islands but also of coastal areas of the mainland, arranged in the form of a thematic encyclopedia.[7] Their authors, in the early period, called their works "books of islands," "island chorographies," or "island navigations." The Latin term *insularium* was used by the end of the fifteenth century, and its Italian version, *isolario,* seems to have come into use by 1534.

There is a wide range of geographical, historical, and literary works on subjects connected with islands that are closely related to *isolarii.* Travelers' memoirs; chronicles of sea voyages, exploration, and discovery; cosmographic and utopian writings; and accounts of military and naval engagements on or near islands were often influenced by *isolarii* and sometimes supplied them with information of one kind or another. Those works are unquestionably products of the same climate that produced the *isolarii,* and they often have the flavor of an *isolario*. However, they cannot be included in the canon of the genre described here because each of them conforms to the constants and specifications of some other genre. The *isolario* is a cosmographic encyclopedia of islands, with maps: a specific genre that flourished in the Mediterranean region (the main centers were Florence and Venice) from the early fifteenth to the end of the seventeenth century, covering a wide range of learned, practical, and informational needs (for a classification of the genre, see fig. 8.8).

The roots of the *isolario* have to be sought in the geographical baggage of the period. The ancient world certainly had a particularly close association with islands, which had a prominent place in ancient geographical literature.[8] Aristotle, in *De mundo,* summarizes the ancient geographers' methodologies, remarking that some deal with all the islands together as a separate entity, while others treat them in the chapters on the nearest area of the mainland.[9]

Obviously the geographers in the first group interest us more than the others. Among them is Dionysius Periegetes, who devoted a whole section (lines 450–619) of his *Oikoumenēs Periēgēsis* to the islands.[10] This work, written in A.D. 124, is a synoptic geographical poem of 1,186 lines describing the world as the ancients knew it in fairly conventional terms. Dionysius, a contemporary of Ptolemy and also of Marinus of Tyre, gives a picture of the world that was already outdated in his time, but his poem was used as a standard textbook for centuries. First translated into Latin in the fourth century, it appeared in two more Latin translations in the sixth century, and the extensive commentary by Eustathios in the twelfth century added what was needed for the teaching of geography in the Middle Ages, in both the Latin-speaking West and the Greek-speaking East. The most conspicuous merit of this poem is the clarity with which subjects are explained in a few words. We know from various sources that the poem was often learned by heart.[11] The maps that went with the manuscripts of the text have not survived. However, the presence of echoes of Dionysius here and there in Renaissance geographical literature (especially in *isolarii* by Cristoforo Buondelmonti, Bartolommeo dalli Sonetti, Tommaso Porcacchi, and Vincenzo Coronelli), coupled with the fact that the first printed *isolario* was also in verse, strengthens the hypothesis that the *isolarii* were inspired by Dionysius's work and by medieval geographical textbooks.[12] This mnemonic aspect of the *isolarii* was the main reason for their wide diffusion in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries.[13]

7. The existence of manuscript copies or translations without maps of some *isolarii* does not affect this definition: no *isolario* has yet been found that, in its full form, does not contain maps. For a similar definition see also Massimo Donattini, "Bartolomeo da li Sonetti, il suo *Isolario* e un viaggio di Giovanni Bembo (1525–1530)," *Geographia Antiqua* 3–4 (1994–95): 211–36, esp. 211–12.

8. Homer's Odyssey was a very early mythological "isolario," and ancient scholars are known to have devoted much attention to Homer's island mythology: see Francesco Prontera, "Géographie et mythes dans l'"Isolario' des Grecs," in *Géographie du monde,* 169–79, esp. 171. On the position and role of islands in ancient Greek literature, see Francesco Prontera, "Insel," in *Reallexikon für Antike und Christentum,* ed. Theodor Klauser et al. (Stuttgart: Hiersemann, 1950–), 18:311–28.

9. Aristotle, *De mundo,* trans. E. S. Forster (Oxford: Clarendon, 1914), chap. 3, 392.b.14–394.a.6. The author gives a synoptic geographical description of the earth, which he believed to be a great landmass surrounded on all sides by ocean. Next he gives a description of the islands in the inner sea, followed by a list of the seas and a description of the islands in the encircling sea.

10. Dionysius Periegetes, *Διονυσίου Αλεξανδρέως: Οικουμένης Περιήγησις* (Dionysiou Alexandreōs: Oikoumenēs periēgēsis), ed. Isabella O. Tsavarē (Ioannina: Panepistēmio, 1990). See also Christian Jacob, "L'oeil et la mémoire: Sur la *Périégèse de la terre habitée* de Denys," in *Arts et légendes d'espaces: Figures du voyage et rhétoriques du monde,* ed. Christian Jacob and Frank Lestringant (Paris: Presses de l'Ecole Normale Supérieure, 1981), 21–97, and Germaine Aujac and eds., "Greek Cartography in the Early Roman World," in *HC* 1:161–76, esp. 171–73. Also included in this group are Eudoxus of Cnidus (*Die Fragmente,* ed. François Lassere [Berlin: De Gruyter, 1968]), Pomponius Mela and Diodorus Siculus (see Prontera, "Insel"), and to some extent Strabo (*Géographie,* 9 vols., ed. and trans. Germaine Aujac, Raoul Baladié, and François Lassere [Paris: Les Belles Lettres, 1966–89], esp. bk. 10, which covers the Greek islands). For a synopsis, see José Manuel Montesdeoca Medina, "Del enciclopedismo grecolatino a los islarios humanistas: Breve historia de un género," *Revista de Filología de la Universidad de La Laguna* 19 (2001): 229–53.

11. See Jacob, "L'oeil et la mémoire," 32–50, 57–70.

12. Vincenzo Coronelli, in his "Catalogo degli autori," mentions not only Dionysius himself but also the commentary by Eustathios. See Vincenzo Coronelli, "Catalogo degli autori antichi e moderni che hanno scritto e tratato di Geografia," in *Cronologia universale che facilita lo studio di qualunque storia,* by Vincenzo Coronelli (Venice, 1707), 522–24, and Ermanno Armao, *Il "Catalogo degli autori" di Vincenzo Coronelli: Una biobibliografia geografica del '600* (Florence: Olschki, 1957).

13. See Christian Jacob, *L'empire des cartes: Approche théorique de la cartographie à travers l'histoire* (Paris: Albin Michel, 1992), 197–200.

The connection between the earlier geographical tradition (which treated islands as separate entities) and *isolarii* (from Buondelmonti onward) came into being gradually in the context of early Florentine humanism. In Florence, Petrarch (Francesco Petrarca) and Giovanni Boccaccio laid the foundations for the humanistic rediscovery of the ancient world and provided the driving force for a vigorous burst of scholarly activity, one outcome of which was Domenico Silvestri's book "De insulis," written about 1385–1406.[14] This was a learned island dictionary following the methodology of Boccaccio's "De montibus, silvis, fontibus," to which it was a sort of supplement. The islands and a considerable number of peninsulas (in Greek the term νῆσος covers both islands and peninsulas) are dealt with in alphabetical order in a text running to several hundred pages.[15] Silvestri's interests reflect the scholastic approach of the fifteenth-century Florentine humanists: he lists the names of each island as found in ancient and modern literary sources, describes the terrain, gives the position and size of each island, and names all the authors he has consulted (mostly ancient, but also some medieval travelers).

The Birth of the Genre: Florence, Fifteenth Century

cristoforo buondelmonti

It was in the context of the geographical and antiquarian interests of Florentine humanism that the *isolario* came to life and flourished during the fifteenth century.[16] The first example of the genre was the "Liber insularum arcipelagi" by the Florentine monk Cristoforo Buondelmonti.[17] It appeared in several versions in Rhodes and Constantinople around 1420 and was thoroughly in keeping with the geographical interests of early Florentine humanism.[18] It may be described as a randomly arranged encyclopedic and antiquarian atlas of the Greek islands and is of the utmost interest for the historical geography and the archeology of the region.[19]

Of the surviving versions of the "Liber insularum," the fullest contains maps and descriptions of seventy-nine places in the Ionian and Aegean seas: most are islands, some are groups of islets, and there are also a few important coastal places, including Constantinople, Gallipoli, the shores of the Dardanelles, Mount Athos, and Athens (fig. 8.1).[20] The author's name, the date of composition, and the dedication of the work are encoded in an acrostic composed of the initial letters of the seventy-six chapters of the book. The choice of islands and the order in which they appear are not governed by any strict geographical criteria, nor do they represent a likely itinerary through Greek waters. Most probably the material was built up gradually in the course of the author's pere-

14. See Domenico Silvestri, *De insulis et earum proprietatibus,* ed. Carmela Pecoraro (Palermo: Presso l'Accademia, 1955), and also Marica Milanesi, "Il *De insulis et earum proprietatibus* di Domenico Silvestri (1385–1406)," *Geographia Antiqua* 2 (1993): 133–46. Mention should also be made of Domenico Bandini's "De populis, de aedificiis, de provinciis, de civitatibus, de insulis," written at about the same time as Silvestri's "De insulis," which treats the geographical material in thematic order. One copy of "De populis" is included in the Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana's MS. Lat. X 124 (= 3177) as an introduction to Buondelmonti's "Liber insularum," which seems to confirm that Bandini's geography book and Buondelmonti's *isolario* were regarded by contemporary readers as two of a kind. On Silvestri and Bandini, see Nathalie Bouloux, *Culture et savoirs géographiques en Italie au XIV^e^ siècle* (Turnhout: Brepols, 2002), 220–35, and José Manuel Montesdeoca Medina, "Los islarios de la época del humanismo: El 'De Insulis' de Domenico Silvestri, edición y traducció" (Ph.D. diss., Universidad de La Laguna, 2001).

15. See Henry George Liddell et al., *A Greek-English Lexicon,* new ed. (Oxford: Clarendon, 1940), 1174 ("island") and 2092 ("promontory").

16. For the humanism and geography in fifteenth-century Florence, see Sebastiano Gentile, ed., *Firenze e la scoperta dell'America: Umanesimo e geografia nel '400 Fiorentino* (Florence: Olschki, 1992), and Marica Milanesi, "Presentazione della sezione 'La cultura geografica e cartografica fiorentina del Quattrocento,'" *Rivista Geografica Italiana* 100 (1993): 15–32.

17. The literature on Buondelmonti and his "Liber insularum" is extensive: see, for example, Flaminio Cornaro, *Creta sacra,* 2 vols. (Venice, 1755; reprinted Modena: Editrice Memor, [1971]), 1:1–18 and 1:77–109; Cristoforo Buondelmonti, *Librum insularum archipelagi,* ed. G. R. Ludwig von Sinner (Leipzig: G. Reimer, 1824), although it is an unreliable work; Cristoforo Buondelmonti, *Description des îles de l'archipel,* trans. Émile Legrand (Paris: E. Leroux, 1897), the meticulously accurate edition of the Greek translation of Buondelmonti's work; and also J. P. A. van der Vin, *Travellers to Greece and Constantinople: Ancient Monuments and Old Traditions in Medieval Travellers' Tales,* 2 vols. (Leiden: Nederlands Historisch-Archaeologisch Instituut te Istanbul, 1980), 1:133–50 and 2:384–94; Elizabeth Clutton, contribution in P. D. A. Harvey, "Local and Regional Cartography in Medieval Europe," in *HC* 1:464–501, esp. 482–84; Cristoforo Buondelmonti, *"Descriptio insule Crete" et "Liber Insularum," cap. XI: Creta,* ed. Marie-Anne van Spitael (Candia, Crete: Syllagos Politstikēs Anaptyxeōs Herakleiou, 1981); D. Tsougarakis, "Some Remarks on the 'Cretica' of Cristoforo Buondelmonti," *Ariadne* 1 [1985]: 87–108; and Hilary L. Turner, "Christopher Buondelmonti: Adventurer, Explorer, and Cartographer," in *Géographie du monde,* 207–16.

18. On the geographical interests of the Florentine scholars who edited the works of ancient writers on geography, made Ptolemy widely known in the West, and also introduced geographical techniques of a more practical kind, see Thomas Goldstein, "Geography in Fifteenth-Century Florence," in *Merchants & Scholars: Essays in the History of Exploration and Trade, Collected in Memory of James Ford Bell,* ed. John Parker (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1965), 9–32. See also Leonardo Rombai, *Alle origini della cartografia Toscana: Il sapere geografico nella Firenze del '400* (Florence: Istituto Interfacoltà di Geografia, 1992), and chapter 9 in this volume.

19. See Roberto Weiss, "Un umanista antiquario: Cristoforo Buondelmonti," *Lettere Italiane* 16 (1964): 105–16.

20. The shortest version does not cover the islets of Polimos, Caloiero (off Andros), Antiparos, Panagia, Caloiero (off Cos), or Sanctus Ilias, nor does it cover the island of Aegina. The manuscript tradition of Buondelmonti's "Liber insularum" has long been a subject of debate. According to Robert Weiss (see "Buondelmonti, Cristoforo" in *DBI,* 15:198–200, esp. 199), the first version of the "Liber insularum" was

FIG. 8.1. MAP OF CHIOS ACCORDING TO THE "LIBER INSULARUM" OF CRISTOFORO BUONDELMONTI, CA. 1420. This work of Buondelmonti was the model for all subsequent *isolarii*. The map clearly reveals the author's humanistic approach in the way it pinpoints and identifies the ancient localities, as well its tendency toward an analytical survey of the physical features, land uses, and human settlements of the island. The map is from a fifteenth-century copy. The copyist has faithfully followed the instructions in the text for the coloring. Size of the original: 29 × 22 cm. Photograph courtesy of the Gennadius Library, American School of Classical Studies at Athens (MS. 71, fol. 31v).

grinations. It is worth mentioning that an irregular plan of arrangement is followed in several *isolarii* of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries.

The author's intentions are clearly stated in the text: he describes the work as "an illustrated book of the Cyclades and the various other islands surrounding them, with a description of the events that took place there in antiquity and up to our own times." It is equally clear from the text that the book is intended to be read for pleasure: "I am sending this to you," Buondelmonti writes in his dedicatory preface to Cardinal Orsini, "so that you can have the pleasure of letting your thoughts wander when you are tired."[21]

The "Liber insularum" fits into the pattern of early regional geography. In character, it is antiquarian, supplying historical and mythological facts and items of general knowledge about each of the places it covers. Not content merely to give dry accounts of the islands' history and geography, the author fills his narrative with interesting comments on the island communities, thoughts on the expansion of the Ottoman Empire, opinions on the decline of the Greeks and the power of the Ottomans,[22] and fascinating verbal vignettes and descriptions of historical events such as the capture of the islet of Caloiero off Andros by the Turks. Stories of his own personal experiences are also included; in fact, the narrative is often interrupted by descriptions of the hazards of seafaring and the adventures that befell him in Greek waters, so in some places the book reads like a travelog. Buondelmonti acknowledges no sources apart from a few ancient writers.[23] He probably relied largely on his own firsthand experience and such facts as he could gather from mariners and the local inhabitants. It is most likely that the strictly geographical particulars given in the introductory sections of each chapter, such as the position and dimensions of each island, are drawn from Italian portolan texts.

Buondelmonti's picture of the Greek islands is sometimes unrecognizable. It is clear from the conformity between the narrative descriptions and the maps that the

written at Rhodes before 1420. It is now lost. The second version, also written at Rhodes, appeared in 1420. A shorter third version was written in Constantinople in 1422, and there was a fourth version written about 1430 containing two additional maps and more information on the historical and mythological background in the narrative. According to Almagià, Campana, and Turner, the shortest version is the earliest: see Roberto Almagià, *Monumenta cartographica Vaticana,* 4 vols. (Vatican City: Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, 1944–55), 1:105–7; A. Campana, "Da codici del Buondelmonti," in *Silloge Bizantina in onore di Silvio Giuseppe Mercati* (Rome: Associazione Nazionale per gli Studi Bizanti, 1957), 32–52; and Turner, "Christopher Buondelmonti." Thomov, on the other hand, contends that the longest version is the closest to the lost original: see Thomas Thomov, "New Information about Cristoforo Buondelmonti's Drawings of Constantinople," *Byzantion* 66 (1996): 431–53. According to Cassi and Dei, "Le esplorazioni vicine," 212, the long version known in mutilated copies (Vat. Chig. F IV 74 and Marc. Lat X 215) is probably the closest to the lost original. It survives in a complete form only in one copy, in a collection in Switzerland.

21. Giordano Orsini, a scion of an illustrious Roman family with numerous branches in Greece, France, and elsewhere in Europe, was a writer himself and was very interested in geography. In his library he had a great many hand-drawn maps of various parts of Europe, Asia, and Africa, several of them bearing the signature "Cristofor," which has led many scholars to believe that they were by Buondelmonti. See editor van Spitael's comments in Buondelmonti, "*Descriptio insule Crete,*" 38.

22. On the political aspects of Buondelmonti's approach, see Francesca Luzzati Laganà, "La funzione politica della memoria di Bisanzio nella *Descriptio Cretae* (1417–1422) di Cristoforo Buondelmonti," *Bullettino dell'Istituto Storico Italiano per il Medio Evo e Archivio Muratoriano* 94 (1998): 395–420.

23. One of the ancient sources mentioned in the text is Ptolemy's *Geography,* which Buondelmonti evidently sometimes used as a guidebook for his own travels. When writing about Crete, for example, Buondelmonti finds his way to the remains of Zeus's tomb by following Ptolemy's directions. See Buondelmonti, "*Descriptio insule Crete,*" 208.

cartographer and the narrator were the same person. The sources of the maps in the "Liber insularum" are not acknowledged.[24] The cartography is reminiscent not so much of contemporary portolan charts as of local maps produced in the fourteenth and early fifteenth centuries, though it has been asserted that those maps were themselves based on earlier portolan charts.[25] Be that as it may, there is a clear affinity between Buondelmonti's maps and Pietro Vesconte's small-scale maps of Palestine, Paolino Veneto's regional maps of Italy and the Near East, Marino Sanudo's regional map of Egypt and Syria, the maps in the margins of the unfinished cosmographic poem *La sfera* (dated to the early fifteenth century and attributed to Leonardo Dati), and the topographic illustrations to be found in manuscripts of Fazio degli Uberti's geographical poem "Dittamondo."[26]

The extant manuscript copies of the "Liber insularum" are dated from 1430 to 1642, with the heaviest concentration in the years 1460–80.[27] These facts can be interpreted in one of two ways: as showing either that a number of the older copies are now lost, as are the original versions of the work, or that there was a surge of public interest after a certain time, especially after the capture of the last Greek territories by the Ottoman Turks. Whatever the truth of the matter, the "Liber insularum" circulated widely and was translated into several other languages, and with it was born a new genre of geographical literature destined to become very popular and to develop in a variety of forms.

HENRICUS MARTELLUS GERMANUS

Throughout the fifteenth century, as more and more manuscript copies of the "Liber insularum" were produced, successive improvements were made in the original material. Modern research has brought to light alterations and additions, mostly in the maps, introduced either in order to bring them up to date or to make the book more complete by adding new islands.[28] This practice was entirely acceptable by the standards of the day: further examples are to be found in the manuscript tradition and in the printed editions of Ptolemy's *Geography*.[29] Additions to the "Liber insularum" included a larger map of Crete (from Buondelmonti's "Descriptio Cretae"), as a sort of supplement to the original corpus; maps of the large islands of the central Mediterranean or the smaller islands in the Mediterranean; and maps of islands elsewhere in Europe and in Asia and Africa. And so the *isolario* came to cover an ever-expanding area and led to the work of Henricus Martellus Germanus, who produced a book of islands (Florence, ca. 1480–90) on the pattern established by Buondelmonti, which also included a world map and particulars of many other islands (plate 9), peninsulas, and even seas far beyond Greek waters—not a regional *isolario,* in fact, but more of a world "island atlas."[30] The existing copies of Henricus Martellus's "Insularium illustratum" are magnificent works. They are made on parchment and use gold and lapis lazuli for their illustrations. The compiler of this beautiful work has obviously made every effort to please and inform, bringing

24. The maps are in color, and the key to the color code is given in the introduction: green for the sea, brown for the plains, white for the hills and mountains. These are the usual colors of fifteenth-century topographic maps. The fact that Buondelmonti gives the color key is indicative of the limited map literacy of his audience.

25. On the relationship between Marino Sanudo's regional maps and the chartmaking tradition, see Bouloux, *Culture,* 46–53.

26. For Vesconte, see Harvey, "Local and Regional Cartography," 473–76. On Marino Sanudo and Paolino Veneto, see Bouloux, *Culture,* 45–68. On Dati, see Roberto Almagià, "Dei disegni marginali negli antichi manoscritti della *Sfera* del Dati," *Bibliofilia* 3 (1901–2): 49–55, and idem, *Monumenta cartographica Vaticana,* 1:118–29. See also Filiberto Segatto, *Un' immagine quattrocentesca del mondo: La Sfera del Dati* (Rome: Accademia Nazionale dei Lincei, 1983). On Fazio degli Uberti, see Bouloux, *Culture,* 11–12, 91–92, and 213–14; Antonio Lanza, *La letteratura tardogotica: Arte e poesia a Firenze e Siena nell'autunno del Medioevo* (Anzio: De Rubeis, 1994), 367–80; and Fernando Bandini, "Il 'Dittamondo' e la cultura veneta del Trecento e del Quattrocento," in *1474: Le origini della stampa a Vicenze* (Vicenza: Neri Pozza Editore, 1975), 111–24.

27. On the dating of the extant manuscripts, see Almagià, *Monumenta cartographica Vaticana,* 1:105–17, and Cassi and Dei, "Le esplorazioni vicine," 223–27. Turner, in "Christopher Buondelmonti," 215, states that she has located fifty-eight copies of the abridged version and three of the full-length version. She also notes that the heaviest concentration of copies can be found from the years 1460–80.

28. An undated copy is in the BNF (Rés. Ge FF 9351). It includes a new map of Crete (originally on four sheets, of which the fourth is missing) and maps of Sicily, Sardinia, and Corsica. On the copyists' alterations, see especially Campana, "Da codici del Buondelmonti." On the additions to the plans and descriptions of Constantinople, see Giuseppe Gerola, "Le vedute di Costantinopoli di Cristoforo Buondelmonti," *Studi Bizantini e Neoellenici* 3 (1931): 247–79, and Thomov, "Buondelmonti's Drawings of Constantinople." On sundry other additions to the BNF's copies of the "Liber insularum," see Monique-Cécile Garand, "La tradition manuscrite du *Liber archipelagi insularum* à la Bibliothèque Nationale de Paris," *Scriptorium* 29 (1975): 69–76. The BL's copy (MS. Arundel 93) records the appearance of a volcanic islet in the Thíra caldera with the note "This part is submerged and the bottom cannot be found": see F. W. Hasluck, "Notes on Manuscripts in the British Museum Relating to Levant Geography and Travel," *Annual of the British School at Athens* 12 (1905–6): 196–215, esp. 198, and Stylianou and Stylianou, *Cartography of Cyprus,* 12.

29. See Germaine Aujac, *Claude Ptolémée, astronome, astrologue, géographe: Connaissance et représentation du monde habité* (Paris: C.T.H.S., 1993), 165–83, and chapter 9 in this volume.

30. Copies of Henricus Martellus Germanus's *isolario* exist in the BL (Add. MS. 15760, ff. 75, ca. 1489–90), the Universiteitsbibliotheek Leiden (Cod. Vossianus Lat. in fol. 23), the library of the Musée Condé at Chantilly (MS. 483), the Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana in Florence (Cod. XXIX, 25), and the James Ford Bell Library, University of Minnesota (see Roberto Almagià, "I mappomondi di Enrico Martello e alcuni concetti geografici di Cristoforo Colombo," *Bibliofilia* 42 [1940]: 288–311, and Ilaria Luzzana Caraci, "L'opera cartografica di Enrico Martello e la 'prescoperto' dell' America," *Rivista Geografica Italiana*

together modern cartographic material drawn from his own sumptuous copies of Ptolemy's *Geography.*[31]

The encyclopedic, even antiquarian, aspect of the "Insularium" is reinforced by the fact that some copies contain lengthy concordances of ancient and modern placenames. Thus, gradually the *isolario* broke free of the early restrictions of regional cartography by covering more or less the whole of the known world. Evidence of the same process is also apparent in the somewhat sketchy anonymous *isolario* of 1500.[32]

This was a critical turning point in the development of the genre. With the discovery of new sea routes around Africa and the opening up of the Caribbean, the rest of the American continent, and the Pacific archipelagoes, new stretches of coastline and groups of islands came into the Western powers' sphere of influence, causing the Europeans to perceive the world as an exotic island empire. *Isolarii* were adapted to cater to this perception by being considerably enlarged, some of them so much so that they outgrew the bounds of regional geography and turned into what one might call fragmented, eclectic cosmographies.

The Golden Age: Venice, Sixteenth Century

bartolommeo dalli sonetti

The invention of printing created a broader public for maps, which set new market conditions.[33] Italian cities were at the forefront of developments and Venice foremost among them. With a thriving tradition of art and scholarship, an island empire, busy printing houses, and an extensive network of commercial dealings with not only the Mediterranean countries but mainland Europe as well, the Venetian Republic met all the conditions for becoming the strategic center of cartographic developments.[34] One of the incunabula from Venice was the first printed collection of maps: an *isolario* of the Aegean islands by Bartolommeo dalli Sonetti, which was the nickname of a Venetian shipmaster, so called because his descriptions of the islands were written in sonnet form.[35] Bartolommeo's *isolario* is part of the Italian tradition of treating geographical subjects in verse, the most notable examples of which are Fazio degli Uberti's "Dittamondo," Leonardo Dati's *La Sfera,* and Francesco Berlinghieri's *Septe giornate della geographia.* First printed around 1485, it contained forty-nine maps (without place-names) printed from woodcut blocks with verse commentaries (fig. 8.2).[36]

In his introduction, Bartolommeo states that he had been to the Aegean eighteen times in the service of various Venetian noblemen and wrote that "with compass . . . I have stepped repeatedly upon each isle . . . and with a stylus" marked the exact position of every island on the map.[37] Up to now, scholars have stressed Bartolommeo's debt to Buondelmonti, and some have gone so far as to say that his original contribution was slight. That Bartolommeo was indebted to Buondelmonti is undeniable. First and foremost, the conception and form of his work were borrowed from the "Liber insularum": Bartolommeo's *isolario* is an atlas of the Aegean islands with

83 [1976]: 335–44, esp. 336). On the German miniaturist and cartographer Henricus Martellus Germanus, who worked in Florence ca. 1480–96, see Arthur Davies, "Behaim, Martellus and Columbus," *Geographical Journal* 143 (1977): 451–59; Hasluck, "Manuscripts in the British Museum," 199; Rushika February Hage, "The Island Book of Henricus Martellus," *Portolan* 56 (2003): 7–23; and Stylianou and Stylianou, *Cartography of Cyprus,* 11–12.

31. Mainly the codex Magliabechianus MS. Lat. XIII, 16. For a description, see Joseph Fischer, ed., *Claudii Ptolemai Geographiae, Codex Urbinas Graecus 82,* 2 vols. in 4 (Leipzig: E. J. Brill and O. Harrassowitz, 1932), 1:398–404. The composition of the "Insularium" is Buondelmonti's set of island maps; maps of the big islands of the Mediterranean (Cyprus, Crete, Sicily, Corsica, and Sardinia); maps of the Spanish and British islands (Majorca, Minorca, Ibiza and Formentera, England, and Ireland); maps of the eastern islands (Ceylon and Japan); regional maps of the countries of Europe and the Near East (Italy, Spain, France, Germany, Scandinavia, the Balkans, Asia Minor, and Palestine); portolan charts of the European coasts, the Mediterranean, the Black Sea, and the Caspian Sea; and finally, a Ptolemaic world map with degrees of longitude and latitude, often updated with information from the Spanish and Portuguese explorations around Africa.

32. The anonymous "Insularum mundi chorographia" in the BL (Add. MS. 23925), which is artistically and cartographically inferior to the *isolario* of Henricus Martellus, comprises 131 colored maps of Europe, Asia, and Africa on seventy-one sheets in quarto. Those of the Greek islands come from Buondelmonti's set. See Hasluck, "Manuscripts in the British Museum," 200, and Stylianou and Stylianou, *Cartography of Cyprus,* 12–13.

33. An interesting view concerning the influence of geographical prints on the consumer mentality in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries can be found in Chandra Mukerji, *From Graven Images: Patterns of Modern Materialism* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1983).

34. It is estimated that this small republic of great merchants and seafarers accounted for nearly half of all the maps printed in Italy during this period: see Ivan Kupčík, *Cartes géographiques anciennes: Évolution de la représentation cartographique du monde, de l'antiquité à la fin du XIX^e siècle* (Paris: Gründ, 1980), 108.

35. See Donattini, "Bartolomeo da li Sonetti." The book contains neither title nor colophon. Bartolommeo uses the Greek term *periplus nison* to describe his work in the first sonnet: "Periplus nison which contains sixty-seven of the large islands / ninety-eight and more that are smaller / found in the Aegean Sea which sustains them." On Bartolommeo and his work, see Angela Codazzi, "Bartolomeo da li Sonetti," in *DBI,* 6:774–75; Frederick R. Goff, "Introduction," in *Isolario (Venice 1485),* by Bartolommeo dalli Sonetti (Amsterdam: Theatrum Orbis Terrarum, 1972), V–VIII; Campbell, *Earliest Printed Maps,* 89–92; and also Cassi and Dei, "Le esplorazioni vicine," 229–42.

36. A second edition of the *isolario* was produced in 1532, using the same blocks for the maps but with the sonnets and maps printed together on the same page instead of on facing pages, as they had been in the first edition. The second edition also contains an oval map of the world by Francesco Rosselli.

37. See Goff, "Introduction," xii.

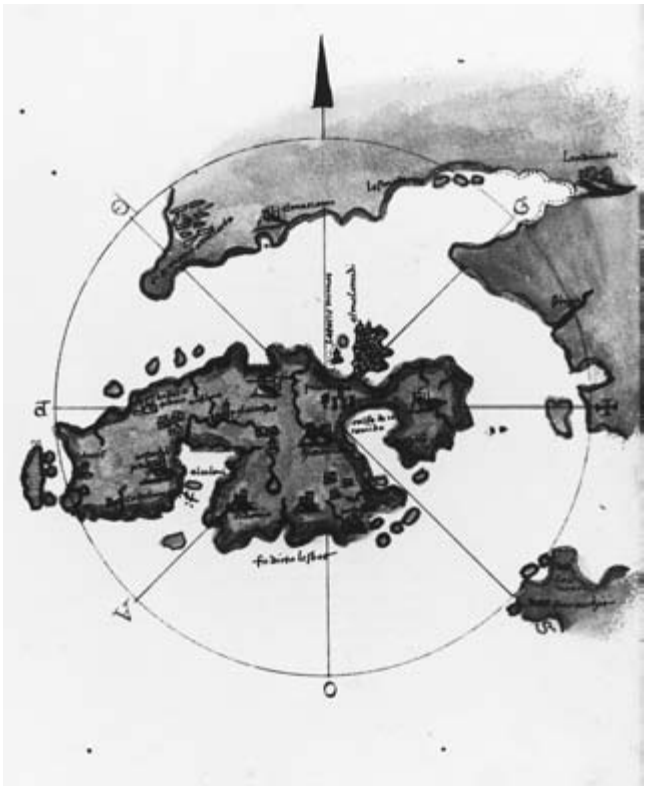


FIG. 8.2. MAP OF MYTILENE BY BARTOLOMMEO DALLI SONETTI. Bartolommeo's work (ca. 1485) was both the first published *isolario* and the first in the vernacular. Although characterized by a literary manner (all the texts in the work are sonnets), it inspired a specific nautical tradition within the genre, a tradition followed by many notable works. The island is rendered with greater exactitude and accuracy than in previous works, giving prominence to the island's two enclosed bays and with a detailed representation of Kastro. Clearly marked on it are the two harbors, the moat with its bridge, and the sea tower in the northern harbor. This sixteenth-century manuscript copy was probably from the workshop of Battista Agnese. The maps of the *isolario* are in color, and they carry place-names and a numbered scale bar in nautical miles. Bartolommeo's original maps had no place-names or inscriptions. Two settlements have been added to this map on the south of the island.
Size of the original: 29.4 × 21.2 cm. Photograph courtesy of the Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana, Venice (MS. It. IX 188 [= 6286] fol. 45).

sketches of the islands and a literary description of each one. Second, the islands are often dealt with in a similar order; the only major difference is that Bartolommeo started with Cerigo and did not cover the other Ionian Islands, which lie off the west coast of Greece. Third, the projection, the manner of drawing the coastline, and the symbols used to mark towns and villages and physical features are very similar. Buondelmonti's influence is also apparent in the way Bartolommeo dedicated his work through a cryptogram in the first lines of the text.[38]

However, not everything in Bartolommeo's book was borrowed from his predecessor. Each of the island maps is framed by a compass rose, and some of them (eleven of the forty-nine) have a scale bar in double nautical miles. Reefs and other hazards to navigation are consistently marked with crosses, in accordance with the usual practice for portolan charts. Quite a number of Bartolommeo's maps give the outlines of the islands more accurately than Buondelmonti's. Finally, in contrast to Buondelmonti, a humanist with a preference for the ancient place-names and a tendency to go off on mythological digressions, Bartolommeo dalli Sonetti wrote in a racy vernacular, using the popular verse form of the sonnet, and usually gave the place-names current in his own time and new descriptions of the islands.

Although there is a streak of poetry and adventure in Bartolommeo's writing and his work contains direct references to Dante and Virgil and frequent flights of lyricism,[39] its influence on the evolution of island books was of a different kind to that of Buondelmonti, for his work launched a significant new tradition within the genre: that of the nautical *isolario,* further examples of which were written throughout the sixteenth century. Bartolommeo's work inspired Valentim Fernandes's Portuguese *isolario,* "De insulis et peregrinatione Lusitanorum," which dated from 1506–10 and survives in one manuscript copy. This work is confined to the Atlantic islands and contains maps framed by a compass rose.[40] The new *isolario* is connected with the Portuguese overseas expansion and is thus a departure from the traditional *isolarii,* which depicted the territory of the Mediterranean islands.

PĪRĪ RE'ĪS

The next step in the development of *isolarii* brings us to the eastern shores of the Mediterranean. Pīrī Re'īs, the Turkish admiral and chartmaker from Gallipoli, likewise bypassed the work of the scholarly Buondelmonti and the continuators of the *isolario* manuscript tradition, relying instead on the more nautical interpretation of Bartolommeo dalli Sonetti. His manuscript book of navigation, the "Kitāb-i bahrīye," represents the Mediterranean *isolario* at its peak in terms of accuracy and detail. It also marks

38. For Bartolommeo's cryptographic dedication to the Doge Giovanni Mocenigo (1478–85), see Curt F. Bühler, "Variants in the First Atlas of the Mediterranean," *Gutenberg Jahrbuch,* 1957, 94–97, esp. 94.

39. For example, in his Dantesque description of the ruins of Delos and his frequent speculations on the sexual appetites of island women.

40. Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, "Codex Hispanus (Lusitanus)" no. 27. The Atlantic islands are the Azores, Madeira, the Canary Islands, the Cape Verde Islands, and those of the Gulf of Guinea. On Fernandes and his *isolario,* see Inácio Guerreiro, "Tradição e modernidade nos *Isolarios* ou 'Livros de Ilhas' dos séculos XV e XVI," *Oceanos* 46 (2001): 28–40, esp. 32–35.

the point at which nautical *isolarii* came to be connected with the public interest, as they supplied the technical information in the Ottoman language needed by professional mariners.

The "Kitāb-i baḥrīye" survives in two versions. The first, simpler and handier to use, was composed in 1520–21. It contains 131 entries, and twenty-three complete copies of it are still in existence. The second, more of a deluxe edition intended for the use of the imperial court (it is dedicated to Sultan Süleymān the Magnificent), was compiled in 1525–26. It contains 219 entries, and ten copies of it survive.[41] The "Kitāb," a work somewhere between a narrative portolan and an *isolario,* gives minute particulars of the Mediterranean coasts and islands. Its structure is that of the narrative portolan; that is to say it follows the coastal seaways exactly. In its treatment of the material it is closer to the *isolario* with its detailed mapping of every islet and the nearby shores, frequently in the form of a series of maps at progressively larger scales.

Following the pattern of the narrative portolans, the passages of text in the "Kitāb-i baḥrīye" give sailing directions and facts about local sailing conditions, safe and dangerous courses to steer, the appearance and landmarks of harbors and landing places, and the facilities offered by each of them for victualing and the replenishment of stores. This practical information is larded with brief digressions on local history and mythology.[42]

The "Kitāb-i baḥrīye" is generally acknowledged to be a landmark in the history of sixteenth-century Mediterranean cartography. Its great size (the longer version runs to 850 pages), its wealth of pictorial and factual information, the artistic merit of many of the extant copies, and its exhaustive coverage of the Mediterranean coasts and islands made it unquestionably a splendid specimen of the Ottoman Turks' answer to Western European achievements in Mediterranean charting during the Renaissance. Perhaps because of the language in which it was written, Pīrī Re'īs's work did not influence the development of the genre in the Christian West, where *isolarii* continued to evolve unaffected by this important contribution from Ottoman hydrography. In the middle of the seventeenth century, with the development of navigational aids, the so-called portolani topographi of Gasparo Tentivo made their appearance in Venice.[43] These resembled the "Kitāb-i baḥrīye" of Pīrī Re'īs though they have no direct connection, and they present a detailed cartographic illustration of the narrative portolans.

BENEDETTO BORDONE

The next stage in the evolution of the *isolario* was a publishing enterprise aimed at broadening the readership: this was the *Libro . . . de tutte l'isole del mondo* by Benedetto Bordone, which came out in Venice in 1528.[44] It covers 111 islands and is in three parts dealing respectively with the islands and peninsulas of the Atlantic, the Mediterranean, and the Far East. An interesting new feature of this book is that it contains small-scale key maps and indexes of an entire region, restoring the relative geographical positions of each of the local maps: there is one map of Europe and one of the northeastern Mediterranean, as well as an oval map of the world attributed to Francesco Rosselli.[45]

With this work the *isolario* came of age as a commercially viable genre for large-scale publishing. Bordone did not communicate his own firsthand observations, as Buondelmonti, Bartolommeo, and Pīrī Re'īs had done, nor was he even a scholarly studio cartographer making critical recensions of other people's firsthand reports. He was an astrologist and a man whose life was bound up with books, a manuscript illuminator and traditional blockcutter, born in Padua, who moved to Venice toward the end of the fifteenth century.[46] The *Libro . . . de tutte l'isole del mondo* was a commercial product, and appar-

41. The bibliography on Pīrī Re'īs is extensive. See Svat Soucek, "Islamic Charting in the Mediterranean," in *HC* 2.1:263–92, with a full bibliography; idem, *Piri Reis and Turkish Mapmaking after Columbus: The Khalili Portolan Atlas* (London: Nour Foundation, 1996); Dimitris Loupis, "Ottoman Adaptations of Early Italian Isolaria," *IMCoS Journal* 80 (2000): 15–23; and idem, "Piri Reis's Book of Navigation as a Geography Handbook: Ottoman Efforts to Produce an Atlas during the Reign of Sultan Mehmed IV (1648–1687)," *Portolan* 52 (2001–2): 11–17.

42. The longer version of the "Kitāb-i baḥrīye" also has a lengthy introduction in verse, written in collaboration with the poet Muradi: it is nothing less than a theoretical treatise on navigation in which technical instructions on the use of charts and navigational instruments are combined with information about all the seas in the old and new worlds.

43. On Gasparo Tentivo, see Camillo Tonini, "' . . . Acciò resti facilitata la navigatione': I portolani di Gaspare Tentivo," in *Navigare e descrivere,* 72–79, and Leonora Navari, "Gasparo Tentivo's *Il Nautico Ricercato:* The Manuscripts," in *Eastern Mediterranean Cartographies,* ed. George Tolias and Dimitris Loupis (Athens: Institute for Neohellenic Research, National Hellenic Research Foundation, 2004), 135–55.

44. Benedetto Bordone, *Libro di Benedetto Bordone nel quale si ragiona de tutte l'isole del mondo* (Venice: N. Zoppino, 1528). On Bordone's life and work, see Lilian Armstrong, "Benedetto Bordon, *Miniator,* and Cartographer in Early Sixteenth-Century Venice," *Imago Mundi* 48 (1996): 65–92. See also the introductions to the facsimile editions of Bordone's book: Skelton, "Bibliographical Note"; Massimo Donattini, "Introduzione," in *Isolario* (1534 edition), by Benedetto Bordone (Modena: Edizione Aldine, 1983), 7–21; and the preface by Umberto Eco in *Isolario,* by Benedetto Bordone (Turin: Les belles Lettres, 2000), VII–XI.

45. See Skelton, "Bibliographical Note," IX, where he comes to the conclusion that Bordone probably bought Rosselli's copperplates. A similar world map by Rosselli was included in the second edition of Bartolommeo dalli Sonetti's *isolario;* see note 36 in this chapter.

46. See Bernardini Scardeone, *Bernardini Scardeonii . . . De antiqvitate vrbis Patavii* (Basel: N. Episcopivm, 1560), 254, and Myriam Billanovich, "Benedetto Bordon e Giulio Cesare Scaligero," *Italia Medioevale e Umanistica* 11 (1968): 188–256.

ently a fairly successful one, judging by the number of editions it went through.[47]

Of the 111 maps in the book, 62 are of the Greek islands: they are influenced by, and in most cases copied from, Buondelmonti's and Bartolommeo's maps, with the rest inspired mainly by the Ptolemaic maps and portolan charts of the early sixteenth century.[48] Benedetto addressed his preface to his nephew, Baldassare Bordone, "an excellent surgeon," which implies that his book was aimed at a wide, nonspecialist readership far removed from the world of official geographers, princes, and courtiers. He also states that he had explored the islands he describes when cruising with the Venetian navy, but the truth of the matter appears to be that he never left northeastern Italy. The purpose of the book, by his own account, is twofold: to provide mariners with useful information and to give the public an enjoyable read. This means that his passages of text contain theoretical information on cosmography and geography as well as stories from history and mythology.

Between 1528 and 1571 there was a decline in the output of new printed *isolarii;* most publishers offered only reissues of the books by Bartolommeo and Bordone. Another work written during this period, but published only after a long delay, was Leandro Alberti's *Isole appartenenti all'Italia,* a geographical treatise based on the author's classical studies and his reading of contemporary works (especially those by Flavio Biondo) but also containing a number of eyewitness descriptions.[49] It was written before 1553 and first published, without maps, by the Dominican friar Vincenzo da Bologna as an appendix to Alberti's description of Italy, *Descrittione di tutta l'Italia* (Venice, 1561). The 1568 version, also published in Venice, contained five maps, which were increased to seven in a later edition.

In spite of the relative scarcity of new works during the period 1528–71, it seems that *isolarii* influenced other related genres, especially the Venetian output of manuscript nautical atlases. Between 1553 and 1564 Battista Agnese's workshop produced at least five atlases containing a fairly high percentage of maps of islands—not only the bigger islands of the Mediterranean and the Atlantic but also the smaller ones of the Aegean.[50]

Georgio Sideri (Il Callapoda) also included some island maps in his atlases, though not as many.[51] No new printed *isolarii* were published during this period, and the only known original manuscript work from the period is the important nautical *isolario* of the world, by the Catalan cosmographer Alonso de Santa Cruz, which was clearly intended as a practical guide to navigation.[52] Each of the maps is framed by a compass rose (as were the maps by Bartolommeo and Pīrī Re'īs) and includes a scale bar, and the latitude is marked. In spite of its title ("Islario general de todas las islas del mundo . . ."), the Catalan cosmographer's guide to the islands covers much more territory than an ordinary *isolario:* for all intents and purposes it is an early world atlas. Although islands account for most of the material, there are also maps of most of the known parts of the old and new worlds.

TOMMASO PORCACCHI

The next new printed *isolario* was Tommaso Porcacchi's *L'isole piv famose del mondo,* illustrated with maps by

47. Robert W. Karrow, in *Mapmakers of the Sixteenth Century and Their Maps: Bio-Bibliographies of the Cartographers of Abraham Ortelius, 1570* (Chicago: For the Newberry Library by Speculum Orbis, 1993), 92–93, lists three more editions of the *Isolario di Benedetto Bordone* after the first: Venice: Zoppino, 1534; Venice: Francesco di Leno [1537?]; and Venice, 1547.

48. Unlike Buondelmonti and Bartolommeo, Bordone preferred mapping groups of islands near the mainland, his rendering of coastlines is schematic, and the scale is not given on any of his maps—although, following the example of Bartolommeo dalli Sonetti, he always marks the points of the compass. In contrast to Bartolommeo, he writes the place-names on his maps; his marking of towns and villages is more simplified.

49. On Alberti, see Giorgio Roletto, "Le cognizioni geografiche di Leandro Alberti," *Bollettino della Reale Società Geografica Italiana,* 5th ser., 11 (1922): 455–85, and Roberto Almagià, "Leandro Alberti," in *Enciclopedia italiana di scienze, lettere ed arti,* 36 vols. (Rome: Istituto Giovanni Treccani, 1929–39), 2:180–81.

50. Henry Raup Wagner, "The Manuscript Atlases of Battista Agnese," *Papers of the Bibliographical Society of America* 25 (1931): 1–110, esp. 91–98. Atlas LV, Museo Correr Port. 21, with ten island maps out of a total of twenty-nine; Atlas LVI, Marciana It. IV Cod. 6 = 5067, with ten out of thirty-one; Atlas LVII, Westheim bei Augsburg, Library of Baron von Humann-Hainhofen, with eight out of twenty-five; Atlas LVIII, London, Quaritch Ltd., with nine out of twenty-five; and Atlas LX, Laurenziana Doni 3, with nine out of twenty-six (pp. 91–98). See Almagià, *Monumenta cartographica Vaticana,* 1:62–71, and Konrad Kretschmer, "Die Atlanten des Battista Agnese," *Zeitschrift der Gesellschaft für Erdkunde zu Berlin* 31 (1896): 362–68.

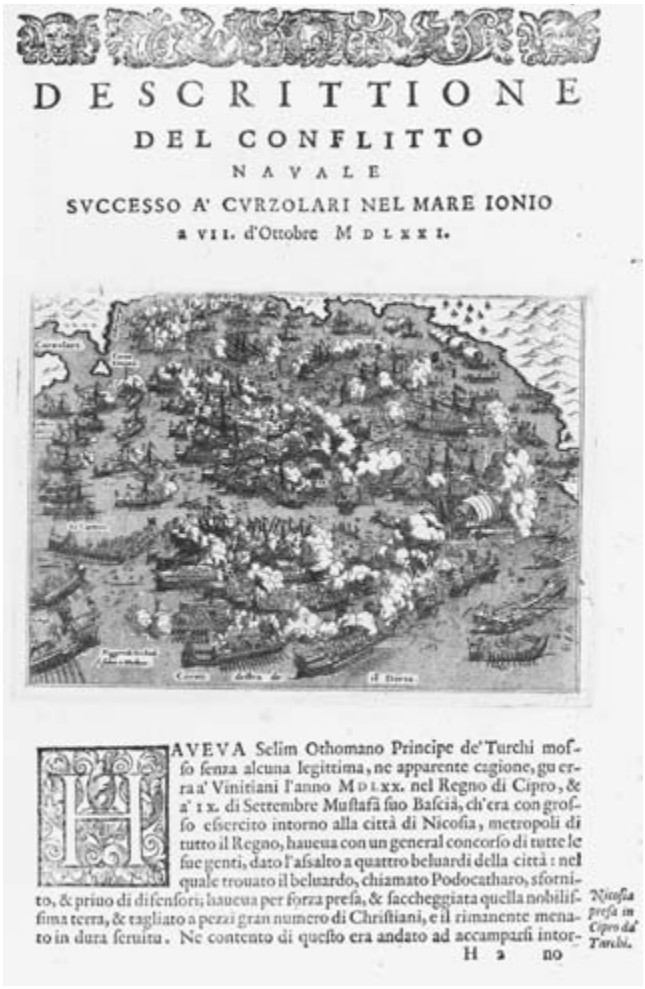
51. See George Tolias, *The Greek Portolan Charts, 15th–17th Centuries: A Contribution to the Mediterranean Cartography of the Modern Period,* trans. Geoffrey Cox and John Solman (Athens: Olkos, 1999), esp. 100–107, 184, and 186 (BL, MS. Egerton 2856, which includes maps of Crete, Cyprus, and Rhodes), 108–15 and 186–87 (Marciana It. IV 148 = 5451, with maps of Great Britain and Ireland, Crete, Iceland, and Rhodes), and 190 (Canada, private collection, with maps of Crete, Cyprus, Rhodes, and Hispaniola).

52. "Islario general de todas las islas del mundo por Alonso de Santa Cruz, cosmographo mayor de Carlos I de España," Biblioteca Nacional (Madrid), Sección de Manuscritos, Códice Islario de Santa Cruz. See Library of Congress, *A List of Geographical Atlases in the Library of Congress,* 9 vols., comp. Philip Lee Phillips (vols. 1–4) and Clara Egli Le Gear (vols. 5–9) (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1909–92), 5:51; Leo Bagrow, *History of Cartography,* 2d ed., rev. and enl. R. A. Skelton, trans. D. L. Paisey (Chicago: Precedent, 1985), where the work is assigned the year 1541; Françoise Naudé, *Reconnaissance du Nouveau Monde et cosmographie à la Renaissance* (Kassel: Edition Reichenberger, 1992); Mariano Cuesta Domingo, *Alonso de Santa Cruz y su obra cosmográfica,* 2 vols. (Madrid: Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Cientificos, Instituto "Gonzalo Fernández de Oviedo," 1983–84); and Stylianou and Stylianou, *Cartography of Cyprus,* 27.

the engraver Girolamo Porro.[53] This work was the result of a collaboration between the author and a map engraver, a division of responsibility clearly stated in the continuation of the title of the book (*descritte da Thomaso Porcacchi da Castiglione Arretino e intagliate da Girolamo Porro Padovano* . . .). Porcacchi and Porro's book was the first *isolario* to use the technique of copperplate engraving, which gave the cartographer scope for greater clarity, accuracy, and detail and gradually established itself as the standard medium for illustrations in printed books. However, Porro's maps are difficult to decipher because of their small size and the excessive amount of information crammed into the limited space. The first edition contained a map of the world and twenty-seven island maps. It was followed by several progressively expanded editions, most of them published after the death of both Porcacchi and Porro, culminating in the edition of 1620, which contained forty-eight maps.

The lengthy text by Porcacchi, cosmographic and encyclopedic in tone, consists of episodes from local history and mythology interspersed with various types of geographical and ethnographic information. Here it should be mentioned that the place-names given on the maps do not always agree with those in the text, as the scholarly Porcacchi prefered the ancient forms whereas Porro used more contemporary names. Porcacchi's preface is of great interest. In it he explains the theoretical concept of the antiquarian, cosmographic *isolario:* according to ancient myths (all of which are based on historical fact) and the consensus of opinion among ancient geographers, Europe, Asia, and Africa were once islands, he says, and the whole world is itself an island surrounded by the stream of Oceanus, as Strabo informs us and Pliny concurs. This cosmology is the basis from which Porcacchi starts his own descriptions of the most famous islands, in the conviction that the more and better he writes, the better the world will be known. Let others more educated than himself undertake to describe the world as a whole: he will limit himself to the islands, or rather to certain well-known islands, and try to define the position and give the name of each one; to measure its perimeter and its length and breadth; and to say which other islands lie nearby, what harbors there are, the island's main products, what sights and other features of interest it has, who its first inhabitants were and who lives there now, what famous persons have come from there, and what towns there are on the island—in short, the history of each island.

Porcacchi's work also marks an important departure for *isolarii.* As an anthology of islands, *L'isole* ignores the structural unity of space: geography fragments as history and ethnography move to the fore. In this way Porcacchi opens the genre up for a new type of island book, a topical *isolario* that, in addition to depicting the island, also reports on the political situation prevailing in the area, with coverage almost exclusively confined to the coastlands and islands of the eastern Mediterranean (fig. 8.3). This development was connected partly with the rapid expansion of the Ottoman Empire and partly with the historical evolution of illustrated printed books in the sixteenth century.[54]


DESCRITTIONE
DEL CONFLITTO
NAVALE
SVCCESSO A' CVRZOLARI NEL MARE IONIO
a VII. d'Ottobre M D LXXI.

HAVEVA Selim Othomano Principe de' Turchi mosso senza alcuna legittima, ne apparente cagione, gu erra a' Vinitiani l'anno M D LXX. nel Regno di Cipro, & a' IX. di Settembre Mustafà suo Bascià, ch'era con grosso esercito intorno alla città di Nicosia, metropoli di tutto il Regno, haueua con un general concorso di tutte le sue genti, dato l'assalto a quattro beluardi della città: nel quale trouato il beluardo, chiamato Podocatharo, sfornito, & priuo di difensori, haueua per forza presa, & saccheggiata quella nobilissima terra, & tagliato a pezzi gran numero di Christiani, e il rimanente menato in dura seruitu. Ne contento di questo era andato ad accamparsi intor-
H a no

Nicosia presa in Cipro da' Turchi.

FIG. 8.3. DESCRIPTION AND ILLUSTRATION OF THE SEA BATTLE OF LEPANTO (7 OCTOBER 1571). From Tommaso Porcacchi, *L'isole piv famose del mondo* (Venice, 1576), map engraved by Girolamo Porro. The integration of topical material in the *isolarii* was a result of the gradual shift of the genre toward the field of information during the last decades of the sixteenth century.
Size of the original page: ca. 29 × 19.8 cm. Photograph courtesy of the BL (C.83.e.2, p. 87).

53. Tommaso Porcacchi, *L'isole piv famose del mondo descritte da Thomaso Porcacchi da Castiglione Arretino e intagliate da Girolamo Porro Padovano* . . . (Venice: S. Galignani and Girolamo Porro, 1572). In the later, expanded editions, the words *con l'Aggiunta di molte Isole* were added to the title.

54. On this subject, see Roger Chartier, "La culture de l'imprimé," in *Les usages de l'imprimé (XV^e–XIX^e siècle),* ed. Roger Chartier (Paris: Fayard, 1987), 7–20. On the uses and functions of printed maps, see David Woodward, *Maps as Prints in the Italian Renaissance: Makers, Distributors & Consumers* (London: British Library, 1996).

SMALL-FORMAT, TOPICAL, AND NAUTICAL *ISOLARII*

Between about 1565 and 1575 a number of small-format composite *isolarii* appeared, containing pictures of towns and fortresses as well as island maps. These popular publications incorporated material that had been previously published as loose leaves: they all had much in common and often borrowed material from each other, so it is not always easy to identify the unsigned copperplate engravings contained within. One such volume, entitled *Isole famose, porti, fortezze, e terre marittime,* undated and unsigned, is usually attributed to the printer and publisher Giovanni Francesco Camocio, the publisher of twelve of the eighty-eight numbered prints it contains, although the title page gives Donato Bertelli's bookshop as the place where it was on sale.[55] Study of the copies in the BL, the BNF, and the Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana, Venice, have shown that the book was published as an anonymous work in successive editions between 1571 and 1574, each edition exhibiting a different set of maps (fig. 8.4). The fullest edition was published by Bertelli and bears the date 1574.[56] It contains eighty-eight numbered maps and plans. A similar compilation of maps, mostly of the Greek islands, was put together by the engraver Simon Pinargenti in 1573, and Bertelli published another compilation of the same kind in 1568 and 1574.[57]

FIG. 8.4. MAP OF CYPRUS FROM GIOVANNI FRANCESCO CAMOCIO'S *ISOLARIO,* CA. 1570–74. The map depicts the massive military preparations of the Ottomans on the shores of Asia Minor before their onslaught to capture the island in July 1570. This composite edition is one of the many *isolarii* published during the last decades of the sixteenth century. These works illustrated the armed conflicts arising from the spread of the Ottoman Empire. Although Camocio had only just published a more accurate map of Cyprus in 1566, he preferred in his topical *isolario* to copy the map of the island by Paolo Forlani (Venice, 1570), which showed the island divided into its eleven medieval districts. The only accompanying text is a brief legend on the map.
Size of the original: 20 × 16 cm. Photograph courtesy of the Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana, Venice (Rari Veneti 244 [= 25957], 69).

These new *isolarii* differ significantly from their predecessors.[58] First, they were no longer intended for practical use or general edification: instead, they provided topical information about the theaters of the Venetian-Turkish war and the situation prevailing there. Second, the subject matter was different. Among the maps of the islands—which are, incidentally, arranged in random order, to the great confusion of the reader—one finds pictures of fortresses and towns and scenes of fighting between the Christian and Ottoman forces.[59] Third, these

55. The earliest dated print in the book was done in 1566, the latest in 1574. Twelve of the maps are signed by Camocio; one was engraved by Donato Bertelli, one by Martino Rota da Sebenico, two by Domenico Zenoi (Zenoni), and four by Paolo Forlani. The other sixty-eight are anonymous. Bertelli acquired Camocio's copperplates, probably after the latter's death (thought to have been in 1575): see Rodolfo Gallo, "Gioan Francesco Camocio and His Large Map of Europe," *Imago Mundi* 7 (1950): 93–102, esp. 97.

56. This copy, in Venice, Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana (Rari V 244 = 25957), seems to be the most comprehensive of all the known versions: see Gallo, "Gioan Francesco Camocio," 97–99. Camocio's *isolario* was also published by Battista Scalvinoni in Venice, after 1575; see Stylianou and Stylianou, *Cartography of Cyprus,* 222.

57. Simon Pinargenti, *Isole che son da Venetia nella Dalmatia et per tutto l'arcipelago, fino à Costantinopoli, con le loro fortezze, e con le terre più notabili di Dalmatia* (Venice: Simon Pinargenti, 1573). Most of the signed maps were engraved by Pinargenti and the rest by Natale Bonifacio and Niccolò Nelli. The copy in the BNF (Ge FF Rés. 9373) contains fifty-one unnumbered maps. The Bertelli compilation is a collection of pictures of towns, typical of the period. Each of the three known copies has a different set of maps, ranging from fifty-one to sixty-eight in number. Gallo ("Gioan Francesco Camocio," 98–99) records sixty-eight prints in the second edition (Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana, Rari V 422): Ferdinando [Ferando] Bertelli, *Civitatum aliquot insigniorum et locor[um], magis munitor[um]. . . ,* 2d ed. (Venice: Donati Bertelli, 1574). The prints were engraved by Domenico Zenoni (sixteen), Natale Bonifacio (twelve), Ferdinando Bertelli (six), Paolo Forlani (three), Donato Bertelli (two), Felice Brunello (one), and Marino Rota [da Sebenico] (one). The work is relevant to the subject of the present chapter because more than half of the prints in the book are maps of islands and coastal places.

58. On the informational functions of the composite *isolarii,* see George Tolias, "Informazione e celebrazione: Il tramonto degli isolari (1572–1696)," in *Navigare e descrivere,* 37–43.

59. One such engagement that is invariably illustrated is the sea battle of Lepanto, which was seen by contemporaries as marking the final limit of Turkish expansion to the west. Sometimes two or more maps are devoted to it, showing the scene of the battle, the dispositions of the opposing fleets, and the course of the action. Camocio also has a sheet

isolarii contained only pictorial matter, uninterrupted by any narrative. The only words on Pinargenti's and Bertelli's maps are the titles, but Camocio often added a brief note in the title cartouche giving the position and size of the region shown on the map and naming the sovereign power. Finally, there was a noticeable change in the style of the maps. Improvements had been made in the technique of copperplate engraving, and the publishers of these books were among the best engravers of the sixteenth century. Each island was now a self-contained, microscopic landscape framed by its cursorily drawn coastline and depicting wooded hills, valleys, rivers and roads, animals and villages, castles, harbors, ships, and monasteries. Quite often the islands appear to be uninhabited or deserted, but sometimes we see farmworkers, merchants, and laborers going about their business and, most often, troops of soldiers fighting each other or besieging the castles. Everything had its place and was depicted in a clever play of scale and perspective: large objects were reduced in size and small ones were magnified in these maps, where the islands are viewed as if through a microscope.

In the last two decades of the century, several new specimens of the genre appeared. Mention should be made of Francesco Ferretti, whose *isolario* (1580) contains twenty barely legible charts of the Greek islands; the Florentine Giuseppe Rosaccio, who combined the old style of *isolario* with the travel literature tradition; and Antonio Millo, the Greek maker of charts and atlases who worked in Venice between 1575 and 1590.[60]

Antonio Millo's work takes us back to the *isolarii* intended solely for practical use. About ten manuscript *isolarii* written in his hand have survived, dated between 1582 and 1591 (fig. 8.5).[61] They generally contain about seventy-five maps and descriptions of Mediterranean islands, which form the bulk of the book in each case, and

FIG. 8.5. MAP OF MALLORCA BY ANTONIO MILLO. A characteristic example of the vernacular and nautical *isolarii* that were current from the end of the sixteenth century onward. These *isolarii* were confined to the islands of the Mediterranean and were often accompanied by portolan texts or condensed sailing instructions (*arte de navigare*). These manuscript *isolarii* continued to be reproduced and used until the middle of the seventeenth century.
Size of the original: 30 × 20 cm. Photograph courtesy of the Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana, Venice (MS. It. IV 2 [=5540], fol. 54r).

(no. 40) depicting one of the prizes taken by the Christians. Next comes a section on Cyprus with up to four maps: one of the whole island with the nearby coast of Karamania, where the Ottoman army was stationed, one or two of the siege of Nicosia, and one of the land siege and naval blockade of Famagusta. Then there is a section on Dalmatia and the coast of the Ionian Sea, with plates illustrating the siege of Šibenik, *Il fidelissimo Sebenico,* the battle of Margariti on 8 November 1571, the fall of Sopoto in 1570, a sea battle at Navarino on 21 September 1572, other sea battles off Methone and the Maina, and so on. Finally there are pictures of Constantinople, of Ottoman military exercises, and of the Turkish invasion of Hungary.

60. Francesco Ferretti, *Diporti notturni: Dialloghui familiari del Capo Franco Ferretti* . . . (Ancona: Francesco Salvioni, 1580). Ferretti's nautical *isolario* also served military purposes in an indirect way by drawing attention to the losses suffered by Christendom in the Greek East and advocating taking action for their recovery. The designation of the author as "Captain Francesco Ferretti, Knight of the Order of St. Stephen" hints at the book's military character and the author's career aspirations, which are even more obvious in the second edition, published in Venice in 1608 under the title *Arte Militare*. The maps were engraved by Michiel Angelo Marrelli of Ancona. Giuseppe Rosaccio, *Viaggio da Venetia, a Costantinopoli per mare, e per terra* (Venice: Giacomo Franco, 1598). The copy of Rosaccio's *Viaggio* in the Gennadius Library, Athens, contains only seventy-one maps, of which forty-two have their numbers engraved on the plates. Rosaccio had previously published a small-format cosmography entitled *Il mondo e sue parti cioe Europa, Affrica, Asia, et America* (Florence: Francesco Tosi, 1595). On Millo, see Tolias, *Greek Portolan Charts,* 40–42 and 192–203.

61. The titles of Millo's books vary, and they are all extremely long. One of the shortest is on an *isolario* in the Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana (MSS. It Cl 4 No 2 = 5540): "Isulario de tuto el Mare Mediteraneo Principiando dal stretto di gibiltara ouer Colone di Erchule y tuto levante ala isula de Cipro ultima ala parte di Levante: De Antonio Millo Armiralgio al Zante nel qual si contiene tute le isule dil mare mediteraneo principiando dala isula di giaviza."

in addition Millo often gives descriptions (but not maps) of islands in the Indian Ocean and the Caribbean Sea. The *isolario* proper is sometimes preceded by a treatise on navigation and sometimes followed by a brief portolan text giving the distances between various islands and other places in the Mediterranean. The point to be stressed is that the material for all Millo's cartographic work is drawn from sources previously in print. The maps in his *isolarii* are based on, if not actually copied from, topical maps of the kind published by Camocio, which he reproduced in simplified form. Millo's *isolarii* are textbooks for the use of professional seamen and are interesting in that they give us a synoptic view of the average seafarer's level of technical knowledge in the late sixteenth century. These illustrated books, simpler and easier to understand than Pīrī Re'īs's "Kitāb-i baḥrīye," are manuscript practical manuals similar to those produced for so many other trades at that time.

The majority of these nautical *isolarii* intended for practical use date from the last decades of the sixteenth century and the first decades of the seventeenth. One of the latest of them is now in the library of the Istituto Querini-Stampalia in Venice. Dated 1645, it is the work of a shipowner named Gerolamo Baseglio, nicknamed Marafon. It comprises paraphrases of the text of the earlier *isolario* by Antonio Millo and copies of Millo's maps.[62]

Around the middle of the seventeenth century, the production of nautical handbooks intended as practical aids to navigation came to be organized on a steadily more systematic basis. The balance was shared equally between mainland coasts and islands, the cartography was more detailed, and the practical *isolarii* were superseded by more complex navigational manuals, such as the detailed navigational handbooks (the "portolani topograffi") with charts drawn by Gasparo Tentivo. There is an interesting anonymous seventeenth-century work that, although it possesses all the characteristics of the new genre, is still described in its title as an *isolario:* it is the "Isolario ossia descrizzione delle isole del Mediterraneo," a lengthy (305 pp.) and detailed portolan.[63] Mediterranean seamen seemed to continue using the nautical *isolarii* up to the end of the eighteenth century, as we can assume by the late compilation of a similar work, the four-volume manuscript *isolario* by the Maltese pilot Antonio Borg.[64]

ANDRÉ THEVET

One of the works produced in the sixteenth century—the period that saw the most systematic development and widest dissemination of the *isolario*—is an extreme and utopian example of the genre. It is the unfinished "Grand insulaire" compiled by the French cosmographer André Thevet.[65] The new *isolario* was exceptional in its conception, for it was intended to cover at least 263 islands in all parts of the world (fig. 8.6).

FIG. 8.6. MAP OF THE FALKLAND ISLANDS BY ANDRÉ THEVET (ACCORDING TO THE GEOGRAPHIC COORDINATES OF THE MAP). A typical example from Thevet's unfinished "Grand insulaire" (ca. 1586). The cosmographer calls the islands the "Isles de Sanson ou des Geantz"; conflating seafarers' tales with the biblical tradition, Thevet combined the natives of rather large stature seen by Magellan's fleet in neighboring Patagonia in 1519–20 with the giant hero of the Bible.
Size of the original: 14.9 × 18.1 cm. Photograph courtesy of the BNF (MS. fr. 15452, fol. 268r.)

62. Querini-Stampalia Manuscript 765: "Isulario de Gerolemo Marafon Patron de Nave Per il quale in esso si contiene tutte le isole quante si ritrova nel Mare Mediteraneo," fol. 82. The workmanship of this *isolario* is very shoddy. The text is written in a more uneducated hand than the maps. On folios 21v and 22r the text and maps are reversed, and on folio 28v the map is drawn upside down. The same library has another unfinished *isolario* by "Girolamo Baseglio detto Marafon," also dated 1645, with text but no maps. This one is written in a more fluent hand. It consists of 112 folios, of which the text of the *isolario* takes up the first ninety and the remainder contain a brief portolan of the Mediterranean written by a different copyist (Querini-Stampalia Manuscript 162). See Anastasia Stouraiti, *La Grecia nelle raccolte della Fondazione Querini Stampalia* (Venice: Fondazione Scientifica Querini Stampalia, 2000), 95–97, and also Giuseppe Mazzariol, ed., *Catalogo del fondo cartografico queriniano* (Venice: Lombroso, 1959), 128. An anonymous manuscript *isolario* of 1645–75 belongs to the tradition inaugurated by Antonio Millo. It bears the title "Isollario del Mediteraneo et colpho di Venezia" and contains thirty-seven maps; see Martayan Lan, *Fine Antique Maps, Atlases & Globes,* catalog 29 (New York: Martayan Lan, 2001).

63. Siena, Biblioteca Statale, K. II. 14. See also Konrad Kretschmer, *Die italienischen Portolane des Mittelalters: Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte der Kartographie und Nautik* (Berlin: E. S. Mittler und Sohn, 1909), 231–32.

64. A copy of Antonio Borg's *isolario* is in the BL, Add. MS. 13957–13960.

65. "Le grand insulaire et pilotage d'André Thevet Angoumoisin, Cosmographe du Roy, dans lequel sont contenus plusieurs plants d'isles

Although the "Grand insulaire" was never finished, Thevet did manage to have plates made of most of the maps at the printing house of Thomas de Leu in Flanders, probably about 1586, before he went bankrupt. These maps, some of which are now in the BNF, some in the Gennadius Library, Athens, and some in the BL, give us a good idea of the breadth of conception and the quality of the work.[66] Great care was taken with the artwork, and the text supplies a mass of miscellaneous information. Not all of this is reliable, but even the items that are mere fantasy represent beliefs that were deeply rooted in the sixteenth century.

Thevet, the cosmographer to the last kings of the House of Valois, had already written about the islands in his first book, *Cosmographie du Levant,* an interesting work that combined fantasy and mythology with fact.[67] Toward the end of his career, the cosmographer returned to the edifying world of insular quirks and mythological flights of fancy (descriptions of demons, giants, and monsters) that were staples of seafarers' tales. For this he incurred the disapproval of his fellow scholars; Jacques-August de Thou castigated him for dealing in books "which are in the hands of the populace," while Nicolas Claude Fabri de Peiresc criticized him for having his maps drawn capriciously by persons whose reliability was suspect.[68]

Thevet's ambitious idea of gathering hundreds of islands in a single book may seem unrealistic to us today, but it does make for an interesting synthesis of contrasting elements. On the one hand is the tradition of the old cosmographic model with its moralistic allegories, its piecemeal approach, and its popular mode of expression. And then there is the new trend, characterized by scholarly composition and a predilection for an image of geographical space tested by the intellect. The impasse facing the compiler of the "Grand insulaire" on the threshold of the seventeenth century highlighted the need for change.

In spite of Porcacchi's and Thevet's efforts to extend to the maximum the geographical horizon of their works, humanist scholars were still interested in the specific island groups. In 1591 David Chytraeus, a German Lutheran and historian, published a description of the Baltic Islands.[69] It is not certain whether this work contains maps or whether it follows the pattern of a regional *isolario,* such as the one by Leandro Alberti; I have been unable to examine a copy.

A Second Heyday: The Low Countries and Venice, Seventeenth Century

Even after world atlases had made their appearance, the *isolarii,* those fragmented island cosmographies, maintained their momentum and retained their readership. In 1601 Jean Matal published a synoptic world *isolario* in Cologne, with composite maps of numerous islands.[70] In 1610 Ägidius Sadeler reissued Rosaccio's *Viaggio* without any textual matter, while Porcacchi and Porro's *L'isole piv famose del mondo* established itself as a "best-seller" of its time, going through several new and expanded editions.

One new manuscript *isolario* was compiled in 1638 at Chios, the island where its author, Francesco Lupazolo, settled around 1610.[71] Its descriptions appear to be derived largely from firsthand observation, while the maps,

habitées, et déshabitées, et description d'icelles," manuscript in two volumes of 423 and 230 folios, BNF, MS. fr. 15452–15453 (fonds Séguier-Coislin; Saint Germain Français 654). Some parts have been published: André Thevet, "Le grand insulaire et pilotage d'André Thevet," in *Le Discours de la navigation de Jean et Raoul Parmentier de Dieppe,* ed. Charles Henri Auguste Schefer (Paris, 1883; reprinted Geneva: Slatkine Reprints, 1971), 153–81, and idem, "Le grand insulaire et pilotage d'André Thevet . . . ," in *Le voyage de la Terre Sainte,* by Denis Possot (Paris, 1890; reprinted Geneva: Slatkine Reprints, 1971), 245–309. On Thevet's *isolario,* see F. W. Hasluck, "Thevet's *Grand insulaire* and His Travels in the Levant," *Annual of the British School at Athens* 20 (1913–14): 59–69. Frank Lestringant has written several works on Thevet, including *André Thevet: Cosmographe des derniers Valois* (Geneva: Droz, 1991), and *L'atelier du cosmographe, ou l'image du monde à la Renaissance* (Paris: Albin Michel, 1991), and Lestringant edited a critical edition of André Thevet, *Cosmographie de Levant* (Geneva: Librairie Droz, 1985). See also chapter 47 in this volume.

66. See Frank Lestringant, "Thevet, André," in *Les atlas français, XVI^e–XVII^e siècles: Répertoire bibliographique et étude,* by Mireille Pastoureau (Paris: Bibliothèque Nationale, Département des Cartes et Plans, 1984), 481–95; and a more summary treatment in Karrow, *Mapmakers of the Sixteenth Century,* 536–45. Reconstructing the form of the *Grand insulaire,* or of any one of the regions it covers, is a fairly complex undertaking. Thevet wrote a rough draft of the text, giving descriptions of 263 islands. Of the maps, the following are extant: (a) a set of eighty-four printed maps stuck onto the manuscript pages, (b) a hundred printed maps from the "Grand insulaire" in the BNF, the Gennadius Library, and the BL, (c) fifty-seven hand-drawn maps (originals and contemporary copies) in the BNF, and (d) 160 copies hand drawn by Jean-Baptiste Bourguignon d'Anville in 1750, mostly of maps of which the originals are now lost. Lestringant has compiled a list of all the extant maps from the "Grand insulaire" except those in the Gennadius Library ("Thevet, André," 487–95).

67. André Thevet, *Cosmographie de Levant* (Lyons: I. de Tovrnes and G. Gazeav, 1554; rev. ed. 1556).

68. Quoted in Lestringant, *L'atelier du cosmographe,* 154.

69. David Chytraeus, *Brevis et chorographica insularum aliquot Maris Balthici enumeratio* (Rostock, 1591). The work is mentioned in the bibliography of Minna Skafte Jensen, ed., *A History of Nordic Neo-Latin Literature* (Odense: Odense University Press, 1995), 338.

70. Jean Matal, *Insularium orbis aliquot insularum, tabulis aeneis delineationem continens* (Cologne: Ioannes Christophori, 1601).

71. Francesco Lupazolo, "Isolario dell'arcipelego et altri luoghi particolari di Francesco Lupazolo, nel qual si vede il loro nome antico et moderno, modo di vivere, il numero delli populi, habbito delle donne, et le antichità, si come altre cose particolare fuor dell'isole, fatto l'anno del S. 1638, in Scio" (BL, Lansdowne MS. 792). A second copy, bearing the title "Breve discorse e ipografia [sic] dell' isole del archipelago composto da Francesco Lupazzolo da Casale Monferato" and dating 1638, is in a private collection in Athens; see Sterios Fassoulakis, "O Lupazolo και η Νάξος," in *Η Νάξος δια μέσου των αιώνων,* ed. Sterios Fassoulakis (Athens, 1994), 499–513, esp. 502. See F. W. Hasluck, "Supplementary Notes on British Museum Manuscripts Relating to Levantine Geography," *Annual of the British School at Athens* 13 (1906–7): 339–47, esp. 341–45.

like those of Antonio Millo, were based on printed *isolarii* of the late sixteenth century. Yet the book is not without interest, because it foreshadowed certain changes in the manner of composition and the nature of the material. It carried on the old tradition of encyclopedic and antiquarian *isolarii,* but in both the text and the illustrations more space is given to notable or memorable images, especially the archaeological and ethnological. Six of the fifty-one illustrations are of historic monuments and traditional women's costumes worn on the islands of Chios, Melos, and Naxos. To that extent, Lupazolo's book heralds the educational tours of Greece and the islands that came into vogue in the late seventeenth century. From the two surviving copies of his *isolario* we can assume that the work was offered as an illustrated guide to the western travelers Lupazolo was hosting as the Venetian consul in the islands. This suggestion is reinforced by the fact that parts of his *isolario* are included in Jean de Thévenot's *Relation d'un voyage fait au Levant . . .* (Paris, 1664).[72]

The *isolarii* published in the seventeenth century also returned to their geographical roots, that is, to the Aegean and the great islands of the eastern Mediterranean, Crete, and Cyprus. In the second half of the century, presses in both Flanders and Venice produced new *isolarii* of the Greek islands. As before, developments were influenced by the historical situation. Commerce in the Levant was at its zenith. The French and Italians, who had pioneered trade in the eastern Mediterranean, were now facing competition from Dutch trading houses, which claimed the lion's share. Meanwhile the final phase of the long-running Venetian-Turkish conflict was being played out, with the Venetians losing Crete and temporarily recapturing the Peloponnesus. Once again the attention of Western Europe was turned toward the Greek East. Descriptive and illustrated books were published in considerable numbers, and geographical or topical publications on Greece enjoyed a renewed spell of popularity.[73]

The revival of the *isolario* tradition was due mainly to the contemporary mania for collecting. Marco Boschini, the great Venetian engraver, art lover, and dealer in curios and works of art, drew public attention back to the old island encyclopedias.[74] Among other cartographic works, he compiled and published an *isolario* of the Aegean (1658), an elegant example of mid-seventeenth-century Venetian printmaking that contains maps of forty-eight islands and a general map of the Aegean.[75]

Although the source of Boschini's first Greek topographical book is known, the sources used for his *isolario* remain unidentified.[76] In any event, his maps (or the originals on which they were modeled) were used as the basis for another cosmographical compilation about the Aegean, the *isolario* of Francesco Piacenza of Naples.[77] The latter contains sixty-two maps and descriptions of Aegean islands, Crete, and Cyprus. The distinctive feature of this work is that the descriptions of the islands are exceptionally long, totaling some seven hundred pages, which makes this work a kind of *isolario* pandect. The text takes us back to the early cosmographic works of the sixteenth century, while the maps, drawn in a variety of projections, are outstanding illustrations of Italian engraving that make the most of the potential of separate miniature islandscapes.

72. See Fassoulakis, "Lupazolo," 502. For the seventeenth- and eighteenth-century travelers to Greece, see David Constantine, *Early Greek Travellers and the Hellenic Ideal* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1984). One of the most notable of those travelers was the French naturalist Joseph Pitton de Tournefort, who actually met Lupazolo at Smyrna in 1702. According to Tournefort, Lupazolo was then said to be 118 years old, yet he was still serving as the Venetian consul there. See Joseph Pitton de Tournefort, *Relation d'un voyage du Levant fait par ordre du Roi . . .* , 3 vols. (Lyons: Anisson et Posuel, 1717), 2:133. Lupazolo was actually 115 years old. Francesco Lupazolo (or Lupazzoli or Lupassoli, meaning literally "lone wolf") was born at Casale Monferato in 1587 and served as consul of Venice at Smyrna between 1669 and 1702. On this exceptional longevity and his productive character, see Sonia P. Anderson, *An English Consul in Turkey: Paul Rycaut at Smyrna, 1667–1678* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1989), 50–52.

73. See, for example, Jacob Enderlin's *Archipelagus Turbatus* (1686) and his description of Macedonia and Thrace (1689); P. A. Pacifico's description of Morea (1686) and Negroponte (1694); N. N.'s (Niccolò Nelli's?) description of Negroponte (1687); Albrizzi's description of Chios (1694), and the volumes by Vincenzo Coronelli on various Greek territories.

74. On Boschini, see Michelangelo Muraro, "Boschini, Marco," in *DBI,* 13:199–202, with a list of his works and bibliography. On the culture of curiosity, see Adalgisa Lugli, *Naturalia et Mirabilia: Il collezionismo enciclopedico nelle Wunderkammern d'Europa* (Milan: Gabriele Mazzotta, 1983); Julius Ritter von Schlosser, *Die Kunst- und Wunderkammern der Spätrenaissance: Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte des Sammelwesens* (Leipzig: Klinkhardt und Biermann, 1908); Horst Bredekamp, *Antikensehnsucht und Maschinenglauben: Die Geschichte der Kunstkammer und die Zukunft der Kunstgeschichte* (Berlin: Klaus Wagenbach, 1993); Krzysztof Pomian, *Collectionneurs, amateurs et curieux, Paris, Venise: XVI^e^–XVIII^e^ siècle* (Paris: Gallimard, 1987). On the connection between curio collecting and cartography, see Francesca Fiorani, "Post-Tridentine 'Geographia Sacra': The Galleria delle Carte Geografiche in the Vatican Palace," *Imago Mundi* 48 (1996): 124–48, esp. 140; Woodward, *Maps as Prints,* 88–93; and chapters 25 and 32 in this volume.

75. Marco Boschini, *L'arcipelago con tutte le Isole, Scogli Secche, e Bassi Fondi . . .* (Venice: F. Nicolini, 1658). His other cartographic works include an atlas of Crete, *Il regno tvtto di Candia, delineato a parte, a parte et intagliato da Marco Boschini Venetiano. Al Serenissimo Prencipe e Regal Collegio di Venetia* (an erroneously suggested first edition of 1645 does not exist; the only edition extant was published in Venice in 1651), maps of Dalmatia and Albania (now lost), and a map of the Territorio Vicentino.

76. Marco Boschini's *Il regno tvtto di Candia* is a printed version of a manuscript atlas by Francesco Basilicata, a military engineer responsible for the fortifications on Crete during the first decades of the seventeenth century. Five manuscript atlases by his hand survive: Museo Correr, Portolani 4 (1618); BL, Maps, K. Top 113, 104, tab. 6 (1612); Historical Museum of Crete (1614–26); Biblioteca Comunale dell' Archiginnasio, Bologna, MS. A 2849 (1638); and Gennadius Library, Athens, GT 290.

77. Francesco Piacenza, *L'egeo redivivo ò sia chorographia dell'arcipelago . . .* (Modena: E. Soliani, 1688).

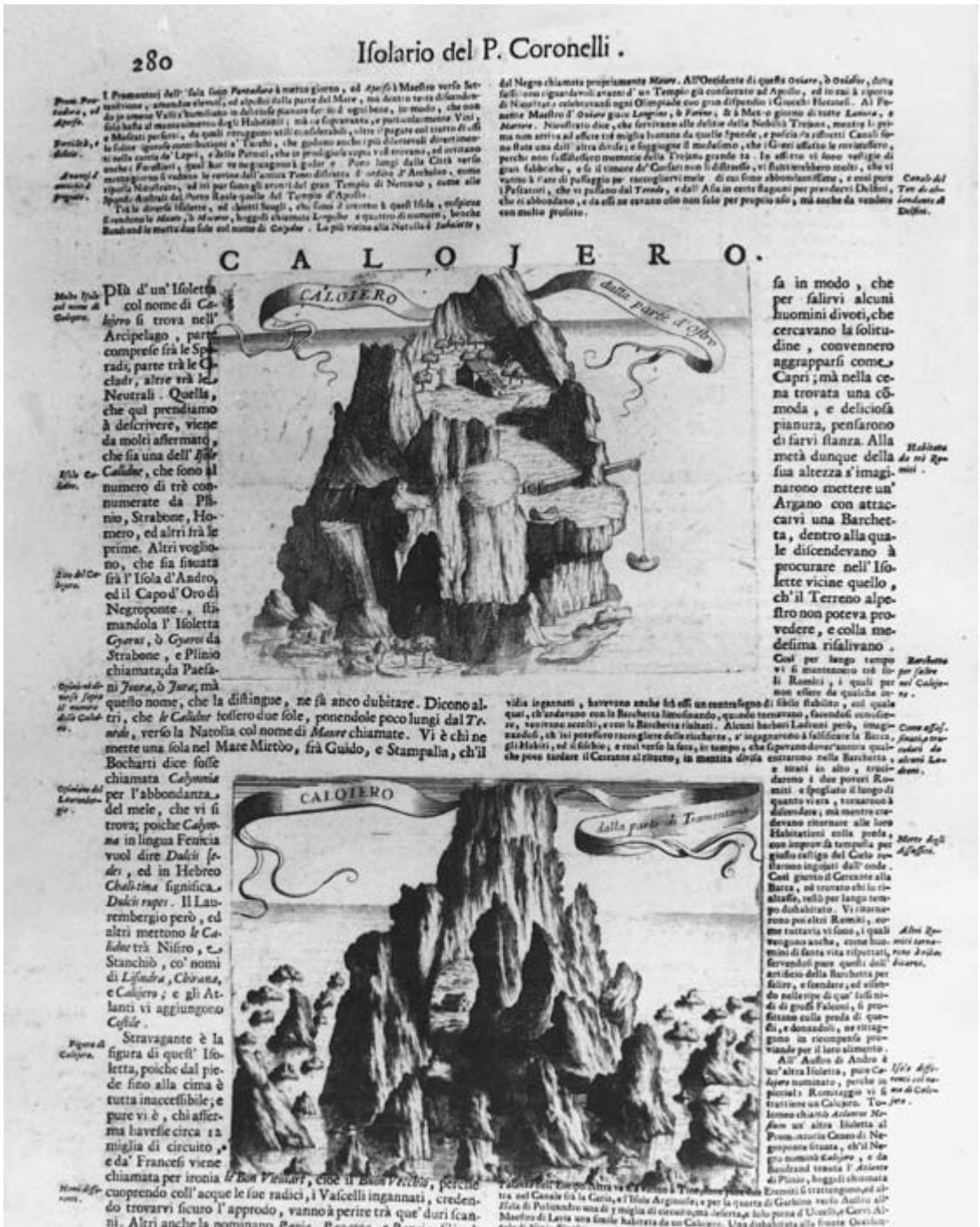


FIG. 8.7. THE ISLET OF KALOGEROS FROM THE NORTH AND SOUTH SIDES BY CORONELLI. The *Isolario dell'Atlante Veneto* (1696), whose two large volumes represented the swan song of the genre with over three hundred maps and views of islands and littoral regions from all the world, was a monumental composition of limited originality. With this double-view map of Calojero (Kalogeros), Coronelli attempted an exhaustive depiction of a self-contained island microcosm. In order to achieve this optical effect, the Venetian cosmographer used two different maps from André Thevet's *isolario:* the map of Kalogeros of Andros ("Caloiero d'Andros dit le bon vieillant," "Grand insulaire," vol. 2, fol. 90bis) for the north view, and that of Kalogeros of Nisyros ("Le Caloiero de Nisaro dit Panagea," "Grand insulaire," vol. 2, fol. 56 bis) for the south. And see figures 47.7 and 47.8.

Size of each drawing: ca. 12.5 × 16.5 cm. Photograph courtesy of the Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana, Venice (285.c.17, fol. 188v [= p. 280]).

A wide range of sources, including Boschini's work, was used for the composite *isolario* compiled by the Dutch engraver and publisher Olfert Dapper (1688).[78] This was an interesting publishing venture in that it was the first *isolario* produced in Flanders. It contains a wealth of cartographic material, views of towns, plans of fortresses, and pictures of local costumes. The format is unusually large, and the typography of a high standard. Here the old model was modernized, and the *isolario* was on the way to becoming a regional atlas, full of geographical, economic, and ethnographic facts. Dapper's work was evidently a commercial success, judging from the fact that the French translation of it ran to two editions, both published in Amsterdam (1703). Flemish presses also produced books by the Peeters family, which were not unlike *isolarii.*[79] They were cheap, small-sized composite atlases intended for a less demanding mass readership.

With the last *isolarii* we come to the works of Vincenzo Coronelli, which are among the finest of their kind.[80] Coronelli's work presents the researcher with problems aplenty, because the output of his workshop was quite extensive but not very systematically planned. Moreover, Coronelli was in the habit of compiling supposedly new atlases by mixing, rearranging, adding, and excising material by whim.

The whole of Coronelli's output was gathered together in the *Atlante Veneto,* whose thirteen volumes include three *isolarii.* The first of these, *Isole, città, et fortezze* (1689), a two-volume composite atlas in the tradition started by Italian publishers in the sixteenth century and revived by Olfert Dapper, is a collection of maps and pictorial views compiled mainly with commercial considerations in mind.[81] In the second, entitled *Mediterraneo,* Coronelli reverts to the historical-topical type of *isolario,* prompted this time by recent developments in the Venetian-Turkish conflict.[82] Published in two volumes, one on the Aegean islands and the other on Crete and Cyprus, it contains 103 prints, of which seventy-five are maps and views of the Aegean islands, while the rest are illustrations of battles, monuments, and local costumes. Like Dapper's work, it was influenced by the subject matter and illustrations of the flourishing contemporary travel literature.

The third of Coronelli's *isolarii,* the two-volume *Isolario dell'Atlante Veneto* (1696), a monumental collection of maps and views of islands, marks one last return to the universal *isolario* (fig. 8.7). In the introduction Coronelli describes his book as an essential supplement to Joan Blaeu's atlas and harkens back to the methodology of the compilers of sixteenth-century *isolarii,* declaring: "We do not know the exact number of islands." However, he goes on, "the whole world is divided into islands, starting with the four continents, which might be described as large islands, and ending with islands so small that they do not deserve the name and are called rocky islets."[83]

The title claims that Coronelli's *isolario* contains 310 maps and illustrations, but the number varied from copy to copy.[84] With respect to his sources, Coronelli mentions ninety-six ancient and modern geographers,[85] including Olfert Dapper, Allain Manesson-Mallet, Benedetto Bordone, and Tommaso Porcacchi.

Function and Uses of the *Isolarii*

Coronelli's work brings us to the end of the age of the *isolario,* although some of the cheaper examples continued to be published in the early decades of the eighteenth cen-

78. Olfert Dapper, *Naukeurige beschryving der eilanden in, de Archipel der Middelantsche Zee* . . . (Amsterdam, 1688).

79. *Description des principales Villes, Havres et Isles du Golfe de Venise du cotè Oriental, comme aussi des Villes et Forteresses de la Morée et quelques Places de la Grèce et des Isles principales de l'Archipel et Forteresses d'ycelles . . . , Mis en Lumière par Jacques Peeters en Anvers sur le Marché des vieux Souliers,* ca. 1690; *Diverse viste delle città in Candia, Malta, come nel'Archipelago . . . , Ioannes Peeters DD.,* ca. 1664; *Diverse Viste delli Dardaneli del Strecio come delle Città e Castelli nel'Arcipelago. Ioannis Peeters delineavit et execudit Antuerpiae. Anno 1664.* Also, in 1713 Raffaello Savonarola published a handy world atlas in four volumes, based mainly on late sixteenth-century cartographic works: *Universus terrarum orbis scriptorum* . . . (Padua: Frambotti, 1713). Several island maps from the early topical *isolarii* are reproduced in this work.

80. The literature on Coronelli is substantial. See, for example, Ermanno Armao, *Vincenzo Coronelli: Cenni sull'uomo e la sua vita, catalogo ragionato delle sue opere, lettere-fonti bibliografiche-indiri* (Florence: Bibliopolis, 1944); idem, *In giro per il mar Egeo con Vincenzo Coronelli: Note di topologia, toponomastica estoria medievali dinasti e famiglie Italiane in Levante* (Florence: Leo S. Olschki, 1951); idem, *"Catalogo degli autori";* the commemorative volume published by the Comune di Venezia, *Vincenzo Coronelli nel terzo centenario dalla nascita* (Venice, 1950); Clara Messi, *P. M.o Vincenzo Coronelli dei Frati minori conventuali (1650–1950)* (Padua, 1950); the articles devoted to Coronelli in *Miscellanea Franciscana* 51 (1951): 63–558; A. de Ferrari, "Coronelli, Vincenzo," in *DBI,* 29:305–9; Dennis E. Rhodes, "Some Notes on Vincenzo Coronelli and His Publishers," *Imago Mundi* 39 (1987): 77–79; Donatino Domini and Marica Milanesi, eds., *Vincenzo Coronelli e l'imago mundi* (Ravenna: Longo, 1998); Massimo Donattini, *Vincenzo Coronelli e l'immagine del mondo fra isolari e atlanti* (Ravenna: Longo, 1999); and Maria Gioia Tavoni, ed., *Un intellettuale europeo e il suo universo: Vincenzo Coronelli (1650–1718)* (Bologna: Studio Costa, 1999).

81. Vincenzo Coronelli, *Isole città, et fortezze più principali dell'Europa . . . descritte e dedicate dal P. maestro Coronelli, cosmografo della serenissima Reppublica di Venetia* . . . (Venice, 1689), Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana, 180 d 12–13.

82. See Armao, *Vincenzo Coronelli,* 166–69.

83. Vincenzo Coronelli, *Isolario dell'Atlante Veneto descrizone geografico-historica, sacro-profana, antico-moderna, politica, naturale, e poetica* . . . , 2 vols. (Venice, 1696), vol. 1 (BL, Maps C 44 f 6).

84. The copy in the Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana (285.c.17–18), which is one of the most complete, has 359 maps and illustrations.

85. See Coronelli, "Catalogo degli autori," 522–24, and also Armao, *"Catalogo degli autori."*

tury. For three hundred years *isolarii* had been largely Mediterranean, a sort of local cartographic specialty.

The compilers of *isolarii* were Mediterranean people, and many of them—mostly Italians from Florence, Venice, and Genoa, but also Ottoman Turks, Spaniards, Greeks, and Frenchmen, and even Portuguese—had first-hand experience of the islands. All of them had some sort of connection with the islands: Pīrī Re'īs, Antonio Millo, Bartolommeo dalli Sonetti, and Francesco Ferretti were local mariners; Francesco Lupazolo spent his long life in Chios and Smyrna; Cristoforo Buondelmonti, a Florentine, spent most of his life on Rhodes and died there; André Thevet and Girolamo Marafon were familiar with the region from their visits; the Venetian engravers and cartographers of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries were citizens of a republic that possessed more territory in the Greek East than in the Italian peninsula. The Florentine Henricus Martellus Germanus was expressing a widely held view when he stated in his excellent work that the early *isolarii* were descriptions of the islands of "our Mediterranean" or "our sea," echoing the ancient Romans' *mare nostrum*.[86]

The *isolario* was a particular genre that came into being during the gradual widening of the geographical horizons due to the European expansion toward east and west, combined with developments in the learned approach by which empirical inspection steadily gained ground.[87] Although this was not always the case, the importance of primary experience was acknowledged by most compilers of *isolarii,* who emphasized in their prefaces that everything written in their books was the fruit of systematic personal observations. These works reflect the meeting between an old and a new tendency: on the one hand the growing interest of the learned in material reality, on the other the underground perpetuation of moralistic cosmography with its allegorical approach, its mnemonic clichés, and its popular dimension. The miniature worlds of the islands, which the *isolarii* set out to describe as self-contained universes, each with its own mythology, history, and geography, are in fact the best places for the application of this dualism. As Jacob remarks, "The island is not an anodyne space."[88] An island map presents to our view one of the smallest units of space, a unit that is visible all at once: this is cartographic readability at its maximum. One might add that an analytical narrative description of an island is a cosmographic minimum. *Isolarii,* with their peculiar hybrid character, reflected the vacillations and tergiversations of the process of change and presented a world fragmented into unconnected yet controlled localities.[89]

Some *isolarii* suggested solutions to the problems of arranging the overall cartographic representation of the known world. They could be called early world atlases that, unable to describe the universe methodically, confined themselves to teaching Renaissance man about the insular and coastal limits of his world. Porcacchi and Coronelli were aware of this fragmentary process, and some compilers evidently would have liked to cover the whole of the known world in this manner, judging from the way they treated peninsulas, capes, and other places on the coast as islands.[90]

Isolarii, both products and creators of the new sense of geographical curiosity awakened among Renaissance urban and maritime societies, owed their origin to the liberation of geographical thinking due to the European expansion from the thirteenth century onward.[91] They are linked with the European powers' vested interests in the eastern Mediterranean, and later with their colonial system in general. Early encyclopedic interest in the closed, inward-looking, and self-contained microcosms of the islands is expressed here in an obvious way: island microcosms were easier for the mind to grasp.[92] The very small, as it is more familiar and within one's control, facilitates access and projection to an overall picture, and so it attracted the Renaissance reader just as it attracts readers today. As Bachelard has remarked, "Anything minuscule, narrow gate though it is, opens a whole world. The detail of a thing is a sign of a new world, which, like every world, possesses all the attributes of greatness."[93]

Extremely easy to read and entertaining, these works caught on rapidly and built up a wide readership. In time they adapted themselves to the needs of these readers, and so their character changed. By the end of the fifteenth century, they were already moving further out toward the pe-

86. Henricus Martellus Germanus, "Insularium illustratum . . . ," BL, Add. MS. 15760, f I.

87. See Broc, *La géographie de la Renaissance,* 61–119, and Lestringant, *Le livre des îles,* 24–36.

88. Jacob, *L'empire des cartes,* 366.

89. See Lestringant, *L'atelier du cosmographe,* 189–92. Tom Conley, in his interesting and original book *The Self-Made Map: Cartographic Writing in Early Modern France* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1996), 167–201, sets out to prove that "the way that cosmography *fails* to explain the world gives rise to a productive fragmentation that momentarily allows various shapes of difference to be registered without yet being appropriated or allegorized" (p. 169).

90. According to Akerman's studies, atlases came into being through the combined evolution of *isolarii,* books of sailing directions, and collections of views of towns: see James Akerman, "On the Shoulders of Titan: Viewing the World of the Past in Atlas Structure" (Ph.D. diss., Pennsylvania State University, 1996).

91. See Pierre Chaunu's analysis of the process of *désenclavement planétaire* by means of island universes (*univers-îles*) in his book *L'expansion européenne du XIII^e au XV^e siècle* (Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 1969).

92. On the relations between *isolarii* and geographical thinking and on the movement of ideas during the Renaissance, see Jacob, *L'empire des cartes,* 197–201, 361–83, and Conley, *Self-Made Map,* esp. 167–201.

93. Gaston Bachelard, *La poétique de l'espace,* 2d ed. (Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 1958), 146.

riphery of geographical literature as their authors concentrated more and more on general knowledge or news about the current political situation. As a result, *isolarii* developed into brief, unsophisticated, and visually homogeneous "popular" geographical texts that drifted ever further from the realm of formal geography. It is highly significant that established geographers and cartographers of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries consistently steered clear of *isolarii*.[94]

There is nothing particularly remarkable about the conception of the *isolario* as a genre, for the practice of organizing knowledge into thematic compartments is widely found in medieval and Renaissance learned literature. Lengthy lists in chronicles, books of wisdom, bestiaries, books of miracles, and later, collections of views of towns, harbors, costumes, battles, or military formations had accustomed people to the thematic encyclopedic approach.[95]

Isolarii show close affinities with other illustrated books of that period: they conform to the same standards as the illustrated popular encyclopedic works intended for a mass readership, as they are themselves illustrated thematic collections. This tendency, a characteristic feature of the Renaissance ethos of curiosity, is reinforced by the fact that not a few compilers of *isolarii* also published other encyclopedic works, which were usually illustrated: the founding father of the genre, Buondelmonti, wrote *Nomina virorum illustrum,* Bertelli some illustrated encyclopedic works about costumes and collections of views of towns, Porcacchi a peculiar sort of dictionary dealing with the history of funerary rites, Franco an illustrated book of Venetian costumes, Thevet his famous book of historical portraits, and Boschini several books about precious stones and *objets d'art,* including one that he called an "*isolario* of painters," an eccentric manual of navigation containing biographies of contemporary artists.[96] Even Antonio Millo, a Greek pilot with little formal education, drew an illustrated collection of the antiquities of Rome.[97]

The terminology used by compilers of *isolarii* to describe the maps in their works is variable and irregular, revealing the fluid character of early cartographic terminology and also the degree of marginality of the genre. This is most apparent in the early works. Buondelmonti sees his maps as illustrations to the text, and so does Henricus Martellus the island maps in his work, although he uses a more sophisticated terminology to define the rest of the cartographic material in his *isolario* (e.g., *mappamundi* for the universal Ptolemaic map). The anonymous compiler of 1500 characterized the island sketches as chorographies.

The terms prevailing for the *isolario* maps during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries are expressions related to the printed illustrations ("intaglios" and "tabulae aeneae"). Rosaccio defines his maps as "disegni de geografia e corografia" (drawings of geography and chorography). In the work of Thevet and Piacenza we can discern a tendency to see the *isolario*'s illustrations as part of the cartographic material. Thevet names his island maps "plans," Piacenza "piante." Only Coronelli, at the end of the seventeenth century, describes his *isolario* maps as "tavole geografiche."

The compilers of *isolarii* came from a variety of professions. The only two professional marine cartographers, in the sense in which that term was used in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, were Pīrī Re'īs and Antonio Millo. Four were cosmographers, if we include Piacenza (primarily a lawyer, but he occasionally taught geography) with Santa Cruz, Thevet, and Coronelli. Humanist scholars and antiquarian writers also accounted for a fair proportion of the compilers, but are outnumbered by miniaturists, engravers, publishers, and others engaged in the book trade.

Classified according to their predominant character, *isolarii* can be divided into three main groups: the nautical, the antiquarian-humanistic, and the topical (fig. 8.8). However, elements of all three can be found, to a greater or lesser extent, in every *isolario*. The predominantly nautical group is smaller than either of the others. Most of the works of this type deal only with the Mediterranean islands; often they are in manuscript form and were intended primarily as basic navigation manuals for

94. On the hostile reaction of contemporary scholars to Thevet's "Grand insulaire," see p. 1474.

95. See Jacques Le Goff, "Pourquoi le XII^{e} siècle a-t-il été plus particulièrement un siècle d'encyclopédisme?" in *L'enciclopedismo medievale,* ed. Michelangelo Picone (Ravenna: Longo Editore, 1994), 23–40. More specifically on the perception of space, see Patrick Gautier Dalché, *Géographie et culture: La représentation de l'espace du VI^{e} au XII^{e} siècle* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 1997).

96. Buondelmonti's work is in Rimini, Biblioteca Gambalunghiana, MS. SC-MS47. Bertelli also had a book related to *isolarii:* Ferdinando [Ferrando] Bertelli, *Civitatum aliquot insigniorum, et locor[um], magis munitor[um] exacta delineatio . . .* (Venice: Ferrando Bertelli, 1568; 2d ed. Venice: Donati Bertelli, 1574). Tommaso Porcacchi, *Funerali antichi di diversi popoli et nationi . . .* (Venice: [Simon Galignani de Karera], 1574). Giacomo Franco, *Habiti d'hvomeni et donne venetiane . . .* (Venice: Giacomo Franco, 1610). André Thevet, *Les vrais portraits et vies des hommes illustres Grecz, Latins, et Payens, recueilliz de leurs tableaux, livres, médalles antiques et modernes,* 2 vols. (Paris, 1584); Thevet was also the curator of the Cabinet de Curiosités of the kings of France. Marco Boschini's title, which is indicative of the influence of marine cartography on Venetian culture, is worth quoting in full: *La carta del navegar, pitoresco dialogo tra un senator venetian diletante e un professor de pittura soto nome d'ecelenza e compare: Comparti in oto venti con i quali la nave venetiana vien conduta in l'alto mar de la pitura, come assoluta dominante de quelo a confusion de chi non intende el bossolo de la calamita* (Venice, 1660).

97. Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana, MS. It. V 52012. Millo's antiquarian drawings are prefixed to a somewhat sketchy *isolario,* with no accompanying text.

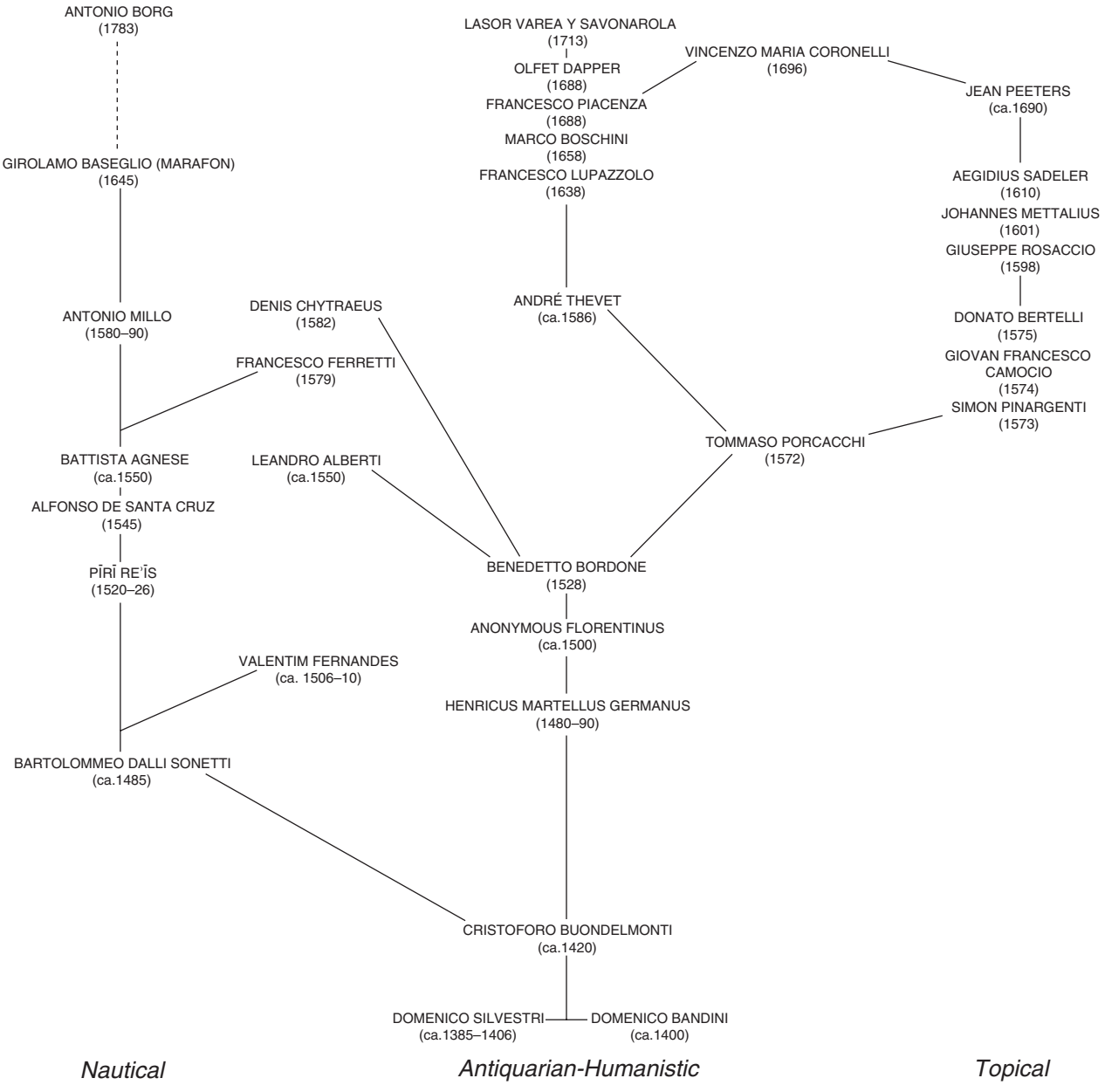


FIG. 8.8. TYPES OF *ISOLARII* AND MAKERS OF EACH TYPE.

mariners. Humanistic *isolarii,* whether manuscript or printed, are the most numerous. Sometimes they cover only the Greek islands, sometimes the islands of the Mediterranean, and sometimes the islands of the world. Compiled for edifying and encyclopedic purposes, they were intended for leisure reading and digress into long discussions on mythology and local sights and curiosities. The historical-topical *isolarii,* however, contain few if any comments, and they dealt exclusively with the periods and theaters of important military campaigns in the Mediterranean, notably the Battle of Lepanto (1571) and the fall of Cyprus (1573) or the fall of Candia and the Venetian possession of Peloponnese (1648–1715), and they reflected the hopes and anxieties of the Christian world.

Isolarii also show points of similarity in their material aspect. Most manuscript copies of fifteenth- and sixteenth-century cosmographic *isolarii* were written on paper, and their maps were not usually drawn by skilled miniaturists: presumably their readers were educated men who were unwilling to pay for a high-class illuminated parchment. However, there are some that were obviously intended for more demanding collectors.

Most manuscript and printed *isolarii,* except those produced in the last phase, differ in format from the academic books published in folio, which were read on a reading desk or large bookstand, and also from most humanist books, which were in quarto format for use in libraries.[98] *Isolarii* were usually published in a small, handy format, which is one reason for concluding that they were intended for a wide reading public and a variety of uses.

Henricus Martellus's "Insularium" was intended for a demanding clientele of princely collectors and thus has to be considered as one more advance of humanism into the realm of power. The "Insularium" supplied the princes with encyclopedic information on the world—its present and its history and curiosities. Some of the nautical *isolarii* were also aimed at discriminating collectors. The "Kitāb-i baḥrīye" was available in two versions, one more accessible and another more luxurious. Antonio Millo's *isolarii,* though often dedicated to holders of high rank, were always written on paper and contained only rudimentary ornamentation. In contrast, Bartolommeo dalli Sonetti's book was republished in a larger format, and several manuscript copies of it were made on paper or parchment.[99] The attractive *isolarii* of the later period, including those by Boschini, Dapper, and Coronelli, were aimed at a more discriminating and educated public, yet their content followed the same basic guidelines. In this last phase a more sophisticated general public had had their curiosity aroused by the numerous travel books they had read, and they thirsted for ever more illustrations and more ethnological and anthropological facts. The resulting change in the late *isolarii,* where the antiquarian approach gradually opens to information and the new observational sciences, is quite noticeable.

The titles of *isolarii* are long and detailed, usually giving a summary of their contents like that of an advertisement for goods being offered for sale. The authors' or publishers' dedications on the title page or in prefaces were often addressed to the compilers' actual or would-be patrons—generally high-ranking ecclesiastical or civic dignitaries or military officers—and sometimes to their friends and acquaintances or even the anonymous reader. *Isolarii* were presented by their authors as works to be read at leisure, of interest to mariners, geographers, merchants, and anybody else with an inquiring mind. Certainly the information provided by most *isolarii,* other than those that were practical manuals of navigation, was best suited to nonspecialized readers eager for geographical facts and fascinated by tales of adventure and descriptions of marvels and wonders. As early as 1420, Buondelmonti dedicated his "Liber insularum" to Cardinal Orsini, the first named armchair traveler.

However, the poor quality of the information and the total absence of descriptive passages in some *isolarii,* especially the early topical ones, suggests that they were addressed to a broader spectrum of nonspecialized readers, from the humanist scholar interested in the geographical settings of ancient mythology and history to the user with limited education and even the illiterate; readers from all walks of life who wanted easily accessible information, mainly in pictures (and sometimes only in pictures, with no text at all) about the wonders of the ancient and modern world, the latest discoveries, and the backstage intrigues of the confrontation between the Ottoman East and the Christian West; readers whose interest was aroused by the prevailing culture of curiosity and who wanted to equip themselves, as far as their purse and their education allowed, with the geographical background knowledge considered necessary at the time.

This hypothesis is strengthened by the fact that the compilers of *isolarii* often seem to have been unbothered by the quality of their material. Accurate delineation of the islands was not always a prime concern of the cartographers. Quite a number of *isolarii* are characterized by an extraordinarily slapdash approach to the selection of material, sometimes apparently deliberately. Engravers such as Bertelli and Camocio, both of whom had shown that they could draw island maps that set new standards of precision and excellence, chose to include in their *isolarii* more simplified and sometimes downright inaccurate maps with which the public was familiar.

The appearance of the first world atlases toward the end of the sixteenth century did not spell the end of the *isolarii:* in fact they enjoyed a second heyday in the seventeenth century, in spite of the dominance of atlases. The reason for this was that *isolarii,* those "outdated and spurious mutations of cosmography," [100] had never competed

98. See Armando Petrucci, "Alle origini del libro moderno libri da banco, libri da bisaccia, libretti da mano," in *Libri, scrittura e pubblico nel Rinascimento: Guida storica e critica,* ed. Armando Petrucci (Rome: Editori Laterza, 1979), 137–56.

99. For instance, MS. 17.874 (7397) of the Royal Library of Belgium, Brussels (see Wouter Bracke, "Une note sur l'*Isolario* de Bartolomeo da li Sonetti dans le manuscrit de Bruxelles, BR, CP, 17874 [7379]," *Imago Mundi* 53 [2001]: 125–29); MS. ital. IX 188 (= 6286) of the Marciana, which follows a different order for the islands; or the manuscript conserved in National Maritime Museum, London, 9920. Bartolommeo's *isolario* in the BNF (Cartes et Plans, Ge DD 1989) is not a manuscript but a painted, colored copy of the work. See Tolias, *Greek Portolan Charts,* 192–96: Millo's *isolario* of about 1580 is dedicated to Vincenzo Morosini, procurator di Santo Marco, that of 1582 to Sforza Pallavicino, "Marchese de Corte Magiore et Generale dell'Illustrissima Signoria di Venetia," and his 1591 work to Giovanni Bembo, proveditor de armada. The 1582 copy of the work, the earliest dated one, is now in the Sylvia Ioannou Collection in Athens. See the catalog by Artemis Skoutare, ed., *Γλυκεία χώρα Κύπρος: Η ευρωπαϊκή χαρτογραφία της Κύπρου* (15ος–19ος *αιώνας*), *από τη συλλογή της Σύλβιας Ιωάννου = Sweet Land of Cyprus: The European Cartography of Cyprus (15th – 19th Century) from the Sylvia Ioannou Collection* (Athens: AdVenture A. E., 2003), 172–73.

100. Lestringant, *L'atelier du cosmographe,* 159.

with formal geography and cartography, and consequently they were not radically affected by the tendency toward order and scale.[101] Indeed, early printed atlases incorporated some features borrowed from their less systematic predecessors. Both Ortelius and Mercator published mosaic maps that included island maps lifted straight out of *isolarii*. Material taken from *isolarii* was also used in many geographical, historical, and travel books of the period.[102]

By the eighteenth century the main centers for the production of *isolarii* had gone into an irreversible decline. Florence had long since lost its strategic role in this connection, and Venice, the second most important center, had been eased to the sidelines. *Isolarii* were a thing of the past, though the various needs they had served in their own peculiar way still existed.

For the successors to the *isolario* we must look to nautical manuals and travel books. The navigation manuals called pilots, which made their appearance in the mid-seventeenth century, provided more systematic and analytical guidance on the practicalities of seafaring, while the mounting tide of travel literature more than covered the encyclopedic offerings of the *isolarii*. Until the end of the eighteenth century, travel in the eastern Mediterranean—and also in Asia and the Americas—was limited to the familiar coastal areas and islands. Travelers of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries proved to be the truest heirs to the island cosmographers, composing a profusion of illustrated books intended for the reader's enjoyment and edification that offered a mass of modern cosmographical information dealing with mythology, history, natural history, and ethnography.

101. In fact, Henricus Martellus and Bordone made considerable use of the Ptolemaic cartography of the late fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries, borrowing material for their *isolarii*.

102. To mention only the instances relevant to Greece, Ortelius included in his *Theatrum orbis terrarum* three composite maps: *Insvlarvm aliqvot maris Mediterranei descriptio* (1570), *Archipelagi insvlarvm aliqvot descrip*. (1584), and *Insular. aliquot Aegei Maris antiqua descrip*. (1584), while Mercator included two in his *Atlas sive Cosmographicæ meditationes:* "Candia cum insulis aliquot circa Graeciam" (Crete, with inset maps of Corfu, Zante, Melos, Naxos, Thíra, and Karpathos) and "Cyprus ins." (Cyprus, with inset maps of Lemnos, Chios, Lesbos, Euboea, Cerigo, and Rhodes).