

Traversing the Art Legal System in Early Modern Venice: **The Case of Antonio Floriano's *Mappamondo***

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Researching the intersection of art and law for nearly a decade, Dr Sarah Alexis Rabinowe was awarded her PhD in History of Art under the Supervision of Professor Deborah Howard at the University of Cambridge and her MSt in History of Art and Visual Culture from the University of Oxford. With the kind support of numerous grants, most especially from the Gladys Kriebel Delmas Foundation, her PhD Dissertation examines print privileges (ie pre-copyright) and early intellectual property reasoning in relation to the production of artwork and cartography in Early Modern Venice and the Veneto. Following completion of her doctoral thesis, Dr Rabinowe was a Postdoctoral Fellow at the University of Cambridge, Faculty of Law's Centre for Intellectual Property and Information Law (CIPIL) contributing to the 'Primary Sources on Copyright History (1450–1900)' digital archive. Dr Rabinowe currently works in the private sector as a Consultant.

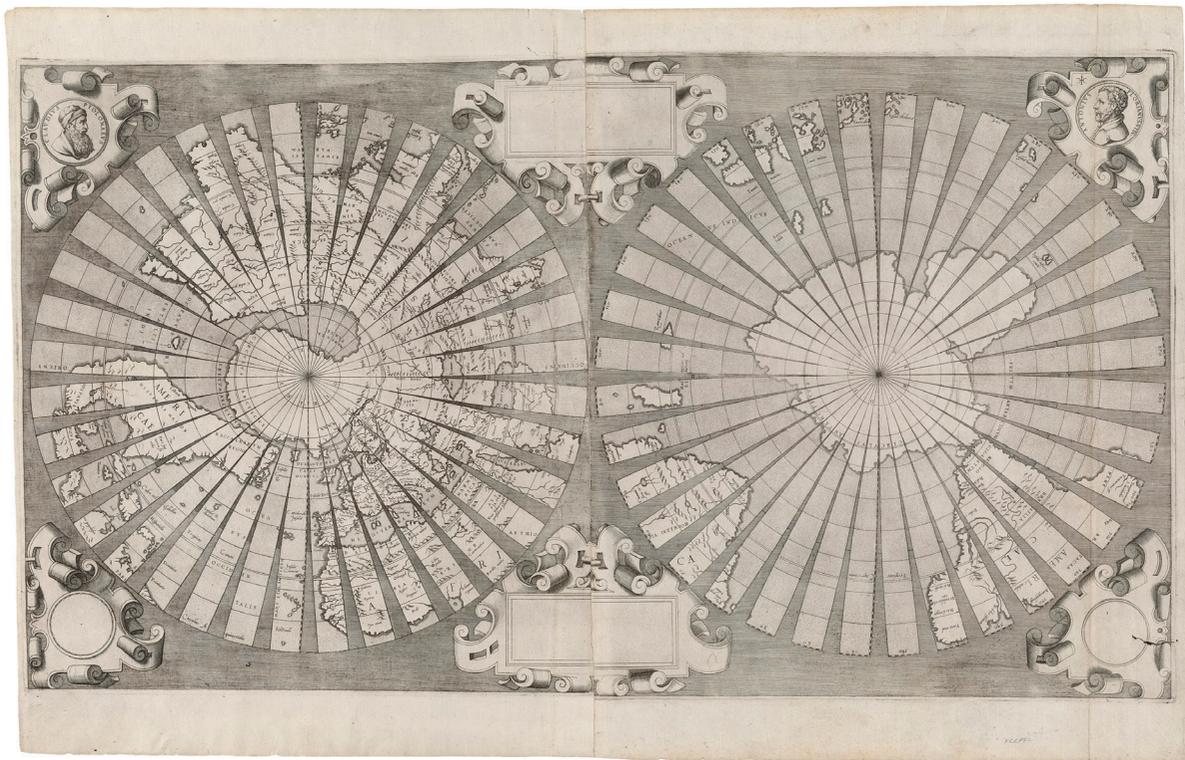


Fig 1. *Mappamondo* (Antonio Floriano c 1556 (1555 mv), copperplate engraving, 46 x 84cm).
Osher Map Library, University of Southern Maine, Portland; 263.
Courtesy of the Osher Map Library, University of Southern Maine.

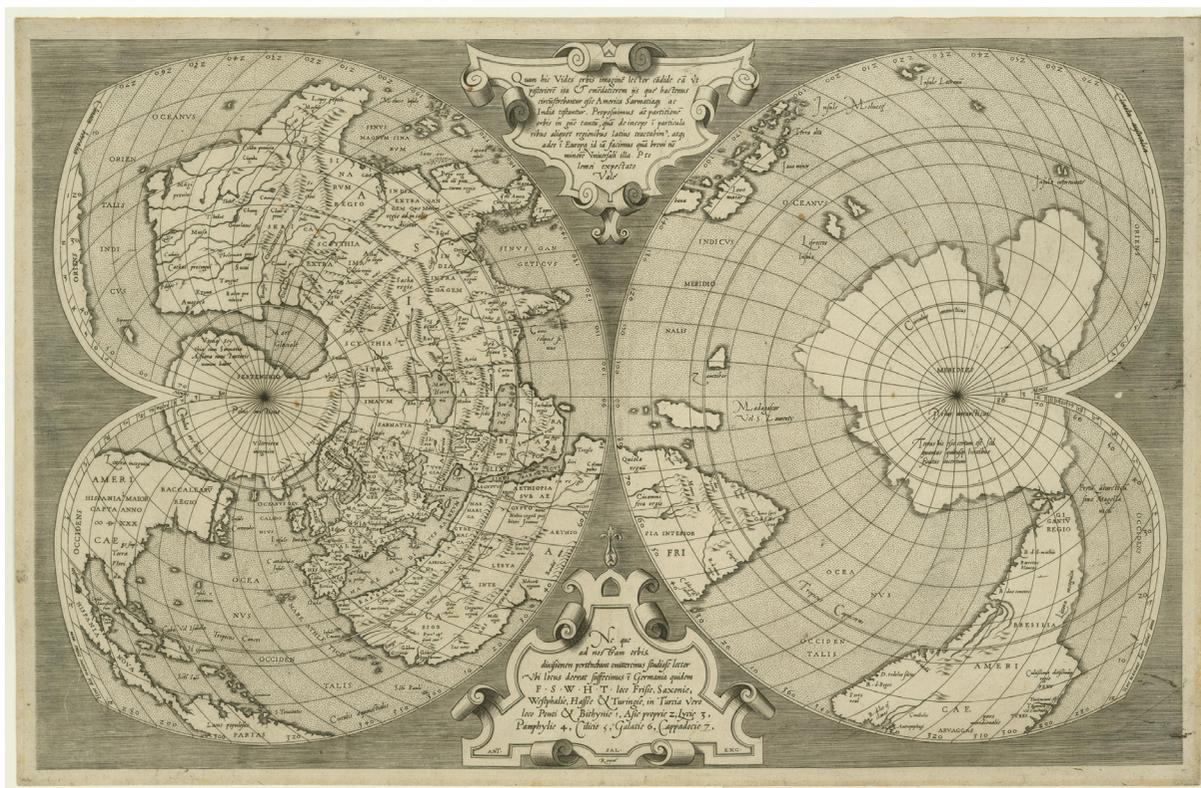


Fig 2. *Orbis Imago* (Gerard Mercator c 1538, copperplate engraving, 50.7 x 32.3cm).

John Carter Brown Library at Brown University, Providence; 2111.

Courtesy of the John Carter Brown Library at Brown University.

The application of print privilege (pre-copyright) legislation to Venetian cartography came about by chance.¹ While the Venetian Republic was not the first state in Europe to construct a system of printing privileges, it was the earliest to grant limited monopolies for cartography and artwork. Intended originally for bestowing printed book privileges, the wording of the sixteenth century legislation and printing culture of Early Modern Venice enabled the expansion of the *privilegio* from texts to cartography, and, finally, to independent images. Print legislation decreed by the Venetian government did not differentiate between print categories: books, cartography and independent images. These classifications have since been projected onto the then singular medium. The laws only stipulated that compositions eligible for exclusive reproduction rights must be ‘works on paper’. The broad phrasing enabled a legal realist approach to requesting cartographical print privileges; a linguistic loophole. Rather than remain within the confines of the intended material—printed books—the government steadily began to receive an influx of applications for ‘works on paper’ of other types.

1 My sincere gratitude to the Gladys Kriebel Delmas Foundation, the University of Cambridge Faculty of Architecture and Art Fieldwork Fund and the Pembroke College Scholarship Trust Fund for funding my research into Early Modern print privileges including Antonio Floriano’s *Mappamondo*. In addition, many thanks to Professor Lionel Bently and the Centre for Intellectual Property and Information Law (CIPIL) for facilitating the further attention to this material that made this article possible. Additional information on Antonio Floriano’s privilege case may be found on the ‘Primary Sources on Copyright History (1450–1900)’ digital archive at ‘Privilege Granted to Antonio Floriano, Venice (1556 (1555 mv))’, Primary Sources on Copyright (1450–1900), Lionel Bently and Martin Kretschmer (eds) <www.copyrighthistory.org>.

Throughout the sixteenth century, *mappamondi* (world maps) were often proposed for special protection by the Venetian Republic. In mid-1555, Floriano (d 1560/75) submitted a request to privilege a circular world map.² The *Mappamondo* (c 1556 or 1555 mv) was greatly inspired by ancient mathematical philosophy and by contemporaneous cartographical designs in an attempt to update the mapping of the globe (fig 1).³ Although this map is far less well

2 Floriano’s application letter is located at ASVe, Senato Deliberazioni Terra, filza 22. A full transcription of all primary documents relating to this case has been included at the end of this article. For a brief survey of the application and bestowal of Floriano’s 1556 (1555 mv) *privilegio* see Rodolfo Gallo, ‘Antonio Florian and his Mappemonde’ (1949) 6 *Imago Mundi* 35 and 37; Christopher LCE Witcombe, *Copyright in the Renaissance: Prints and the Privilegio in Sixteenth-Century Venice and Rome* (Brill 2004) 237 and 303. Although Gallo’s article (1949) is useful overall, sections of Floriano’s petition letter have been somewhat incorrectly translated: Gallo (n 2) 35. Rather than ‘with so much drudgery and sweat, with more heavy toil Your enlightened judgement can imagine’ (ibid 35), the section should be interpreted ‘with so much assiduous labour and sweat, under the strictest penalties that Your enlightened judgement will see fit’. The partially inaccurate translation has been quoted and used as a basis of scholarship in Witcombe (n 2) 237; Sotheby’s London, ‘2: World—Antonio Floriano’ in *The Benevento Collection: Important Sales and Atlases, London 6 May 2010* (Sotheby’s London 2010) 15.

3 RV Tooley, ‘Maps in Italian Atlases of the Sixteenth Century, Being a Comparative List of the Italian Maps Issued by Lafreri, Forlani, Duchetti, Bertelli and Others, Found in Atlases’ (1939) 3 *Imago Mundi*. Tooley does not provide a production date for Floriano’s *Mappamondo*, instead writing ‘(n.d.)’: ibid 17, cat 23. For an example of how subsequent academic scholarship dates the world map by means of the Venetian Senate’s privilege decree see David Woodward, *Maps as Prints in the Italian Renaissance: Makers, Distributors & Consumers* (The British Library 1996) 68.

known than its primary source of inspiration, Gerard Mercator's (1512–94) *Orbis Imago* (c 1538, fig 2) printed in Rupelmonde near Antwerp, Floriano's *Mappamondo* is significant when examined in the context of Venetian art legal history.⁴ Many privileged prints are not currently considered the finest examples produced, nor even the highlights of an individual's *oeuvre*. Censorial licenses were mandatory for print circulation, whereas privileges were optional, costly legal procedures. Additional resources required in applying for exclusive reproduction rights meant that printmakers and publishers were selective in their requests for privileges. Mercator did not seek a Venetian *privilegio* for *Orbis Imago* while Floriano did obtain a limited monopoly for his *Mappamondo*.⁵ Applications for the legally designated *privilegio* were based on the privilege holder's speculation regarding which multiples would be successful, or in an effort to prevent others from copying designs from other media that had proven worthwhile. As today, one could not predict with certainty which map styles would sell or influence the next generation of designers. For a privilege in Early Modern Venice, authorship was less imperative than timely bureaucracy.

In defense of his mid-1555 request for special protection, Floriano posited three main points: (1) the map would aid in the education of cosmography as the entire world had been reduced to a single, spherical plane; (2) the work was entirely new and innovative; and (3) his arduous efforts in advancing cartographical study had taken so much time and effort that he wished to ensure proper recompense in the consumer market.⁶ Floriano's justifications simultaneously employed moral rights and economic arguments to endorse his need for a *privilegio*. In his petition, Floriano did not name the engraver commissioned to construct the plate, nor stipulate the beneficiaries of successful fraud or counterfeit suits. His sole proviso was that others should neither print, nor publish the *Mappamondo* for a period of 20 years.⁷

When the petition letter was read before the Collegio on 10 January 1556 (1555 mv), the Senate of Venice granted Floriano's appeal by

official decree eight days later, on 18 January, by a majority of 166 in favor, zero against, and one abstention.⁸ Floriano was permitted his request that the entitlement should remain active for the maximum period allowed under law, 20 years.⁹ Since Floriano did not recommend penalties or beneficiaries for potential legal claims, the Senators of Venice decided the terms for him. The punishment levied for counterfeit prints was immediate forfeiture of the illicit copies and a fine of 'one-hundred ducats or thereabouts for each world map, and every time that they counterfeit [them]'.¹⁰ Forgeries could be confiscated from either the publisher, or any print shop attempting to sell the counterfeits. Fines were imposed on not only the producer, but also any retailer. For copies produced outside the jurisdiction of Venice and its territories, a sanction could still be incurred for all prints transported for sale within the city-state. Fines were most often divided into three equal parts and dispensed to individuals and institutions, as was the case with the *privilegio* bestowed on Floriano. The financial remuneration would be 'divided into thirds between the accuser, ... [the] Arsenal, and the Magistrate who will perform the court proceedings'.¹¹

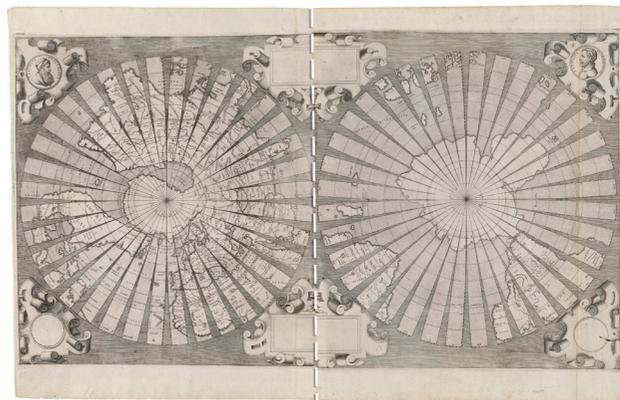


Fig 3. Two sheets adhered together (detail of *Mappamondo*, fig 1).

4 The practice in Early Modern Italy of reproducing German and French map designs without accrediting the northern European creators is discussed in Tooley (n 3) 13. Meanwhile, the connection between Gerard Mercator's *Orbis Imago* and Floriano's *Mappamondo* has been noted in previous scholarship: Gallo (n 2) 36–37; Rodney W Shirley, *The Mapping of The World: Early Printed World Maps 1472–1700* (The Holland Press 1983) 74; Witcombe (n 2) 237. While Floriano engages with select elements of Mercator's *Orbis Imago*, Salamanca's map is nearly identical apart from the omitted frame and modified information presented in the cartouches: Gallo (n 2) 37. Most scholarship has advocated Gallo's viewpoint that Floriano's *Mappamondo* takes inspiration from Antonio Salamanca's reproduction of *Orbis Imago* c 1550, given a list of minute adjustments (mostly to place names) that only appear in Floriano's and Salamanca's maps: Gallo (n 2) 37–38; Shirley (n 4) 91; Sotheby's London (n 2) 15. Two examples of these changes are 'Malacha' (Mercator) versus 'Maracha' (Salamanca and Floriano), and 'Temististam' (Mercator) versus 'Temistista' (Salamanca and Floriano). While there is strong evidence to support this order of appropriation, it is important to note that many similar alterations in Floriano's *Mappamondo* are not represented in either of the map's predecessors. The altered place names may result more from regional spelling differences than from the replication of one map over another. Although it is uncertain whether Floriano consulted the cartography of Mercator, Salamanca, or both, Mercator's influence on the *Mappamondo* remains apparent since the key content originates with the *Orbis Imago*.

5 Publishers Salamanca and Lafréry similarly took advantage of Mercator's unprivileged content to reproduce replicas of his world map in Rome: Gallo (n 2) 37–38, fn 20.

6 ASVe (n 2) filza 22.

7 *ibid.*

The *Mappamondo* composition was engraved on two copperplates and, thereby, printed on two sheets adhered together (fig 3).¹² Smaller than the multi-sheet, double-hemisphere world maps intended for framed wall display in the city and country homes of the Venetian gentry, and subsequently featured in the backdrops of Dutch portrait painters such as Jan Miense Molenaer and Rembrandt van Rijn, Floriano's *Mappamondo* would have been collected and more likely bonded with other cartography into an atlas portfolio.¹³ In addition, within the span of Floriano's *privilegio*,

8 The privilege decree issued by the Senate of Venice is located at ASVe, Senato Deliberazioni Terra, reg 40, fol 38r–v (103r–v nn). A secondary copy of the *privilegio* bestowed on Floriano for his *Mappamondo*, with two minor amendments, was included with the retained government case file of the proceedings: ASVe (n 2) filza 22.

9 *ibid* reg 40, fol 38r–v (103r–v nn).

10 *ibid.*

11 *ibid.*

12 Gallo (n 2) 36; Witcombe (n 2) 237; Sotheby's London (n 2) 15.

13 For further information on the display and social significance of world maps see Woodward (n 3) 79–87 and 91; Peter Barber and Tom Harper, 'The world and four continents on a wall' and 'The currency of culture' in *Magnificent Maps: Power, Propaganda, and Art* (The British Library 2010) 122–25. Notably, certain maps incorporated into Dutch portrait painting were manipulated in size and style from single-sheet to multi-sheet maps for aesthetic and symbolic reasons: *ibid* 118. In addition, smaller maps did sometimes feature on collectors' walls.

Venetian map publishers began to curate collections for sale in pre-bound atlases by reprinting single maps from multiple sized plates onto uniform paper dimensions.¹⁴ The earliest surviving example is currently located in the Biblioteca Marciana and features maps all dated on or before 1565.¹⁵ While numerous maps have mysteriously disappeared from the Marciana atlas during the past half century, Gallo and Woodward record that several of the *Mappamondi* known or thought to have been published by Floriano were, until recently, contained in the composite atlas. Their lists include Floriano's 'Mappamondo in due emisferi' ('world map in two hemispheres'), which is easily identifiable as Floriano's privileged world map.¹⁶ Alternatively, if the map's frame and the negative space between the gores were removed, the two spheres could be mounted as a three-dimensional globe (fig 4).¹⁷ Printed globes constructed by pasting gores onto a spherical, usually wooden, object were designed in Europe from the beginning of the sixteenth century.¹⁸ The earliest extant appears to be German cartographer Martin Waldseemüller's (1470–1518/21) small woodcut world map (c 1507) oriented in the rear fold-out page of Matthias Ringmann (1482–1511) and Waldseemüller's publication, *Cosmographiae introductio*.¹⁹ This terrestrial globe features 12 gores, 30 degrees in width at 10 degrees parallel intervals.²⁰ Meanwhile, Henricus Glareanus' widely known 1527 treatise on geography, *D. Henrici Glareani poetæ laureati De geographia liber unus*, includes instructions on the gores'



Fig 4. Three-dimensional model (detail of Mappamondo, fig 1).

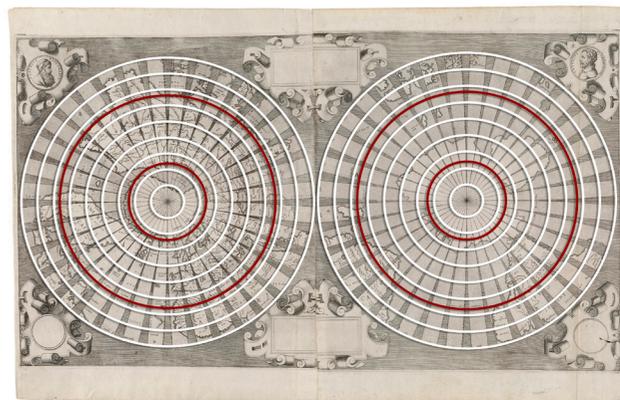


Fig 5. Circles of latitude, Arctic and Tropic (detail of Mappamondo, fig 1).

14 Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana, Rari 138.c.4. On the assembly of individual maps into atlas form see Tooley (n 3) 12–14. Woodward terms these publications 'composite atlases': Woodward (n 3) 5, 51, 64–65, 71, and 101. For further information pertaining to Venetian map production numbers and publishing trends during the sixteenth century see Woodward (n 3) 4–5.

15 Woodward (n 3) 51, 65, and 116 fn 52.

16 Rodolfo Gallo, *Carte geografiche cinquecentesche a stampa della Biblioteca Marciana e della Biblioteca del Museo Correr di Venezia* (Presso la Sede dell'Istituto Veneto 1954); Woodward (n 3) 116 fn 52. Woodward specifically notes that Floriano's *Mappamondo* was removed from the Marciana atlas at some point between his visits on 21 July 1978 and 11 March 1995: Woodward (n 3) 116 fn 52.

17 While Shirley asserts that Floriano's *Mappamondo* in two-dimensional form 'lack[s] legibility', in practice, Floriano did not entirely comprehend Ptolemy's principles of projecting a sphere on a flat surface: Shirley (n 4) 112 cat 99. From personal experience, when the negative space between the gores is removed, a three-dimensional construction of the *Mappamondo* becomes increasingly flat towards the North and South Poles. Floriano did not exclude the negative space from his calculations of the circle as would be done today. While possible to achieve, it is perhaps for this reason as well as the destruction of portraits and strapwork that the Sotheby's London cataloguer states, '[the *Mappamondo* is] clearly not intended to make a globe': Sotheby's London (n 2) 15. However, the rarity of Floriano's *Mappamondo* in its original state may suggest otherwise.

18 Snyder briefly mentions Floriano's *Mappamondo* as an example on the same page where he discusses terrestrial globes constructed from printed gore maps: John P Snyder, 'Map Projections in the Renaissance' in David Woodward (ed), *The History of Cartography: Cartography in the European Renaissance* vol 3 part 1 (University of Chicago Press 2007) 373.

19 Shirley (n 4) 28–29, no 26; Elly Dekker, 'Globes in Renaissance Europe' in Woodward (ed, n 18) 142 and 160, appendix 6.1, no 8; Snyder (n 18) 369 and 373. For a complete reproduction of Ringmann and Waldseemüller's *Cosmographiae introductio* see Martin Waldseemüller, 'The *Cosmographiae Introductio* of Martin Waldseemüller' in CG Herbermann (ed), *The *Cosmographiae Introductio* of Martin Waldseemüller in Facsimile* (first published Saint-Dié-des-Vosges 1507, United States Catholic Historical Society 1907). While Floriano would have occasion to view printed terrestrial globes in Venice, it is unknown if he had access to Waldseemüller's map.

20 Snyder (n 18) 373.

construction process.²¹ Allocation of space along the periphery of a map to 'inventive representations' such as decorations of mythological imagery or illustrative figures from far-flung regions is considered an opportunity to demonstrate an engraver's expertise.²² It is the atypically incomplete and austere periphery of Floriano's *Mappamondo* that endorses the map's optional reconfiguration from two-dimensional to three-dimensional model.

Entirely devoid of ornamental motifs, in his petition letter and resulting *Mappamondo*, Floriano has conversely focused on the skill required to innovatively map the world. The globe is bisected at the Equator into the northern and southern hemispheres with additional subdivision into 36 gores that encompass 10 degrees of longitude.²³ Similarly, latitudinal lines extend across the gores at 10 degree intervals (shown in white on fig 5).²⁴ Additional latitudinal partitions represent the Arctic and Tropic Circles (shown in red on fig 5). Hence, the longitudinal and latitudinal lines each

21 Henricus Glareanus, *D. Henrici Glareani poetæ laureati De geographia liber unus* (Basel 1527); Dekker (n 19) 143; Snyder (n 18) 142 and 373, fn 31. Writing such treatises became a fashionable enterprise in sixteenth century Italy: Woodward (n 3) 9.

22 Barber and Harper (n 13) 124.

23 Gallo (n 2) 36; Sotheby's London (n 2) 15.

24 Gallo (n 2) 36.

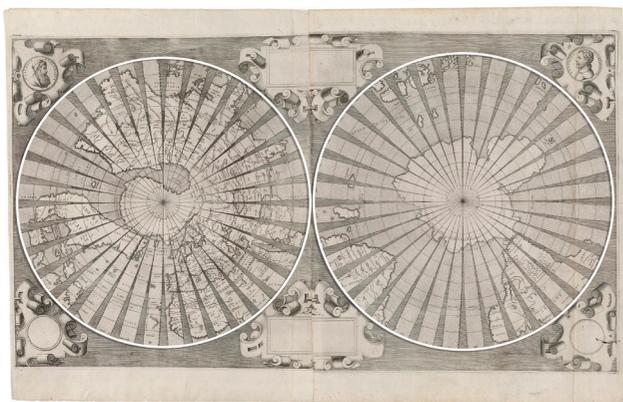


Fig 6. Spherical Northern and Southern Hemispheres (detail of Mappamondo, fig 1).

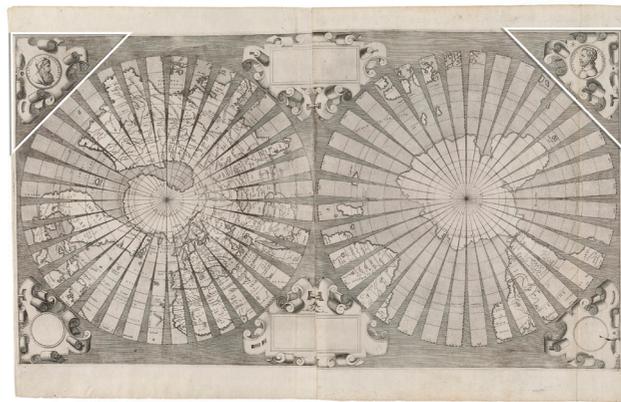


Fig 8. Two inscribed cartouches (detail of Mappamondo, fig 1).

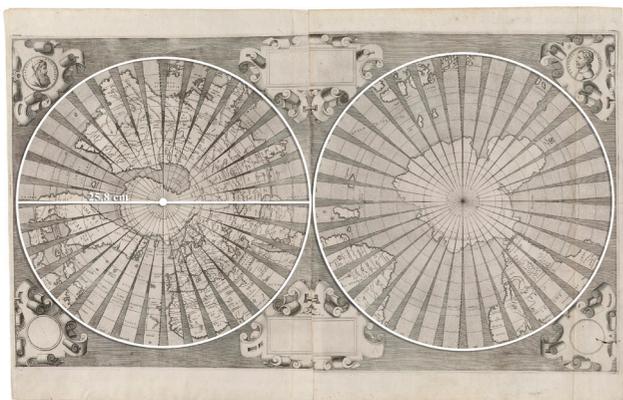


Fig 7. Hemispheric diameter (detail of Mappamondo, fig 1).

constitute 360 degrees in total, or the sum of a circle (fig 6). One spherical hemisphere is engraved on each print sheet and measures approximately 25.8cm in diameter (fig 7). As a polar projection, the gores conjoin at the north and south poles and progressively separate as they approach the Equator. Floriano's *Mappamondo* is an Early Modern representation of an azimuthal orthographic projection of the Earth, which, since expressed by geometric perspective constructions, represents the globe in sections no larger than a hemispheric scale. There appears to be no precedent in Venice for this manner of depiction of a world map in two halves.²⁵

Meanwhile, the upper left and right corner cartouches contain two occupied circles (fig 8). In the left corner, the inscription 'CLAUDIUS PTOLOMAEUS' is accompanied by a profile portrait of the named figure (fig 9). During the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, several Italian illustrated translations of Claudius Ptolemy's (90–168 AD) *Geography* and *Almagest* were published by humanist scholars.²⁶

25 The earliest recorded use of an azimuthal orthographic projection is by the Greek Hipparchus in the second century BC: Angelo Cattaneo, 'Map Projections and Perspective in the Renaissance' in Zur Shalev and Charles Burnett (eds), *Ptolemy's 'Geography' in the Renaissance* (The Warburg Institute 2011) 51–80; Claudius Ptolemy, *Geography of Claudius Ptolemy* (Edward Luther Stevenson tr, first published New York 1932, Cosimo Classics 2011) 41–46.

26 For an extensive catalogue of Early Modern editions of Ptolemy's *Geography*, refer to Adolf Erik Nordenskiöld, 'Chapter II: Editions of Ptolemy's geography,' in *Facsimile-Atlas to the Early History of Cartography: With Reproductions of the Most Ancient Maps Printed in the XV and XVI Centuries* (first published Stockholm 1889, Dover Publications Inc 1973) 12–28. Known translated reproductions of Ptolemy's *Geography*

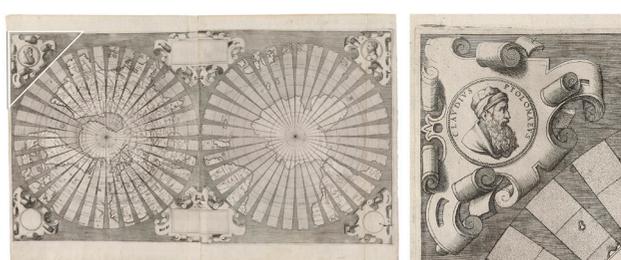


Fig 9. 'CLAUDIUS PTOLOMAEUS' (detail of Mappamondo, fig 1).

While Ptolemy only examined mapping the *oikoumenē* (inhabited world), the 'scheme of describing the position of places by their longitude and latitude' explicated in *Geography* could be theoretically expanded to instruct Early Modern readers how to map a celestial globe on a flat surface.²⁷ In fact, certain scholars have noted that the derivative of *geografia* is the word, *gē*, which refers to the entire world.²⁸ Furthermore, the *Almagest* examines the theory of the gnomon and azimuthal orthographic projections of the globe that is pivotal to the design of Floriano's *Mappamondo*.²⁹ The two works in combination also provided Floriano and his contemporaries with significant data points including geographical coordinates of locations and celestial coordinates of stars that could then be plotted onto a terrestrial map.³⁰

published in Venice and the Veneto date from 1511, 1548, 1561, 1562, 1564 (two editions), 1574, 1596, 1598 (two editions), and 1599 (Nordenskiöld (n 26) 18–19 and 25–28, cats 10, 28, 30–34, 37, and 39–41). Certain editions listed are revised versions of previous publications. Although Floriano may have consulted a version printed outside Venice and its territories, only the 1511 and 1548 editions of *Geography* listed by Nordenskiöld predate Floriano's *Mappamondo*.

27 For Ptolemy's original intention and language refer to Ptolemy (n 25) 4–5, 25–26, and 29. On the adaptations and expansions of Ptolemy's projection principles in sixteenth century cartography see Woodward (n 3) 13, 15, and 39; Dekker (n 19) 138; Snyder (n 18) 365 and 368–72. While Ptolemy's text was certainly employed by sixteenth-century cartographers for globe design, it has been noted that in the final sentence of 'Chapter XXIV' in 'Book 1', Ptolemy opposed the use of globes in favour of maps given the formers' limited scope: Ptolemy (n 25) 9 and 45; J Lennart Berggren and Alexander Jones, *Ptolemy's Geography: An Annotated Translation of the Theoretical Chapters* (Princeton University Press 2000) 82–83; Dekker (n 19) 138.

28 Woodward (n 3) 13.

29 *ibid* 6. Originally called 'analemma', the theorem's modern name, 'azimuthal orthographic projection', dates from d'Aiguillon in 1613.

30 Claudius Ptolemy, *Ptolemy's Almagest* (Gerald J Toomer tr, Princeton University Press 1998) 341–99; Dekker (n 19) 139; Ptolemy (n 25) 48–159.

A prime example of a text accessible to Floriano that sought to rediscover, adapt and elaborate on the statistical and cartographical samples set forth in Ptolemy's publications is *La Geografia di Claudio Ptolemeo Alessandrio* (c 1548), an annotation of the entirety of Ptolemy's *Geography*, Books I–VIII.³¹ Published with a 10 year privilege in Venice, a copy is currently located in the Fitzwilliam Museum's Department of Manuscripts and Printed Books. Reprinted figures are incorporated amongst the text in the same style as the earliest editions of Ptolemy's *Geography* to illustrate the mathematical principles to the reader. Floriano's aforementioned use of a flat hemispherically-bisected globe divided into 10 degrees of longitude and latitude that together form the sum of a circle are all concepts identifiable in Ptolemy's reproduced figures. On this occasion, the culture of copying has enabled Floriano to develop world map design further. In addition to Ptolemy's eight books on geography, the edition contains 60 plates engraved by Jacopo Gastaldo (around 1500–66) with accompanying commentary appended to the end of the volume.³² The publication includes 26 maps reprinted from Ptolemy's *Geography* while the remaining 34 maps are new designs.³³ In the former maps, Gastaldo aims faithfully to replicate pre-existing images, whereas, in the latter maps, he attempts to correct errors presented in previous treatises and cartography based on Ptolemy's principles and supply maps of regions largely unavailable during Ptolemy's lifetime. Gastaldo and Floriano similarly employ Ptolemy's *Geography* as a prototype from which to advance their own cartography. With commentary by Sebastian Munster, detailed copperplate engravings of the empirical and cosmographic values by Jacopo Gastaldo and translations by Pietro Andrea Mattioli (1501–77), *La Geografia di Claudio Ptolemeo Alessandrio*, published less than one decade earlier in the same city, represents a sample of the ease with which Floriano could learn and implement Ptolemy's map-projection techniques.

Floriano's incorporation of ancient Greek knowledge is part of a wider cartographical trend in Early Modern Europe.³⁴ The reference to Ptolemy's name and idealized likeness functions as a visual footnote to the viewer, thereby demonstrating Floriano's comprehension and implementation of Ptolemy's mathematical principles. While the portrait of Ptolemy has been identified, a connection between Ptolemy's works and Floriano's map design does not appear to have been explored previously in English. Meanwhile, in the right corner of the composition, an imprint of 'ANTONIUS FLORIANUS UTIN', translated as 'Antonio Floriano [of] Udine' (fig 10), is paired with a parallel profile portrait of Floriano, himself (fig 11). Ptolemy's and Floriano's likenesses are mirrored, peering into the composition as though observing each other and the world map. Positioned within a circular frame, their portraits view the world in the same mapped 'spherical form' as the print's observer. They demonstrate the ease with which the *Mappamondo* enables the

onlooker to perceive the spherical domain within which they reside and discover the cosmography above.³⁵ These are the very objectives avowed in Floriano's privilege petition letter:

[M]y industry and ingenuity ... [has] formed a round world map ... with the aid of which one can easily study and learn cosmography and see the entire site of the world, since it [the world] can be reduced to a spherical form.³⁶

In the three-dimensional format of a terrestrial globe, Floriano's skillful 'ingenuity' is also displayed through the viewer's experience. When grasping the small globe in the palm of the hand, the onlooker contemplates his or her physical and social position within it.³⁷ Floriano's decision to use Latin rather than Italian vernacular inscriptions further reinforces the global scope of his ambitions. A seemingly frequent economic strategy when designing world maps, Latin appealed more to the international market than accessible through the highly successful Venetian mercantile trade.³⁸

Although Floriano was the privilege holder of the *Mappamondo*, he was neither an engraver, nor a cosmographer.³⁹ As the engraver was unnamed in the privilege petition letter, previous scholarship has attributed the print's execution to Giovanni Paolo Cimerlino (1534/35–after 1609) of Verona.⁴⁰ In the upper right corner cartouche above Floriano's portrait, a monogram, proposed to be representative of the engraver, appears styled from a cross and the letters, 'H' and 'I' (fig 12).⁴¹ While there are considerable stylistic, compositional, and cosmographical similarities between Floriano's *Mappamondo* and Cimerlino's cartography dating from the 1560s to 1570s, such as *Cosmographia universalis ab Orontio olim descripta* (c 1566, fig 13) and *Nocturnal and Regiomontanus Altitude Sundial* (c 1568–70, fig 14), Cimerlino usually engraved, if not his full Latin name, 'Ioannes Paulus Cimerlinus', (fig 15 and fig 16) then at least the initials 'IPc.' into his works (fig 17).⁴² According to previous ink and paper analyses, the Cimerlino map examples presented were both manufactured within the Venetian territories. In addition, the two maps also have initially empty cartouches that were eventually filled with the subsequent owners' insignia. Perhaps, the *Mappamondo* was simply an early

35 For a detailed examination of sixteenth-century distinctions between the terms 'geography' and 'cosmography', and those who perform each activity, see Woodward (n 3) 13–20. As demonstrated in Floriano's petition letter, the world map during this period progressively became known as *cosmographia* (Woodward (n 3) 15).

36 ASVe (n 2) filza 22.

37 The psychological concept of holding the world in one's hands is adapted from Peter Barber and Tom Harper, 'The world in your hand: Globes' in *Magnificent Maps: Power, Propaganda, and Art* (The British Library 2010) 94–95.

38 Woodward (n 3) 20.

39 Antonio Floriano, like his brother Francesco, was a painter and architect. Moreover, they and Antonio Canciano da Tolmezzo received a building patent: ASVe, Senato Deliberazioni Terra, reg 40, fol 113v (135v nn); Witcombe (n 2) 237, fn 4. However, Floriano's father, Giovanni, was an engraver and painter. For further information on Floriano's family background, painting career, and coverage by Vasari see Gallo (n 2) 35–36.

40 The printmaker is otherwise referred to as 'Giovanni Paolo Cimerlini'. For Cimerlino's biography see Michael Bury, *The Print in Italy, 1550–1620* (British Museum Press 2001) 225. The design attribution of Floriano's *Mappamondo* to Cimerlino has been noted in Shirley (n 4) 113, no 99, plate 85; Gallo (n 2) 35–38; Nordenskiöld (n 26) 94, fig 48; Sotheby's London (n 2) 15.

41 Gallo (n 2) 36.

42 While more recent scholarship concurs that Cimerlino's initials appear as 'IPc.' in his engravings, Gallo transcribes the monogram as 'I.P.C.': Gallo (n 2) 36.

31 This edition of Ptolemy's *Geography* is briefly catalogued in Nordenskiöld (n 26) 25–26, cat 28. For a more detailed examination of the publication see Conor Fahy, 'The Venetian Ptolemy of 1548' in Denis V Reidy (ed), *The Italian Book 1465–1800: Studies Presented to Dennis E. Rhodes on his 70th Birthday* (The British Library 1993) 89–115. The work is also mentioned in Tooley (n 3) 12; Woodward (n 3) 19 and 38.

32 Jacopo Gastaldo is otherwise referred to as 'Giacomo Gastaldi'.

33 The full list of new maps by Gastaldo can be found at Nordenskiöld (n 26) 26, cat 28.

34 Woodward (n 3) 15. A similar brief analysis of Abraham Ortelius (1527–98) and Gerard de Jode's (1509–91) amalgamation of Ptolemaic principles with contemporaneous geographical knowledge in the world map, *Nova Totius Terrarum Orbis Juxta Neotericorum* (c 1564), is located in Peter Barber and Tom Harper, 'A renaissance underpinning' in *Magnificent Maps: Power, Propaganda, and Art* (The British Library 2010) 88–89.

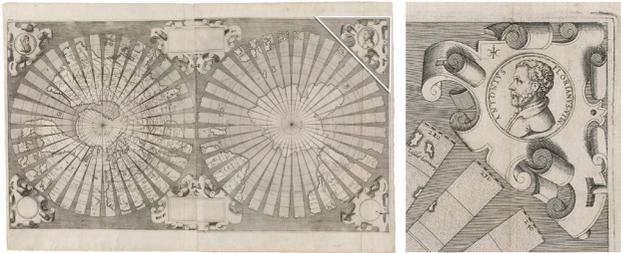


Fig 10. 'ANTONIUS FLORIANUS UTIN' (detail of Mappamondo, fig 1).

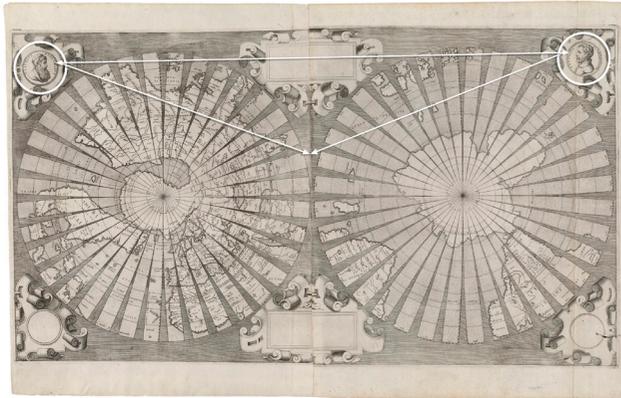


Fig 11. Portrait sight lines (detail of Mappamondo, fig 1).

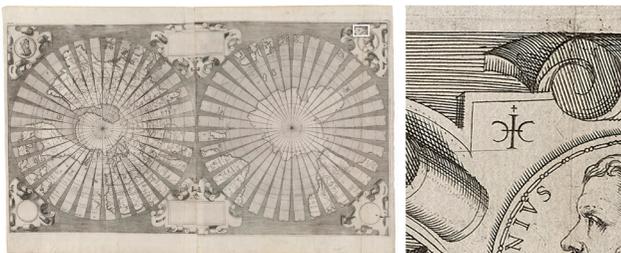


Fig 12. Engraver's monogram (detail of Mappamondo, fig 1).

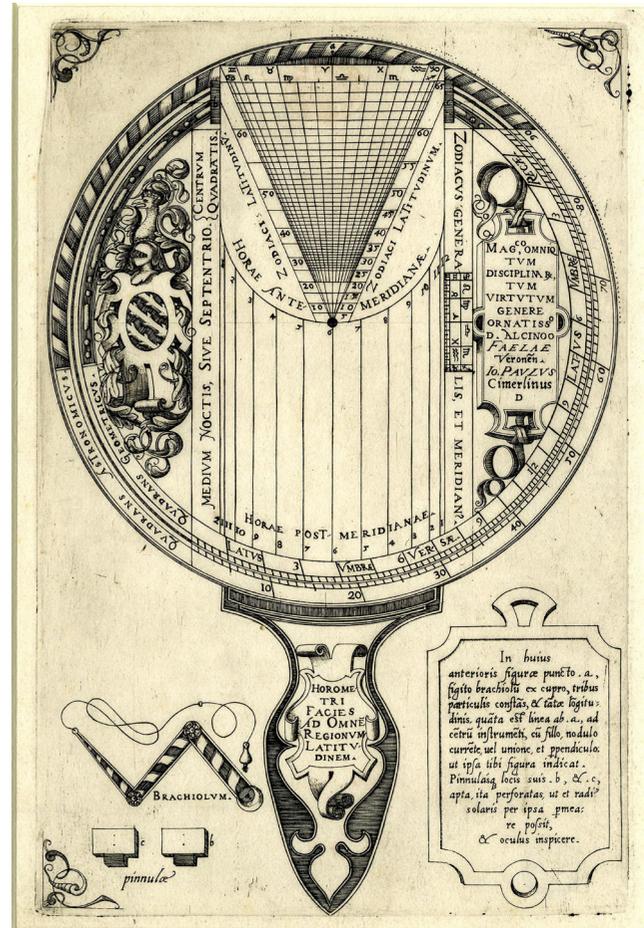


Fig 14. Nocturnal and Regiomontanus Altitude Sundial (Giovanni Paolo Cimerlino c 1568-70, copperplate engraving, 16.1 x 24.5cm).
The British Museum, London; 1912.0319.44.
© The Trustees of the British Museum.



Fig 13. Cosmographia universalis ab Orontio olim descripta (Giovanni Paolo Cimerlino c 1566, copperplate engraving, 58 x 50.4cm).
John Carter Brown Library at Brown University, Providence; 32641.
Courtesy of the John Carter Brown Library at Brown University.



Fig 15. 'Ioannes Paulus Cimerlinus' (details of Cosmographia universalis ab Orontio olim descripta, fig 13).

work by Cimerlino prior to the establishment of his trademark, or, alternatively, the map may have been engraved by another individual.

Floriano and Cimerlino have long been speculated to have collaborated on their cartographic endeavors. A brief list was compiled in 1891 of similar world maps to that by Fausto Rughesi (fl 1597), 'grande operosità dei cartografi ed intagliatori italiani del cinquecento'.⁴³ The compilation includes: 'primeggiano i veronesi paolo floriano e paolo cimerlino, autore questi di un mappamondo

43 Matteo Fiorini, 'D. Il mappamondo di Fausto Rughesi' (1891) 4 *Bollettino della Società geografica italiana* series 3 957.



Fig 17. 'Ipc.'

(detail of *Cosmographia universalis ab Orontio olim descripta*, fig 13).

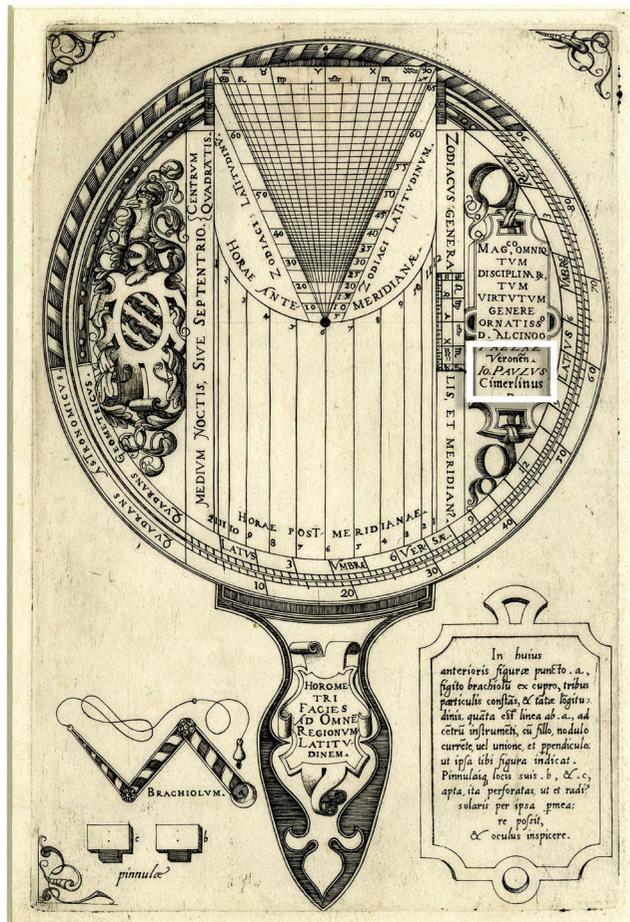


Fig 16. 'Ioannes Paulus Cimerlinus' (detail of *Nocturnal and Regiomontanus Altitude Sundial*, fig 14).

cordiforme' and 'udinese Antonio Floriano, autore di un mappamondo a settori'.⁴⁴ Although the possible connection between Floriano and Cimerlino on the 1556 'mappamondo a settori', which Floriano authored, is not expressly mentioned, they are interestingly recorded as collaborating on a world map described as 'cordiforme' ('heart-shaped'), which can be identified as Cimerlino's 1566 world map.⁴⁵ Produced and circulated during the same period, the Floriano and Cimerlino world maps were both listed in the 1573 sales catalogue for Antonio Lafreri's (1512–77) print shop on the via del Parione in Rome.⁴⁶ Moreover, Cimerlino's heart-shaped world map is recorded by Gallo and Woodward as a now missing part of the Marciana atlas that likewise once included Floriano's *Mappamondo*.⁴⁷

44 Fiorini (n 43) 957.

45 *ibid.* While Cimerlino is not associated with Floriano's *Mappamondo* in earlier publications, the world maps attributed to Floriano and Cimerlino are both catalogued separately in Tooley (n 3) 12 and 17, cats 19 and 23.

46 Woodward (n 3) 89. The publisher and print shop owner is otherwise referred to as 'Antoine Lafréry'.

47 Gallo (n 16); Woodward (n 3) 116, fn 52.

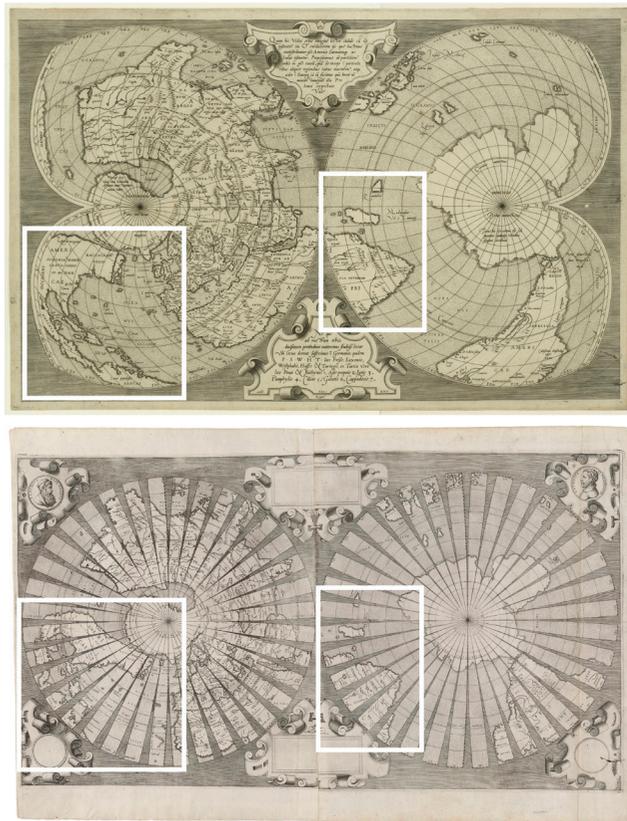
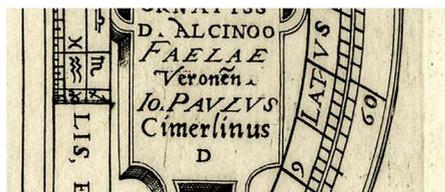


Fig 18. North and South America (details of *Orbis Imago*, fig 2, and *Mappamondo*, fig 1).



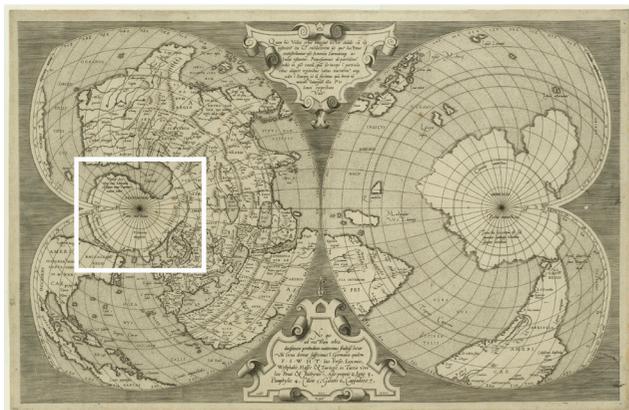


Fig 19. *The Arctic and Ice Bridge*
(details of *Orbis Imago*, fig 2, and *Mappamondo*, fig 1).

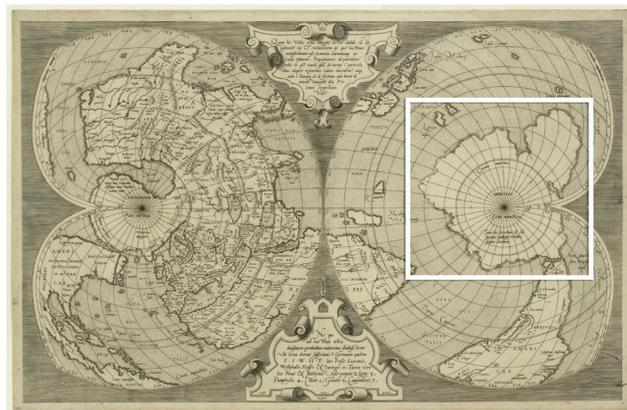


Fig 20. *The Antarctic*
(details of *Orbis Imago*, fig 2, and *Mappamondo*, fig 1).

In addition to the world map's engraver, the production date of Floriano's cartographic design has also been subject to debate and, for this reason, the work's overall connection to his 1556 (1555 mv) privilege has similarly been challenged. The geographical references suggest that the *Mappamondo* may have been designed between 1545 and 1550. The question of timing may be solved by the probable motivation for Floriano's appropriation of earlier geographical information, which likely resulted from the strategic practice of trading companies and military entities to preserve the confidentiality of new discoveries.⁴⁸ In an effort to protect economic and tactical advantages, the most recent survey information was purposefully recorded on manuscripts and, as such, absent from mass circulation.⁴⁹ In consequence, Floriano needed to adopt many of the topographical features and lexicon for his world map from earlier cartography, most notably Mercator's *Orbis Imago*. Nearly indistinguishable in its geographical features, Floriano's map portrays the Americas as two continents, labeled north and south (fig 18). Also, the Americas are fully detached from East Asia. The Arctic is depicted as a singular sheet of ice with an expansive ice bridge connecting the region to the Asian continent (fig 19). Finally, Antarctica is presented as a substantial landmass that touches the southern tip of the African continent (fig 20).

Despite the dating of these geographical features, when examining the Venetian print legislation and the wording of the case documents from Floriano's privilege in tandem, a strong argument can be made in favor of this world map's association with the *privilegio*. As of

⁴⁸ For further information pertaining to the initial confidentiality of geographical findings in Early Modern Italy see Woodward (n 3) 78–79. ⁴⁹ *ibid.*

the 1530s, legislation ratified by the Venetian Senate imposed a time limit regarding the initial use of the *privilegio* to within one year.⁵⁰ Otherwise, the granted exclusive reproduction rights are nullified. As such, the initial publication date of the map intended in Floriano's application must have occurred between January 1555 and 1556 for the privilege to remain valid. Furthermore, after 1517, privileges would be bestowed only for works containing either entirely new content, or materials that had not previously been published.⁵¹ Printed cartography on this scale has been noted in other petition letters to take several years to complete from the initial concept drawings to final engraved plates.⁵² Moreover,

⁵⁰ Carol M Richardson, Kim W Woods, and Michael W Franklin (eds), *Renaissance Art Reconsidered: An Anthology of Primary Sources* (Blackwell Publishing 2007) 43.

⁵¹ Concerning the paralysing effects caused by the high number of privileges on the Venetian printing industry, and the 1517 reforms see Rinaldo Fulin, 'Documenti per servire alla storia della tipografia veneziana' (1882) 23 *Nuovo archivio veneto* 93; David Landau and Peter W Parshall, *The Renaissance Print, 1470–1550* (Yale University Press 1994) 301; Elizabeth Armstrong, *Before Copyright: The French Book Privilege System, 1498–1526* (Cambridge University Press 2002) 6–7; Matthias Wivel, *Colour in Line: Titian and Printmaking* (unpublished dissertation, University of Cambridge 2011) 36–37 and 53; Rosa Salzberg, 'Extreme Disorder and Confusion': Policing the Ephemeral City' in *Ephemeral City: Cheap Print and Urban Culture in Renaissance Venice* (Manchester University Press 2014) 131.

⁵² For example, German merchant Cholb's petition letter in 1500 for his bird's-eye view of Venice from the southwest, specifies and asks for protection from reproduction on the basis that his map was the result of over three years of work. Given the time constraints, postponement of publication was a common consideration for printmakers when deliberating the timing of privilege applications.

Floriano notably never claimed that the geographical features were original, only his innovative use of a 'round world map ... reduced to a spherical form' and his method of educating the public in 'cosmography'.⁵³ Gerard Mercator did not obtain a *privilegio* in Venice for his *Orbis Imago* because the map was not produced there.⁵⁴ The privilege decree, in fact, hints with the phrase 'since the work is new, and never attempted by others' that the map was subject to scrutiny during the review process.⁵⁵ A survey appears to have been conducted to ensure that the *Mappamondo* under consideration, and no other cartographical studies of the same style, had been previously circulated by Floriano. The Venetian judiciary only required content previously unpublished within its territories, not necessarily newly designed compositions. When considering Floriano's *Mappamondo* within the parameters of the legal system in which the work circulated, the world map's probable connection with the *privilegio* becomes evident.

Without the restrictions of contemporary notions of originality, Floriano was able to assimilate Ptolemy's ancient mathematical principles and Mercator's recent representation of the mapped world into an innovative *Mappamondo*. Under the Venetian privilege system, he then requested and received protection for the cumulative product of centuries of scholarship and artistry. While Floriano was not the engraver of the physical print, his appeal suggests significant intellectual input and a claim at conceptual authorship. It has been asserted that 'Italian map makers ... were mainly adaptors and improvers rather than originators', yet Floriano's refashioning of existing knowledge produced a method of mapping and privileging the globe unprecedented in Venice.⁵⁶

Transcriptions | Antonio Floriano 1556 (1555 mv) Case Documents

Document #1⁵⁷

18 January 1556 (1555 mv)

Die xviii Januarii

Che per authorita di questo consiglio sia concesso al fidel nostro Antonio Floriano da Udene, che alcuno senza sua permissione, ò de chi hara causa dallui per il tempo de anni vinti prossimi non possi

⁵³ ASVe (n 2) filza 22.

⁵⁴ Although Mercator's original print run was ineligible for a privilege given its provenance, if separately manufactured again in Venice, the reprinted *Orbis Imago* would have thereby qualified for protection from reproduction. Since unsuccessful privilege petitions were not retained by the Venetian state, it is unknown if Mercator requested exclusive reproduction rights for his world map. Whether a failed attempt at a *privilegio*, or no attempt at all, part or the entirety of Mercator's intellectual inventions could thus be submitted for consideration by alternative parties, as was the case for Floriano's *Mappamondo*. The actions of others such as Floriano may have prompted Mercator's eventual involvement in the Venetian privilege system with the bestowal of a 10 year privilege in 1554 for his 'map of Europe': ASVe, Senato Deliberazioni Terra, reg 39, fols 151r–v (172r–v nn); ASVe Senato Deliberazioni Terra, filza 19; Gallo (n 2) 37, fn 16. Mercator's cartography privilege appears to have proven worthwhile as no other impressions of the map are known to have been printed before a reduced edition in 1571: Woodward (n 3) 68.

⁵⁵ ASVe (n 2) filza 22.

⁵⁶ Tooley (n 3) 13.

⁵⁷ This primary document is transcribed and published for the first time. The existence of the privilege decree is briefly noted in Witcombe (n 2) 237, fn 3.

stampar, ne far stampar, ò altrove stampato vender sotto'l Dominio nostro il Mapamondo dal predetto Floriano formato essendo però opera nova, et non piu da altri posta in luce, sotto pena alli contrafacenti di perder li stampati, et de' ducati cento appresso per cadauno Mapamondo, et ogni fiata che contrafaranno, la qual pena sia divisa per terzo fra l'accusator da esser tenuto secreto, la casa del nostro Arsenà, et il magistrato, che fara l'essecutione, et sia obligato il predetto Floriano osservar le leze nostre in materia di stampe disponenti altrimenti la presente gratia non gli sia di alcun valor:

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10 Januarii 1555 lecti in
Excellentissimo Collegio

Left Margin:

Ser Franciscus Fuscarenus
Ser Aloysius Gritti
Ser Aloysius Donatus
Ser Matheus Dandulus equus
Consiliarii
Clarissimis Emiliano, et Rhenerio absentibus

ASVe, Senato Deliberazioni Terra, reg 40, fol 38r–v (103r–v nn)

Document #2⁵⁸

18 January 1556 (1555 mv)

Die 18 Januarii 1555 in Pregadi

Che per authorita di questo consiglio sia concesso al fidel nostro Antonio Floriano da Udene, che alcuno senza sua permissione, ò de chi hara causa dallui per il tempo de anni vinti prossimi, non possi stampar, ne far stampar, ò altrove stampato vender sotto'l Dominio nostro il Mapamondo dal predetto Floriano formato: essendo però opera nova, et non piu da altri posta in luce, sotto pena alli contrafacenti di perder li stampati, et de ducati 100 appresso per cadauno Mapamondo, et ogni fiata che contrafaranno, la qual pena sia divisa per terzo fra l'accusator, da esser tenuto secreto, la casa del nostro Arsenà, et il magistrato, che fara l'essecutione: et sia obligato il predetto Floriano osservar le leze nostre in materia di stampe disponenti, altrimenti la presente gratia non gli sia di alcun valor:

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10 Januarii 1555 lecti in
Excellentissimo Collegio

Left Margin:

Ser Franciscus Fuscarenus
Ser Aloysius Gritti
Ser Aloysius Donatus
Ser Matheus Dandulus equus
Consiliarii

⁵⁸ This primary document has been discovered by the author at the Archivio di Stato di Venezia, and transcribed for publication for the first time.

Clarissimis Emiliano, et Rheniero absentibus

Left Margin: Rogatis

ASVe, Senato Deliberazioni Terra, filza 22

Document #3⁵⁹

ND (Before 18 January 1556 (1555 mv))

Serenissimo Principe

Havendo io Antonio Florian da Udene servitor fidelissimo della Serenità vostra, et de questo Illustrissimo Dominio con mia industria et inzegnò formato uno Mapamondo in tavola, che mai più per alcuno altro è sta fatto, con il qual facilmente si puol studiar, et imparar la Cosmographia, et veder tutto il sito del mondo, potendosi etiam ridur in forma sphaera, come occulation, vostra Serenità se potra chiarir et haverne quella informatione gli parera, perhò humiliter supplico vostra Serenità se degni per sua, clementia concedermi, che alcuno altro salvo che io non possi per anni vinti prossimi stampar ne far stampar detto Mapamondo per me con tante assidue fatiche et sudori fabricato sotto quelle piu strette pene che parerà al sapientissimo giudicio suo, acciò che con questa concessione io possi sentir qualche frutte delle tante vigilie et fatiche mie si come vostra Serenità è solita concieder à diversi altri, et alla buona gratia sua inchinevolmente mi riccomando.

Left Margin: Rogatis

ASVe, Senato Deliberazioni Terra, filza 22

⁵⁹ While a published transcription of Floriano's petition to the Venetian Senate does not appear to exist, excerpts of the document are published in translation. A portion of Floriano's petition letter has been somewhat incorrectly translated in Gallo (n 2) 35. Rather than 'with so much drudgery and sweat, with more heavy toil Your enlightened judgement can imagine', the section should be interpreted 'with so much assiduous labour and sweat, under the strictest penalties that Your enlightened judgement will see fit'. The partially erroneous translation has been referenced in Witcombe (n 2) 237; Sotheby's London (n 2) 15.