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News from Venice:
A Digital Analysis of Cosimo Bartoli's Correspondence and Newsletters (1562–1572)

Thesis presented by
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for the degree of
Doctor of Philosophy

University College Cork
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2025

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DECLARATION

This is to certify that the work I am submitting is my own and has not been submitted for another degree, either at University College Cork or elsewhere. All external references and sources are clearly acknowledged and identified within the contents. I have read and understood the regulations of University College Cork concerning plagiarism and intellectual property.

_____

Sara Mansutti

ABSTRACT

The aim of this study is to analyse Cosimo Bartoli's contribution to Venice's news production and circulation in the second half of the sixteenth century. From 1562 to 1572, Bartoli served as the Medici's official agent in Venice. Like other resident diplomats, his primary responsibility was to gather news and send it to Florence, where the Grand Duke of Tuscany Cosimo I de' Medici, his son Francesco de' Medici and the various secretaries read it. This activity resulted in more than 700 letters and 500 newsletters written by Bartoli that are today kept in the Mediceo del Principato collection at the State Archives in Florence. The complex figure of Bartoli has so far only been studied from a biographical perspective and for his widespread intellectual and technical interests and production. What is lacking, that this thesis aims to address, is an analysis of Bartoli's Venetian years by examining his role as an informant within the complex framework of European news circulation and the relevant network, which was evolving in a new way during that time due to the development of periodic handwritten newsletters, called *avvisi* in Italian, and the emergence of new professional figures, the newswriters.

The study investigates how and from whom Bartoli obtained the news, what part he played in writing the newsletters he sent to Florence, and the relationship between the letter and newsletter, which were originally sent as one dispatch but were later separated and bound in different volumes. It also examines the Medici's attitude, interest and reading habits regarding the news they received from Venice, as well as how Bartoli assessed the reliability of the information he obtained. These questions are answered by analysing Bartoli's letters and newsletters using digital methods. The documents are automatically transcribed using Handwritten Text Recognition and Transkribus, while the automatic transcriptions are corrected by volunteers as part of a crowdsourcing project. The outcome is a semi-automated digital edition published online and available to everyone. Using the transcriptions and metadata collected,

Bartoli's network in Venice is reconstructed and visualisations are created to identify trends.

The findings of the study demonstrate that Bartoli had close relationships with three groups from which he obtained the majority of his information: foreign diplomats residing in Venice, in particular the apostolic nuncio and the Imperial ambassador; institutions of the Republic of Venice, specifically the Collegio, the Senate and the Doge; and Venetian patricians. Despite the fact that newsletters were already in circulation at the time, Bartoli relied entirely on letters as his main source of news. He composed the newsletters himself, combining information from a variety of official and unofficial correspondence. To Bartoli, the letters and newsletters he sent were complementary documents and he expected that the Medici or their secretaries would read both with equal attention, which was the case. Practical considerations dictated how the news items were divided between the newsletters and the letters. If Bartoli had managed to obtain the actual letter or a copy of it, the news was summarised in the newsletter; if he had only heard about it or had read it himself but it was not possessed by him, he reported it in the letter. Finally, this study demonstrates that Handwritten Text Recognition is a helpful tool to automatically transcribe vast volumes of handwritten primary sources with a high degree of accuracy, 96% in Bartoli's case, making the documents searchable and allowing historians to pose new research questions.

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ABBREVIATIONS AND ACRONYMS

ASF	Archivio di Stato di Firenze (Florentine State Archives)
ATR	Automated Text Recognition
BNCF	Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale di Firenze (National Central Library of Florence)
CER	Character Error Rate
CNN	Convolutional Neural Networks
CRNN	Convolutional Recurrent Neural Networks
ENP	EURONEWS PROJECT
EVT	Edition Visualization Technology
fol.	folio
ins.	inserto
HTR	Handwritten Text Recognition
mapDocId	The Medici Archive Project Document Identifier (mia.medici.org)
MIA	Medici Interactive Archive
OCR	Optical Character Recognition
RNN	Recurrent Neural Networks
TEI	Text Encoding Initiative

USTC	Universal Short Title Catalogue
WER	Word Error Rate
XML	Extensible Markup Language

CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

This thesis examines the decade-long residency of Cosimo Bartoli in Venice from 1562 to 1572, during which he served as the official agent of the Duke, and from 1569 the Grand Duke of Tuscany, Cosimo I de' Medici. Bartoli constitutes a polymath figure of the sixteenth century. He was an intellectual, member of the Accademia Fiorentina, translator of architectural and mathematical treatises, friend of Giorgio Vasari, man of court and partisan of the Medici, provost of the baptistry of San Giovanni in Florence, and then, later in life, a diplomat. The research investigates Bartoli's role as an agent and information master. The analysis of the letters and newsletters that he sent weekly to the Duke reveals the vast network he built to gather information and how he collected news daily in Venice, one of the major news centres of early modern Europe.

The first study dedicated to Bartoli appeared in 1918 when Girolamo Mancini published an article that offered a comprehensive overview of Bartoli's life.[1] Mancini emphasises Bartoli's contributions to literature, science and art, presenting him as a Renaissance intellectual. Mancini's article served as the basis for the 1964 entry on Cosimo Bartoli in the *Dizionario Biografico degli Italiani*, written by Roberto Cantagalli and Nicola De Blasi.[2] The authors place great emphasis on Bartoli's influence in the scientific and artistic domains, his linguistic innovations, and his lessons on Dante, which he held within the Accademia Fiorentina. In 1983, Judith Bryce published the monograph *Cosimo Bartoli (1503–1572): The Career of a Florentine Polymath*.[3] Based on solid archival research, the monograph became a fundamental reference for all

[1] Girolamo Mancini, "COSIMO BARTOLI (1503-1572)," *Archivio Storico Italiano* 76, no. 3/4 (291/292) (1918): 84–135.
[2] Roberto Cantagalli and Nicola De Blasi, "BARTOLI, Cosimo," in *Dizionario Biografico degli Italiani*, 1964.
[3] Judith Bryce, *Cosimo Bartoli (1503-1572): The Career of a Florentine Polymath* (Genève: Librairie Droz, 1983).

studies on Bartoli. The first part of the book focuses on Bartoli's life, his family, his role in the Accademia Fiorentina, his friendship with Vasari, and his residency in Venice. Four chapters are dedicated to the Venetian decade. The second part analyses all of Bartoli's intellectual works as author, translator and editor. Bryce's exploration of Bartoli's period in Venice provides a valuable starting point for this thesis, although her treatment of this period is mainly anecdotal and does not investigate in depth his role as an agent and informer. In the same year as Bryce's monograph, Enrica Benini Clementi published an article entitled "Annotazioni sul soggiorno veneziano di Cosimo Bartoli."[4] Clementi focuses on Bartoli's diplomatic activities and recognises Bartoli's meticulous approach to gathering information, as well as the importance of his network. Even if Benini's work highlights the value of Bartoli's correspondence as a source for understanding early modern diplomacy, it is, in the end, more of an excursus on all of the subjects that could be investigated using Bartoli's letters as a source and does not systematically examine his letters and newsletters as a corpus. In 2009, an international conference on Cosimo Bartoli was organised by Francesco Paolo Fiore and Daniela Lamberini.[5] The published proceedings further expand the knowledge of this multifaceted figure as an intellectual, translator and scholar of technical culture and music, as well as his function within the Accademia Fiorentina and his close connections to the artists of his time.

As is evident, Cosimo Bartoli has already been extensively studied, but mainly for his intellectual production. The purpose of this study is to present Bartoli from a fresh angle and to examine his letters and newsletters to reconstruct how he operated within and engaged with the early modern Venetian and European news systems. Over the last three decades, scholarship has increasingly turned attention to the study of news and information, revealing how news circulated extensively in Europe long before the advent of printed newspapers. This phenomenon was made possible by handwritten newsletters, known in Italian as *avvisi*. The handwritten newsletters represent an element of modernity, and, with them, the concept of contemporaneity

[4] Enrica Benini Clementi, "Annotazioni sul soggiorno veneziano di Cosimo Bartoli," *Archivio Storico Italiano* 141, no. 3 (517) (1983): 363–420.
[5] Francesco Paolo Fiore and Daniela Lamberini, *Cosimo Bartoli (1503-1572): Atti del Convegno Internazionale, Mantova, 18-19 novembre - Firenze, 20 novembre 2009* (Firenze: Olschki, 2011).

started to emerge.[6] For the first time, not only rulers but also ordinary people, such as those frequenting squares and markets, could hear or read news and learn about events occurring outside their local cities or states. Thanks to the development of a regular and reliable postal system,[7] the newsletters became periodical and revolutionised the perception of space and time in the early modern period.[8] The work of scholars such as Dooley, Infelise and De Vivo has reconstructed the system within which the newsletters were produced, as well as analysing their content.[9] The handwritten newsletters, initially dismissed as dry lists of events, have been reevaluated as valuable sources that reveal how events were narrated and perceived. The act of reporting is never neutral because the reporter inevitably filters events through their contemporary social, cultural and personal perspectives.[10]

In recent years, historians have started to focus on the less prominent roles of agents and embassy secretaries, moving beyond traditional diplomatic figures such as ambassadors.[11] Agents were previously categorised either as commercial middlemen, political representatives or art dealers. However, the interdisciplinary approach through which they are now being examined recognises them as complex professionals who had to be versatile and skilled to navigate economic, political and cultural domains simultaneously.[12] The agents' letters, rich in information, provide a

[6] Brendan Dooley, "Making It Present," in *The Dissemination of News and the Emergence of Contemporaneity in Early Modern Europe*, ed. Brendan Dooley (Farnham: Ashgate, 2010), 95–114.
[7] Nikolaus Schobesberger et al., "European Postal Networks," in *News Networks in Early Modern Europe*, ed. Joad Raymond and Noah Moxham (Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2016), 17–63.
[8] Johann Petitjean, *L'intelligence des choses: une histoire de l'information entre Italie et Méditerranée, XVIe-XVIIe siècles* (Rome: École françaises de Rome, 2013), 168–75.
[9] Brendan Dooley, *The Social History of Skepticism: Experience and Doubt in Early Modern Culture* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1999); Mario Infelise, *Prima dei giornali: alle origini della pubblica informazione (secoli XVI e XVII)* (Roma and Bari: Laterza, 2002); Filippo De Vivo, *Information and Communication in Venice: Rethinking Early Modern Politics* (Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press, 2007).
[10] De Vivo, *Information and Communication in Venice*, 185.
[11] Hans Cools, Marika Keblusek, and Badeloch Noldus, *Your Humble Servant: Agents in Early Modern Europe* (Hilversum: Uitgeverij Verloren, 2006); Pierre Nevejans, "Le secrétaire d'ambassade, acteur indispensable de l'exercice diplomatique: le cas de Jacopo Guidi à la cour de France (1544-1545)," *Laboratoire italien*, no. 23 (2019), https://doi.org/10.4000/laboratoireitalien.3678; Nina Lamal, *Italian Communication on the Revolt in the Low Countries (1566-1648)* (Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2023), 17–46.
[12] Marika Keblusek, "Introduction. Profiling the Early Modern Agent," in *Your Humble Servant. Agents in Early Modern Europe*, ed. Hans Cools, Marika Keblusek, and Badeloch Noldus (Hilversum: Uitgeverij Verloren, 2006), 9–15.

crucial starting point for examining early modern news production, circulation and brokerage.[13]

This thesis builds upon this recent scholarship by analysing Bartoli's ten years within the broader framework of early modern information systems and diplomatic practices. While Bryce and Benini Clementi have provided valuable biographical insights into Bartoli's Venetian years but mainly offered anecdotal details, this study takes a more systematic approach. Bartoli's dispatches and newsletters—approximately 1,200 documents—are analysed through the lens of recent studies on early modern news to explore his role within both the nascent European news circulation system and the Medici's information network.

The questions guiding this study are as follows:

1. How and from whom did Bartoli obtain information?

   This inquiry explores the sources and methods Bartoli employed to gather news. I reconstruct the network that Bartoli established in Venice in order to find out whom he visited and from whom he received information that he subsequently shared in letters and newsletters. While scholars such as Infelise and De Vivo have mainly explored the work of newswriters in seventeenth-century Venice,[14] Bartoli's activities offer a unique perspective on the mid-sixteenth century, the period when the newsletters were originating from letters and becoming a genre on their own. Petitjean also focused on the second half of the sixteenth century, but he mainly analysed how the Venetian authorities regulated the circulation of the news, especially that arriving from Istanbul.[15] On the other hand, the case of Bartoli enables one to experience the Venetian news centre from the perspective of a foreigner who must learn to navigate it

[13] Brendan Dooley, "Art and Information Brokerage in the Career of Don Giovanni de' Medici," in *Your Humble Servant. Agents in Early Modern Europe*, ed. Hans Cools, Marika Keblusek, and Badeloch Noldus (Hilversum: Uitgeverij Verloren, 2006), 81–95.
[14] Infelise, *Prima dei giornali*; De Vivo, *Information and Communication in Venice*.
[15] Petitjean, *L'intelligence des choses*.

on his own despite being in a privileged position as the Duke of Tuscany's official agent.

2. What was Bartoli's role in composing the newsletters?

   The thesis investigates Bartoli's process of composing handwritten newsletters. Some ambassadors were subscribed to newsletter services and simply forwarded the received newsletters to their masters, while others had their secretaries compose them. The newsletters sent by Bartoli were penned either by him, by his nephew Curzio Bartoli or by a secretary. This study aims to clarify Bartoli's role in the newsletter composition process, asking if he was the author of the newsletters, if he edited text received from others, or if he simply copied the newsletters circulating in Venice at that time.

3. What was the relationship between Bartoli's letters and newsletters?

   In early modernity, handwritten newsletters were often attached to diplomats' dispatches. However, the relationship between these two kinds of documents has not been studied in depth. Many scholars state that a resident diplomat's primary responsibility was to gather news, as evidenced by the dispatches full of local and international news.[16] However, they do not examine in detail the implications of this for a diplomat's day-to-day work and disregard the significance of newsletter writing as one of the diplomat's possible activities. Bartoli's extensive correspondence provides a rare opportunity to examine both Bartoli's daily activities and how letters and newsletters interacted and complemented each other in diplomatic practice.

4. How did Bartoli assess the reliability of news?

   Assessing the truthfulness and reliability of news received was one of the biggest challenges faced by early modern informants such as Bartoli. This

[16] Garrett Mattingly, *Renaissance Diplomacy* (New York: Dover Publications, 1988), 58; Francesco Senatore, *Uno mundo de carta: forme e strutture della diplomazia sforzesca* (Napoli: Liguori, 1998), 28–32; Petitjean, *L'intelligence des choses*, 17–19.

study examines how Bartoli evaluated the credibility of the news and which factors determined whether or not he considered a news item to be reliable.

5. What was the Medici's attitude towards the news they received, and how did they use it?

   Receiving timely and reliable news was essential for early modern rulers and a means of defence and survival for small states.[17] The Medici's interest in using information as a tool of governance is demonstrated by their vast network of informants and their decision to collect news, which is evident in the more than 100 volumes of *avvisi* in their archive. Bartoli's correspondence offers a glimpse of the Medici's information strategies and helps to understand how the Medici used the intelligence they received from Bartoli and why the news was so vital to them.

These questions are answered by analysing the letters and newsletters sent by Bartoli and preserved today in the Mediceo del Principato archive, housed in the State Archives in Florence. Far from being an organically constructed archive, the Mediceo del Principato is a collection of documents that were initially kept by the Medici court, in no particular order, partly in Palazzo Vecchio and partly in Palazzo Pitti. The material comprises a vast range of documents pertaining to the direct actions of the dukes in both public and private spheres. Unlike the internal administrative records kept in the archives of the various governing bodies, the Mediceo del Principato focuses on the Medici's relationships with local governments and foreign states.[18] For its extraordinary richness, Contini describes it as a "documents arsenal."[19]

Bartoli's letters and newsletters are part of the series titled *Relazioni con stati italiani ed esteri* (Relations with Italian and Foreign States). This series contains the

[17] Johann Petitjean, "Mots et pratiques de l'information. Ce que aviser veut dire (xvie-xviie siècles)," *Mélanges de l'École française de Rome. Italie et Méditerranée*, no. 122–1 (2010): 107–21, https://doi.org/10.4000/mefrim.562.
[18] Archivio di Stato di Firenze, *Archivio Mediceo del Principato. Inventario Sommario*, Pubblicazioni degli Archivi di Stato, I (Roma, 1966), V–XXXIII.
[19] Alessandra Contini, "Introduzione al primo volume," in *Istruzioni agli ambasciatori e inviati medicei in Spagna e nell'Italia spagnola, 1536-1648*, ed. Alessandra Contini and Paola Volpini, vol. I, Pubblicazioni degli Archivi di Stato 47 (Firenze: Ministero per i beni e le attività culturali, Direzione generale per gli archivi, 2007), XXXV.

correspondence of the Medici's diplomatic representatives and agents in other states to the grand dukes and their secretaries.[20] Additional documents written by Bartoli are found in the Carteggio universale, a series that comprises the incoming correspondence of the sovereign and where sometimes diplomatic missives are mixed up, and in the first series of the Carte Strozziane, which includes materials from the archive of Bartolomeo Concino, Cosimo I's first secretary.[21] Initially, Bartoli's letters and newsletters were sent together as part of a unified dispatch. However, they were later separated and bound into different volumes. This occurred prior to 1690 when canon Fabrizio Cecini wrote a report on the archive housed in Palazzo Vecchio's attics.[22] A further goal of this thesis is to virtually reconstruct the link between the letters and the newsletters originally attached to them and give the possibility of reading the documents in their original context, as the Duke's secretariat in Florence received them.

One of the main goals of this PhD project is to publish Cosimo Bartoli's newsletters and letters. As Senatore highlights, diplomatic correspondence is an invaluable source not only for the study of political, institutional and military history, but also for understanding the social, material, cultural and intellectual contexts.[23] The importance of diplomatic correspondence is also stressed by Berengo, who emphasises that ambassadors, besides being negotiators, were also astute observers of the society they engaged with,[24] and by Leverotti, because such correspondence not only provides information about the relationship between states of origin and destination but offers insight into broader European dynamics.[25]

[20] Archivio di Stato di Firenze, *Archivio Mediceo del Principato. Inventario Sommario*, 91.
[21] Alessandra Contini, "La diplomazia medicea: istituzioni e fonti," *Le Carte e la Storia. Bollettino semestrale della Società per gli Studi di Storia delle Istituzioni* II, no. 1 (1996): 155–59.
[22] Archivio di Stato di Firenze, *Archivio Mediceo del Principato. Inventario Sommario*, V–XIV.
[23] Senatore, *Uno mundo de carta*, 86.
[24] Marino Berengo, "Presentazione," in *Corrispondenze diplomatiche veneziane da Napoli: Dispacci*, ed. Antonella Barzazi (Roma: Istituto poligrafico e zecca dello Stato, Libreria dello Stato, 1991), 1–2.
[25] Franca Leverotti, "Presentazione," in *Carteggio degli oratori mantovani alla corte sforzesca*, ed. Isabella Lazzarini, vol. I, Pubblicazioni degli Archivi di Stato (Roma: Ministero per i beni e le attività culturali, Ufficio centrale per i beni archivistici, 1991), XIX.

The tradition of publishing diplomatic correspondence dates back to the seventeenth century, with some printed editions of ambassadorial letters,[26] but those primary source editions became more numerous by the mid-nineteenth century.[27] Approaches to the publication of early modern diplomatic letters have varied: some scholars, such as Leverotti and Lazzarini and Figliuolo, have opted for full editions of all the letters,[28] while others, such as Berengo and Barzazi, have chosen to publish synopses of all the letters and excerpts only from particularly significant ones.[29] Unlike diplomatic letters, newsletters do not have a well-established publishing tradition. In 2020–2021, Vincenzo Catani published an edition of all of the *avvisi* written during Sixtus V's pontificate (1585–1590) in the Urbinati Latini collection.[30] This work is a unique effort in the field, while there have been some digital projects aimed at making manuscript newsletters accessible online. These include the indexing of the *Fuggerzeitung*[31] and the transcription of Medici *avvisi* on the Medici Interactive Archive

[26] Philippe Canaye, *Lettres et ambassades de messire Philippe Canaye, seigneur de Fresne* (Paris: Étienne Richer, 1636): mentioned in Paola Volpini, "Ambasciatori, cerimoniali e informazione politica: il sistema diplomatico e le sue fonti," in *Nel laboratorio della storia. Una guida alle fonti dell'età moderna*, ed. Maria Pia Paoli (Roma: Carocci, 2013), 240.

[27] Giuseppe Canestrini and Abel Desjardins, eds., *Negociations diplomatiques de la France avec la Toscane*, 6 vols., Collection de documents inédits sur l'histoire de France, 1. sér., Histoire politique (Paris: Imprimerie Imperiale / Imprimerie Nationale, 1859); *Nuntiaturberichte aus Deutschland: nebst ergänzenden Aktenstücken* (Gotha / Tubingen / Paderborn etc.: F. A. Perthes / Niemeyer / F. Schöningh etc., 1892); Aldo Stella, ed., *Nunziature di Venezia*, vol. VIII, Nunziature d'Italia: secoli XVI-XVIII (Roma: Istituto storico italiano per l'eta moderna e contemporanea, 1963); Antonella Barzazi, ed., *Corrispondenze diplomatiche veneziane da Napoli: Dispacci*, vol. III (Roma: Istituto poligrafico e zecca dello Stato, Libreria dello Stato, 1991); Isabella Lazzarini, ed., *Carteggio degli oratori mantovani alla corte sforzesca (1450-1500)*, vol. I, Pubblicazioni degli Archivi di Stato (Roma: Ministero per i beni e le attività culturali, Ufficio centrale per i beni archivistici, 1999): mentioned in Volpini, "Ambasciatori, cerimoniali e informazione politica: il sistema diplomatico e le sue fonti," 240.

[28] Lazzarini, *Carteggio degli oratori mantovani alla corte sforzesca (1450-1500)*; Gabriella Albanese and Bruno Figliuolo, *Giannozzo Manetti a Venezia, 1448-1450: con l'edizione della corrispondenza e del Dialogus in symposio* (Venezia: Istituto veneto di Scienze, Lettere ed Arti, 2014).

[29] Barzazi, *Corrispondenze diplomatiche veneziane da Napoli: Dispacci*.

[30] Vincenzo Catani, *Roma, l'Italia e l'Europa durante il pontificato di Sisto 5: gli "Avvisi" dal 1585 al 1590*, 3 vols. (Teramo: Palumbi, 2020-2021).

[31] Katrin Keller, "Die Fuggerzeitungen: Ein Literaturbericht," *Jahrbuch für Kommunikationsgeschichte* 14 (2012): 195–96; Katrin Keller and Paola Molino, *Die Fuggerzeitungen im Kontext: Zeitungssammlungen im Alten Reich und in Italien* (Köln/Wien: Böhlau Verlag, 2015); "Die Fuggerzeitungen," accessed December 3, 2024, https://perma.cc/DD3S-PUE5.

(MIA) platform,[32] undertaken by the EURONEWS Project[33] and the Avviso Project.[34] Stefano Villani also started a publishing project to publish the letters and newsletters sent between 1649 and 1660 by the Medici residents in London, Amerigo Salvetti and Giovanni Salvetti Antelminelli.[35] Although the paper publication was abandoned due to the publisher's financial difficulties, the project has been recently transformed into a digital one to make Villani's newsletter transcriptions available and enriched with metadata on MIA.[36] However, in most of these cases, the newsletters are treated as standalone documents without investigating who sent them and whether they were attached to other documents.

For this project, the aim is to make Bartoli's letters and newsletters widely accessible to the scholarly community. A traditional printed publication format was considered unfeasible both because of the associated expense and the difficulty in finding an editor, given the declining number of traditional printed editions of archival sources in the last decades. A printed edition also limits full-text search and reuse of the transcripts, which lessens the project's impact. Instead, by adopting Digital Humanities approaches, the project has produced a digital edition of Bartoli's letters and newsletters that is publicly accessible, searchable and downloadable online.[37] The digital edition "Cosimo Bartoli and Renaissance News. A semi-automated edition of letters and newsletters from Venice" is available at this link: https://smansutti.github.io/cosimobartoli.

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[32] Alessio Assonitis, "The Expanding Role of Digitized Collections. The Medici Archive," in *The Routledge Companion to Digital Humanities and Art History*, ed. Kathryn Brown (Abingdon: Routledge, 2020), 266–74, https://doi.org/10.4324/9780429505188-23; Carlotta Paltrinieri and Lorenzo Allori, "A Collaborative Workspace for Archival Research: MIA and the EURONEWS Project," https://perma.cc/FTZ5-7L9Rz; "MIA (Medici Interactive Archive)," accessed January 6, 2024, https://perma.cc/RYX5-U3SD.

[33] "EURONEWS: Researching the Birth of News," University College Cork, accessed December 2, 2023, https://perma.cc/S2MW-DCCK.

[34] "The AVVISO Project," National Endowment for the Humanities (NEH), accessed December 3, 2024, https://perma.cc/52D9-JXAA.

[35] Stefano Villani, "Per la progettata edizione della corrispondenza dei rappresentanti toscani a Londra: Amerigo Salvetti e Giovanni Salvetti Antelminelli durante il 'Commonwealth' e il Protettorato (1649-1660)," *Archivio Storico Italiano* 162, no. 1 (599) (2004): 109–25.

[36] Davide Boerio and Antonello Mori, "The Salvetti Project: A Journey Toward Digital Approaches and Public History," *Magazén* 5, no. 1 (2024): 75–102, https://doi.org/10.30687/mag/2724-3923/2024/01/004.

[37] Sara Mansutti, "Cosimo Bartoli and Renaissance News: A Semi-Automated Edition of Letters and Newsletters from Venice," December 26, 2024, https://smansutti.github.io/cosimobartoli.

The adoption of digital methods is not limited to the publication process itself. An Artificial Intelligence model was specifically trained to recognise Bartoli's handwriting and that of his secretaries; it was then applied to transcribe all the documents automatically. Due to the variety of handwriting, the model cannot produce a perfect transcription, although the results obtained are more than satisfactory, with 96.80% accuracy. The correction phase of the automatic transcriptions was done by volunteers within a small participatory project I designed and led. This dual approach of combining automatic transcription and crowdsourcing not only accelerates the transcription process but also provides a proof of concept of how, by adopting digital tools, archival sources can still be published today.

At this point, it is appropriate to spend a few words on my approach to Digital Humanities. Defining the Digital Humanities has been a complex task.[38] The website *What Is Digital Humanities?*, curated by Jason A. Heppler, features over 800 definitions from participants in the Day of Digital Humanities initiative between 2009 and 2014.[39] These definitions illustrate a variety of interpretations: some see Digital Humanities as a discipline, others as an environment, a methodology, or a set of resources, tools and technologies. Even in academia, Digital Humanities is often not considered a standalone discipline. Few scholars identify solely as digital humanists; instead, most have backgrounds in other fields such as history, literature, art history, archaeology, musicology, theatre, etc. Their connection to Digital Humanities comes from their use of digital methods to answer both traditional and new research questions. Digital Humanities is thus often conceived as a "big tent" gathering scholars from diverse disciplines who share an interest in digital methods, tools and approaches and as a field whose core lies in scholarly collaboration.[40]

[38] Matthew Kirschenbaum, "What Is Digital Humanities and What's It Doing in English Departments?," in *Debates in the Digital Humanities*, ed. Matthew K. Gold (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2012), 3–11; Melissa Terras, Julianne Nyhan, and Edward Vanhoutte, eds., *Defining Digital Humanities: A Reader* (London: Routledge, 2016), https://doi.org/10.4324/9781315576251.
[39] Jason A. Heppler, "What Is Digital Humanities? How People Define Digital Humanities," 2015, https://perma.cc/VML8-ACGA.
[40] Patrik Svensson, "Beyond the Big Tent," in *Debates in the Digital Humanities*, ed. Matthew K. Gold (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2012), 36–72.

The radical turn in Digital Humanities lies in the move "from reading and critiquing to building and making."[41] Building things is what sets the Digital Humanities apart from other disciplines. Some digital humanists argue that programming is an essential skill for being a digital humanist,[42] but the emergence of user-friendly tools such as Transkribus for Handwritten Text Recognition,[43] Gephi for network analysis,[44] and Recogito for annotating texts[45] have also opened the discipline to scholars who want to apply digital methods in their research without having programming expertise. In addition, the advent of generative AI chatbots such as ChatGPT,[46] Claude[47] and Copilot[48] is further democratising access to computational methods, reducing the necessity of coding skills, at least for small Digital Humanities projects.[49]

From my perspective, what differentiates a digital humanist from a traditional scholar is not their technical proficiency but the use of computational methods and tools to answer old research questions and formulate new ones that can only be answered through digital approaches. In the case of primary textual sources, digital methods enable the transcription of large numbers of documents, analysis of text, extraction of data and its visualisation in new ways. A traditional scholarly approach would require many more years of work, with significant limitations in identifying complex patterns and interconnections.

[41] Stephen Ramsay, "On Building," in *Defining Digital Humanities: A Reader*, ed. Melissa Terras, Julianne Nyhan, and Edward Vanhoutte (London: Routledge, 2013).
[42] James O'Sullivan, Diane Jakacki, and Mary Galvin, "Programming in the Digital Humanities," *Digital Scholarship in the Humanities*, 2015, fqv042, https://doi.org/10.1093/llc/fqv042.
[43] Guenter Muehlberger et al., "Transforming Scholarship in the Archives through Handwritten Text Recognition: Transkribus as a Case Study," *Journal of Documentation* 75, no. 5 (2019): 954–76, https://doi.org/10.1108/JD-07-2018-0114.
[44] Mathieu Bastian, Sebastien Heymann, and Mathieu Jacomy, "Gephi: An Open Source Software for Exploring and Manipulating Networks," *Proceedings of the International AAAI Conference on Web and Social Media* 3, no. 1 (2009): 361–62, https://doi.org/10.1609/icwsm.v3i1.13937.
[45] "Recogito, an Initiative of Pelagios Commons," accessed December 3, 2024, https://perma.cc/J4Y9-323M.
[46] "ChatGPT," accessed December 3, 2024, https://chatgpt.com/.
[47] "Claude," accessed December 3, 2024, https://claude.ai/new.
[48] "Microsoft Copilot," accessed December 3, 2024, https://copilot.microsoft.com.
[49] Qiuzi Guo, "Prompting Change: ChatGPT's Impact on Digital Humanities Pedagogy – A Case Study in Art History," *International Journal of Humanities and Arts Computing* 18, no. 1 (2024): 58–78, https://doi.org/10.3366/ijhac.2024.0321.

In my work, I adopt a "scalable reading" methodology, as defined by Mueller and utilised by Ahnert and Ahnert.[50] It is a synthesis of close and distant reading to balance the text and the context. To enable the analysis, the complexity of historical sources must be reduced to data, but the researcher must remain aware of the original documents and of the limitations inherent in the process of datafication. This approach guides my use of digital tools and my analysis of Bartoli's letters and newsletters: after analysing the data and having identified a pattern, the thesis is confirmed by the close reading of the documents.

The contribution of this thesis to scholarship is twofold. On the one hand, it sheds light on the role of an early modern agent and informant working in the years when the newsletter system was developing. This period was marked by the gradual professionalisation of news writing, the formalisation of the newsletters, and an increasingly uncontrolled expansion of their circulation, as proven by the need of both the Republic of Venice and the Pope to issue bans against newswriters in 1572.[51] Bartoli's correspondence reveals the complexity of this transitional moment, demonstrating that, even as newsletters began to take shape, letters remained a primary source of information for Bartoli.

On the other hand, this project makes transcriptions of the letters and newsletters written by Bartoli during his ten-year residence in Venice available for the first time. It is an important resource for researchers, who can consult the documents and search through the text without going to the State Archives in Florence. The accessibility of these transcriptions will benefit scholars working on early modern information and diplomacy but could also be helpful for researchers in other fields, such as art history, material culture or gender studies. For instance, Bartoli's

[50] Martin Mueller, "Scalable Reading," 18 February 2024, https://web.archive.org/web/20240218223951/ https://sites.northwestern.edu/scalablereading/scalable-reading/; Ruth Ahnert and Sebastian E. Ahnert, "Protestant letter networks in the reign of Mary I: A quantitative approach," *ELH* 82, no. 1 (March 2015): 3, https://doi.org/10.1353/elh.2015.0000.

[51] Samuele Romanin, *Storia documentata di Venezia*, vol. VI (Venezia: Tipografia di Pietro Naratovich, 1857); Guglielmo Sanfelice and Luigi Tomassetti, eds., *Bullarum diplomatum et privilegiorum santorum romanorum pontificum: taurinensis editio locupletior facta collectione novissima plurium brevium, epistolarum, decretorum actorumque S. Sedis a S. Leone Magnus usque ad praesens*, vol. VII (Torino: Seb. Franco et Henrico Dalmazzo editoribus, 1862), 969–70; Salvatore Bongi, "Le prime gazzette in Italia," *Nuova Antologia* 11 (1869): 317–18.

newsletters provide occasional mentions of how distant regions such as China were perceived in Europe.[52] With descriptions of unusual items like a unicorn horn that a German merchant tried to sell to the Medici[53] and an Indian reed inscribed with the life of Saint Peter that was donated to the Pope,[54] Bartoli's documents also provide insights into material culture. Furthermore, the correspondence documents the social and legal context of the time, including reports on murders, rapes and public executions occurring in Venice.[55] Additionally, all of the transcripts can be downloaded as a corpus and used for other types of computational analysis, such as linguistic analysis.[56] In summary, the thesis not only broadens the understanding of early modern diplomacy and news circulation but also makes the Bartoli corpus available as a useful resource for a variety of historical research questions.

[52] ASF, Mediceo del Principato 3079, fol. 710r, Newsletter with news from the Spanish Court (14-04-1566, 17-04-1566, and 20-04-1566), written by Curzio Bartoli: "Che si diceva anco che Sua Maestà manderia alle Molucche, dove era qualche sospetto, et anco a quel Potentissimo Re della China, che confina con esse per fare seco amistà. Che si diceva cose grandi di esso Re, et della Ricchezza del suo Regno, et che può mettere insieme da 600 mila huomini da guerra et che vi fa tanta seta, che non si sa, che farne, ancorchè non vi si usi diligentia, et che l'oro, et l'argento si trova su le rive de fiumi in gran quantità."

[53] ASF, Mediceo del Principato 2977, fol. 6r, 1 July 1564, Cosimo Bartoli to Prince Francesco de' Medici (the future Grand Duke Francesco I): "Io non so se la voce sparsa dal Caravio del balascio che vuol mandare costì o, pur altro, ha fatto che un messer Giovanni Amaus mercante Todesco mi è venuto a pregare che io offerisca in vendita a Vostra Eccellenza o al Signor Duca tre cose rare, un Corno di Unicorno che pende un poco al Rossiccio di nove quarte che sarieno braccia 2 ½ fiorentine incirca, un balascio di 144 carrati et uno smeraldo quasi quanto un quattrino amenduoi di eccessiva belleza."

[54] ASF, Mediceo del Principato 3079, fol. 626v, Newsletter with news from Roma (04-01-1567), written by Curzio Bartoli: "Che il Commendatore di Castiglia ha donato a Sua Santità un panno di seta, et d'oro superbissimo con li Magi, et Montepulciano le ha donato una canna d'India di molta valuta, ne nodi della quale è scritta la vita di Santo Pietro."

[55] ASF, Mediceo del Principato 2976, fol. 100v, 17 February 1564 (1563 in Florentine style), Cosimo Bartoli to Cosimo I de' Medici: "Il Gentilhomo preso per conto della Arcobusata fu Giovambattista da Ca' Pesero Genero di messer Carlo Zanni, et che doveva esser herede del detto messer Carlo che non haveva altri figlioli che la moglie del detto Giambattista il quale convinto et per testimonii et per inditii fu sabato passato impiccato publichissimamente con l'archibuso a piedi. Et lunedì passato fu appiccato poi uno altro che haveva impedita la famiglia della iustitia et cavatoli l'arme contro;" ASF, Mediceo del Principato 2977, fol. 18v, 5 August 1564, Cosimo Bartoli to Francesco de' Medici: "Un Gentilhomo da Ca' Bernarda questa settimana ha furata una putta maritata artefice, che andava a Murano et menatala a Mazorbo sforzatala et cavatosene la voglia. Et cercava poi di scusarsi con dir che ella era Cortigiana. Ma avertito da chi li voleva bene, se ne è ito a Ferrara, et questi Cavi de Dieci lo hanno citato insieme con il barcarolo et due altre donne et par verisimile che se ne habbia a far qualche severa punitione perché è sforzamento in qualunche grado si fusse detta donna, et credesi che il caso et il bando seguito l'anno passato di Piero Buonaccorsi habbi a nuocere molto a detto Bernardi. Pur se li è dato tempo da potersi ritirare a Padova."

[56] Sara Mansutti, "Cosimo Bartoli's Correspondence and Newsletters (1562-1572): Transcriptions and Metadata" (Zenodo, December 26, 2024), https://doi.org/10.5281/ZENODO.14559525.

The thesis begins with an overview of Cosimo Bartoli's family and life, examining the factors that led to his appointment as the Medici agent in Venice despite his lack of diplomatic experience, and situating him within the cultural and political contexts of sixteenth-century Florence. The second chapter focuses on the diplomatic instructions Bartoli received and the tasks of a resident diplomat. It also reviews the current scholarship on news production and circulation in early modern Venice, describing how, where and by whom news was gathered, written and transmitted. A special feature of many Digital Humanities theses is the presence of a chapter on the digital project along with the straightforward analysis of data. The digital project is the subject of the third chapter, where its design and implementation are explained, including the training of an AI model for automated text recognition, participatory corrections through crowdsourcing, and the creation of the digital edition. The final chapter analyses Bartoli's letters and newsletters: it identifies the trends in his correspondence, investigates the sources and reliability of the news he gathered, and examines the relationship between his letters and the attached newsletters. By combining traditional scholarship with digital methods, this thesis offers an analysis of Bartoli's role as a Medici agent and informant in one of the key news hubs of early modernity, Venice.

CHAPTER TWO

THE REASONS BEHIND COSIMO BARTOLI'S APPOINTMENT

Between June 1562 and September 1572, Cosimo Bartoli was appointed as the Florentine agent in Venice by the Duke of Tuscany, Cosimo I de' Medici. As has already been pointed out by many scholars like Sardella, Infelise, Burke, De Vivo, and Petitjean, Venice was one of the most important informative hubs of the sixteenth century.[57] Therefore, the role of the Florentine agent there was crucially important: on the one hand because he should represent the Medici before the Doge and the Republic's magistratures; on the other hand because he had the duty and responsibility to report to the Medici not only what happened in the lagoon but all of the news items arriving from all over the world. In various letters to Bartoli, Duke Cosimo underlined the importance of the centrality of Venice for keeping up to date, defining it as the city where "all the news of the world converges."[58]

Cosimo I appointed Bartoli to the role of his agent in Venice for a combination of reasons having to do with family and court connections, loyalty, intellectual aptitude, involvement in cultural institutions, technical expertise, and writing ability, in spite of his inexperience in any previous diplomatic role.

[57] Sardella, Pierre, *Nouvelles et spéculations à Venise au début du XVIe siècle* (Paris: Armand Colin, 1948); Infelise, *Prima dei giornali*; Peter Burke, "Early Modern Venice as a Center of Information and Communication," in *Venice Reconsidered: The History and Civilization of an Italian City-State, 1297-1797*, ed. John Jeffries Martin and Dennis Romano (Baltimore and London: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2002), 389–418; De Vivo, *Information and Communication in Venice*; Petitjean, *L'intelligence des choses*.
[58] ASF, Mediceo del Principato 216, fol. 138r, 6 November 1562, Cosimo I de' Medici to Cosimo Bartoli: "in quella Città concorrono tutte le nuove del mondo." All translations are mine unless otherwise noted.

2.1. A Long Client-Patron Relationship between the Bartoli and the Medici

Bartoli received his appointment as an agent in Venice, in part due to a relationship of trust between him and Cosimo I de' Medici, built out of long-term connections between the two families over previous generations. Judith Bryce's fundamental monograph, *Cosimo Bartoli (1503-1572): The Career of a Florentine Polymath*, while glossing over several issues in its analysis of Bartoli's Venetian period, supplies a necessary biographical approach for viewing him in the Florentine social and cultural context and understanding the position of his family.

The Bartoli family of Santa Maria Novella, from which Cosimo descended, had been resident in Florence at least since 1300. It did not belong to the families that immigrated following the great bank failures and the Black Death of the 1340s. During the fourteenth century, family members distinguished themselves in various offices, such as priors and gonfaloniers of justice, thus becoming part of the office-holding class of the Florentine Republic. According to Kent, the Bartoli family was part of the ruling group of the quarter of Santa Maria Novella; between 1382 and 1453, the family members who could be eligible for civic offices rose from one to twenty-seven.[59] Furthermore, the 1427 *catasto* revealed that the family's overall wealth was far above average.[60] Cosimo's great-grandfather, Matteo di Marco Bartoli, was forty-fourth on the list of the one hundred and twenty leading taxpayers of the quarter of Santa Maria Novella, according to Martines's study.[61]

Cosimo Bartoli's loyalty to the Medici reflected the family tradition of Medici partisanship and service in which he grew up, as noted by Mancini, Cantagalli, and De Blasi. [62] Cosimo's grandfather, Cosimo di Matteo Bartoli, had been closely connected to Lorenzo de' Medici, as evidenced by the six letters he wrote to Lorenzo between 1467 and 1479 and that have survived, as Bryce notes. In July 1469, for instance, he addressed a letter to Lorenzo in Milan, which contained information and updates

[59] Dale Kent, "The Florentine Reggimento in the Fifteenth Century," *Renaissance Quarterly* 28, no. 4 (1975): 619 note 195, https://doi.org/10.2307/2860173.
[60] Bryce, *Cosimo Bartoli (1503-1572): The Career of a Florentine Polymath*, 1–23.
[61] Lauro Martines, *The Social World of the Florentine Humanists, 1390-1460* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2011), 373.
[62] Mancini, "COSIMO BARTOLI (1503-1572)," 86; Cantagalli and De Blasi, "BARTOLI, Cosimo."

about marriage alliances and officials' elections occurring in Florence.[63] In addition to the archival sources, contemporary authors recorded the family's presence in the inner circle supporting the Medici. In *Storie fiorentine dal 1378 al 1509*, Guicciardini listed Cosimo di Matteo Bartoli among the trusted men to whom Lorenzo de' Medici assigned the most delicate and secret missions, not because of their nobility, wealth, or reputation, but because they owed their fortune and position to his benevolence.[64] The client-patron relationship involved political loyalty and support, on the one hand, and the granting of offices and favours, on the other. Cosimo I de' Medici acted in a similar way, surrounding himself with loyal secretaries and ambassadors. Bryce notes how the relationship between Bartoli's grandfather and Lorenzo partly echoes the one between Cosimo Bartoli and Cosimo I de' Medici,[65] even if Benini Clementi points out that Bartoli always maintained his independence of judgement and dignity, thus not stooping to the level of a client, but remaining a humanist.[66]

Matteo Bartoli, Cosimo's father, also distinguished himself for his loyalty to the Medici, which earned him various appointments. He and his brothers were among the group of thirty young Medici partisans who invaded the Palace of the Priors to force the resignation of the *gonfaloniere a vita* Piero Soderini on August 31, 1512, according to the contemporary account by Giovanni Cambi, in the *Istorie*.[67] The young supporters soon became part of the retinue of Giuliano de' Medici, who returned to Florence the following day.[68] Matteo Bartoli is also listed in the band of *giovani palleschi* with whom Giuliano entered Palazzo Vecchio on September 16.[69] His open support for the Medici soon paid off: he became *podestà* of Pistoia in 1513 and was elected prior of Florence for January and February 1515. In 1516, he followed Lorenzo di Piero de' Medici,

[63] Bryce, *Cosimo Bartoli (1503-1572): The Career of a Florentine Polymath*, 25.
[64] Francesco Guicciardini, *Storie fiorentine dal 1378 al 1509*, ed. Alessandro Montevecchi (Milano: Biblioteca Universale Rizzoli, 1998), 179–80.
[65] Bryce, *Cosimo Bartoli (1503-1572): The Career of a Florentine Polymath*, 25–26.
[66] Benini Clementi, "Annotazioni sul soggiorno veneziano di Cosimo Bartoli," 363–64.
[67]Giovanni Cambi, "Istorie," in *Delizie degli eruditi toscani*, ed. Ildefonso di San Luigi, vol. XXI (Firenze: Cambiagi, 1785), 309.
[68] Michael Rocke, *Forbidden Friendships: Homosexuality and Male Culture in Renaissance Florence* (New York and Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1998), 228–29; John N. Stephens, *The Fall of the Florentine Republic, 1512-1530* (Oxford and New York: Clarendon Press, 1983), 58–59.
[69] BNCF, Fondo Nazionale, II.III.433, fol. 59r: "L'infrascritti homini sono quelli che nel giorno del parlamento armati presono tutto il palazzo e scompartironsi convenientemente senza rispetto del breve". The existence of this handwritten list is mentioned in Stephens, *The Fall of the Florentine Republic, 1512-1530*, 63.

nephew of Giuliano, on an expedition to Pesaro and Urbino as the commissioner of artillery, while in the following year, he was appointed as the commissioner general of Rimini.[70]

Matteo's commitment to the Medici was continued by his three sons, Piero, Cosimo, the focus of this study, and Giuliano. In another crucial moment in Florentine history, the Bartoli family was again registered on the Medici's side as part of their inner circle. During the *tumulto del venerdì*, an insurrection of young Florentine citizens who occupied Palazzo Vecchio on April 26, 1527, demanding the right to bear arms, and made an abortive attempt to ban the Medici,[71] Cosimo Bartoli, his older brother Piero, and his uncle Cosimo were in the Medici Palace in Via Larga, according to Benedetto Varchi.[72] This is another piece of proof of the close relationship of the Bartoli family with the Medici, which had begun at least two generations earlier with Cosimo's grandfather. Despite the Medici's expulsion in May 1527, a few weeks after the tumult, Cosimo Bartoli remained in Florence until October 19, 1528, when he left Florence for Rome, a departure defined by Bryce as "a voluntary exile."[73]

The loyalty shown by various members of the Bartoli family to the Medici and the client-patron bond that developed was undoubtedly one of several factors that led Duke Cosimo, many years later, to appoint Cosimo Bartoli as his agent in Venice. However, Bartoli's cultural commitment as an intellectual also made him stand out in the eyes of the Duke.

[70] Bryce, *Cosimo Bartoli (1503-1572): The Career of a Florentine Polymath*, 27–28.
[71] Cecil Roth, *The Last Florentine Republic* (London: Methuen & Co., 1925), 23–31; Salvatore Lo Re, *La crisi della libertà fiorentina: alle origini della formazione politica e intellettuale di Benedetto Varchi e Piero Vettori* (Roma: Edizioni di storia e letteratura, 2006), 32–37; Marcello Simonetta, "Le rôle de Francesco Guicciardini dans le Tumulto del venerdì (26 avril 1527) selon certaines sources non florentines," *Laboratoire italien*, no. 17 (2016), https://doi.org/10.4000/laboratoireitalien.970.
[72] Benedetto Varchi, *Storia fiorentina di Benedetto Varchi con aggiunte e correzioni tratte dagli autografi e corredata di note per cura e opera di Lelio Arbib*, ed. Lelio Arbib, vol. I (Firenze: Società editrice delle Storie del Nardi e del Varchi, 1843), 140.
[73] Bryce, *Cosimo Bartoli (1503-1572): The Career of a Florentine Polymath*, 30.

2.2 Bartoli as an Intellectual and His Role within the Accademia Fiorentina

Bartoli cultivated many and varied intellectual interests, and by putting his knowledge at the service of the Medici, he managed to gain both the trust of Duke Cosimo and some offices. He was a complex character, according to Vasoli: scholar, philosopher, mathematician, technician, man of the court, and diplomat. He embodied the new figure of the intellectual, placing his vast theoretical knowledge, political intelligence and culture at the service of the Duke, while maintaining his own dignity and autonomy, and not emulating the most demeaning kinds of courtier behaviour.[74] Vasoli's conclusions were undoubtedly influenced by Bartoli's fundamental role within the Accademia Fiorentina.

The academies were, together with the universities, the major cultural gathering centres and places of debate of the time and could significantly influence the culture and politics of the cities where they arose.[75] The Accademia Fiorentina, in particular, represented Medici interests. It was derived from the earlier Accademia degli Umidi, founded in Florence on November 1, 1540, by eleven young Florentines as a diversion, a free space to discuss, read Petrarca and other Tuscan poets, and write verses,[76] on the model of but also in polemical opposition to the Paduan Accademia degli Infiammati.[77]

At the end of 1540, Giovanni Norchianti, Cosimo Bartoli, and Pierfrancesco Giambullari became members of the Accademia degli Umidi (the first one on November 14 and the other two on December 25). All three were clergymen, men of learning, and favourites of the Medici. They constituted the first core of the new academics forming part of Duke Cosimo's retinue and gradually over the years helped

[74] Cesare Vasoli, "Cultura e «mitologia» nel principato (considerazioni sulla «Accademia fiorentina»)," in *La cultura delle corti*, by Cesare Vasoli (Bologna: Cappelli, 1980), 178.
[75] Vasoli, 159.
[76] Claudia Di Filippo Bareggi, "In nota alla politica culturale di Cosimo I: l'Accademia Fiorentina," *Quaderni storici* 8, no. 23 (2) (1973): 528–29.
[77] Michael Sherberg, "The Accademia Fiorentina and the Question of the Language: The Politics of Theory in Ducal Florence," *Renaissance Quarterly* 56, no. 1 (2003): 27, https://doi.org/10.2307/1262257.

him transform the Accademia degli Umidi into the Accademia Fiorentina, thus making it a state academy under the control of Duke Cosimo.[78]

The primary transformation of the Accademia occurred between December 25, 1540, and March 25, 1541, when Bartoli and Norchianti began a partial reform of the statutes.[79] The delivery of public and private lectures was established as the main activity of the Accademia, a change driven by Bartoli as the leading architect and by Pierfrancesco Riccio, the Duke's secretary, who plotted in the shadows. Between January and March 1541, many meetings were held in Bartoli's house, and on January 31, Bartoli and three other academics were elected to revise the statutes again. After this reform, which was approved on February 11, the Accademia embraced a new and broader cultural programme, with lectures as its principal activity, and changed its name to Accademia Fiorentina, abandoning the spontaneity and freedom of the Umidi, even if some founding members remained. This reform also attests to the Duke's first direct intervention in the life of the Accademia, since the reformers stated that the new statutes reflected the Duke's will.[80]

Recent scholarship agrees that Duke Cosimo used the Accademia to indirectly control intellectuals, calm their passionate spirits, and channel them into activities far from politics.[81] On one occasion, referring to another cultural society called Accademia del Piano, Cosimo I stated that the minds of the Florentines do not know how to be idle, so it is better to engage them in these activities than to have them

[78] Armand L. De Gaetano, *Giambattista Gelli and the Florentine Academy: The Rebellion against Latin* (Firenze: Olschki, 1976), 105–6; Vasoli, "Cultura e «mitologia» nel principato (considerazioni sulla «Accademia fiorentina»)," 169–70; for the use of the term State Academy, see Rudolf von Albertini, *Firenze dalla repubblica al principato. Storia e coscienza politica* (Torino: Einaudi, 1970), 290–91.
[79] Michel Plaisance, *L'Accademia e il suo principe: cultura e politica a Firenze al tempo di Cosimo I e di Francesco de' Medici. L'Academie et le prince: culture et politique à Florence au temps de Côme Ier et de François de Médicis*, 6 (Roma: Vecchiarelli, 2004), 79–116.
[80] Plaisance, 79–84.
[81] Plaisance, *L'Accademia e il suo principe*; Vasoli, "Cultura e «mitologia» nel principato (considerazioni sulla «Accademia fiorentina»)," 170; Di Filippo Bareggi, "In nota alla politica culturale di Cosimo I: l'Accademia Fiorentina," 538; Giovanni Nencioni, "Il volgare nell'avvio del principato mediceo," in *Firenze e la Toscana dei Medici nell'Europa del '500. Atti del Congresso tenuto a Firenze nel 1980*, vol. II (Firenze: Olschki, 1983), 691.

thoughtful.[82] Likewise, the Accademia Fiorentina was a way to keep the intellectuals busy and distracted from the political scene.

The stated aim of the Accademia Fiorentina was to promote Florentine language and letters: on the one hand, by public lectures, and on the other hand, by translating classical texts into Florentine, to disseminate knowledge to a broader public, which did not know Greek and Latin. The underlying assumption was that the contemporary Florentine language was suitable for expressing any field of knowledge, as well as the most subtle concepts.[83] The Accademia Fiorentina thus took part in the decades-old so-called language question, opposing Pietro Bembo and affirming the superiority of the contemporary Florentine language.[84] Under Cosimo I's guidance, the language debate also assumed a political connotation: academics elevated Florentine to the dignity of Latin and created myths to prove Tuscany's primacy, at least culturally, within the Italian context.[85]

Bartoli was only marginally engaged in this debate. He appears as one of the imaginary protagonists of Gelli's dialogue, *Ragionamenti sulla lingua*, published together with Giambullari's grammar entitled *De la lingua che si parla et scrive a Firenze*.[86] At the end of the dialogue, Gelli asks when Giambullari's grammar will be published, and Bartoli replies that Giambullari gave him the treatise and the freedom to do with it what he wanted so that he would start printing it with Torrentino in a few days.[87] The grammar and Gelli's dialogue were printed in 1552 by Lorenzo Torrentino. Although Bartoli's name does not appear on the frontispiece, the dialogue shows that he played a role in its publication.[88] Moreover, in 1556, after both Lenzoni's and

[82] Iacopo Riguccio Galluzzi, *Storia del Granducato di Toscana*, vol. 2 (Firenze: presso Leonardo Marchini, 1822), 236.
[83] Sherberg, "The Accademia Fiorentina and the Question of the Language," 27.
[84] Plaisance, *L'Accademia e il suo principe*, 17–18.
[85] Vasoli, "Cultura e «mitologia» nel principato (considerazioni sulla «Accademia fiorentina»)," 172–74; Nencioni, "Il volgare nell'avvio del principato mediceo," 692–93; De Gaetano, *Giambattista Gelli and the Florentine Academy*, 107.
[86] Pier Francesco Giambullari, *De la lingua che si parla & scrive in Firenze. Et uno dialogo di Giovan Batista Gelli sopra la difficultà dello ordinare detta lingua* (Firenze: Lorenzo Torrentino, 1551) (USTC No. 832687).
[87] Giambattista Gelli, "Ragionamento sopra le difficoltà di mettere in regole la nostra lingua," in *De la lingua che si parla & scrive in Firenze*, by Pier Francesco Giambullari (Firenze: Lorenzo Torrentino, 1551), 41–42.
[88] Bryce, *Cosimo Bartoli (1503-1572): The Career of a Florentine Polymath*, 232–33.

Giambullari's death, Bartoli was also the editor of another text related to the language question: the *Difesa della lingua fiorentina e di Dante* by Lenzoni.[89] Bartoli's commitment to the language debate within the Accademia is not directly revealed by treatises of his own but rather through his work as an editor and translator, which kept him very busy even during his stay in Venice.

Bartoli has been credited with changing the orientation of the Accademia from its first exclusively literary vocation to a focus on knowledge and practical applications of science.[90] For instance, in the first public lecture on Dante given by him on January 8, 1542, the passage from Purgatory is only the starting point for a discussion about the structure of the eye and the formation of vision.[91] At least in the published version of his lecture, rewritten into a dialogue form and printed in Venice in 1567, he urged the translation of scientific knowledge into the common vernacular, just as the Romans had done for Greek texts.[92] At his instigation, the programme of the Accademia Fiorentina aimed to translate Latin works into accessible vernacular to disseminate scientific knowledge to a wider public of readers and remove the linguistic barrier of Latin to access it. For this reason, Nencioni defines Bartoli as the coryphaeus of translations of scientific texts.[93]

As an academician, Bartoli's first translation was Paolo Giovio's biography of Pope Leo X de' Medici, clearly designed to praise the Duke and the Medici family. But his most remarkable translation was *De Re Aedificatoria* by Leon Battista Alberti, printed in Florence in 1550. According to Aricò, he not only translated but also revised the text, introducing terms from the Florentine workshops, adding mentions to the Catholic faith and, above all, adding images.[94] Both the use of Florentine and the added iconography reveal his intention to expand Alberti's readership. He succeeded

[89] Sherberg, "The Accademia Fiorentina and the Question of the Language," 31.
[90] Plaisance, *L'Accademia e il suo principe*, 80–82.
[91] Alessandro D'Alessandro, "Note intorno ai Ragionamenti accademici di Cosimo Bartoli," *Annali dell'Istituto di Filosofia* II (1980): 64–65.
[92] Cosimo Bartoli, *Ragionamenti accademici di Cosimo Bartoli gentil'huomo et accademico fiorentino, sopra alcuni luoghi difficili di Dante. Con alcune inventioni et significati, et la tavola di piu cose notabili* (Venezia: appresso Francesco De Franceschi, 1567), 10–12 (USTC No. 812413).
[93] Nencioni, "Il volgare nell'avvio del principato mediceo," 693.
[94] Nicola Aricò, "Il De re aedificatoria secondo Cosimo Bartoli," in *Cosimo Bartoli (1503-1572): Atti del Convegno Internazionale, Mantova, 18-19 novembre - Firenze, 20 novembre 2009*, ed. Francesco Paolo Fiore and Daniela Lamberini (Firenze: Olschki, 2011), 3–40.

in it: the first in-folio Florentine edition of 1500 copies was quickly depleted, so he published a second in-quarto edition in Venice in 1565.[95] Further evidence of the impact of his translation of Alberti is found in a manuscript entitled *I Commentarii di varie regole e dissegni di architettura civile e militare*, attributed to the Prince and Captain Alessandro Farnese. Here portions of Bartoli's translation are copied and rewritten, including many drawings from the 1550 edition, thus attesting to its circulation and impact.[96]

Thanks to its scientific turn and the translation activity of its members, the Accademia Fiorentina fostered a scientific education and the training of civil servants and engineers, whose role was becoming increasingly important in the Medici's growing state.[97] As has been shown, Bartoli played a fundamental role in Duke Cosimo's plan to transform the Accademia into a state cultural institution at the service of Florence and Tuscany.[98]

Apart from his activity in the Accademia Fiorentina, Bartoli may also have participated in an academy in Venice in the 1560s. However, the evidence is inconclusive, hinging only on a letter he wrote on November 18, 1562, as follows:

> Through a friend of mine, I have come across a report made by one of these Magnificents about Your Excellency and your states, and he pretends to make it to the Academy that is here, but I believe it is to make accusations in many parts, and to make the majority aware of the terror that one must have of Your Excellency. I only held it in my hands one night and promised not to copy it. But as I began to read it, I decided not to keep my promise to the person who gave it to me, and began to copy it, and the copy will be with this dispatch. Your Excellency should not be surprised if it is poorly written, because I had neither the time nor anyone I could trust, so I copied it myself in a great hurry and worked all night. It is enough that it is readable. It has seemed right to me to send it so that Your Excellency may

[95] Aricò, 3–40.
[96] Sabine Frommel, "I Commentarii di Varie Regoli e Dissegni di Architettura Civile e Militare di Alessandro Farnese (Ms. 32.B.14, Cors. 663) e la fortuna del De re aedificatoria tradotto dal Bartoli," in *Cosimo Bartoli (1503-1572): Atti del Convegno Internazionale, Mantova, 18-19 novembre - Firenze, 20 novembre 2009*, ed. Francesco Paolo Fiore and Daniela Lamberini (Firenze: Olschki, 2011), 59–87.
[97] Plaisance, *L'Accademia e il suo principe*, 83–84.
[98] Plaisance, 107–8.

> have knowledge of everything I know, and will be able to judge from it how he is considered by most of the people in these parts. I have not been able to find out the author. I will undertake this research, but it must be done patiently and carefully so that it does not seem as if I want to know it. I will inform Your Excellency of whatever I find out.[99]

The letter suggests that Bartoli received from an anonymous friend a report concerning the Duke, fictitiously directed to an academy in Venice. Without keeping his promise to the friend, he spent all night copying the report and sent it to the Duke, promising to reveal its author. In a letter of the following week, he claims that the report's author was "Gierolamo Lippomanni," a young man who practised in the academy, brother of the "Abbott who has been in Rome."[100] Also known as Girolamo Lippomano, this person entered the Venetian Senate in 1562 and held many important diplomatic offices in the following years.[101] Benini Clementi suggests that in these letters, Bartoli refers to the Accademia Pellegrina since the Accademia Veneziana or della Fama had already closed in August 1561, after accusations of fraud and debt were levelled at the founder Federico Badoer and his family.[102] On the other hand, Benini Clementi excludes that Bartoli referred to the gatherings at Domenico Venier's home (another important Venetian meeting venue) because they were never formalised in an academy.[103] Fontana suggests that Bartoli should have been

[99] ASF, Mediceo del Principato 2976, fol. 69v, 18 November 1562, Cosimo Bartoli to Cosimo I de' Medici: "Appresso per via di Amico mi è capitata alle mani una Relatione fatta da un di questi Magnifici di Vostra Eccellenza et de vostri stati et finge di farla alla Accademia che è qui. Ma credo che sia per tassare in molte parti, et far conoscere alla maggior parte il terrore che si debbe havere di Vostra Eccellenza. Io la ho solamente tenuta una sera nelle mani. Et promesso di non ne trar copia. Ma cominciandola a leggere mi risolve, di non servar la promessa a chi me la ha fatto havere, et mi messi giù et la copiai et sarà con questo spaccio. Ma Vostra Eccellenza non si maravigli se è male scritta, perchè non havendo tempo nè di chi mi fidare, lavorai da me currenti calamo tutta notte. Basta che credo si potrà leggere, et mi è parsa di mandarla acciochè Vostra Eccellenza habbia notitia di tutto quello che per me si può, et giudicherà da essa in che concetto ella sia della maggior parte delli homini di queste bande. Non ho potuto sapere il compositore, del che farò diligentia, ma bisogna farlo a tempo et con garbo che non paia che io ne habbi voglia, et di quello ritrarrò ne darò aviso a Vostra Eccellenza."
[100] ASF, Mediceo del Principato 2976, fol. 71v, 25 November 1562, Cosimo Bartoli to Cosimo I de' Medici: "Signor Abbate che è stato in Roma."
[101] Giuseppe Gullino, "LIPPOMANO, Girolamo," in *Dizionario Biografico degli Italiani*, 2005.
[102] Lina Bolzoni, *La stanza della memoria: modelli letterari e iconografici nell'età della stampa* (Torino: Einaudi, 1995), 4–25; Valeria Guarna, *L'Accademia veneziana della Fama (1557-1561): storia, cultura e editoria* (Roma: Vecchiarelli, 2018), 58–64.
[103] Benini Clementi, "Annotazioni sul soggiorno veneziano di Cosimo Bartoli," 375–76.

somehow close to the unique Venetian academy called Accademia Pellegrina.[104] Benini Clementi supports Fontana's thesis and states that, based on the above-quoted letter, Bartoli implies his participation in that Accademia.[105] In my opinion, it is too hazardous to make this conjecture based only on this document, which does not mention Bartoli's direct involvement with a Venetian academy. Moreover, according to Masi, the Accademia Pellegrina was Anton Francesco Doni's invention and did not exist in reality; it was a fictitious academy or a sort of printing press-academy.[106]

To set Bartoli's actual engagement with Venetian culture in perspective, it is important to note that mid-century Venice was scattered with informal academies, which, unlike the institutionalised Accademia Fiorentina, were simply regular gatherings of artists, writers, scholars, and musicians at a patrician's home.[107] The word *accademia* was also used to refer to these private cultural meetings. For example, in 1548, Aretino defined the gatherings at Ca' Venier as "the Academy of the good Veniero Domenico."[108] Since 1546, when Domenico Venier had left civic offices due to chronic illness, he had begun holding these meetings in his home, welcoming writers of all kinds, professional and amateur, including patricians, diplomats, erudite merchants, publishers, poets, and playwrights.[109] Venier's house had become one of the main places for informal literary discussions in Venice, and all foreign *literati* spent most of their time there during their stay in Venice.[110] Also the humanist Giovan Battista Amalteo, preceptor of the Girolamo Lippomano mentioned above,[111] is listed among the participants of the Accademia Veniera.[112] Another candidate for the academy referred to in Bartoli's letter could be the Accademia Parutiana: it was a private academy that met from 1561 onwards in Paolo Paruta's house to continue the

[104] Vincenzo Fontana, "Tecnica, scienza e architettura," in *Architettura e utopia nella Venezia del Cinquecento*, ed. Lionello Puppi (Milano: Electa, 1980), 208.
[105] Benini Clementi, "Annotazioni sul soggiorno veneziano di Cosimo Bartoli," 375–76.
[106] Giorgio Masi, "Coreografie doniane: L'Accademia Pellegrina," in *Cinquecento capriccioso e irregolare. Eresie letterarie nell'Italia del classicismo*, ed. Paolo Procaccioli and Angelo Romano (Roma: Vecchiarelli, 1999), 75–79.
[107] Martha Feldman, "The Academy of Domenico Venier, Music's Literary Muse in Mid-Cinquecento Venice," *Renaissance Quarterly* 44, no. 3 (1991): 476, https://doi.org/10.2307/2862594.
[108] Feldman, 478 note 6: "l'Accademia del buon Veniero Domenico."
[109] Feldman, 478.
[110] Michele Maylender, *Storia delle Accademie d'Italia*, vol. V (Bologna: Cappelli, 1930), 446.
[111] Gullino, "LIPPOMANO, Girolamo."
[112] Maylender, *Storia delle Accademie d'Italia*, V:446.

philosophical discussions experienced during the years of his university studies in Padua.[113] It was attended by young patricians who were interested in eloquence, philosophy, and history but at the same time were taking their first steps in the service of the Republic, in the Collegio, and the Senate, and would later receive important public offices,[114] as happened to Lippomano, who started his diplomatic career as a Venetian ambassador in 1565.[115]

Whether or not Bartoli actually participated in a particular Venetian academy, the academies could have been a means for Bartoli to enter the Venetian network of men of letters, artists, publishers, and printers. His awareness of the local environment is apparent in such expressions as "the Academy that is here." It is plausible to conjecture that, moving to a new city, he sought out old contacts within the same cultural circles he was accustomed to frequenting in Florence. The analysis of the network of people in contact with Bartoli, which will be described in Chapter 5, will clarify if the Venetian academies or private cultural gatherings had any impact on Bartoli during his decade in Venice.

2.3 Bartoli's Scientific and Technical Expertise

A further reason why Bartoli was chosen for the agent role undoubtedly lay in the scientific and technical interests that he shared with Grand Duke Cosimo and Prince Francesco de' Medici (the future Grand Duke Francesco I).[116] Both of these Medici attempted to engage seriously with the technological innovations and natural knowledge ideas of their time, nurturing a particular fascination for natural,

[113] Michele Maylender, *Storia Delle Accademie d'Italia*, vol. II (Bologna: Cappelli, 1926), 226; Marco Giani, "«Donna, che fosti tra le donne un Sole»: sui tentativi poetici giovanili di Paolo Paruta (metà XVI sec.)," *Italianistica Debreceniensis* 23 (2017): 61, https://doi.org/10.34102/italdeb/2017/4638.
[114] Michele Battaglia, *Delle accademie veneziane dissertazione storica* (Venezia: Giuseppe Orlandelli Editore, 1826), 25.
[115] Gullino, "LIPPOMANO, Girolamo."
[116] Judith Bryce, "Prolusione," in *Cosimo Bartoli (1503-1572): Atti del Convegno Internazionale, Mantova, 18-19 novembre - Firenze, 20 novembre 2009*, ed. Francesco Paolo Fiore and Daniela Lamberini (Firenze: Olschki, 2011), XI–XII.

alchemical, technical, and magical secrets. Both were known to actually conduct alchemical experiments.[117]

Cosimo I manifested his interest in the natural world in various fields, from botany to agronomy, hydraulics, cartography, military engineering, mineralogy, and pharmacy, just to mention a few.[118] Thanks to the study and first-hand experiments, he developed expertise that enabled him to evaluate the scientific and technological projects proposed to him as well as to make decisions for the state with awareness.[119] When Cosimo I could not procure the rare plant ingredients for his experiments or pharmaceutical medicines in Tuscany, he relied on his vast network of diplomats and agents abroad.[120] In January 1564, for instance, the Duke expressly asked Cosimo Bartoli in Venice to send him some china roots ("un poco di cina buona") from Venice because he had finished his supply for having provided it to too many friends.[121] Bartoli diligently searched for the china root, asking his friends' help, and sent a sample to Florence.[122]

Prince Francesco was even more passionate than his father about these topics. He was the dedicatee of some alchemical manuscripts and constantly received letters disclosing news about secret receipts, alchemical experiments, and medical products. Although not all of them were credible, some aroused the interest of Francesco, who responded by requesting the much-vaunted formula or substance.[123] Moreover, he spent a significant amount of his time, both as a young man and after becoming Grand Duke, in the pharmaceutical-alchemic-artistic laboratories called *fonderie*: here, surrounded by specialised masters, he created drugs, conducted chemical

[117] William Eamon, *Science and the Secrets of Nature: Books of Secrets in Medieval and Early Modern Culture* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1994), 270.
[118] Sheila Barker, "Cosimo I de' Medici and the Renaissance Sciences: 'To Measure and to See,'" in *A Companion to Cosimo I de' Medici*, ed. Alessio Assonitis and Henk Th. van Veen (Leiden: Brill, 2021), 520–80.
[119] Barker, 570–72.
[120] Barker, 562–63.
[121] ASF, Mediceo del Principato 219, fol. 253v-54r, 8 January 1564 (1563 in Florentine style), Cosimo I de' Medici to Cosimo Bartoli.
[122] ASF, Mediceo del Principato 2976, fol. 96v-97r, 26 January 1564 (1563 in Florentine style), Cosimo Bartoli to Cosimo I de' Medici.
[123] Giulio Lensi Orlandi, *Cosimo e Francesco de' Medici, alchimisti* (Firenze: Nardini, 1978), 92–97.

experiments, and discovered secret processes to replicate or melt certain materials.[124]

However, the Grand Dukes wanted to receive information and build technical know-how not only for the sake of pleasure but also to reinforce their power, advance state-building, and find technological solutions to political, military, and economic problems.[125] In addition to receiving information, books, specimens, and scientific instruments, they also aspired to lure inventors and skilled craftsmen to Tuscany because of the prosperity that new technologies might bring to the state. These would help them increase their prestige, improve military, technological and artistic processes, expand Tuscan productivity, and produce more financial profits.[126] Giovanni Botero describes this political strategy, adopted by many early modern states, with these words:

> The prince who wishes to render his city populous should therefore introduce every sort of industry and artifice, which will bring master craftsmen from other places. [He should] give them housing and comfort and take great ingenuity into account and esteem invention and those works which savor of the singular or the rare, rewarding perfection and excellence.[127]

Cosimo I, for instance, brought metallurgists and experienced workers from Germany and Austria to open silver mines in Versilia[128] and Flemish weavers to establish a

[124] Luciano Berti, *Il principe dello studiolo: Francesco I de' Medici e la fine del Rinascimento fiorentino* (Firenze: Editrice Edam, 1967), 51–59.
[125] Barker, "Cosimo I de' Medici and the Renaissance Sciences," 520, 570.
[126] Eamon, *Science and the Secrets of Nature*, 270–71; Giorgio Spini, "Il principato e il sistema degli stati europei," in *Firenze e la Toscana dei Medici nell'Europa del '500. Atti del Congresso tenuto a Firenze nel 1980*, vol. I (Firenze: Olschki, 1983), 185.
[127] Giovanni Botero, *Della ragion di stato con tre libri delle cause della grandezza delle città*, ed. Luigi Firpo (Torino: UTET, 1948), 249: "Deve dunque il prencipe, che vuole render popolosa la sua città, introdurvi ogni sorte d'industria e d'artificio, il che farà e col condurre artefici eccellenti da' paesi altrui e dar loro ricapito e commodità conveniente, e col tener conto de' belli ingegni e stimare l'invenzioni e le opere che hanno del signolare o del raro, e propor premi alla perdezione ed all'eccelenza"; translation from Carlo Marco Belfanti, "Guilds, Patents, and the Circulation of Technical Knowledge: Northern Italy during the Early Modern Age," *Technology and Culture* 45, no. 3 (2004): 577.
[128] Magda Fabretti and Anna Guidarelli, "Ricerche sulle iniziative dei Medici nel campo minerario da Cosimo I a Ferdinando I," in *Potere centrale e strutture periferiche nella Toscana del '500*, ed. Giorgio Spini (Firenze: Olschki, 1980), 145–49.

tapestry production in Florence.[129] In the arms industry, Cosimo I and Francesco I tried to attract arms and armour makers from Brescia and Milan to Tuscany, entrusting the negotiations to their agents there.[130] The recruitment of specialised craftsmen, however, was often unwelcomed by the government of departure, as in the case of the Republic of Venice, which hindered the movement of Brescian workers to Tuscany.[131] Also from the Serenissima, the Medici were keen to attract Murano glassmakers to create luxury glass workshops in Tuscany. Despite the steep fines and severe penalties imposed by the Venetian Republic, several glassworkers arrived in Florence,[132] also thanks to Cosimo Bartoli, who, among many other duties, was in charge of searching for and luring these skilled craftsmen during his ten-year stay in Venice.[133]

From the Grand Dukes' perspective, Venice would have seemed like a useful reservoir of inventors and inventions. This high concentration was not accidental there. Venice was very keen on attracting many individuals with outstanding technical and intellectual skills and a significant number of skilled craftsmen.[134] The Venetian Republic was the first state in Europe to grant privileges to those who presented an invention. In 1474, in fact, the Senate issued a patent law that protected new inventions for ten years within the Venetian domain and regulated the awarding of patents when the conditions of novelty, ingenuity, and utility were met.[135] The text of

[129] Adelson Candace, "Cosimo I de' Medici and the Foundation of Tapestry Production in Florence," in *Firenze e La Toscana Dei Medici Nell'Europa Del '500. Atti Del Congresso Tenuto a Firenze Nel 1980*, vol. III (Firenze: Olschki, 1983), 904–9.
[130] Maurizio Arfaioli, "L'industria armiera bresciana e il principato mediceo attraverso la lente dell'archivio Mediceo del Principato (XVI sec.)," in *Heavy Metal: acciaio, oro e polvere da sparo al Museo Marzoli*, ed. Marco Merlo (Milano: Skira, 2022), 231.
[131] Arfaioli, 227.
[132] W. Patrick McCray, "Creating Networks of Skill: Technology Transfer and the Glass Industry in Venice," *Journal of European Economic History* 28, no. 2 (1999): 313–16.
[133] Marco Dezzi Bardeschi, "La Toscana Medicea, Venezia e le Corti dell'Italia Settentrionale," in *Firenze e la Toscana dei Medici nell'Europa del Cinquecento. Catalogo della Mostra tenuta a Firenze nel 1980*, vol. 3 (Milano: Electa, 1980), 264–66; Luca Molà, "Stato e impero: privilegi per l'introduzione di nuove arti e brevetti," in *Il Rinascimento italiano e l'Europa*, ed. Philippe Braunstein and Luca Molà, vol. III Produzione e tecniche (Treviso: Fondazione Cassamarca - Angelo Colla Editore, 2007), 539–40.
[134] Belfanti, "Guilds, Patents, and the Circulation of Technical Knowledge," 577.
[135] Luca Molà, "Il mercato delle innovazioni nell'Italia del Rinascimento," in *Le technicien dans la cité en Europe occidentale, 1250-1650*, ed. Pierre Monnet and Mathieu Arnoux (Roma: École française de Rome, 2004), 215; Stefano Comino, Alberto Galasso, and Clara Graziano, "Market Power and Patent Strategies: Evidence from Renaissance Venice," *The Journal of Industrial Economics* 68, no. 2 (2020): 227, https://doi.org/10.1111/joie.12223.

the law begins by describing the Venetian technological scene: "There are in this city, and also come here temporarily due to its greatness and goodness, men from various places and very clever minds, capable of devising and inventing all manner of ingenious artifices."[136] It continues by emphasising the fact that if the state had protected the works of inventors, they would have further sharpened their minds and made more inventions with utility and benefit to the Republic.[137] The patent law had a real impact on the market and succeeded in stimulating inventions and attracting inventors to Venice. [138] Suffice it to say that, from 1474 to 1600, 640 patents were granted by the Venetian Senate,[139] but the proposals received were probably well over a thousand.[140] It definitely became a city that the Medici wanted to monitor and be informed about, among other reasons, because of the technological innovations and expertise circulating there.

Cosimo Bartoli appears to have been ideally suited for the role of liaison between Florence and Venice in the field of technology, considering his background and interests.[141] Long before he undertook the Accademia Fiorentina's translation program in scientific texts, he demonstrated an interest in the interconnections between architecture, engineering, construction, and mechanics.[142] Already in 1537, he demonstrated his interest in making scientific knowledge accessible in a spoken and current language as a fundamental advance in its dissemination, when he translated Albrecht Dürer's work on geometry, *Unterweisung der Messung*. The translation survives in an autograph manuscript, now in the Library of the Academy of

[136] Association internationale pour la protection de la propriété intellectuelle, ed., *La legge veneziana sulle invenzioni/La loi venetienne sur les inventions/Venetian patent law. Scritti di diritto industriale per il suo 500° anniversario* (Milano: Giuffrè, 1974), V–VI: "El sono in questa Città, et anche ala zornada, per la grandeza et bontà soa concorre homeni da diverse bande, et accutissimi ingegni, apti ad excogitar et trovar varij ingegnosi artificij."
[137] Association internationale pour la protection de la propriété intellectuelle, 2–3.
[138] Luigi Sordelli, "Intérêt social et progrès technique dans la «Parte» venitienne du 19 Mars 1474 sur les privilèges aux inventeurs," in *La legge veneziana sulle invenzioni/La loi venetienne sur les inventions/Venetian patent law. Scritti di diritto industriale per il suo 500° anniversario*, ed. Association internationale pour la protection de la propriété intellectuelle (Milano: Giuffrè, 1974), 263.
[139] Comino, Galasso, and Graziano, "Market Power and Patent Strategies," 234.
[140] Luca Molà, *The Silk Industry of Renaissance Venice* (Baltimore and London: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2000), 189.
[141] Bryce, "Prolusione," XI.
[142] Bryce, X.

Sciences in Saint Petersburg, studied and edited by Giovanni Maria Fara.[143] Bartoli did not work on the original German text, published in 1525, but on the Latin translation done by Joachim Camerarius, in an edition printed in Paris.[144] The commissioners of the translation, as well as the dedicatees, were the hydraulic engineer and military architect Giovanni Camerini and the amateur musician Papi Tebaldi, who were interested in the practical applications of Dürer's treatise but were unable to read Latin.[145] With this translation, Bartoli anticipated the programme of the Accademia Fiorentina, offering access to Dürer's mathematical text to craftsmen, goldsmiths, sculptors, carvers, and anyone who needed to measure.[146] This translation also probably improved the scientific knowledge and training of engineers in the Medici's service; the dedicatee Camerini, for instance, was employed by Duke Cosimo I shortly after, in 1539.[147]

Bartoli's primary and most successful translation, *De Re Aedificatoria* by Leon Battista Alberti, was a self-imposed task. On the one hand, Bartoli had developed a cult of Alberti; on the other, the translation perfectly fitted the Accademia Fiorentina's knowledge dissemination programme.[148] In addition, the undertaking of this lengthy and challenging assignment can be attributed to Bartoli's desire to emerge as an intellectual in the eyes of the Duke and demonstrate the help he could offer to the state. He dedicated the first edition, printed in Florence in 1550,[149] to Duke Cosimo I, as might be expected. What is surprising is his reference there to Francesco Campana as the person who persuaded him to complete the translation when he was about to give up due to its difficulty.[150] Francesco Campana was the first secretary of the Duke and a member of the Accademia Fiorentina since 1541; he also devoted much effort

[143] Albrecht Dürer and Cosimo Bartoli, *Institutiones geometricae*, ed. Giovanni Maria Fara (Torino: Aragno, 2008).
[144] Dürer and Bartoli, 4. To do the translation, Bartoli used one of these three editions, all printed in Paris: 1532 (USTC No. 181404), 1534 (USTC No. 182082) or 1535 (USTC No. 182092).
[145] Dürer and Bartoli, 4–6.
[146] Giovanni Maria Fara, "Nuove considerazioni intorno a Cosimo Bartoli traduttore di Albrecht Dürer," in *Cosimo Bartoli (1503-1572): Atti del Convegno Internazionale, Mantova, 18-19 novembre - Firenze, 20 novembre 2009*, ed. Francesco Paolo Fiore and Daniela Lamberini (Firenze: Olschki, 2011), 130.
[147] Daniela Lamberini, *Il Sanmarino: Giovan Battista Belluzzi: architetto militare e trattatista del Cinquecento*, vol. I (Firenze: Olschki, 2007), 73.
[148] Bryce, *Cosimo Bartoli (1503-1572): The Career of a Florentine Polymath*, 185.
[149] Leon Battista Alberti, *L'architettura. Con la aggiunta de disegni*, trans. Cosimo Bartoli (Firenze: appresso Lorenzo Torrentino, 1550) (USTC No. 808305).
[150] Alberti, 4.

to reorganising the University of Pisa.[151] According to Aricò, however, Campana did not have any interest in architecture, and Bartoli's mention of Campana's support was more a declaration of political affiliation and a demonstration of his close ties with one of the most loyal men of Cosimo I.[152] Even the choice of *De Re Aedificatoria* was not casual: Bartoli was well aware of the Duke's interest in architecture, especially in the Forties, when Cosimo I was reaffirming his territorial control through the construction of several fortresses.[153] This translation, therefore, was a way for Bartoli to please the Duke and fit in with his cultural and political agenda.

Another relevant scientific text translated by Bartoli was the book *Protomathesis*, written by the French mathematician Oronce Finé. Published for the first time in Paris in 1532,[154] it was a mathematical compendium about arithmetic, geometry, cosmography, cartography, astrology, and timepieces, aiming to introduce the teaching of more practical branches of mathematics.[155] During the sixteenth century, Finé's mathematical treatises were widely disseminated and fostered the expansion of the mathematical arts in France. Moreover, they were introduced into the curricula of universities and Jesuit colleges around Europe to such an extent that Finé gained an international reputation, especially in England and Italy.[156] The *Protomathesis*, therefore, falls within Bartoli's editorial and intellectual programme: as he had done before with other books, he aimed to teach more practical scientific knowledge. To accomplish that and achieve greater diffusion, he used the Italian vernacular.

It remains uncertain when Bartoli completed the Oronce Finé translation. The Italian version was printed for the first time in Venice by Francesco De Franceschi, his

[151] Maria Gabriella Cruciani Troncarelli, "CAMPANA, Francesco," in *Dizionario Biografico degli Italiani*, 1974; Plaisance, *L'Accademia e il suo principe*, 105.
[152] Aricò, "Il De re aedificatoria secondo Cosimo Bartoli," 4–6.
[153] Aricò, 6–7.
[154] Oronce Finé, *Protomathesis nunc primum in lucem foeliciter emissum. Cuius index universalis, in versa pagina continetur* (Paris: impensis Gérard Morrhy et Jean Pierre, 1532) (USTC No. 138121).
[155] Angela Axworthy, "Oronce Fine and Sacrobosco: From the Edition of the Tractatus de Sphaera (1516) to the Cosmographia (1532)," in *De Sphaera of Johannes de Sacrobosco in the Early Modern Period: The Authors of the Commentaries*, ed. Matteo Valleriani (Cham: Springer, 2020), 187–89, https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-030-30833-9_8.
[156] Axworthy, 193.

customary Venetian printer, in 1587, fifteen years after his death.[157] Mancini, followed by Benini Clementi, states that the book was probably printed upon the request of Curzio Bartoli—officially Cosimo Bartoli's nephew but, in fact, his natural son—who also worked as his secretary in Venice for some years.[158] According to Bryce, on the other hand, Bartoli would have translated Finé's treatise at the end of his life and left the manuscript to his trusted printer when leaving Venice in 1572. Francesco De Franceschi, then, would have neglected the text since 1587, when he printed it, unfortunately, without giving any clue about its genesis in the dedication.[159] Another mystery is the mention of Bartoli's translation by Egnazio Danti, cosmographer and cartographer of Duke Cosimo I,[160] in 1569, eighteenth years before the publication of the book:

> Now, since I have always made an effort to be as brief as possible in the previous second part, in this third part, it should be sufficient for me to deal briefly with all the rules by which any measurement can be made, leaving aside everything that could be said at greater length, which Your Illustrious Lordship (if it pleases you) may see extensively in Oronce's Geometry, whose book has been successfully translated into our language by the Magnificent Messer Cosimo Bartoli.[161]

It is unclear whether Danti was referring to *Del modo di misurare le distanze*, a treatise written by Bartoli and published in 1564, whose most important source was the

[157] Oronce Finé, *Opere Divise in Cinque Parti; Aritmetica, Geometria, Cosmografia, e Oriuoli, et Gli Specchi*, trans. Cosimo Bartoli and Ercole Bottrigari (Venezia: presso Francesco De Franceschi, 1587) (USTC No. 829603).
[158] Mancini, "COSIMO BARTOLI (1503-1572)," 117; Benini Clementi, "Annotazioni sul soggiorno veneziano di Cosimo Bartoli," 410. Mancini, however, does not give any reference to support this thesis. Befani states that Curzio died in 1577, but I am unsure of his reliability, as he incorrectly records the year of Cosimo Bartoli's death as 1574 instead of 1572: Giovanni Battista Befani, *Memorie storiche dell'antichissima Basilica di San Giovanni Battista di Firenze* (Tip. della Pia Casa di Patronato, 1884), 216.
[159] Bryce, *Cosimo Bartoli (1503-1572): The Career of a Florentine Polymath*, 178.
[160] Francesco Paolo Fiore, "DANTI, Egnazio," in *Dizionario Biografico degli Italiani*, 1986.
[161] Egnazio Danti, *Trattato dell'uso et della fabbrica dell'astrolabio. Di f. Egnatio Danti dell'Or. di s. Domenico. Con l'aggiunta del planisferio del Roias* (Firenze: appresso haer. Bernardo I Giunta, 1569), 123 (USTC No. 825459): "Hora, perchè io mi son sempre impegnato, nella precedente seconda parte di essere più breve che sia stato possibile, però in questa terza ancora, mi basterà trattare brevemente tutte le regole mediante le quali si possa fare qual si voglia misura, lassando adietro tutto quello, che circa ciò lungamente si potria dire: il che diffusamente Vostra Signoria Illustrissima (piacendoli) potrà vedere nella Geometria di Orontio, il cui libro dal Magnifico Messer Cosimo Bartoli è stato felicemente in questa nostra lingua tradotto."

Protomathesis of Finé, as acknowledged by Bartoli himself,[162] or if he became aware of Bartoli's still unpublished translation in some ways, possibly through Vasari or during Bartoli's trip to Florence in 1568.[163] It is not unlikely to assume that Bartoli had finished the translation by 1568-1569, considering that it had to be completed in 1572, the year of his death. Nevertheless, it is worth noting the appraisal of his contemporaries for his work as a translator and disseminator of scientific practical knowledge.

Bartoli's treatise on mensuration, *Del modo di misurare le distanze*, printed by Francesco De Franceschi in 1564, was not the work of an innovative mathematician. The treatise lacked any originality, being mainly a compilation of sections written by other mathematicians, astronomers, geographers, cartographers, and architects to which he added calculations, examples, tables, and diagrams.[164] On the verso of the title page, Bartoli himself listed his sources: Oronce Finé, Albrecht Dürer, Archimedes, Euclid, Gemma Frisius, Juan de Rojas Sarmiento, Johannes Stöffler, Leon Battista Alberti, Georg von Peuerbach, Peter Apian, Ptolemy, Erasmus Ciolek Witelo, and Vitruvius.[165] The importance of the treatise, however, lies in having synthesised the knowledge of contemporary European authors on the subject of measurement and having translated it from Latin into Florentine. It was designed to address both the intellectuals and a public without a humanistic education, such as engineers and surveyors, who would have used it as a handbook to take measurements during their work.[166] Beyond its practical application, however, the treatise aimed to be a tribute to Cosimo I's policy of territorial expansion and control[167] and to benefit the state,

[162] Cosimo Bartoli, *Del modo di misurare le distantie, le superficie, i corpi, le piante, le provincie, le prospettiue, & tutte le altre cose terrene, che possono occorrere a gli uomini, secondo le vere regole d'Euclide, & de gli altri più lodati scrittori* (Venezia: per Francesco De Franceschi, 1564) (USTC No. 812411).
[163] Judith Bryce, "Cosimo Bartoli's Del Modo Di Misurare Le Distanze (1564): A Reappraisal of His Sources," *Annali Dell'Istituto e Museo Di Storia Della Scienza Di Firenze* 5, no. 2 (1980): 20–22, https://doi.org/10.1163/221058780X00340.
[164] Bryce, 20.
[165] Bartoli, *Del modo di misurare le distantie*, fol. A2v.
[166] Bryce, "Cosimo Bartoli's Del Modo Di Misurare Le Distanze," 29–31.
[167] Filippo Camerota, "Il distanziometro di Baldassarre Lanci: prospettiva e cartografia militare alla corte dei Medici," in *Musa Musaei. Studies on Scientific Instruments and Collections in Honour of Mara Miniati*, ed. Paolo Galluzzi, Marco Beretta, and Carlo Triarico (Firenze: Olschki, 2003), 83.

training the professionals in the Duke's service, as the translation of *De Re Aedificatoria* had done before.

On March 2, 1564, Bartoli sent a copy of his freshly printed book to Cosimo I, announcing that it had been enriched with many more demonstrations than the manuscript version already in the hands of the Duke.[168] He was referring to the autograph presentation copy of the treatise he donated to Cosimo I in 1559.[169] The *Del modo di misurare le distanze* manuscript gift was undoubtedly an attempt by Bartoli to maintain the Duke's favour. The competence in applied science and technology he demonstrated there was likely to be appreciated, especially considering that Duke Cosimo was keenly interested in Venetian technology. The manuscript's dedicatory letter, addressed to Cosimo I, ends with this request from Bartoli: "May you remember me sometimes, as your most faithful and no less devoted servant. May our Lord God always grant you whatever you most desire."[170] According to Barker, the presentation of this manual to the Duke "instigated his successful secretarial career at the Medici court."[171] Was it not a coincidence that shortly afterwards, in 1560, Bartoli received his first appointment as *caudatario* in the household of Cardinal Giovanni de' Medici, and two years later, he was sent to Venice?[172] With a long-term view, it is clear that, since the Accademia Fiorentina, he had undertaken a series of activities to make himself stand out in the eyes of the Duke.

Another work showing Bartoli's competence in understanding the inventions circulating in Venice and grasping their secrets is the unfinished manuscript entitled *Raccolta di varie macchine e disegni di vasi antichi*, originally intended as a treatise on applied mechanics.[173] Here are drawings and descriptions of several machines and engines for civil use. Daniela Lamberini was the first to identify the manuscript's

[168] ASF, Mediceo del Principato 2976, fol. 106r, 2 March 1564 (1563 in Florentine style), Cosimo Bartoli to Cosimo I de' Medici.
[169] Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana, Plut. 30.27. The manuscript has been digitised and is available here: https://tecabml.contentdm.oclc.org/digital/collection/plutei/id/688148/.
[170], fol. 3v: "Si degni alcuna volta di ricordarsi di me, come di fedelissimo, non men che affezionatissimo Servo di quella, alla quale nostro Signore Dio conceda sempre quel che più desidera."
[171] Barker, "Cosimo I de' Medici and the Renaissance Sciences," 542.
[172] Bryce, *Cosimo Bartoli (1503-1572): The Career of a Florentine Polymath*, 73–76.
[173] BNCF, Palatino, E.B.16.5/II striscia 1417. The manuscript has been digitised and is available here: https://archive.org/details/palatino-e.-b.-16.5-vol.-ii-images.

author with Cosimo Bartoli, who drew the drawings and subsequently wrote the texts.[174] The manuscript combines modern and ancient examples of various engines studied in books or seen in person by Bartoli on several occasions over the years between Florence, Venice, and Padua. According to Lamberini, although it was the result of Bartoli's research over the years, the manuscript was drafted around 1567-1568 and possibly brought to Florence by Bartoli in 1568, the only time he visited Florence during the Venetian years due to the death of his brother Piero. Once in Florence, the book may have sparked the interest of Prince Francesco de' Medici, who commissioned Bernardo Puccini to produce a fine copy of it.[175]

The second part of the manuscript, dedicated to hydraulic and water-related machines, gives a sampling of the kinds of technological information Bartoli was providing to the Medici to satisfy their curiosity about Venetian novelties in this sector.[176] Considering the role of the Venetian Republic as one of the most vibrant centres in Europe during the sixteenth century, not only for trade and information, but also for artistic and technological culture, he had much to report. He could have observed the hydraulic machines during his travels to Padua, where he went for spa treatments because of his poor health.[177] In Venice, he likely walked over the Rialto Bridge almost daily. At the time, it was the only bridge that crossed the Canal Grande and the only way to reach Piazza San Marco from his house, located near the church of San Pantaleone, in the *sestiere* of Dorsoduro or Santa Croce.[178] The Rialto market

[174] Daniela Lamberini, "La fortuna della macchine senesi nel Cinquecento," in *Prima di Leonardo: cultura delle macchine a Siena nel Rinascimento*, ed. Paolo Galluzzi (Milano: Electa, 1991), 143; Daniela Lamberini, "'Sic virtus'. Il codice di macchine di Cosimo Bartoli," in *Cosimo Bartoli (1503-1572): Atti del Convegno Internazionale, Mantova, 18-19 novembre - Firenze, 20 novembre 2009*, ed. Francesco Paolo Fiore and Daniela Lamberini (Firenze: Olschki, 2011), 148–58; Vanni Bramanti, "Cosimo Bartoli (Firenze 1503-1572)," in *Autografi dei letterati italiani. Il Cinquecento*, ed. Matteo Motolese, Paolo Procaccioli, and Emilio Russo, vol. II (Roma: Salerno Editrice, 2013), 19.
[175] Lamberini, "'Sic virtus'. Il codice di macchine di Cosimo Bartoli," 209–10; in contrast to Lamberini, Scaglia dates the manuscript to 1548-1556: Gustina Scaglia, *Francesco Di Giorgio: Checklist and History of Manuscripts and Drawings in Autographs and Copies from ca. 1470 to 1687 and Renewed Copies (1764-1839)* (Bethlehem and London: Lehigh University Press and Associated University Presses, 1992), 28, 78–83.
[176] Lamberini, "'Sic virtus'. Il codice di macchine di Cosimo Bartoli," 173.
[177] Bryce, *Cosimo Bartoli (1503-1572): The Career of a Florentine Polymath*, 154–55.
[178] ASF, Mediceo del Principato 2976, fol. 2r, 7 January 1563 (1562 in Florentine style), Cosimo Bartoli to Cosimo I de' Medici; ASF, Mediceo del Principato 2979, fol. 223v, 17 September 1569, Cosimo Bartoli to Francesco de' Medici; Bryce, 145.

was the economic, commercial, and financial heart of the city.[179] Here, merchants, goods, and news circulated, while inventors and engineers showcased their creations. And in this exact area was located the building of the *Provveditori di Comun*, which housed the models of the machines applying for patents.[180] As Lamberini suggests, Bartoli may have seen some models there and taken inspiration from them to draw the machines in the manuscript.[181]

What Bartoli saw and learned not only ended up in the manuscript but was also shared with his masters in Florence. At fol. 24r, he drew and described a pump called "macchina di Treviso" (Treviso machine) used to fortify Treviso around fifty years earlier.[182] In 1567, he also sent a scale model of this machine to Florence, in an attempt to address the issues he had heard the engineers were encountering during the construction of Ponte Santa Trinita. In the letter to Prince Francesco de' Medici that accompanied the model, he described in great detail the model and how the pump should be built:

> Having heard in the past days how much trouble Your Highness's ministers have had in extracting water for the foundations of the bridge, and having heard of an instrument that these Gentlemen have in Treviso, which is very useful and that extracts a great amount of water with ease, it seemed appropriate to me to make a model of it and send it to Your Highness, so that you can use it either now or the future, should the need arise. I warn Your Highness, when opening the box, to first remove the board with the name of the instrument written on it, and then remove two small pins with hooks that hold the instrument in place in the box, and then remove the instrument, and to assemble it according to the letters written on it. Make sure that all the brass parts should be made of iron, and that between the wheel and the levers, there is a platform over which only 8 men stand, 2 per lever. Two others stand at the handle on the opposite side. This instrument draws more

[179] Ioanna Iordanou, "What News on the Rialto? The Trade of Information and Early Modern Venice's Centralized Intelligence Organization," *Intelligence and National Security* 31, no. 3 (2016): 312, https://doi.org/10.1080/02684527.2015.1041712.
[180] Molà, "Il mercato delle innovazioni nell'Italia del Rinascimento," 240; Molà, "Stato e impero: privilegi per l'introduzione di nuove arti e brevetti," 556 note 60.
[181] Lamberini, "'Sic virtus'. Il codice di macchine di Cosimo Bartoli," 185.
[182] Lamberini, 203–6.

> water than 12 large pumps, but it is necessary to ensure that the axes of the chain go as straight as possible into the lower case where the water rises, and that the said case is well sealed with pitch.[183]

This is yet another testimony regarding Bartoli's curious and multifaceted personality and great interest in scientific and technological fields. No doubt, his remarkable intellectual and technical skills, at least in understanding the scope and mechanism of innovations and technologies, made him a qualified candidate for the role of the Florentine agent in Venice.

2.4 Cosimo Bartoli's Library

What books did Bartoli read, or possess, or both? The library of an intellectual is as fundamental as his productivity for framing and understanding his background, reading habits, and, ultimately, his interests. It also provides an understanding of the cultural context in which he lived.[184] However, before analysing an early modern book collection, the main barrier lies in its reconstruction. In the lucky case, a catalogue or inventory of the library, recording what was owned at a specific time, was compiled, and has been preserved to this day. In the worst scenario, the scholar has to trace copies bearing ownership marks of a specific possessor among today's public and

[183] ASF, Mediceo del Principato 2978, fol. 240v, 6 September 1567, Cosimo Bartoli to Francesco de' Medici: "Havendo a dì passati inteso quanto costì hanno travagliato i ministri di Vostra Altezza nel cavar la acqua nel fondar del ponte et havendo io inteso di uno instrumento che hanno questi Signori a Traviso molto utile et che cava un mondo di acqua con facilità mi è parso farne fare modello et mandarlo a Vostra Altezza accioché o per hora o per altro tempo bisognandole ella se ne possa valere. Avertisco Vostra Alteza nel aprir la cassetta di far levar prima la asse dove è scritto il nome di quella, et di poi 2 punteletti apuntati a schiancio che tengon fermo detto Instrumento in detta cassa et poi si cavi detto strumento, et si cometta insieme secondo le lettere che vi sono contrasegnate et avertiscasci che tutto lo ottone che vi è deve essere di ferro et che infra la ruota et le manovelle ha da esser un palco sopra del quale stanno solo 8 huomini 2 per manovella. Et altri duoi ne stanno al manico dalla altra banda. Et cava questo Instrumento più acqua che non fanno 12 trombe ben grosse ma bisogna avertire che le asse della catena vadino più giuste che si può nella cassa di sotto per donde ha a salire la acqua et che detta Cassa ciò la coperta sia bene impeciata." The link between the model mentioned in the letter and the drawing in the manuscript was identified by Lamberini, 203–6.

[184] Eugenio Canone, "Nota introduttiva. Le biblioteche private di eruditi, filosofi e scienziati dell'età moderna," in *Bibliothecae selectae: da Cusano a Leopardi*, ed. Eugenio Canone (Firenze: Olschki, 1993), X–XI.

private libraries: an arduous methodology that seeks to reconstruct backwards what has been scattered for centuries.[185]

No research has been conducted on Bartoli's library, but while doing this, I discovered some books from his library and thought it would be interesting to talk about them here. The only traces to identify his books are the ownership inscriptions with which he signed his copies. Usually, he wrote his name in Italian or Latin, followed by a number, which leads me to suppose that at some point, he had compiled an inventory of his books to which the numbers correspond. However, at the time of writing, this likely manuscript inventory has not been found. Therefore, the reconstruction of Bartoli's book collection mainly relies on finding libraries' catalogues that include copy-specific information[186] and on the serendipitous discovery of books with his possession marks.

So far, two manuscripts and eleven printed books that belonged to his library have been identified:

Manuscripts:[187]

1. Lorenzo Ghiberti, [*Commentarii*]
   Mid XV century
   Scribe: not identified
   Location: BNCF, Fondo Nazionale, II.I.333

[185] Angela Nuovo, "Umanesimo e ricerca scientifica nelle biblioteche private del Regno nel Cinquecento," in *Biblioteche nel Regno fra Tre e Cinquecento. Atti del convegno di studi Bari, 6-7 febbraio 2008*, ed. Carla Corfiati and Mauro de Nichilo (Lecce: Pensa Multimedia, 2009), 210.
[186] In the last two decades, a great emphasis has been developed on the material evidence of early modern books, to study the history of individual copies, after they left the printing press. As a consequence, printed and online catalogues of rare books collections have begun to include not only the bibliographic description, but also specific-copy provenance data. Databases have been designed to integrate the cataloguing and searching of the material evidence of early printed books, like the Material Evidence in Incunabola (MEI) database, developed within the 15cBOOKTRADE Project. See: Cristina Dondi and Alessandro Ledda, "Material Evidence in Incunabula Http://Incunabula.Cerl.Org," *La Bibliofilía* 113, no. 3 (2011): 375–82; Cristina Dondi, "Introduction: The 15cBOOKTRADE Project and the Study of Incunabula as Historical Sources," in *Printing R-Evolution and Society 1450-1500*, ed. Cristina Dondi (Venice: Edizioni Ca' Foscari, 2020), 21–54, https://doi.org/10.30687/978-88-6969-332-8/003.
[187] For each manuscript, the author, title, date, scribe, location, and Bartoli's ownership inscription are listed.

Ownership inscription (fol. 1r): Di messer Cosimo di matteo bartoli n° 65[188]

2. Bonaccorso Ghiberti, [*Zibaldone*]
   Late XV-early XVI century
   Scribe: Bonaccorso Ghiberti, autograph
   Location: BNCF, Banco Rari, 228
   Ownership inscription (fol. 1r): Questo libro fu donato da Vectorio ghiberti a matteo di Cosimo bartoli il qual morto tocchò a messer Cosimo suo figliolo nelle divise di noi fratelli et figluoli di matteo decto.[189]

He also owned a book of animal drawings by Piero di Cosimo[190] that he donated to Cosimo I de' Medici before 1550, as the gift is mentioned in the first edition of Vasari's *Vite*.[191] Unfortunately, art historians consider this book of drawings as lost or still unidentified.[192]

[188] Description of the manuscript on Manus Online, the online database of the manuscripts held in Italian libraries: https://manus.iccu.sbn.it/cnmd/0000290652. According to Lorenzo Bartoli, the manuscript was in Bartoli's hand since at least the early 1540s, because of the similar terminology used both by Ghiberti and by Bartoli in their dissertation on the eyes: see Lorenzo Ghiberti, *I commentarii (Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale di Firenze, II, I, 333)*, ed. Lorenzo Bartoli (Firenze: Giunti, 1998), 10. Vasari consulted this manuscript that belonged to Cosimo Bartoli to draw information for writing the Vita of Lorenzo Ghiberti: see Giorgio Vasari, *Le Vite de' più celebri architetti, pittori, et scultori italiani, da Cimabue insimo a' tempi nostri. Nell'edizione per i tipi di Lorenzo Torrentino Firenze 1550*, ed. Luciano Bellosi and Aldo Rossi, vol. I (Torino: Einaudi, 2015), 243 note 5. On the verso of the fourth front flyleaf, a nineteenth century hand wrote: "Nella Libreria Magliabechiana vi è un altro Codice più piccolo contenente vari sforzi di disegni, e ricordi di machine, e altro del Ghiberti, che pure è stato posseduto dal predetto Bartoli." The mentioned manuscript has not yet been identified.
[189] Description of the manuscript on Manus Online: https://manus.iccu.sbn.it/cnmd/0000258784.
[190] Davis Charles, "Cosimo Bartoli and the Portal of Sant'Apollonia by Michelangelo," *Mitteilungen Des Kunsthistorischen Institutes in Florenz* 19, no. 2 (1975): 264.
[191] Giorgio Vasari, *Le Vite de' più celebri architetti, pittori, et scultori italiani, da Cimabue insimo a' tempi nostri. Nell'edizione per i tipi di Lorenzo Torrentino Firenze 1550*, ed. Luciano Bellosi and Aldo Rossi, vol. II (Torino: Einaudi, 2015), 568.
[192] Geronimus Dennis, *Piero Di Cosimo. Visions Beautiful and Strange* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2006), 287.

Printed books:[193]

1. Laertius Diogenes, *Vitae et sententiae philosophorum* (translated by Ambrogio Traversari)
   Venice: Nicolaus Jenson, 1475
   Format: Folio
   USTC No. 995292
   Location: BNCF, Magl. B.4.31
   Ownership inscription (fol. [a]1r): Di messer Cosimo bartoli n° xii [194]

2. Leonardo Bruni, *Historiae Florentini populi* [Italian] (translated by Donato Acciauoli)
   Venice: Jacobus Rubeus, 1476
   Format: Folio
   USTC No. 996561
   Location: BNCF, P.2.4 (I)
   Ownership inscription (fol. a2r): Di Messer Cosimo bartholi n° 36 [195]

   Bound together with:
   Poggio Bracciolini, *Historia Florentina* [Italian] (translated by Jacopo di Poggio)
   Venice: Jacobus Rubeus, 1476
   Format: Folio
   USTC No. 991877
   Location: BNCF, P.2.4 (II)[196]

[193] For each printed book, the author, title, place, publisher, year, format, Universal Short Title Catalogue (USTC) Number, location, and Bartoli's ownership inscription are listed. For my search for volumes owned by Bartoli, I mainly relied on the rare book owners' catalogues and indexes listed in Flavia Bruni, "Per un indice condiviso di possessori e provenienze in SBN: una prospettiva concreta," *AIB studi* 60, no. 2 (2020), https://doi.org/10.2426/aibstudi-12262.
[194] Piero Scapecchi, ed., *Catalogo degli incunaboli della Biblioteca nazionale centrale di Firenze* (Firenze: Biblioteca nazionale centrale di Firenze; Nerbini, 2021), 199.
[195] Scapecchi, 155–56.
[196] Scapecchi, 342.

3. Guido de Monte Rocherii, *Manipulus curatorum*
   Venice: Simon Bevilaqua, 1495
   Format: In-Quarto
   USTC No. 994450
   Location: BNCF, Magl. A.7.20
   Ownership inscription (fol. a1r): Cosme mattei de bartolis n° 85 [197]

4. Marcus Vitruvius Pollio, *Vitruvius iterum et Frontinus a Iocundo revisi repurgatique quantum ex collatione licuit*
   Florence: Filippo I Giunta, 1513
   Format: In-Octavo
   USTC No. 863682
   Location: private collection
   Ownership inscription (fol. A1r): Di Messer Cosimo Bartoli n° 164[198]

5. Leonardo Bruni, *Libro della guerra de Ghotti composto da misser Leonardo Aretino in lingua latina et fatto vulgare da Lodovico Petroni cavaliere senese nuovamente stampato*
   Florence: Firenze: heirs of Filippo I Giunta, 1526
   Format: In-Octavo.
   USTC No. 817002
   Location: private collection
   Ownership inscription (fol. A1r): Di Messer Cosimo bartoli n° 138[?][199]

6. Dictys Cretensis, *Della guerra troiana. Darete Frigio della rovina troiana. Declamatione di Libanio Sofista* […]
   Venice: Vincenzo Valgrisi, 1543

[197] Scapecchi, 233.
[198] Sold by Finarte-Minerva Auction, in the Auction 127, July 7-8, 2016. For more information, see Giovanni Mazzaferro, "Libri rari e belle scoperte: il De Architectura di Vitruvio postillato da Cosimo Bartoli," *Letteratura artistica Cross-cultural Studies in Art History Sources* (blog), September 1, 2017, https://perma.cc/6T26-DG37.
[199] I became aware of the existence of this book thanks to an email exchange with the collector who owns it.

Format: In-Octavo
USTC No. 826726
Location: Biblioteca Universitaria di Padova, B.61.b.254.1
Ownership inscription (fol. *1r): N 2̄8̄8̄. Di messer Cosimo di matteo bartoli

Bound together with:
Michele Riccio, *De re di Francia libri III. De re d'Ispagna, libri III. De re di Gierusalem, liber I* […] (translated by Francesco Sansovino)
Venice: Vincenzo Valgrisi, 1543
Format: In-Octavo
USTC No. 852469

Guillaume Postel, *Libro de magistrati de gli atheniesi* (translated by Francesco Sansovino)
Venice: Baldassarre Costantini, 1543
Format: In-Octavo
USTC No. 851123

Gasparo Contarini, *La republica, e i magistrati di Vinegia*
Venice: Girolamo Scoto, 1544
Format: In-Octavo
USTC No. 823774

7. Andrea Dazzi, *Poemata*
   Florence: Lorenzo Torrentino, 1549
   Format: In-Octavo
   USTC No. 825599
   Location: Biblioteca Universitaria di Padova, BOT.3.202
   Ownership inscription (fol. a1r): Cosmę Mathei de Bartolis 304

A copy of the *Divina Commedia* with the comment of Cristoforo Landino, printed in Florence in 1481 by Niccolò di Lorenzo della Magna, raises some doubts.[200] It was owned by the Bartoli family of Santa Maria Novella, as proved by their coat of arms illuminated on fol. a1r. On fol. <i>r a sixteenth-century humanistic hand wrote an epitaph to Dante: the hand is similar to Cosimo Bartoli's clear and elegant handwriting, but the absence of his ownership inscription, which is present in the other books of his library, prevents a certain attribution.

The two manuscripts and the eleven printed books bound in seven volumes show the breadth of Bartoli's library, ranging from philosophy to history, religion, architecture, art, and poetry. Since the books were numbered by Bartoli himself and the highest number among the identified volumes is 304, I can infer that Bartoli's library contained at least 304 volumes. It might be considered a remarkable library for an agent, but to better understand its scope, it is necessary to compare it with other collections of the same period.

The sixteenth century witnessed a proliferation of private libraries, partly due to more affordable prices of printed books compared to manuscripts and incunabula and a more satisfactory organisation of the book trade.[201] Most scholarly attention has focused on large private libraries of illustrious collectors, like the editor Aldus Manutius the Younger, who boasted a library of more than 13,000 editions,[202] or Gian Vincenzo Pinelli, erudite and member of the Republic of Letters, who assembled in Padua a collection of 10,000 printed books[203] and more than 800 manuscripts.[204] Bartoli's library of at least 304 volumes is not comparable with those extensive collections, and it makes more sense to measure it against the small and medium domestic libraries of the urban middle class.

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[200] USTC No. 995474, Location: Biblioteca Centrale della Regione Siciliana "Alberto Bombace", Inc. 134. A description of this incunable is found on the Material Evidence in Incunabula (MEI) database: https://data.cerl.org/mei/02141444.
[201] Angela Nuovo, "Private Libraries in Sixteenth-Century Italy," in *Early Printed Books as Material Objects*, ed. Bettina Wagner (Proceeding of the Conference Organized by the IFLA Rare Books and Manuscripts Section Munich, 19-21 August 2009, Berlin and New York: De Gruyter Saur, 2010), 234–35.
[202] Alfredo Serrai, *La biblioteca di Aldo Manuzio il Giovane* (Milano: Sylvestre Bonnard, 2007), 143.
[203] Nuovo, "Umanesimo e ricerca scientifica nelle biblioteche private del Regno nel Cinquecento," 222.
[204] Marcella Grendler, "A Greek Collection in Padua: The Library of Gian Vincenzo Pinelli (1535-1601)," *Renaissance Quarterly* 33, no. 3 (1980): 392, https://doi.org/10.2307/2860913.

Christian Bec's study on the libraries owned by Florentines between the fifteenth and the early seventeenth centuries offers a good frame of comparison, especially because Bec analyses lists of books belonging to all social classes. Bec's sources are the estate inventories from the *Magistrato de' Pupilli*, the city officials responsible for the guardianship of orphans when the head of the family had died intestate or left their guardianship to the collectivity.[205] Bec applies a quantitative method and analyses 582 inventories ranging between 1413 and 1608, regarding a total of 10,574 volumes owned by Florentines. It reveals the exceptional cultural level of Renaissance Florence, where small- and medium-sized book collections were owned by artisans, merchants, bourgeois, lawyers, and notaries.[206]

Going into more detail in the time in which Bartoli lived, between 1531 and 1569, the small libraries, composed of less than 20 volumes, were 78.63%; the medium libraries, collecting between 21 and 100 volumes, attested to 19.44%, while the big libraries, with more than 100 volumes, were only 1.94% of the total.[207] In this period, no inventory analysed by Bec lists more than 300 volumes.[208] It is necessary to wait until the end of the sixteenth century and the beginning of the seventeenth century to see the appearance of libraries with more than 300 volumes, which between 1571 and 1608 amounted to 3.7%.[209] In this scenario, Bartoli's library falls under the definition of a big library, and its size remains a rarity in the Florentine panorama, although Bec's study shows a rise in the number of volumes in private libraries during the sixteenth century thanks to the diffusion of the printing press.[210] In summary, Bartoli belonged to the Florentine intellectual elite, who owned libraries with more than 300 volumes.

To understand the value of Bartoli's book collection, it is also worth comparing it with the libraries of other intellectuals and eminent figures of his time. Luca Gaurico, for instance, was a renowned scholar, astronomer, astrologer, mathematician, and editor of astronomical and mathematical texts, most known for his annual

[205] Christian Bec, "I libri dei Fiorentini (1413–1608) (Ipotesi e proposte)," *Lettere Italiane* 31, no. 4 (1979): 506.
[206] Christian Bec, *Les livres des Florentins, 1413–1608* (Firenze: Olschki, 1984), 20.
[207] Bec, 53.
[208] Bec, 53.
[209] Bec, 65.
[210] Bec, 92.

prognostics and for having served Pope Paul III.[211] Before his death, he decided to leave his library to the church of Sant'Andrea in Gauro, his birthplace, for the benefit of anyone wishing to study. The library's catalogue was printed in Rome in 1557 and amounted to approximately 150 volumes:[212] it, hence, consisted of only half of the books owned by Bartoli. Moving on to Venice, the patrician Girolamo Ferro, a relevant figure both politically (he was the captain of Verona and the *bailo* of Constantinople) and culturally (he translated Cicero and Demosthenes), owned a library of 270 works at the time of his death, in 1562. According to Marino Zorzi, it was one of the most extensive patrician libraries in the sixteenth century.[213] In Venice, the ducal secretaries also had to be well-educated and cultured to perform their duties. Among three sixteenth-century surviving property inventories of ducal secretaries, Piero Bressan possessed the largest library, consisting of 154 titles.[214] All of these examples lead to the conclusion that Bartoli's library was a collection of respectable size, which should have played a significant role for him as an intellectual.

Little can be said on how Bartoli collected his library, except that some volumes were inherited from his father, as the ownership note on the *Zibaldone* of Bonaccorso Ghiberti proves, while some others came from the library of his friend and member of the Accademia Fiorentina, Giovanni Norchiati.[215]

Something more can be conjectured about his use of the library. Nuovo identifies three typologies of early modern private libraries, which are not mutually exclusive. In the first place, libraries were used as working tools by professionals, for instance, by jurists. On the other hand, the members of the aristocracy set up their libraries as an instrument to display their status. Finally, humanist intellectuals considered their book collections both as instruments of cultural identity and as

[211] Franco Bacchelli, "GAURICO, Luca," in *Dizionario Biografico Degli Italiani*, 1999.
[212] Dennis E. Rhodes, "An Unknown Library in South Italy in 1557," *Transactions of the Cambridge Bibliographical Society* 6, no. 2 (1973): 115–25.
[213] Marino Zorzi, "La circolazione del libro a Venezia nel Cinquecento: biblioteche private e pubbliche," *Ateneo Veneto* 177 (1990): 117–21.
[214] Zorzi, 122–23.
[215] The two volumes owned by Norchiati are: Diogenes Laertius, *Vitae et sententiae philosophorum* (translated by Ambrogio Traversari), BNCF, Magl. B.4.31; Guido de Monte Rocherii, *Manipulus curatorum*, BNCF, Magl. A.7.20.

necessary resources for their studies.[216] Bartoli's library falls under the first and the last categories. On the one hand, the *Manipulus curatorum* by Guido de Monte Rochen was the most common handbook to teach priests their pastoral obligations[217] and could have helped him in his ecclesiastical career as the provost of the Florentine Baptistry.[218] On the other hand, many books in his library are linked to his intellectual interests and the works he edited. Vitruvius's treatise, for instance, could have been a knowledge prerequisite essential for translating *De re aedificatoria* of Leon Battista Alberti.

However, what most represents Bartoli's intellectual work and his reading practices, among the volumes discovered so far, is the volume that binds together the 1476 edition of the *Historiae Florentini populi* by Leonardo Bruni and the 1476 edition of the *Historia Florentina* by Poggio Bracciolini, both in Italian translation.[219] Bartoli paginated the two editions and noted names, places, major events, and themes on the margins of the text throughout the volume. At the end, he also compiled a general index of all of his marginal reading notes, presenting them in alphabetical order with the corresponding page number. The twenty-page final index concerns mainly names of people, places, and events, but there are also some more general topics that must have caught his attention, for instance: the utility of history ("Notizia delle historie utile," "Historia quanto sia utile"); the difficulty of writing history ("Difficultà nello scrivere la hystoria"); the role of fortune ("Cedere alla fortuna non è biasimevole," "Fortuna potente ne fatti d'arme," "Non si dee molto fidar della fortuna"); how to cope with insults ("Ingiuria si sopporta più dal nimico che dal compagno," "Ingiurie grandi vincon ogni pazienza"); when advising a prince ("Non si può liberamente consigliare un Principe che abbia in odio la verità"). It is unknown when this book arrived in Bartoli's hands. It is also unknown when he compiled the index, although clearly he dedicated a considerable amount of time to composing it, also considering that his version is far more complete and more accurate than the table of contents of a later

[216] Nuovo, "Private Libraries in Sixteenth-Century Italy," 234.
[217] Antonio Gerace, "Il «Manipulus curatorum» di Guy de Montrochen: 250 anni di formazione sacerdotale in Europa. Parte I," *Cristianesimo nella storia*, no. 1 (2021): 61–85, https://doi.org/10.17395/100416.
[218] Bryce, *Cosimo Bartoli (1503-1572): The Career of a Florentine Polymath*, 37–40.
[219] Bruni Leonardo, *Historiae Florentini populi* [Italian] (translated by Donato Acciauoli), BNCF, P.2.4 (I); Bracciolini Poggio, *Historia Florentina* [Italian] (translated by Jacopo di Poggio), BNCF, P.2.4 (II).

edition printed in Venice in 1561.[220] Annotating books and producing indexes was a common practice for early modern-learned readers as a means to facilitate the finding and locating of specific passages in the book.[221] Also, in Bartoli's case, the index must have helped him navigate the text and retrieve information.

The library, in conclusion, represents the working tool of Bartoli as an intellectual, the part of his life he valued the most but complained about not having enough time to pursue in Venice because of the time-consuming tasks connected with his role as an agent.

This chapter has presented Bartoli from a new point of view, showing the reasons why Cosimo I appointed him as the Florentine agent in Venice. It has investigated his family's partisanship for the Medici, his culture, his theoretical knowledge and expertise, and his efforts to stand out in the eyes of the Duke. The next chapter will shift focus to Venice to better understand his role as an agent, his duties, what the Medici expected from him, and to situate him within the news system of his time.

[220] Leonardo Bruni, *La historia universale de suoi tempi* (Venezia: appresso Francesco Sansovino, 1561) (USTC No. 817005).
[221] Ann Blair, *Too Much to Know: Managing Scholarly Information before the Modern Age* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2010), 71.

CHAPTER THREE

COSIMO BARTOLI IN VENICE: THE AGENT AND HIS DUTIES IN THE CITY WHERE "ALL THE NEWS OF THE WORLD CONVERGES"

After the general overview of the figure of Cosimo Bartoli presented in the previous chapter, this chapter explores two key aspects that contextualise his function as an information master in Venice. On the one hand, it analyses the duties of an agent in early modern diplomacy, particularly focusing on what Cosimo I de' Medici expected from his agents in Venice. On the other hand, it examines the unique Venetian information and communication system in the second half of the sixteenth century in which Bartoli operated. It will serve as a basis for the discussion of findings in Chapter 5, in order to comprehend if and how Bartoli relates to or deviates from what has emerged in recent research on the mechanics of news gathering and circulation.

In the early modern period, Venice was a unique city when it came to news: it was a gateway to the world, particularly the East, and the information that flowed from there. Sending competent diplomats to Venice was therefore essential; these individuals were polymath figures, adaptable, with strong cultural and spiritual profiles in addition to their diplomatic ones. For example, Francis I of France appointed French ambassadors to Italy who were simultaneously humanists, informants, orators, negotiators, and acute readers of both the past and present. These qualities would have facilitated their entry into the peninsula's social and cultural elite.[222] When Cosimo I de' Medici selected Cosimo Bartoli to be his agent in Venice, he must have taken the same abilities into account.

Being an agent entailed many duties. The Duke expected his agent to maintain relations favourable to Florence, oversee the Medici's affairs in Venetian territory,

[222] Guillaume Alonge, *Ambasciatori. Diplomazia e politica nella Venezia del Rinascimento* (Roma: Donzelli, 2019), 4–5.

carry out his requests for commissions, and monitor public opinion regarding the Medici. Last but not least, the agent had to dedicate himself full-time to gathering information and reporting to the court everything he knew about what was happening in Venice, Europe, and the Mediterranean. Since this study aims to determine how, where, and from whom Bartoli obtained news in Venice, it becomes essential to examine the broader context of the early modern Venetian and European news systems in which Bartoli operated and engaged.

3.1 Bartoli's Career before Venice

When Cosimo Bartoli was appointed Florentine agent in Venice in 1562, he was fifty-nine years old, having already had various prior jobs, since his intellectual pursuits, detailed in the previous chapter, did not promise adequate sustenance. His father had directed him to an ecclesiastical career, but it is unknown if and when he was ordained a priest.[223] However, as will be seen in the following paragraphs, the post he held in the service of Cardinal Giovanni de' Medici required him to be an ecclesiastic, so he should have at least received the first tonsure. Furthermore, the embarrassment with which, in 1567, he told Prince Francesco de' Medici that Curzio was not his nephew, as he had led all to believe, but his illegitimate son, suggests that he must have taken the vow of celibacy.[224]

Bartoli had benefited from the income of several benefices in his possession since he was twenty-three,[225] and he pleaded with the Medici for additional benefices over the years because he was constantly plagued by the fear of poverty, even in Venice. In 1549, for instance, he wrote a letter to Cosimo I with the request of two benefices, Santa Maria in Sepoltaglia and Santo Biagio in Pierle, since he had come to know that their possessor, the canon of Cortona, was gravely ill.[226] Still in 1560, he

[223] Bryce, *Cosimo Bartoli (1503-1572): The Career of a Florentine Polymath*, 37–38.
[224] ASF, Mediceo del Principato 2978, fol. 199r-v, 10 May 1567, Cosimo Bartoli to Francesco de' Medici; Bryce, 146–47.
[225] Mancini, "COSIMO BARTOLI (1503-1572)," 86–87.
[226] ASF, Mediceo del Principato 395, fol. 288r, 24 December 1549, Cosimo Bartoli to Cosimo I de' Medici.

was looking for new benefices and asked Cosimo I and Cardinal Giovanni de' Medici for the Pieve of Cascia, near Reggello.[227]

The turning point in his ecclesiastical career was in 1540 when he was appointed *preposto* (provost) of the Baptistry of San Giovanni in Florence, a role he held until his death.[228] The Baptistry was administrated by the Merchants' Guild, also known as Arte di Calimala, which nominated the *preposto*, the person in charge of the baptismal font.[229] Due to the Baptistry of San Giovanni serving as the only baptismal font in the city at the time, all baptisms in Florence were performed there, making this a crucial function.[230] Among his duties, the provost had to keep records of all of the children baptised in Florence. These registers, from 1450 to the nineteenth century, have survived and are preserved in the Archivio dell'Opera del Duomo. Bartoli's clear humanistic hand is recognisable in the volumes from the end of February 1540 to 1561, even though other hands have intervened. While he was in charge of recording the names, it is highly probable that other clerics assisted him.[231] Like his predecessors and successors, he meticulously noted the name, the father's name and job, the parish, the birth date and time.

The provost also had to manage the baptistry clergy, which numbered about ten chaplains and sacristans.[232] Some letters attest to Bartoli's involvement in this activity. In 1560, for instance, he sent a letter to Bartolomeo Concino to propose the name of a new chaplain for the Baptistry, who also had a reputation for being a good singer.[233] Also, from Venice, he continued to be concerned about the Baptistry and

[227] Giovanni de' Medici, *Lettere del Cardinale Giovanni de Medici figlio di Cosimo I Gran Duca di Toscana: estratte da un Codice Ms.*, ed. Giovanni Battista Catena (Roma: Antonio de' Rossi, 1752), 202; the letter about this benefice is mentioned in Bryce, *Cosimo Bartoli (1503-1572): The Career of a Florentine Polymath*, 37 note 7.
[228] Bryce, *Cosimo Bartoli (1503-1572): The Career of a Florentine Polymath*, 38.
[229] Lorenzo Fabbri, "Calimala e l'Opera di San Giovanni: il governo del Battistero di Firenze fra autorità ecclesiastica e potere civile," in *Il Battistero di San Giovanni: conoscenza, diagnostica, conservazione. Atti del convegno internazionale (Firenze, 24-25 novembre 2014)*, ed. Francesco Gurrieri (Firenze: Mandragola, 2017), 19–20.
[230] Fabbri, 17–18.
[231] Archivio dell'Opera del Duomo, Registri dei battesimi 10-13, 229-232.
[232] Christiane Klapisch-Zuber, "San Romolo: un vescovo, un lupo, un nome alle origini dello Stato moderno," trans. Isabelle Chabot and Paolo Pirillo, *Archivio Storico Italiano* 155, no. 1 (571) (1997): 44.
[233] ASF, Mediceo del Principato 483A, fol. 766r, 4 March 1560 (1559 in Florentine style), Cosimo Bartoli to Bartolomeo Concino.

interceded with Prince Francesco to increase the number of priests at San Giovanni.[234] In another letter to Bartolomeo Concino, he talked about the clerics' school, suggesting one of the Baptistry's priests as a teacher.[235] He was probably referring to the Cathedral's school of grammar and music, founded by Pope Eugene IV in 1436 with the goal of teaching basic Latin and singing lessons to the young clerics of the dioceses of Florence and Fiesole.[236] In her monograph, Bryce suggests that Bartoli's duties as provost also included supervising the clerics' school,[237] but this seems innacurate. In fact, Bartoli starts the above-mentioned letter to Concino by clearly stating that the school was not under his care: "It seems reasonable to me to think not only about those things that concern the service of San Giovanni on my behalf but also on the behalf of others during our trip to Rome. And because Ser Francesco Angelotti, who had and has the care of these clerics' school, will come as chaplain to the service of the Illustrious Cardinal, as Your Lordship knows […]."[238]

When Bartoli mentioned "during our trip to Rome," he referred to his first official and continuous role in the service of the Medici family before being sent to Venice as an agent. On January 31, 1560, Giovanni de' Medici, the second son of Cosimo I de' Medici and Eleonora of Toledo, was made cardinal by Pope Pius IV. Giovanni was soon surrounded by a household of secretaries, courtiers, and domestic servants, as was customary for early modern cardinals. They looked after his palace, assisted him in his duties, and went with him to ceremonies, visits, and travels.[239] From the very

[234] ASF, Mediceo del Principato 2979, fol. 18v-19r, 29 May 1568, Cosimo Bartoli to Francesco de' Medici.
[235] ASF, Mediceo del Principato 483A, fol. 682r-v, 29 February 1560 (1559 in Florentine style), Cosimo Bartoli to Bartolomeo Concino.
[236] Francesco Salvestrini, "Il Collegio Eugeniano e la cultura dei chierici nella Firenze del Quattrocento," in *Umanesimo e università in Toscana (1300 - 1600): atti del convegno internazionale di studi (Fiesole, Firenze, 25 - 26 maggio 2011)*, ed. Stefano Ugo Baldassarri, Fabrizio Ricciardelli, and Enrico Spagnesi (Firenze: Le Lettere, 2012), 59–88.
[237] Bryce, *Cosimo Bartoli (1503-1572): The Career of a Florentine Polymath*, 39.
[238] ASF, Mediceo del Principato 483A, fol. 682r-v, 29 February 1560 (1559 in Florentine style), Cosimo Bartoli to Bartolomeo Concino: "Parendomi ragionevole pensare non solamente a quelle cose che importano il servizio di San Giovanni per conto mio: ma anco per conto d'altri in questa andata nostra in Roma. Et venendo al servitio dell'Illustrissimo Cardinale Ser Francesco Angelotti per cappellano come sa Vostra Signoria il quale haveva et ha la cura della scuola di questi chierici […]."
[239] Mary Hollingsworth, "The Cardinal's Household," in *A Companion to the Early Modern Cardinal*, ed. Mary Hollingsworth, Miles Pattenden, and Arnold Witte (Leiden: Brill, 2019), 260, https://doi.org/10.1163/9789004415447_018.

beginning, Bartoli joined the young cardinal's retinue and, in late March, accompanied Giovanni to Rome to receive the red hat, as his letters attest.[240]

Entering the household of a princely cardinal was undoubtedly an ambition of many learned men[241] and a big step in Bartoli's career, but there is some uncertainty concerning his role and duties. According to Mancini, Bartoli joined the cardinal's retinue as a secretary,[242] while Bryce states that his duties were of secretarial or ecclesiastical nature.[243] A document found in the Mediceo del Principato sheds new light on this aspect. It is a list of Cardinal Giovanni's household members, drawn up on May 1, 1560.[244] Among the over 150 people in the household, Bartoli is mentioned under the role of *caudatario* (train-bearer). The *caudatario* was the ecclesiastic responsible for holding the train of the cardinal's cassock.[245] He was the first among all of the chaplains and accompanied the cardinal to congregations, consistories, and celebrations in the presence of the Pope, and on all public occasions.[246] In his treatise, Evitascandalo describes the skills necessary for a good *caudatario*:

> It must not be the years that determine who holds this position, not even the rank, but he must be a priest of such importance that by his authority, he must be placed before any person of the household. He must, however, be a man of good character who does not give scandal in morals, gaming, taverns, or similar vices. I do not want to expand on this any further; I want only to say that he must be loved,

[240] Mancini, "COSIMO BARTOLI (1503-1572)," 91. The letters mentioning Bartoli's departure and stay in Rome in the service of cardinal Giovanni de' Medici are: ASF, Mediceo del Principato 483A, fol. 682r-v, 29 February 1560 (1559 in Florentine style), Cosimo Bartoli to Bartolomeo Concino; ASF, Mediceo del Principato 483A, fol. 766r-v, 4 March 1560 (1559 in Florentine style), Cosimo Bartoli to Bartolomeo Concino; ASF, Mediceo del Principato 484, fol. 513r-v, 21 April 1560, Cosimo Bartoli to Cosimo I de' Medici.
[241] Hollingsworth, "The Cardinal's Household," 272.
[242] Mancini, "COSIMO BARTOLI (1503-1572)," 91.
[243] Bryce, *Cosimo Bartoli (1503-1572): The Career of a Florentine Polymath*, 76.
[244] ASF, Mediceo del Principato 616, fol. 315r, 1 May 1560, List of members of the household of Cardinal Giovanni de' Medici (thanks to Elena Brizio, who transcribed this document and made it available on the Medici Archive Project's platform BIA, now MIA, with the identifier: mapDocId 26840).
[245] Gaetano Moroni, *Dizionario di erudizione storico-ecclesiastica da s. Pietro sino ai nostri giorni specialmente intorno ai principali santi*, vol. IX (Venezia: Tipografia Emiliana, 1841), 278–83.
[246] Cesare Evitascandalo, *Dialogo del maestro di casa* (Roma: Giovanni Martinelli, 1598), 27–40.

> favoured, and cherished by the master and served, respected, and honoured by the whole court. But I repeat, any age is acceptable as long as he is not decrepit.[247]

This passage confirms that, at least in theory, Cosimo Bartoli should have been ordained to serve in this role. Furthermore, it shows that being a *caudatario* was a fairly prestigious position within the cardinal's court. I therefore conclude that Cosimo I de' Medici had confidence in Bartoli's abilities, especially considering that this role meant following the seventeen-year-old cardinal on all his public appearances.

As described so far, there does not seem to be any relationship between the duties of a *caudatario* and the later agent position for which Bartoli was sent to Venice. However, the 1604 treatise by Sigismondo Sigismondi, entitled *Prattica cortigiana morale*, adds that the *caudatario* should have a good understanding of court dynamics and should know well how to "carry a message because it often happens that while the Cardinals are in the chapels, where usually no other people enter with them except the *caudatario*, they use him to send messages to various other Cardinals."[248] If this holds true for Bartoli as well, the position of *caudatario* may have allowed him to visit other noblemen's courts and form new connections while also providing a taste of the diplomatic duties he would have been expected to perform in Venice.

Bartoli remained in the service of Cardinal Giovanni de' Medici for around two years, even if some letters attest that he did not live continuously with the Cardinal, and he also spent some periods in Florence.[249] Then, in 1562, his life changed when Duke Cosimo I decided to send him to Venice as his resident agent.

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[247] Evitascandalo, 29: "Non doverà esser gli anni che facci questo, né meno il grado, ma esser sacerdote, qual'è di tanta importanza, che per l'autorità che tiene doveria essere antiposto a qual si voglia persona di casa, però deve esser huomo da bene, né dar in qual si voglia modo scandalo di vita, né di costumi, per non dir di giuochi, di taverne, & vitii simili. Sopra di questo non mi estenderò più oltre, salvo che deve essere amato, favorito, & accarezzato dal padrone, e servito, rispettato, & onorato da tutta la corte, però torno à dire, che d'ogni età sarà buono, purchè non sia decrepito."

[248] Sigismondo Sigismondi, *Pratica cortigiana morale et economica* (Ferrara: Vittorio Baldini, 1604), 86: "portare un'imbasciata; il perchè occorre spesse volte, che mentre i Cardinali sono alle Cappelle, nelle quali non entrano con essi loro d'ordinario altre persone, che il Caudatario, si servono del medesimo per fare imbasciate a diversi altri Cardinali."

[249] Bryce, *Cosimo Bartoli (1503-1572): The Career of a Florentine Polymath*, 81–82.

3.2 Bartoli's Appointment

Cosimo Bartoli faced a unique set of circumstances when Cosimo I de' Medici chose him to serve as his agent in Venice in 1562. Before departing the city, the prior agent would typically give his successor advice on how to conduct himself in court, give him an update on matters that were still pending, introduce him to the ruler, ministers, representatives of other courts, and his informants, and caution him about the character and reliability of the people gravitating around the court.[250] It happened with the secretary of the Florentine ambassador Pier Francesco Pandolfini, who made sure to present his informants to his successor.[251] Bartoli did the same with his successor, Orazio Urbani.

Urbani's letters attest that upon his arrival in Venice in September 1572, together they visited the apostolic nuncio and the ambassadors of the Holy Roman Empire, France, Spain, and Savoy.[252] Beyond the official introductions, Bartoli acquainted Urbani with his Venetian contacts, such as the abbot Andrea Lippomano.[253] Lippomano had provided information to the French and Imperial ambassadors in Rome, the apostolic nuncio in Venice, and Cardinal Alessandrino, to whom he also sent manuscript newsletters.[254] He persistently engaged in such activities until his arrest in 1567, resulting in a ten-year banishment, which was eventually reduced to four. He was apprehended for correspondences sent to the Imperial ambassador in Rome and to Zaccaria Dolfin, a Venetian patrician and former apostolic nuncio to Vienna, who had been banned for life for espionage by the Republic

[250] Francesco Martelli, "Introduzione al secondo volume," in *Istruzioni agli ambasciatori e inviati medicei in Spagna e nell'Italia spagnola, 1536-1648*, ed. Francesco Martelli and Cristina Galasso, vol. II, Pubblicazioni degli Archivi di Stato 47 (Firenze: Ministero per i beni e le attività culturali, Direzione generale per gli archivi, 2007), XVI–XVII.
[251] Stefano Dall'Aglio, "'Qui capitano tutte l'importantie delle cose'. Spie, informatori e ambasciatori medicei a Venezia nei primi anni del principato cosimiano," in *Varchi e altro Rinascimento. Studi offerti a Vanni Bramanti*, ed. Salvatore Lo Re and Franco Tomasi (Roma: Vecchiarelli, 2013), 322.
[252] ASF, Mediceo del Principato 2981, fol. 244r-245r, 27 September 1572, Orazio Urbani to Francesco de' Medici.
[253] ASF, Mediceo del Principato 2981, fol. 247v-249r, 4 October 1572, Orazio Urbani to Francesco de' Medici.
[254] Paolo Preto, *I servizi segreti di Venezia: spionaggio e controspionaggio ai tempi della Serenissima* (Milano: Il saggiatore, 2016), 115–16; Stella, *Nunziature di Venezia*, 1963, VIII:85, 89.

of Venice.[255] This proves that Bartoli not only introduced state officials and diplomats to his successor but also likely introduced informants and spies.

No "onboarding process" occurred on Bartoli's arrival in Venice in June 1562 because his predecessor, Pietro Gelido, had abruptly left Venice and his role some months before. Pietro Gelido, called "il Pero", had served Cosimo I as his agent in Venice from 1552 to November 1561.[256] Unlike Bartoli, he had a stable and lengthy career as a secretary of prominent men and in the diplomatic service when he relocated to Venice in his late fifties. He began his career in Rome, serving Pope Clement VII and then Pope Paul III and his family. In 1539, he moved to France as Cardinal Francesco Pisani's agent. In France, he also served Cardinal Alessandro Farnese as secretary and informer; when Cardinal Farnese was nominated legate to Avignone, he followed the legation in the role of treasurer. Between 1547 and 1548, Gelido was again in France, this time serving the Medici: he held the position of secretary of the ambassador of Cosimo I to the French Court, Giovan Battista Ricasoli. Then, he was employed by Cardinal Ippolito d'Este in various diplomatic missions until 1552, when he was appointed agent to the Republic of Venice by Cosimo I.[257] Given that Gelido had served as a secretary in a number of courts and missions, it is evident why Cosimo I thought he was a skilled negotiator who would have performed a good job as his agent.[258] It turned out to be accurate: despite Cosimo I's rebuke for failing to disclose the hostile sentiments held by certain Venetians towards the Duke, Gelido was able to preserve good relations between the Republic and the Duchy of Tuscany

[255] Stella, *Nunziature di Venezia*, 1963, VIII:296, 299, 301–2, 331; Aldo Stella, ed., *Nunziature di Venezia*, vol. IX, Nunziature d'Italia: secoli XVI-XVIII (Roma: Istituto storico italiano per l'eta moderna e contemporanea, 1972), 255; Gullino, "LIPPOMANO, Girolamo"; Gino Benzoni, "DOLFIN, Zaccaria," in *Dizionario Biografico degli Italiani*, 1991.

[256] Iacopo Riguccio Galluzzi, *Storia del Granducato di Toscana*, vol. 3 (Firenze: presso Leonardo Marchini, 1822), 68–69.

[257] Giovanni Jalla, "Pietro Gelido, riformato italiano del secolo XVI, segretario papale, residente fiorentino a Venezia e ministro evangelico in Piemonte," *La rivista cristiana* 1 (1899): 179–89, 215–21, 270–76, 289–96; Concilio Salvadori, "Un Segretario del Duca Cosimo a Venezia. Il samminiatese Pietro Gelido," *Bollettino della Accademia degli Euteleti di S. Miniato* 19 (1931): 1–26; Guido Dall'Olio, "GELIDO, Pietro," in *Dizionario Biografico degli Italiani*, 2000; Roberto Boldrini, "Le peripezie di Pietro Gelido tra cattolicesimo, spiritualismo valdesiano e calvinismo," *Bollettino della Accademia degli Euteleti della città di San Miniato* 86 (2019): 273–82.

[258] ASF, Mediceo del Principato 2634, fol. 331v-32v, 10 October 1552, *Instruttione a messer Pero Gelido secretario et agente apresso la Illustrissima signoria di Venetia*: "Circa l'avvisare, et scrivere non vi si dice altro perché come persona pratica, et experta nei negotii non mancherete di ritrarre da tutti, quel più et certo delle cose che potrete per tenercene ben raguagliati a la giornata." The mandate is partly quoted in: Jalla, "Pietro Gelido, riformato italiano del secolo XVI," 186.

throughout his nine-year stay in Venice, even during the sensitive period of the Siena War.[259]

Cosimo I must have known all along about Gelido's friendship with Piero Carnesecchi and sympathy for the reformist ideas, not to mention the summoning to Rome, the Inquisition hearing, and the sentence of abjuration. However, the Duke surely did not expect that, in the free and tolerant environment of the Republic of Venice, Gelido would convert to Protestantism and leave the city and his role in November 1561 to flee first to France and then to Geneva.[260] Apart from the inconvenience of suddenly not having an agent in Venice, Cosimo I was concerned about the harm that could be done to his reputation. During the Florentine agent's vacancy, Medoro Nucci from Arezzo, Matteo Sofferoni, secretary of Gelido, and the sculptor Paolo Geri, called Pilucca, continued to send information and newsletters from Venice to Florence.[261] Specifically, Gelido's departure had generated many rumours there, according to a letter Nucci wrote to the Duke on December 17, 1561, mainly because Gelido was serving the Duke of Tuscany, an exemplar of the Catholic Religion.[262] A few months later, in May 1562, the Duke was still resentful of the agent's behaviour, to the extent that he responded to Paolo Geri, who tried to intercede for Gelido, that Gelido "would deserve to starve to death."[263] The decision to dismiss Gelido reflected Cosimo's full support of the Papacy during the final stages of the Council of Trent and his attempts to strengthen his ties to the Papacy following Paul IV's death and the election of Pius IV, who was seen as more favourable to the Duke.[264] In conclusion, Cosimo I's choice of Bartoli reveals another facet of the Duke's agenda: namely a desire to maintain his reputation as a Catholic prince.

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[259] Salvadori, "Un Segretario del Duca Cosimo a Venezia. Il samminiatese Pietro Gelido," 13–18.
[260] Salvadori, 22–23; Dall'Olio, "GELIDO, Pietro."
[261] ASF, Mediceo del Principato 217, fol. 111r, 7 May 1562, Cosimo I de' Medici to Matteo Sofferoni, Medoro Nucci and Paolo Geri.
[262] Jalla, "Pietro Gelido, riformato italiano del secolo XVI," 291: "la qual partita adatta a cicalare assia di lui, prima per essere al servizio di Vostra Ecellenza Illustrissima, lo specio de la religion cristiana, come è noto attutto il mondo, e l'altra per essere ormai vecio di 74 anni."
[263] ASF, Mediceo del Principato 217, fol. 111r, 7 May 1562, Cosimo I de' Medici to Paolo Geri: "meritebbe però morirsi di fame."
[264] Hubert Jedin, "La politica conciliare di Cosimo I," *Rivista storica italiana* LXII, no. III–IV (1950): 348–49, 477–78; Furio Diaz, *Il Granducato di Toscana: I Medici* (Torino: UTET, 1987), 186–88.

Bartoli was not sent to Venice immediately after Gelido's departure. At the beginning of February 1562, the Duke informed the Doge that a new agent had been appointed, but his arrival would be delayed to provide him with the necessary information.[265] On April 22, the diplomatic instructions for Bartoli's residency were drafted.

Diplomatic instructions were private documents given to ambassadors and agents at the time of their appointment or departure. They outlined the mission's primary goals and the envoy's responsibilities, along with giving recommendations on how to behave and speak with the foreign ruler, what language tone to use, which issues to address, how to answer objections, how to interact with other diplomats, and whom to visit once arrived.[266] As noted by Contini, the instructions written during Cosimo I's reign reflect the direct and strong relationship between the Duke and his diplomats. The Medici state and the diplomatic apparatus were still under construction at this time; thus, the instructions' structure was not formalised yet: the language is straightforward, and the directives are expressed concisely and informally, making these documents valuable sources to understand what Cosimo I expected from each diplomatic mission.[267]

The political relevance of the diplomatic instructions continued even after the mission, to the point that the Medici's secretaries gathered, for internal use and reference, most of the instructions' minutes and copies as a unitary series in the *segreteria vecchia*, the archive of Palazzo Vecchio.[268]

Within this series, then called "Istruzioni ad ambasciatori", a rough copy of Bartoli's instruction is found. Although it does not mention Bartoli's name, the content undoubtedly refers to his mission, as Bryce claims.[269] The original instruction, signed by the Duke, is likely lost: Bartoli took it with him to Venice, but there is no trace of his

[265] Bryce, *Cosimo Bartoli (1503-1572): The Career of a Florentine Polymath*, 86.
[266] Paolo Prodi, *Diplomazia del Cinquecento. Istituzioni e prassi. Lezioni tenute alla Facoltà di magistero dell'Universita di Bologna nell'anno accademico 1962-63* (Bologna: Casa Editrice Prof. Riccardo Pàiron, 1963), 81–87; Isabella Lazzarini, *Communication and Conflict: Italian Diplomacy in the Early Renaissance, 1350-1520* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2015), 54.
[267] Contini, "Introduzione al primo volume," XXXI–XXXIII.
[268] Contini, XIV–XX.
[269] Bryce, *Cosimo Bartoli (1503-1572): The Career of a Florentine Polymath*, 87–88.

personal or work archive, apart from a volume of minutes of the years 1571-1572.[270] Additionally, there is no trace of a covert instruction which frequently went along with the public instruction. Unlike the public one, the secret one was not revealed or handled to the host court's officials and contained more sensitive information and the mission's true purpose.[271]

Bartoli's diplomatic instruction[272] in ANNEX ONE sheds light on Cosimo I's expectations of Bartoli during his stay in Venice and offers insight into the Duke's diplomatic strategies and priorities, reflecting his awareness of the intricate political landscape and the diplomatic need to maintain a friendly relationship with Venice. Upon arriving in Venice, Bartoli is directed to appear before the Doge in a public hearing and present his credentials. He is instructed to emphasize the affection and respect of the Duchy of Tuscany towards the Republic of Venice and the Duke's wish for Venice's reputation and prosperity. Following this, Bartoli is tasked with visiting the various foreign diplomats residing in Venice. His first visit should be to the apostolic nuncio, a valuable ally and source of information, as the instruction explains: "Through a cautious and continuous conversation with him, you will learn and understand many things that happen that will honour you and satisfy and serve us."[273] A similar piece of advice is given to establish a close and familiar relationship with the Spanish secretary, the Imperial ambassador and the French one. The Duke advised Bartoli to proceed cautiously and "bring home much more than you give,"[274] meaning to learn more than he divulges. This reflects the Duke's keen understanding of the critical role of information in European politics[275] and how receiving timely information was essential for the survival of smaller states. Their most effective defence often consisted of receiving news from a range of sources and on a constant basis, which

[270] ASF, Mediceo del Principato 3090, *Registro delle lettere scritte da Venezia al Serenissimo Principe Francesco di Toscana dal Residente Cosimo Bartolini* [corrected to Bartoli] *del 1571 e 1572*.
[271] Prodi, *Diplomazia del Cinquecento*, 86; Mattingly, *Renaissance Diplomacy*, 36.
[272] ASF, Mediceo del Principato 2634, fol. 687r-688r, 22 April 1562, rough copy of the diplomatic instruction to Cosimo Bartoli.
[273] ASF, Mediceo del Principato 2634, fol. 687r: "oltre che con la conversatione circumspetta et continua, ne caverete et intenderete molte cose che passano, che vi faranno honore, et a noi satisfatione, et servitio."
[274] ASF, Mediceo del Principato 2634, fol. 687v: "proceder cauto di maniera che riportiate a casa molto più di quel che date."
[275] Alessio Assonitis and Henk Th. van Veen, "Introduction: Cosimo I de' Medici (1519-2019)," in *A Companion to Cosimo I de' Medici*, ed. Alessio Assonitis and Henk Th. van Veen (Leiden: Brill, 2021), 6.

helped them foresee the moves of larger powers, form new alliances, and make quick, informed decisions. [276]

Due to the unusual circumstances that Bartoli faced upon arriving in Venice, which prevented him from taking advantage of the previous agent's introduction to his contacts, the Duke felt obliged to list the names of some Venetian patrician families favourable to the Medici that he should get in touch with: Dolfin, Corner, Grimani, Lippomano, and Badoer. Notably, such a list of favourable families appears in the diplomatic instructions of neither Bartoli's predecessor, Pietro Gelido,[277] nor his successor, Orazio Urbani.[278]

The need to spell out the agent's duties and what was expected from him might be explained by Bartoli's lack of experience in such a diplomatic role. The document ends with a concise paragraph on Bartoli's three principal duties as agent: first, encouraging favourable feelings towards the Medici and finding friends and partisans; second, carrying out all of the pieces of works and requests ordered from Florence; lastly, diligently grasping everything happening or being murmured and reporting it to the Duke. By comparison, Gelido's mandate is less detailed in specifying the tasks to carry out because he was already judged as "an expert and experienced person in affairs."[279]

Much of Bartoli's work consisted of keeping himself up to date and frequently informing the court. Bartoli literally followed orders, as evidenced by the more than 1,200 letters and newsletters that he sent from Venice during his ten years of service. Reporting information and news to Florence was a core element of Cosimo I's diplomatic strategy. The instructions to Gelido, Urbani, and numerous other Florentine ambassadors and agents expressly state this obligation.

[276] Prodi, *Diplomazia del Cinquecento*, 50.
[277] ASF, Mediceo del Principato 2634, fol. 330r-332v, 10 October 1552, *Instruttione a messer Pero Gelido secretario et agente apresso la Illustrissima signoria di Venetia*.
[278] ASF, Mediceo del Principato 2634, fol. 787r-788r, 17 September 1572, *Instruttione a voi Cavaliere Urbani Gentilhomo, et Agente nostro di quanto dovete fare in Venetia per il carico che tenete.*
[279] ASF, Mediceo del Principato 2634, fol. 332r, 10 October 1552, *Instruttione a messer Pero Gelido*: "persona pratica, et, experta ne negotii."

In 1548, the Duke told Pier Filippo Pandolfini, the first Florentine resident ambassador in Venice, to send "on every occasion, news of what you have done, and of what you will hear anew from those places worthy of our notice, writing in cypher the secret and important things, and dispatching to us immediately any news item that deserves it."[280] Fabrizio Ferrari received similar advice when he was appointed agent to Bologna in 1551[281] and Milan in 1552. In particular, the instruction for the mission to Milan lists the main topics on which the agent has to report but also urges him to send pieces of news that he considers worthy of the Medici's attention and that may not have reached Florence by any other means.[282] In these examples, the agents are instructed to assess the pieces of information they learned and decide which ones to forward to the Duke.

In the latest diplomatic instructions, however, there is a perceptible change in Cosimo I's attitude towards the news. It became imperative to report about every news item, whether true, false, or only rumoured. In Bartoli's instructions, for instance, the Duke explicitly requested him to record trivial news as well, since gossip and tattle frequently reveal people's true intentions and states of mind.[283] Gabriel Garces, sent as the secretary of the ambassador to the Spanish Court in 1563, was ordered to write things down purely as they are and as he had understood them, adding the opinion of

[280] ASF, Mediceo del Principato 2634, fol. 143v, 30 September 1548, *Instruttione a Pier Filippo Pandolfini*: "in ogni occasione notitia di quello che havete fatto e di quello ancora che intenderete di nuovo da quelle bande degno del aviso nostro, ponendo in cifera le cose secrete et importanti et spacciando in diligentia qualunque volta gli avisi il meritassino."

[281] ASF, Mediceo del Principato 2634, fol. 279r-v, 3 June 1551, *Instruttione a Voi Fabritio Ferraro nostro gentilhomo per risiedere in Bologna*: "in Bologna, dove vi fermerete appresso quei Signori et per avisarci di continuo di tutto quella decorrerà et verrà a vostra notitia, che giudichiate degno della nostra."

[282] ASF, Mediceo del Principato 2634, fol. 314r-315r, 31 July 1552, *Instruttione a messer Fabritio Ferrari agente apresso l'Illustrissimo Signor Don Fernando Gonzaga general di Sua Maestà Cesarea et Governatore nel Stato di Milano*: "Your main concern and duty will be to inform us constantly of the successes of the war in Piedmont, of what happens in the State of Milan, and of all other things occurring in those places that you judge worthy of our attention, of the news items coming from the Emperor's court, of the activities undertaken by the Swiss, and of all other pieces of news which you will find a way to inform us, which may not have reached us, using your usual diligence and accuracy." Original text: "La cura et il carico vostro principale ha da essere di avisarci di continuo de successi de la guerra del Piemonte, delle occorentie del Stato di Milano, et d'ogni altra cosa di quelle bande che giudicherete esser degna de la nostra notitia, de li avvisi che frescamente vi verranno dalla Corte dell'Imperatore, delle pratiche et maneggi che si intenderanno de Svizzeri, et di tutti li altri avisi che vi parrà espediente di significarci che non possino essere in nostra notitia, usando la diligenza et accurateza vostre solite."

[283] ASF, Mediceo del Principato 2634, fol. 687r-688r, 22 April 1562, rough copy of the diplomatic instructions to Cosimo Bartoli.

both wise men and the crowd.[284] Orazio Urbani, Bartoli's successor, was reminded to find out as many pieces of news from around the world as possible and to report them only to the Grand Duke and the Florentine ambassador at the Imperial Court.[285] It can be concluded that, on the one hand, the Duke became less interested in the resident's assessment of the facts and more eager to learn what different people and groups were thinking and feeling about the events since it would be from this that he would have formed his opinion. On the other hand, the resident's function as a filter was eliminated, and he was reduced to merely being an extension of the Duke's eyes and ears: instead of having to pass judgment, he was only required to report what he knew.

In the treatise *L'ambasciadore politico cristiano*, Carlo Maria Carafa, talking about the qualities of obedience and compliance with instructions that an ambassador should possess, describes how Cosimo I de' Medici reprimanded one of his ambassadors for hiding a piece of information because he thought it unimportant. The Grand Duke's words of reproach help to understand the reason behind his eagerness for information, even when it seemed of little importance: "Fool that you are; this thing, which seemed to you of little importance, combined with others, which I have in mind, of which I do not wish to make you aware, produces effects, which exceed your capacity, and intelligence."[286] The Grand Duke was the only one who could read and analyse all of the news items sent by his informants throughout Italy and Europe, form an opinion about what was going on, and decide which pieces of information needed to be taken into account and which ones did not. Ferdinando I de'

[284] ASF, Mediceo del Principato 2634, fol. 720r-v, 23 December 1563, *Instruttione a Gabriel Garzes*: "L'offitio vostro ha da essere il servire et trattare li negotii con fede, diligentia, et secretezza, intertenendovi con quei ministri principali, con li Ambasciatori et con ogni altro da quali potrete ritrarre molte cose che occorrono, con darci aviso di tutto quel che vi verrà a notitia, non pretermettendo occasione alcuna di scriverci […] Scriveteci puramente le cose come stanno, et come l'intendete, aggiungnendo anco l'openione de savi, et del universale, per vedere il iuditio di molto, perchè da par noi ne faremo poi meglio il nostro."

[285] ASF, Mediceo del Principato 2634, fol. 787r-788r, 17 September 1572, *Instruttione a voi Cavaliere Urbani Gentilhomo, et Agente nostro di quanto dovete fare in Venetia per il carico che tenete*: "Di nuove, et di negotii publici non havete a scrivere ad altri che a noi, et alli prefati nostri Ambasciatori, usando diligentia di penetrare il più che vi sarà possibile tutto quello, che gira per il mondo."

[286] Carlo Maria Carafa, *L'ambasciadore politico cristiano opera di Carlo Maria Carafa principe di Butera, della Roccella, del Sacro Romano Imperio* (Mazzarino: Per Giovanni van Berge, 1690), 60–61; also mentioned in Volpini, "Ambasciatori, cerimoniali e informazione politica: il sistema diplomatico e le sue fonti," 247–49: "stolto, che siete; questa cosa, che pareva a voi di poca importanza, unita all'altre, che io ho in mente, delle quali non voglio rendervi contezza, produce effetti, che superano la vostra capacità, et intelligenza."

Medici, son of Cosimo I and the Grand Duke of Tuscany from 1587 to 1609, followed the same strategy and paid the same attention to the news. He even went so far as to instruct the Spanish ambassador that, in order to obtain as much information as possible from various sources, he and his secretary should work independently in seeking out and liaising with informers, providers of manuscript newsletters, and spies.[287]

Between Bartoli's appointment on April 22, 1562, and his arrival in Venice two months elapsed. On May 19, 1562, he wrote to the ducal secretary Bartolomeo Concino that he had received the "lettera piombata", i.e. the credential letter, from Lelio Torelli, but he was still waiting for the cypher.[288] Ultimately, he did not arrive in Venice until June 16, over six months after Gelido's departure. In his first letter, dated June 20, he reported the official presentation of the credentials to the Doge, followed, the day after, by a secret audience. He also listed all of the diplomats he visited: the apostolic nuncio, the Imperial and French ambassadors, the secretary of the Spanish king, and the Savoy ambassador. He then mentioned the persons who came to meet him, such as the consul and some members of the Florentine nation there. Before concluding the letter, Bartoli recalled Cosimo I's order to write every piece of news, true or false, and he promised to obey:

> I will obey Your Illustrious Excellence in giving you news of all of the things that are said here, whether false or true, as you have ordered me to do, but you will forgive me if there are pieces of information of small value or to which little faith must be given because, in order to satisfy Your Excellence, everything must be written down; you will then use it as you consider worthwhile.[289]

[287] Paola Volpini, "Il silenzio dei negozi e il rumore delle voci. Il sistema informativo di Ferdinando I de' Medici in Spagna," in *Sulla diplomazia in età moderna. Politica, economia, religione*, ed. Renzo Sabbatini and Paola Volpini (Milano: Franco Angeli, 2011), 176–80.
[288] ASF, Mediceo del Principato 493, fol. 525r, 19 May 1562, Cosimo Bartoli to Bartolomeo Concino.
[289] ASF, Mediceo del Principato 493A, fol. 968r-969v, 20 June 1562, Cosimo Bartoli to Cosimo I de' Medici: "Ubbidirò a Vostra Eccellenza Illustrissima in darle aviso di tutte le cose che di qua si dicano o false o vere che elle sieno, sicome quella mi impose, però mi perdonerà se ci saranno cose di poco momento o d'aggiustar loro poca fede, che volendo satisfare a Vostra Eccellenza bisogna scrivere il tutto, la qual poi ne farà quel capitale che ella giudicherà a proposito."

Over the next ten years, the Duke's reminders to write everything down and Bartoli's warnings that the news reports were uncertain and should not be trusted became a leitmotif in their correspondence.

3.3 The Role of an Agent and His Duties

It is essential at this point to define the responsibilities and role of an agent such as Cosimo Bartoli. He served as an official resident agent, which means an accredited envoy sent to a foreign state without a specific mission but supposed to stay there regularly, for at least a couple of years, and to facilitate communication between the two countries. During his tenure, Bartoli was the principal contact point for the Medici in Venice. On only two occasions, the Medici sent a special ambassador, Agnolo Guicciardini, there: the first in December 1569 to officially inform the Republic of Venice of the granting of the Grand Ducal title to Cosimo I; the second in November 1571 to congratulate the Republic on the victory at Lepanto.[290]

The institution of residency emerged in Italy during the late fourteenth and early fifteenth centuries and was formalised in the fifteenth century. It became a regular practice among European courts only in the subsequent century. The novelty lay in the aim and duration. In contrast to special embassies sent to negotiate or pay compliments, the resident ambassador did not have a specific piece of business to fulfil, after which he could leave, but had to remain at the foreign court indefinitely until he was recalled back.[291] Special ambassadors sent to convey compliments were typically selected from the nobility; on the other hand, resident ambassadors belonged to a lower rank and were personally connected to their prince, thus guaranteeing greater loyalty since their careers depended on this relationship.[292] They also had a completely different attitude during the mission. The former were gentlemen who conducted themselves with dignity and rectitude when negotiating a peace treaty or any other kind of agreement or when congratulating for a marriage, a birth, or a victory.

[290] Bramanti Vanni, "GUICCIARDINI, Agnolo," in *Dizionario Biografico degli Italiani*, 2004.
[291] Mattingly, *Renaissance Diplomacy*, 55–60.
[292] Senatore, *Uno mundo de carta*, 35–36, 44–45.

By contrast, resident ambassadors were a "kind of licensed spy" who frequently had to work in the shadows to fulfil their masters' requests and become acquainted with informers and spies in order to obtain confidential information that they were not supposed to have.[293]

While ambassadors were sent to the courts of major states, there were also other envoys who resided permanently in minor courts. They were referred to as agents or residents rather than ambassadors. Jean Hotman, in 1604, differentiated agents from ambassadors according to the quality of the sender: agents were the envoys sent by non-sovereign rulers, small republics, or non-monarchies.[294] Abraham van Wicquefort, instead, focused on the host and stated that agents were those envoys sent to princes inferior to monarchs.[295] In the specific case of Florence, during his reign, Cosimo I sent resident ambassadors to Rome, the Imperial Court, Spain, France, and, from 1560 onwards, Ferrara, while permanent agents were assigned to Venice, Milan, and Naples.[296]

Agents did not have the same rank, authority, or dignity as resident ambassadors, but they nonetheless carried out many of the same tasks on a daily basis.[297] Bartoli belonged to this category, and it was precisely the term *agente* that Cosimo I and his son Francesco used to refer to him.[298] The term *agente*, however, appears to have caused some confusion in Venice, as evidenced by a report penned by a servant who worked for both Bartoli and Urbani,[299] possibly Giovanni Gavazzo.[300] Although undated, the document mentions the death of the Doge's wife, Loredana

[293] Mattingly, *Renaissance Diplomacy*, 190.
[294] Dante Fedele, "Plurality of Diplomatic Agents in Premodern Literature on the Ambassador," in *Beyond Ambassadors*, ed. Maurits A. Ebben and Louis Sicking (Boston: Brill, 2020), 48, https://doi.org/10.1163/9789004438989_004.
[295] Abraham van Wicquefort, *L'Ambassadeur et ses fonctions* (Cologne: Pierre Marteau, 1715), 72.
[296] Marcello Del Piazzo, "Gli ambasciatori toscani del Principato (1537-1737)," *Notizie degli Archivi di Stato* XII, no. 3 (1952): 57–106.
[297] Mattingly, *Renaissance Diplomacy*, 55; Volpini, "Ambasciatori, cerimoniali e informazione politica: il sistema diplomatico e le sue fonti," 237.
[298] In the *Registri di lettere*, where the secretaries recorded the outgoing letters, Bartoli's name as addressee is ofen followed by the specification "agente a Venetia:" for instance, see ASF, Mediceo del Principato 217, fol. 144v, 14 August 1562, Cosimo I de' Medici to Cosimo Bartoli.
[299] ASF, Mediceo del Principato 3089, fol. 189r-194v, undated (terminus post-quem 11 December 1572), anonymous report written by a servant of both Cosimo Bartoli and Orazio Urbani, possibly Giovanni Gavazzo.
[300] Bryce, *Cosimo Bartoli (1503-1572): The Career of a Florentine Polymath*, 157 note 30.

Marcello,[301] so December 11, 1572, is the *terminus post-quem*. The servant recounted that, during one of Bartoli's illnesses, he was sent to the Doge to solicit the issuing of a patent to transport tin and brass to Florence via the Venetian State. During the visit, the servant introduced himself on behalf of "Mister Cosimo, agent of the Grand Duke of Tuscany." The Doge seemed confused and asked, "which agent?" The servant clarified by repeating Bartoli's name, and the Doge responded, "well, the secretary of Florence, you mean," indicating he did not recognize him by the title of agent.[302] This small incident is clear evidence of how, aside from the title of ambassador, the terms resident, agent, envoy and secretary were ill-defined at the time, and there was no consistency in their use between states.

Early modern agents were elusive figures, hard to define because they could play many different roles, from political representative to art dealer and commercial broker and could come from varied backgrounds. Serving as middlemen for their patrons was the primary duty they all shared. Nonetheless, Keblusek attempts to pinpoint a few traits shared by early modern agents: endurance, networking capabilities, organizational skills, knowledge of foreign languages, flexibility in what they were asked to do, and the ability to perform tasks for which they were not trained.[303] The latter quality, in particular, was undoubtedly exemplified by Bartoli, who

[301] Dorit Raines, "La dogaressa erudita. Loredana Marcello Mocenigo tra sapere e potere," in *Donne di potere nel Rinascimento*, ed. Letizia Arcangeli and Susanna Peyronel (Roma: Viella, 2008), 386, https://doi.org/10.1400/167720.

[302] ASF, Mediceo del Principato 3089, fol. 190r-190v: "It happened on one occasion that, when His Lordship was seeking a patent, which he then obtained from these Gentlemen, to conduct a certain quantity of tin and brass through their State to Florence in the name of Your Most Serene Highness, since he was ill, he sent me to solicit the Secretaries of the Collegio for the said patent, and since the Secretaries were too long in this matter, he sent me directly to the Most Serene Doge, in whose visit I noted that when I was introduced into the chamber and greeted His Serene Highness on behalf of Mister Cosimo, agent of the Grand Duke of Tuscany, to present my request on his behalf, His Serene Highness seemed not to understand and said, 'which agent?' And I boldly repeated his name, he added, 'well the secretary of Florence you mean,' showing not to know him by any other name." Original text: "Occorse una volta che quando Sua Signoria procurava d'haver la patente, che poi hebbe da questi Signori di potere condurre certa quantità di stagni, et ottoni per lo Stato loro in nome di Vostra Altezza Serenissima a Fiorenza, che essendo egli ammalato, bisognò mandasse me a sollecitar i Segretarii di Colleggio per detta patenta, et che essendo essi Segretarii troppo lunghi in questa cosa bisognò finalmente mi mandasse dal Serenissimo Doge, nella quale ambasciata notai che quando fui intromesso in Camera, et che salutai Sua Serenità da parte del Signor Cosimo Agente del Gran Duca di Toscana, per esponer in suo nome la mia dimanda, Sua Serenità mostrando di non intendere, disse chi Agente? Et io replicandole arditamente il suo nome, lei soggiunse, ben il Segretario di Firenze volete dire, mostrando non conoscierlo altrimenti nominandosi."

[303] Keblusek, "Introduction. Profiling the Early Modern Agent," 9–15.

was first appointed resident agent at the age of 59. Diplomatic agents, however, were at a higher level of service. Unlike any other middlemen, they received an official mandate and letters of credentials that gave them status and allowed them to communicate with foreign government ministers and monarchs.[304]

As pointed out by Volpini, however, the study of early modern diplomacy cannot be limited to the category of residents because many other people who did not have the title of ambassador or agent were present in European courts and cities on behalf of foreign countries.[305] The ambassador was surrounded by many people who helped him with his duties: secretaries, servants, and young men from noble families who followed the embassy as a training step. These individuals could assist in obtaining information from sources to whom the ambassador could not be seen speaking or from locations he was unable to visit.[306] Specifically, the ambassador's secretary emerged as a key figure in diplomatic practices. He was chosen by the sovereign from among the most loyal men, not only to provide support but also to act as an information source independent from the ambassador, exert control over the ambassador's activities, and represent the state's interests during the ambassador's vacancy.[307] The secretary was in charge of writing the dispatches on behalf of the ambassador and ciphering the most sensitive passages. He could write the letters down at the ambassador's dictation or summarise and organise on his own all of the information that the ambassador had collected orally over the course of days to produce a coherent and well-conceived report.[308] Furthermore, a wide range of individuals outside of the embassy, including merchants, intellectuals, ecclesiastics, travellers, refugees, spies, and ordinary citizens, sought financial support in exchange for news. They either passed information on to the ambassador or wrote directly to

[304] Thomas James Dandelet, "Between Courts. The Colonna Agents in Italy and Iberia, 1555-1600," in *Your Humble Servant. Agents in Early Modern Europe*, ed. Hans Cools, Marika Keblusek, and Badeloch Noldus (Hilversum: Uitgeverij Verloren, 2006), 31.
[305] Paola Volpini, *Ambasciatori nella prima età moderna tra corti italiane ed europee* (Roma: Sapienza Università Editrice, 2022), 152–53.
[306] Volpini, 46–47.
[307] Mattingly, *Renaissance Diplomacy*, 88–90; Alessandra Contini, "Dinastia, patriziato e politica estera: ambasciatori e segretari medicei nel Cinquecento," *Cheiron: materiali e strumenti di aggiornamento storiografico* 15 (1998): 93–104.
[308] Petitjean, *L'intelligence des choses*, 27–28; Nevejans, "Le secrétaire d'ambassade, acteur indispensable de l'exercice diplomatique."

the prince.[309] Beyond the resident, therefore, there was an underworld of informers, whether official, semi-official, or covert, who were crucial for fulfilling one of the main functions of resident diplomacy: gathering information.

Residents had to carry out a variety of tasks during their stays, such as handling business activities, taking care of legal disputes involving their employers, protecting and helping their compatriots, and concluding negotiations and agreements.[310] The princes also used their vast network of agents to obtain items unavailable at home. This also applied to Bartoli. Many of his letters provide details on a vast array of purchases the Medici commissioned: drugs, spices, drawings, maps, artworks, metals, glassware, cloth, and animals, like horses, dogs, and falcons. He once even engaged in negotiations to purchase a leopard, but the deal fell through since the Medici did not want the animal anymore because it was too aggressive.[311] As a man of letters himself, Bartoli bought and sent books to Florence, but only twice, according to his letters,[312] which is less than might have been expected, considering Cosimo I's interests in collecting books for his library[313] and the leading role played by Venice in the printing and publishing industry.[314] The items that Bartoli bought most frequently were jewellery and precious stones, for which he regularly sought the counsel and mediation of his friend, the jeweller Alessandro Caravia, whose workshop was located in Rialto.[315]

[309] Volpini, *Ambasciatori nella prima età moderna tra corti italiane ed europee*, 46–47, 153.
[310] Volpini, 29.
[311] Bryce, *Cosimo Bartoli (1503-1572): The Career of a Florentine Polymath*, 126.
[312] Bryce, 127.
[313] Alessio Assonitis, "Cosimo I de' Medici and His Library," in *The Grand Ducal Medici and Their Archive (1537-1743)*, ed. Alessio Assonitis and Brian Sandberg (London: Harvey Miller, 2016), 17–44.
[314] Horatio Forbes Brown, *The Venetian Printing Press: An Historical Study Based Upon Documents for the Most Part Hitherto Unpublished* (New York: G.P. Putnam's Sons, 1891); Paul F. Grendler, *The Roman Inquisition and the Venetian Press, 1540-1605* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1977), 3–24; Paul Needham, "Venetian Printers and Publishers in the Fifteenth Century," *La Bibliofilía* 100, no. 2/3 (1998): 157–200; Mario Infelise, "Book Publishing and the Circulation of Information," in *A Companion to Venetian History, 1400-1797*, ed. Eric Dursteler (Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2013), 651–74.
[315] Enrica Benini, "Alessandro Caravia, gioielliere dei Medici a Venezia," *Quaderni di teatro*, 1980, 7 (n.d.): 177–80; Benini Clementi, "Annotazioni sul soggiorno veneziano di Cosimo Bartoli," 408–9; Enrica Benini Clementi, *Riforma religiosa e poesia popolare a Venezia nel Cinquecento: Alessandro Caravia* (Firenze: Olschki, 2000), 7–13.

Besides these tasks, however, most of the resident's day was spent reading and writing letters.[316] The new type of resident ambassador or agent distinguished himself from other diplomats precisely for one unremitting duty: guaranteeing a continuous stream of political, diplomatic, economic, religious, and cultural information from the foreign government to his own.[317] The resident's core business was information gathering; the prince gained more from sending him in terms of intelligence and consistent flow of news than from his political action and representativeness.[318] This clarifies the reason why European princes continued to send resident ambassadors to the Ottoman Empire, even if not reciprocated, as Carafa points out in his 1690 treatise.[319] As a result, epistolary communication was the primary means by which the resident could receive information and transmit it back to his prince and home government. His diligence was measured by the amount of news he was able to obtain and how many letters he wrote to them.

Collecting information was, without a doubt, a time-consuming task. It happened through two main methods: listening to what people had to say and reading the letters and newsletters that arrived, officially or unofficially, in the resident's hands.[320] Although the research here is mainly based on manuscript sources, it is important to remember that verbal exchange, from public speech to whispered gossip, was the primary form of communication in early modernity and an essential practice in the circulation of information.[321] For instance, in Rome during the Pope's illness or the *sede vacante*, rumours multiplied chaotically, and the ambassadors had to take into account every piece of news, not only the most reliable kinds coming from within the curia or from cardinals but also the chatter of men and women around the city. Every rumour could hide some truth, to the point that the widely repeated news items

[316] Senatore, *Uno mundo de carta*, 28.
[317] Mattingly, *Renaissance Diplomacy*, 58; Senatore, *Uno mundo de carta*, 32; Petitjean, *L'intelligence des choses*, 17–19.
[318] Mattingly, *Renaissance Diplomacy*, 95–96.
[319] Carafa, *L'ambasciadore politico cristiano*, 58–59.
[320] Mattingly, *Renaissance Diplomacy*, 99–100.
[321] Elizabeth Horodowich, "The Gossiping Tongue: Oral Networks, Public Life and Political Culture in Early Modern Venice," *Renaissance Studies* 19, no. 1 (2005): 22–45; Elizabeth Horodowich, *Language and Statecraft in Early Modern Venice* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2008); Massimo Rospocher and Rosa Salzberg, "An Evanescent Public Sphere: Voices, Spaces, and Publics in Venice during the Italian Wars," in *Beyond the Public Sphere. Opinions, Publics, Spaces in Early Modern Europe*, ed. Massimo Rospocher (Bologna and Berlin: Il Mulino and Duncker & Humblot, 2012), 93–114.

spread among the population were often the most accepted as accurate.[322] Moreover, ambassadors also relied on letters and manuscript newsletters to compile their dispatches. The ambassadors had to pay attention to distinguish first-hand news, which they had viewed and gathered personally, from second-hand news that they had heard or read but not verified. In his treatise, *Le parfait ambassadeur*, Juan Antonio de Vera y Zúñiga recommends reporting news as it has been heard or received, without claiming certainty when it is not.[323] For this reason, many residents sent newsletters as attachments to letters in order to separate the two types of communication and distinguish what came from themselves and what was written by the newswriters. The news reported by newswriters, thus, needed to be carefully analysed and compared with information from other sources.[324]

In order to gather both oral and written information, the diplomat had to assemble a large-scale intelligence apparatus. He had to win the trust and friendship of ministers, court members, nobles, clergymen, other ambassadors, secretaries, and doorkeepers by hosting banquets and providing special favours, gratuities, or bribes.[325] The bargaining chip could, however, be the information itself. As Machiavelli advises Raffaello Girolami, who was departing for a diplomatic mission to Spain, "Whoever wants others to tell him what they have in mind, it is necessary for him to tell others what he knows because the best way to get news is to give it." Machiavelli also highlights that it is the responsibility of the prince or home government to provide the ambassador with ample information. This empowers the ambassador to exchange news with other residents, local gentlemen or ministers in a *do ut des*

[322] Renaud Villard, "Incarnare una voce: il caso della sede vacante (Roma, XVI secolo)," *Quaderni storici* 121, no. 1 (2006): 39–68.
[323] Juan Antonio de Vera Figueroa y Zuñiga, *Le parfait ambassadeur* (Paris: chez Anthoine de Sommaville, 1635), 45–46.
[324] Mario Infelise, "From Merchants' Letters to Handwritten Political Avvisi: Notes on the Origins of Public Information," in *Cultural Exchange in Early Modern Europe*, ed. Francisco Bethencourt and Florike Egmond, vol. III Correspondence and Cultural Exchange in Europe 1400-1700 (Cambridge: European Science Foundation and Cambridge University Press, 2007), 43–44; Carlotta Paltrinieri, "'È necessario che costà non si porga orecchia alle male relationi, ma guidi cavandosi le cose dagli effettii': Truth, Falsehood, and Persuasion in Manuscript Avvisi," in *Problemi di verità. Il fatto storico tra manipolazioni e racconti canonici*, ed. Cristina Alù et al. (Pisa: Pisa University Press, 2022), 119–40.
[325] Mattingly, *Renaissance Diplomacy*, 212–13.

relationship.[326] The resident's success in performing his intelligence function, in conclusion, depended not only on his dedication but also on the means at his disposal: financial resources, on the one hand, and information, on the other hand.

To gain insight into the actions and behaviours of a Florentine agent in Venice, it is worth analysing an anonymous and undated manual, or rather a series of precepts and recommendations, found in the "Istruzioni ad ambasciatori" series of the Mediceo del Principato (ANNEX TWO).[327] The precepts are presented in the form of a dialogue, with questions followed by answers. Given that the document mentions the residence of Niccolò Sacchetti, who stayed in Venice between 1618 and 1627, Volpini proposes two possible authors:[328] Asdrubale Barbolani, Sacchetti's predecessor and Florentine resident in Venice for around twenty-two years, from 1596 to 1618,[329] and Ippolito Buondelmonti, who served the Grand Duke in Venice from 1629 to 1633 and likely wrote a similar practical diplomatic guide during his stay as resident in Milan.[330] The document appears more likely to have been written by Barbolani, though, since the author states that he has been resident in Venice for more than fourteen years and is unsure if certain advised customs were in effect during Sacchetti's stay. Despite

[326] Niccolò Machiavelli, "Memoriale a Raffaello Girolami quando ai 23 d'ottobre partì per Spagna all'Imperatore," in *Istorie fiorentine e altre opere storiche e politiche*, ed. Alessandro Montevecchi (Torino: UTET, 2007), 226–27: "An ambassador achieves great honour when he writes the news to those who send him [...] And because in the courts there are always middlemen who are careful to understand the things happening around them, it is advisable to make friends with all of them in order to be able to grasp something from each of them. The friendship of such is acquired by entertaining them with banquets and games [...] But whoever wants others to tell him what they have in mind, it is necessary for him to tell others what he knows; becuase the best way to get news is to give it. And because in a city, to wish that one of its ambassadors be honoured, there can be no better way than to keep him abundant with news because the men who know that they can get news from him will compete to tell him what they know." Original text: "Fanno grande onore a un imbasciatore gli avvisi che lui scrive a chi lo manda […] E perché sono sempre nelle corti di varie ragioni faccendieri, che stanno desti per intender le cose che vanno attorno, è molto a proposito farsi amico di tutti per potere da ciascuno di loro intendere delle cose. La amicizia di simili si acquista col trattenerli con banchetti e con giouchi […] Ma chi vuole che altri gli dica quello che egli intende, è necessario che lui dica ad altri quello che lui intende; perché il migliore rimedio ad avere degli avvisi è darne. E perché in una città, a volere che un suo ambasciatore sia onorato, non può farsi cosa migliore che tenerlo copioso di avvisi, perché gli uomini che sanno di poter trarne, fanno a gara per dirgli quello che gl'intendono."

[327] ASF, Mediceo del Principato 2633, II, fol. 487r-490v, anonymous and undated series of precepts and advice for the Florentine resident in Venice.

[328] Volpini, *Ambasciatori nella prima età moderna tra corti italiane ed europee*, 69–72.

[329] Roberto Cantagalli, "BARBOLANI, Asdrubale," in *Dizionario Biografico degli Italiani*, 1964.

[330] Emilio Cecchi, "BUONDELMONTI, Ippolito," in *Dizionario Biografico degli Italiani*, 1972; Martelli, "Introduzione al secondo volume," XVIII; Brendan Dooley, "Gli affanni dell'informazione: Ippolito Buondelmonti tra Venezia e Firenze," in *'Con licenza de' Superiori': Studi in onore di Mario Infelise*, ed. Flavia De Rubeis and Anna Rapetti (Venezia: Edizioni Ca' Foscari, 2023), 113–18, https://doi.org/10.30687/978-88-6969-727-2/013.

having been composed over fifty years after Bartoli's mission, the list of precepts should not be all that dissimilar from his experiences as an agent between 1562 and 1572. The document sheds light on which issues the agent had to pay attention to and how he should behave upon his arrival and during his stay.

The questions and answers can be categorised into four primary themes. The first is the resident's relationship with the Republic of Venice. He is instructed on how to introduce himself to the Doge and the government, how to request an audience, and with whom to negotiate and discuss matters on behalf of the Grand Duke. It emerges that the resident had a direct line of communication with the Doge and the Collegio and could request an audience at any time at the Ducal Palace.

The relationship with other ambassadors and agents is the second topic of discussion. The writer makes a clear distinction between ambassadors and those, like the Florentine residents, who did not bear the ambassador title and were called "ministri privati" (private ministers). The latter were not accorded any formal welcome ceremonies upon their arrival, had a designated spot in the Collegio, probably distinct from that of ambassadors, and were not permitted to carry ambassadorial symbols, like velvet or pillows. The order of the Florentine resident's first visits was crucial because it reflected the Grand Duke's diplomatic relationships with other reigns and, if wrong, could become a source of diplomatic tension. For instance, in the case of the French and Spanish ambassadors who contended over who should be visited first, the writer suggests visiting one when the other was absent, so that he would not be upset. With the agents, instead, the resident had to wait to be visited by them rather than visiting first. After the initial obligatory visits, the resident could decide at his own discretion how often to visit the ambassadors and agents of other states. However, the lack of frequent conversations with the ministers of the Republic of Venice and the desire to hear news urged him to visit them frequently.

Some paragraphs are then dedicated to the day-to-day business of gathering information, which is the third topic. The author says that in his time and before, "one always went to San Marco and the Rialto in the morning and to private ministers in the

evening, and the ambassadors sent their secretaries there."[331] Besides that, he received bundles of letters filled with information and had to take care of the incoming and outgoing correspondence. In connection with this, many precepts instruct the resident on how to use and pay for the postal service, what services the Florentine postmaster in Venice could provide, and how to send extraordinary couriers.

Finally, there are some questions and answers concerning general housekeeping, servants, and gratuities. What seems to be of greatest concern is what expenses could be reimbursed by the Grand Duke, which is not unsurprising given that early modern agents' letters, including Bartoli's, frequently allude to financial hardship.[332] It is noteworthy that the author dedicates an entire paragraph to the costs associated with writing, including the cost of paper and pens, which confirms that, in addition to listening, writing was an essential aspect of the resident's job.

3.4 A Strategic City: Venice

Venice meant more than any other city to the Medici family. As Stefano Dall'Aglio has shown in various articles, the Medici were closely watching Venice because of the high concentration of Florentine exiles who, from there, attempted to organise plans to restore a republic in Florence.[333] Up to 1559, the exiles remained a threat to Cosimo I's dukedom, and rumours about their coup attempts regularly reached the Duke's ears.[334] Therefore, in order to stay informed about the plans of the anti-Medicean exiles, Cosimo I had to establish a network of spies and informants in Venice. Since 1537, Bernardino Duretti acted as the Duke's informer in Venice, covertly gathering information. Later, the Duke sent Donato Bardi, an unofficial agent, to the lagoon. Bardi was a private citizen who carried out some tasks for the Duke while

[331] ASF, Mediceo del Principato 2633, II, fol. 487r-490v: "si andava a San Marco, e Rialto mattina, e sera da i ministri privati e gl'Ambasciatori vi mandavono i Segretari".
[332] Keblusek, "Introduction. Profiling the Early Modern Agent," 13.
[333] Dall'Aglio, "'Qui capitano tutte l'importantie delle cose'. Spie, informatori e ambasciatori medicei a Venezia nei primi anni del principato cosimiano," 314–15; Stefano Dall'Aglio, "Cosimo I's Self-Made Spy: Information and Misinformation in Sixteenth-Century Venice and Florence," *Renaissance Studies* 36, no. 5 (2022): 3–4, https://doi.org/10.1111/rest.12791.
[334] Dall'Aglio, "'Qui capitano tutte l'importantie delle cose'. Spie, informatori e ambasciatori medicei a Venezia nei primi anni del principato cosimiano," 316–17.

undoubtedly informing him of what transpired there. In 1545, for the first time, an ambassador, Pier Filippo Pandolfini, was sent to Venice, where he remained for almost three years. Significantly, the Republic of Venice was the third location, after Rome and the Imperial Court, where the Medici established a resident ambassador, demonstrating the importance of the Republic of Venice to the Medici's objectives.[335] However, besides the exiles, many other Florentine merchants resided there, organised into a "nation" with its statutes and an elected consul. Present in many European cities, the Florentine nations formed a political-economic group that functioned as an autonomous court of commerce within the colony, protecting their members from the local government.[336]

Receiving reliable information from Venice was not merely an instrument of domestic policy; it also served the Medici to be informed on what was happening worldwide and to make decisions. As the over 100 volumes of manuscript newsletters kept in the Mediceo del Principato archival collection attest, Duke Cosimo I understood the power of information and used it to consolidate his power. He created a vast and dense informative network of ambassadors, agents, foreign rulers, nobles, and simple informers who constantly sent him letters and newsletters reporting all of the major or minor events they had witnessed, read, or heard about.[337] For the Medici, who built their primary defence system on information, no piece of information was ever too much, whether it concerned the course of a war, an insurrection, the health of a cardinal, or unfavourable weather conditions.[338] As Lamal demonstrates in the case of the early stages of the Revolt in the Low Countries, having access to first-hand information from reliable correspondents gave the Medici a clear political advantage over their Italian counterparts.[339] Given that information served as both a practical defence and a political weapon, it is easy to understand the significant sum of money

[335] Dall'Aglio, 316–22.
[336] Paolo Simoncelli, "Su Jacopo Nardi, i Giunti e la 'Nazione fiorentina' di Venezia," in *Studi in onore di Arnaldo d'Addario*, ed. Luigi Borgia et al., vol. III (Lecce: Conte, 1995), 938–39.
[337] Contini, "Dinastia, patriziato e politica estera: ambasciatori e segretari medicei nel Cinquecento," 74–131; Lamal, *Italian Communication on the Revolt in the Low Countries (1566-1648)*, 18–19.
[338] Assonitis and van Veen, "Introduction: Cosimo I de' Medici (1519-2019)," 5–6.
[339] Lamal, *Italian Communication on the Revolt in the Low Countries (1566-1648)*, 41–46.

that Cosimo I invested in building up a trustworthy network of official and unofficial informers as extensive as possible, as Benedetto Varchi states:

> [...] in imitating the custom of his valorous father in investigating not only the movements but the thoughts of his enemies, whether by means of great men, diligent in friendship, or by means of spies, overt or secret, whom he paid, [Cosimo] used continuous and incredible diligence, and spent an inestimable amount of money, to the extent that I dare say that, in addition to his ambassadors, envoys, and officials, there was no city or castle in the whole Italy, nor even a village or a villa, and almost no tavern, that Duke Cosimo was not daily warned about [...] every day he received so many letters, so many newsletters, so many extracts, that I wonder how he had time, I do not say to consider them, and respond, but to read them.[340]

The dispatches, newsletters, and reports that reached the court daily, whose number was so large that it was almost impossible to read them all, according to Varchi, became one of Cosimo I's foreign policy strengths. Even if the same newsletter was sent twice from two different informers or the reported news items were false, uncertain, or not credible, the abundance of information pleased the Medici. They could compare newsletters reporting the same events, ascertain their truthfulness, and grasp rumours and foreign perceptions of global events and their Duchy in general.[341]

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[340] Benedetto Varchi, *Storia fiorentina di Benedetto Varchi con aggiunte e correzioni tratte dagli autografi e corredata di note per cura e opera di Lelio Arbib*, ed. Lelio Arbib, vol. III (Firenze: Società editrice delle Storie del Nardi e del Varchi, 1844), 337: "[…] imitando [Cosimo] il costume del valoroso padre suo nell'investigare non che gli andamenti, i pensieri degli avversari suoi, così da uomini grandi, e diligenti per amistà, come da spie, o palesi o segrete, per danari, usava continuamente incredibil diligenza, e spendeva una quantità inestimabile di pecunia, tantochè io ardirei d'affermare che, oltra gli ambasciadori, mandatari e officiali suoi, non era, non dico città alcuna, o castello in tutta Italia, ma borgo o villa, e quasi osteria, onde non fosse quotidianamente avvisato il duca Cosimo [...] gli venivano ogni giorno tante lettere, tanti avvisi, tanti estratti, che io per me mi fo maraviglia come avesse tempo, non dico di considerarle, e far risponder loro, ma di leggerle."

[341] Sheila Barker, "'Secret and Uncertain': A History of Avvisi at the Court of the Medici Grand Dukes," in *News Networks in Early Modern Europe*, ed. Joad Raymond and Noah Moxham (Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2016), 730–33; Paltrinieri, "'È necessario che costà non si porga orecchia alle male relationi, ma guidi cavandosi le cose dagli effettii': Truth, Falsehood, and Persuasion in Manuscript Avvisi," 120.

Of all of the cities from which the Medici received news, Venice was one of the most significant. Contemporaries already perceived Venice as one of the most important information centres where news from inside and outside of Europe arrived. The Venetian diarist Girolamo Priuli, for instance, stated that there was no news or conversations about war or peace occurring in Italy and the Christian countries that did not reach and spread over Venice.[342] The diaries of the Venetian patrician Marino Sanudo, written between 1497 and 1537, convey, as well, the constant flooding of news into Venice. To give an idea, Pierre Sardella conducts a statistical analysis of the news spread in Venice using Sanudo's diaries as his primary source. Of 10,000 official letters recorded by Sanudo, the largest number came from Rome (1,053 letters), Milan (871), Lyon (812), Naples (682), London (672), Paris (473), Florence (387), and Istanbul (365).[343] Chiara Palazzo, narrowing her research to 46 months of Sanudo's diaries, counts 4,500 information-rich letters that were noted down, half of which came from the Venetian Terraferma, and half from the Venetian overseas possessions, the Italian courts, Europe, and the Levant.[344] These examples show how news from around the globe was read and heard on a daily basis in Venice. As a result, anyone outside of Venice who wished to be informed of the most recent events had to connect with someone there.

Several factors contributed to Venice's prominence as a news hub in early modern Europe. On the one hand, being an international port and a mercantile state at the heart of the Mediterranean Sea fostered the circulation of people and, with them, the circulation of news. Venice was a cosmopolitan city where many people from different countries, languages, cultures, and religions settled permanently or

[342] This passage from Priuli's diary is quoted in Chiara Palazzo, "Nuove d'Europa e di Levante: il network veneziano dell'informazione agli inizi dell'età moderna (1490-1520)" (Doctoral Thesis, Università Ca' Foscari Venezia, 2012), 21, http://dspace.unive.it/handle/10579/1264: "[…] there was no news in the world among the known people of which, in due course, nothing was known in Venice, nor was there any consultation or practice of peace or war being dealt with in Italy and the Christian countries that the ambassadors had not first made known to the Venetian fathers and senators." Original text: "[…] non hera nova alchuna al mondo in le gente cognite quale cum il tempo debicto et conveniente non se sapesse et intendesse a Venetia, nec ettiam hera consulto over praticha et materia di pace over guera quale se tractasse in Ittalia et per totam christianitadem che prima per li loro ambasatori non fusse facto intendere et consegliata et ventilata cum li padri et senatori veneti."
[343] Sardella, Pierre, *Nouvelles et spéculations à Venise au début du XVIe siècle*, 56–57; Fernand Braudel, *The Mediterranean and the Mediterranean World in the Age of Philip II*, trans. Sian Reynolds, vol. I (Berkley, Los Angeles and London: University of California Press, 1995), 360–66.
[344] Palazzo, "Nuove d'Europa e di Levante," 44–45.

temporarily.[345] In the late Middle Ages, information mainly circulated due to the merchants who regularly wrote letters to relatives and business associates who lived in other cities and commercial colonies. The merchants' correspondence, packed with commercial news, played a fundamental role in the operation of trade in the early modern period, and also became a vital source of information for people outside of the merchants' circles, such as ambassadors, residents, and secretaries looking for news for their courts.[346] It is no coincidence that people would go to the Rialto marketplace to find the latest news items and compare them with information from official correspondence.[347] Furthermore, Venice was also a crucial node of the European postal system, situated at the intersection of the routes leading to Rome, Milan, Vienna via Gorizia and Graz, and Augsburg and Flanders via Trent and the Brenner pass. Its advantageous location enhanced the ease and speed of letters flying to and from Venice.[348] News spread more readily where couriers and letters circulated, to the extent that all of the major nodes of the postal system, including Venice, developed into hubs for manuscript newsletter production.[349]

For the Venetian patricians, secrecy was considered to be one of the most important values, nearly a religion. In practice, however, it was less of a fact and more of a myth which the Republic of Venice promoted in order to suggest compactness and unanimity. In fact, political and diplomatic information that often circulated, in principle, should never have left the Ducal Palace walls.[350] The Venetian government nonetheless attempted to protect the secrecy of its debates, deliberations, documents, and ambassadors' dispatches. In 1481, for instance, the Council of Ten prohibited every member of the Senate, the Collegio, and other secret councils from talking with foreign emissaries about state matters: the penalties were 1,000 ducats and an exile of two years. In addition, Venetian patricians had to ask for special permission before visiting foreign representatives or writing correspondence with

[345] Burke, "Early Modern Venice as a Center of Information and Communication," 400.
[346] Infelise, "From Merchants' Letters to Handwritten Political Avvisi: Notes on the Origins of Public Information," 33–36.
[347] Mario Infelise, "La circolazione dell'informazione commerciale," in *Il Rinascimento Italiano e l'Europa*, ed. Franco Franceschi, Richard A. Goldthwaite, and Reinhold C. Mueller, vol. IV Commercio e cultura mercantile (Treviso: Fondazione Cassamarca - Angelo Colla Editore, 2007), 508.
[348] Schobesberger et al., "European Postal Networks," 28–29.
[349] Schobesberger et al., 29–32.
[350] De Vivo, *Information and Communication in Venice*, 40–45.

foreign rulers.[351] In 1539, the Council of Ten established the Inquisitors of State, a special court, to handle all matters pertaining to secrecy and to look into cases of state secrets being revealed.[352] These regulations, however, did not succeed, and the Republic of Venice constantly faced cases of violations, where nobles disclosed secret political information to foreign ambassadors or directly to foreign princes.[353] The uncontrolled circulation, outside of the Ducal Palace, of handwritten copies of officially secret dispatches and *relazioni* delivered by the Venetian ambassadors at their return was another severe problem. Despite prohibitions, the ambassadors' *relazioni* were among the most sought-after writings, to such an extent that a specific manuscript trade arose in Italy and Europe, and some were even printed.[354]

Moreover, foreign ambassadors ran the most complex espionage networks against the Republic. Espionage was a means for the many foreign ambassadors residing in Venice to acquire secret information not only about the Republic's moves but also about all of the current European affairs. As demonstrated by the elaborate network of over thirty spies that the Spanish ambassador, the Marquis de Bedmar, created in the 1610s, one of the ambassador's responsibilities was the recruitment of spies among patricians as well as secretaries, gondoliers, shopkeepers, artisans, booksellers, couriers, and clergymen.[355]

Finally, Venice had one substantial advantage compared to the other European news hubs: it served as a gateway to the East thanks to its ports in the Mediterranean and its direct commercial links with Istanbul and the East Mediterranean. It was the halfway point between Madrid and Istanbul, not only for goods but also for news.[356] The *bailo*, the most eminent diplomat of the Republic of Venice, resided there constantly, and one of his duties, probably the primary one, consisted of using any means to collect information on the Ottoman Empire and send it to the Venetian

[351] Ioanna Iordanou, *Venice's Secret Service: Organizing Intelligence in the Renaissance* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2019), 60–61.
[352] Preto, *I servizi segreti di Venezia*, 57–63; Simone Lonardi, "Le carte del Luganeghèr. Segretezza e patrizi veneziani," *Il Campiello – Revue électronique jeunes chercheurs d'études vénitiennes* 2 (2017): 103–4, 110–13.
[353] Preto, *I servizi segreti di Venezia*, 62–66, 75–84.
[354] Infelise, *Prima dei giornali*, 42–43.
[355] Preto, *I servizi segreti di Venezia*, 123–28.
[356] Braudel, *The Mediterranean and the Mediterranean World in the Age of Philip II*, I:365.

Senate.[357] Moreover, the only reliable and regular postal system between the Ottoman Empire and Europe was secured by Venetian couriers; consequently, both other countries' diplomats, merchants, and private citizens had to depend on this service to ensure that their letters would arrive in Europe. Venice was thus in an easy position to control the mail flowing from the Ottoman Empire to Europe, and it was not uncommon for the *bailo*'s secretaries to open the letters sent through Venice's postal system and examine their content.[358] The mail monopoly also implied control over information and news coming from the East. No other European city, not even Rome, could compete with Venice and its prestige as a centre of information about the Turks because of the abundance and security of information it received from Istanbul and the East.[359] European states, such as Spain, that did not have a diplomatic representative in Istanbul, were forced to rely on the information that reached Venice officially through the *bailo*, or secretly through spies because otherwise, by other channels, they would have been informed too late or poorly.[360]

All of these factors made Venice the primary source of information for anyone wishing to remain current on global affairs.[361] The Medici were aware of this, which is why, from 1540 until 1673, they always maintained an accredited representative there in the form of an ambassador, an agent, or a resident.[362]

[357] Bruno Simon, "I rappresentanti diplomatici veneziani a Constantinopoli," in *Venezia e i Turchi: Scontri e confronti di due civiltà* (Milano: Electa, 1985), 56–69; Eric R. Dursteler, "The Bailo in Constantinople: Crisis and Career in Venice's Early Modern Diplomatic Corps," *Mediterranean Historical Review* 16, no. 2 (2001): 3–4, https://doi.org/10.1080/714004583.
[358] Eric R. Dursteler, "Power and Information: The Venetian Postal System in the Mediterranean, 1573-1645," in *From Florence to the Mediterranean: Studies in Honor of Anthony Molho*, ed. Diogo Ramada Curto et al. (Firenze: Olschki, 2009), 602–5, 618–19.
[359] Sardella, Pierre, *Nouvelles et spéculations à Venise au début du XVIe siècle*, 14; Hans J. Kissling, "Venezia come centro di informazione sui Turchi," in *Venezia centro di mediazione tra oriente e occidente (secoli XV-XVI): Aspetti e problemi*, ed. Hans-Georg Beck, Manoussos Manoussacas, and Agostino Pertusi, vol. I (Firenze: Olschki, 1977), 97–109.
[360] Giovanni K. Hassiotis, "Venezia e i domini veneziani tramite le informazioni sui Turchi per gli Spagnoli nel sec. XVI," in *Venezia centro di mediazione tra oriente e occidente (secoli XV-XVI): Aspetti e problemi*, ed. Hans-Georg Beck, Manoussos Manoussacas, and Agostino Pertusi, vol. I (Firenze: Olschki, 1977), 120–25.
[361] Sardella, Pierre, *Nouvelles et spéculations à Venise au début du XVIe siècle*, 15.
[362] The only two periods of vacancy was between 1584 and 1589 and between 1633 and 1637. After 1673, the Medici continued to receive manuscript newsletters from Venice from the post masters. See Del Piazzo, "Gli ambasciatori toscani del Principato (1537-1737)," 70–71.

3.5 Looking for News in Venice

In Venice, one of the most important information centres of the early modern world,[363] different forms of information dissemination coexisted, political communication being just one of them. Besides the news released by the political institutions and through official dispatches, precious bits of information could be obtained through leaks, rumours, gossip, conversations in public spaces, private correspondence, and even espionage.[364] For instance, Pietro Gelido was awestruck by the volume of news when he first arrived in Venice in 1552. He wrote to Florence about how crowded the city was and how one could record information without arousing suspicion because the same thing could be heard being reported in ten different ways in the same morning.[365] Above all, the constant stream of international news was what made the Venetian information system unique. Access to it was not just for curiosity's sake but had significant implications for daily life, professional success, and, occasionally, survival.[366] Pierre Sardella's study, for instance, amply illustrates the economic impact that news had on merchants' activity. News coming from Europe and the Mediterranean impacted both the price of wheat and spices, the premium rate for marine insurance, and merchants' decisions. Often, even the lack of news about trade ships could cause panic, instil the fear of a shipwreck or of capture by enemies, and increase prices.[367]

The following more thorough investigation of the circulation of information and communication in Venice during the second half of the sixteenth century will give a better understanding of the environment in which Bartoli moved to fulfil his duties while showing how the information practices emerging from his letters and newsletters fit into the broader context of news production and dissemination.

Where were the locations of information exchange? If a resident arrived in early modern Venice, there would be three public places he could not fail to visit, almost

[363] Sardella, Pierre, *Nouvelles et spéculations à Venise au début du XVIe siècle*, 10–14.
[364] Dall'Aglio, "Cosimo I's Self-Made Spy," 708.
[365] Salvadori, "Un Segretario del Duca Cosimo a Venezia. Il samminiatese Pietro Gelido," 4.
[366] Braudel, *The Mediterranean and the Mediterranean World in the Age of Philip II*, I:364; De Vivo, *Information and Communication in Venice*, 5.
[367] Sardella, Pierre, *Nouvelles et spéculations à Venise au début du XVIe siècle*, 19–43.

daily, to stay updated on local and global events: Piazza San Marco, the site of political power; Rialto, the economic heart; and the Mercerie, a succession of streets connecting the two locations.[368] In these public spaces, people gathered in social groups, known as *bozzoli* in Venice, to discuss politics and exchange news.[369]

Piazza San Marco, defined as the "piazza publica della città" (the city's public square) by Sansovino,[370] was one of Venice's most vibrant public spaces. The Republic's most significant political, administrative, and religious palaces were concentrated there: the Ducal Palace, the Procuratie, the Zecca, the Basilica, and the Campanile.[371] A chronicle from 1555 states that patricians, magistrates, and private citizens spent a significant portion of their day in and around Piazza San Marco. They went to the Basilica to attend mass every morning. After that, some people moved inside the Ducal Palace to carry out their civic duties, while others remained outside in the courtyard or in the square in front of the Palace to talk politics and listen to the most recent news from both the mainland and the sea.[372]

Apart from the space devoted to political matters, Piazza San Marco hosted some commercial areas, like markets, stalls, and warehouses. Merchants could be found there conducting their business and arranging ship expeditions with sailors.[373] The square must have been almost always crowded, not just with people from the elite but with ordinary people as well. In an engraving in Giacomo Franco's 1610 book *Habiti d'huomeni et donne venetiane*, the Piazzetta in front of the Ducal Palace and Sansovino's Library is depicted as crowded with well-dressed men, likely nobles, ladies, bankers, and someone reading, but there are also beggars and servants

[368] Claire Judde De Lariviere, "Du Broglio à Rialto: cris et chuchotements dans l'espace public à Venise (xvie siècle)," in *L'espace public au Moyen Âge*, ed. Patrick Boucheron and Nicolas Offenstadt (Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 2011), 121–22, https://doi.org/10.3917/puf.bouch.2011.01.0119.
[369] De Vivo, *Information and Communication in Venice*, 92–93.
[370] Francesco Sansovino, *Venetia città nobilissima et singolare, descritta in 14. libri da M. Francesco Sansovino. Nella quale si contengono tutte le guerre passate, con l'attioni illustri di molti senatori. Le vite dei principi, & gli scrittori veneti del tempo loro. Le chiese, fabriche, edifici, & palazzi publichi, & privati. Le leggi, gli ordini, & gli usi antichi & moderni, con altre cose appresso notabili, & degne di memoria* (Venezia: appresso Iacomo Sansovino, 1581), 29: "the city's public square."
[371] Sansovino, 29–41, 104–32.
[372] Christiane Neerfeld, *Historia per forma di diaria: La cronachistica veneziana contemporanea a cavallo tra il Quattro e il Cinquecento* (Venezia: Istituto veneto di Scienze, Lettere ed Arti, 2006), 139–40; Judde De Lariviere, "Du Broglio à Rialto," 125.
[373] Neerfeld, *Historia per forma di diaria: La cronachistica veneziana contemporanea a cavallo tra il Quattro e il Cinquecento*, 139–40.

carrying baskets and buckets, while many people are gathered under the loggias talking in pairs (Figure 1).[374] The social diversity of those represented, many of them occupied in conversation, indicates how simple it was to listen and gather information from different sources in this teeming square. In addition, Piazza San Marco was a centre of entertainment, with street performers, charlatans, and mountebanks drawing large audiences. Another of Franco's engravings represents the square as full of musicians and actors performing in front of a foreign audience, describing the scene as "Entertainment that the charlatans provide every day in Piazza San Marco to the people of every nation who come there every morning and evening" (Figure 2).[375] The English traveller Thomas Coryat also observed the high concentration of foreigners in the square: fashions and languages from all over the world were evident there, to the point that "a man may very properly call it rather Orbis then Urbis forum, that is, a market place of the world, not of the citie."[376]

[374] Girolamo Franco, *Habiti d'huomeni et donne venetiane con la processione della Ser.ma Signoria et altri particolari cioè trionfi feste et cerimonie publiche della nobilissima città di Venetia* (Venezia: Giacomo Franco forma in Frezzaria all'insegna del sole, 1610), plate 28.
[375] Franco, plate 22: "Intartenimento che dano ogni giorno li Ciarlatani in Piazza di S. Marco al Populo d'ogni natione che mattina e sera ordinariamente vi concore."
[376] Thomas Coryat, *Coryat's Crudities*, vol. I (Glasgow: James MacLehose and Sons, 1905), 134.



Figure 1. "Questa è la Procuratia sopra la Piazza dirimpetto al Palagio del Serenissimo." Source: Reproduced from Girolamo Franco, Habiti d'huomeni et donne venetiane (Venezia: Giacomo Franco forma in Frezzaria all'insegna del sole, 1610), Plate 28. Courtesy of the Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Département Estampes et Photographie, 4-OB-38



Figure 2. "Intartenimento che dano ogni giorno li Ciarlatani in Piazza di S. Marco."
Source: Reproduced from Girolamo Franco, Habiti d'huomeni et donne venetiane (Venezia: Giacomo Franco forma in Frezzaria all'insegna del sole, 1610), Plate 22.
Source: Courtesy of the Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Département Estampes et Photographie, 4-OB-38

Foreigners did, however, come to Piazza San Marco not just for entertainment or business purposes but also for social interactions and information gathering. Since Venice did not have a court, it was even more critical for ambassadors, agents, and their secretaries to frequent public areas in order to either overhear conversations or find informed and talkative people.[377] Understanding what was said and decided inside the Ducal Palace frequently required grasping bits of information leaked by the patricians themselves or by the secretaries, gatekeepers, and scribes working inside the Palace. In the mid-seventeenth century, the secretary of Francesco Vitelli, apostolic nuncio to Venice, wrote in a letter about the daily itineraries of the two nuncio's secretaries in charge of collecting news from both inside and outside of Venice.[378] The task absorbed a significant part of their day: they used to spend the morning strolling around Piazza San Marco and Rialto while walking again in Piazza San Marco, towards the stone quay, in the evening:

> It was the responsibility of both secretaries to go to San Marco and Rialto at the time of the *broglio*, one to one side and one to the other, they went to hear not so much what was happening in the judicial, criminal, and civil offices, but rather the decisions of the Collegio and what happened both in Venice and the State and in all parts of Europe, whose news arrived with the ordinary and extraordinary couriers [...] it was not unpopular every day from twenty o'clock onwards to stroll through Piazza San Marco towards the sea and go as far as the Sanità, finding out from the arrival of large and medium vessels news of the places from where they came loaded with goods.[379]

[377] De Vivo, *Information and Communication in Venice*, 5.

[378] Agostino Zanelli, "La vita giornaliera della famiglia di un nunzio pontificio a Venezia (mons. Francesco Vitelli)," *Archivio Veneto*, V, XIX (1936): 199–209; Mario Infelise, "Conflitti tra ambasciate a Venezia alla fine del '600," *Mélanges de l'École française de Rome. Italie et Méditerranée* 119, no. 1 (2007): 73, https://doi.org/10.3406/mefr.2007.10306.

[379] Zanelli, "La vita giornaliera della famiglia di un nunzio pontificio a Venezia," 205–6: "Era cura di entrambi i Segretari di andare all'ora del Broglio a S. Marco e a Rialto, quali chi da una parte e chi dall'altra andava per sentire non tanto quello che succedeva negli uffici giudiziali, criminali e civili, quanto le determinazioni del Collegio, tanto li successi in Venezia quanto nello Stato e de tutte le parti d'Europa, le cui notizie giungevano con l'arrivo dei corrieri ordinari e straordinari [...] non era disdicevole ogni giorno dalle venti ore in su passeggiare per la piazza S. Marco verso il mare e spingersi fino alla Sanità apprendendosi dell'arrivo de' vascelli grossi e mezzani novelle dei luoghi donde venivano carichi di mercanzia".

The *broglio* just mentioned indicates the patricians' regular practice of meeting informally, before or after the council sessions, to engage in free discussion, to network, to share information and rumours, to form alliances, and to solicit votes.[380] Despite being against Venetian law, voter solicitation was a common practice that could take many different forms, from self-promotion and lobbying by relatives and friends to real frauds and influencing the elections with promises, threats, or bribes.[381] The term *broglio* originates from the area close to the Ducal Palace, where the patricians met. Some historians locate it on the Piazzetta outside of the Palace's main gates, alongside the Library; others on the west side of Piazza San Marco, near the Church of San Geminiano, where the Napoleonic wing of the Procuratie stands today.[382] Even though it was an extra-constitutional institution, the *broglio* was a hub of political debate and information sharing and played an integral role in the Venetian political system. Due to its informal and unstructured nature, it was also open to non-patricians, like commoners and foreigners.[383] As a result, diplomats had no choice but to visit it frequently in order to remain up to date on the Republic's foreign and domestic policies, as well as on the names of the candidates running for office and the outcomes of elections.

Close to Piazza San Marco was the Contrada San Moisè, where the stalls and workshops of many newsletter writers were concentrated. The concentration of various kinds of copyists and writers there was so high that the street running alongside of the church of San Moisè towards Piazza San Marco was known as "calle degli scrittori" in the seventeenth century.[384] The newswriters chose this location strategically for a number of reasons. The proximity to the post office, where foreign correspondence arrived, facilitated the swift reception of news from abroad. In addition, the nearness to Piazza San Marco and the presence of patricians strolling around the area before and after the council offered them the opportunity to acquire

[380] Robert Finlay, *Politics in Renaissance Venice* (London: Benn, 1980), 195–201; De Vivo, *Information and Communication in Venice*, 47.
[381] Doris Raines, "Office Seeking, Broglio, and the Pocket Political Guidebooks in Cinquecento and Seicento Venice," *Studi Veneziani* XXII (1991): 139.
[382] Sansovino, *Venetia città nobilissima et singolare*, 51; Judde De Lariviere, "Du Broglio à Rialto," 126.
[383] De Vivo, *Information and Communication in Venice*, 47.
[384] Mario Infelise, "Professione reportista. Copisti e gazzettieri nella Venezia del '600," in *Venezia. Itinerari per la storia della città*, ed. Stefano Gasparri, Giovanni Levi, and Pierandrea Moro (Bologna: Il Mulino, 1997), 197.

confidential information as well as details about the dispatches received from the Venetian ambassadors and to meet secretaries, notaries, and officials who worked inside the Palace.[385]

Rialto was the other crucial place for hearing news. The Rialto Bridge was the only bridge over the Grand Canal, so anyone wanting to reach San Marco from the districts of San Polo, Dorsoduro, and Santa Croce had to cross it on foot unless they chose to take a small ferry or a gondola.[386] Next, they had to make their way through the commercial district of the Mercerie, a labyrinth of narrow streets lined with shops, workshops, and stalls, always crowded with merchants and frequented by foreigners, pilgrims, and also diplomats.[387] According to Sanudo, one could find any kind of merchandise imaginable in the Mercerie.[388] The abundance and variety of goods always amazed visitors in Venice, to the extent that a pilgrim from Milan stated in the late fifteenth century, "These things stupefy the beholder, and cannot be fully described to those who have not seen them."[389] The area was also home to numerous printers and booksellers in the sixteenth century.[390] In conclusion, this maze of streets was an ideal place to shop, meet new people, and have conversations.

The role of Rialto and San Marco as hubs for information exchange was typical of marketplaces in early modern cities. Since the late Middle Ages, merchants and traders had developed a network of shared intelligence: the writing and exchanging of letters were the means to know in timely fashion the latest news that might affect their operations and profit, as well as enabling them to determine the news's reliability through different information channels.[391] The international economic, political,

[385] Infelise, *Prima dei giornali*, 26.
[386] Judde De Lariviere, "Du Broglio à Rialto," 127.
[387] Filippo De Vivo, "Walking in Sixteenth-Century Venice: Mobilizing the Early Modern City," *I Tatti Studies in the Italian Renaissance* 19, no. 1 (2016): 125, https://doi.org/10.1086/685830.
[388] Marino Sanudo il giovane, *De origine, situ et magistratibus urbis Venetae, ovvero, La città di Venetia (1493- 1530)*, ed. Angela Caracciolo Aricò (Venezia: Centro di studi medievali e rinascimentali E. A. Cicogna, 2011), 24.
[389] David Cambers and Brian Pullan, eds., *Venice: A Documentary History, 1450-1630* (Oxford and Cambridge, MA: Blackwell, 1992), 167.
[390] Filippo De Vivo, "I luoghi della cultura a Venezia nel primo Cinquecento," in *Atlante della Letteratura Italiana. Dalle origini al Rinascimento*, ed. Amedeo De Vincentiis, Sergio Luzzatto, and Gabriele Pedullà, vol. 1 (Torino: Einaudi, 2010), 711.
[391] Infelise, "From Merchants' Letters to Handwritten Political Avvisi: Notes on the Origins of Public Information," 33–34.

military, and religious news contained in the letters written by merchants and delivered by couriers was subsequently shared in the market square, which served as a public forum for information exchange.[392] It happened in the Mercato Nuovo in Florence, where an uneducated tailor could wander among the stalls and learn about the Emperor, the Huguenots' activities in France, the revolt in the Low Countries, the Turkish threat in the Mediterranean, and much more.[393] It also occurred in Rialto, which drew a wide spectrum of visitors, along with merchants.

As Sansovino records, the Venetian nobility used to gather every morning either in Piazza San Marco or under the loggia on the right side of the Rialto market. They could spend up to four hours there, discussing politics and global events, all the while trying to project an image of a single, cohesive body, almost like the members of a religious order, to convey the internal peace and stability of the Republic.[394] According to Francesco Argenta's chronicle, more than a thousand patricians of all ages gathered in Rialto every morning, and many of them returned in the afternoon, remaining until dusk.[395] In the public space of the Rialto market, the patricians constituted a penetrable group, offering a favourable opportunity for foreigners to approach them and "to grasp, as from the most learned School, various things and affairs of the world."[396] Ambassadors, among foreigners, could not pass up this chance to interact with patricians. Evidence of this comes from the English ambassadors' secretary, who wrote in 1611 that diplomats met with others every morning in Rialto to discuss the world's affairs and their princes' interests.[397] Additionally, among the bustling Rialto stalls, diplomats could observe the populace's moods and hear gossip from the streets, to supplement the official Venetian government's silences or half-truths.[398] The informative character of the Rialto market and the chance to meet merchants, nobles, senators, and ambassadors explain why

[392] Petitjean, *L'intelligence des choses*, 70–75.
[393] Bastiano Arditi, *Diario di Firenze e di altre parti della cristianità (1574-1579)*, ed. Roberto Cantagalli (Firenze: Istituto nazionale di studi sul Rinascimento, 1970), X–XIV.
[394] Sansovino, *Venetia città nobilissima et singolare*, 134, 169.
[395] Neerfeld, *Historia per forma di diaria: La cronachistica veneziana contemporanea a cavallo tra il Quattro e il Cinquecento*, 139–40.
[396] Sansovino, *Venetia città nobilissima et singolare*, 169: "intendere, come da ben dottrissima et instruttissima Scuola, diverse cose et attioni del mondo."
[397] De Vivo, *Information and Communication in Venice*, 89–90.
[398] Alonge, *Ambasciatori. Diplomazia e politica nella Venezia del Rinascimento*, 124.

the above-mentioned anonymous series of precepts addressed to the Florentine resident in Venice reminded him to visit Rialto every morning.[399]

Besides being a meeting place, Rialto was also a space for public discussion and criticism. Opposite the Church of San Giacomo in Rialto is a hunchbacked statue known as the Gobbo, which town criers climbed to read aloud the Republic's proclamations. The Gobbo, however, was also used to hang out anonymous satirical and slanderous writings, and became the Venetian counterpart of the Roman talking statue Pasquino.[400] Before the statue was erected, it was already customary to affix placards containing satirical texts or criticising the government around Venice, and this practice continued afterwards. The Gobbo's uniqueness lies in serving, at the same time, as a venue for official publications and a platform for individuals and political factions to publicly disseminate personal, political, and religious polemics.[401] However, because this area was close to the centres of power and was dominated, at least for a portion of the day, by patricians, the criticism was always contained and unlikely to develop into public protests.[402]

Along with the most well-known public areas, numerous other locations could offer opportunities for casual interactions between foreign ambassadors and Venetian patricians. Due to a Venetian law from 1446, which prohibited patricians from speaking to foreign diplomats except on official occasions,[403] religious ceremonies provided the ideal opportunity for ambassadors to engage patricians, influential senators, and even the Doge in casual conversation and information

[399] ASF, Mediceo del Principato 2633, II, fol. 488r, anonymous and undated series of precepts and advice for the Florentine resident in Venice.
[400] Andrea Moschetti, "Il Gobbo di Rialto e le sue relazioni con Pasquino," *Nuovo Archivio Veneto* V (1893): 5–93; Antonio Marzo, "Pasquino e il Gobbo di Rialto," in *Ex marmore. Pasquini, pasquinisti, pasquinate nell'Europa moderna. Atti del Colloquio internazionale Lecce-Otranto, 17-19 novembre 2005*, ed. Chrysa Damianaki, Paolo Procaccioli, and Angelo Romano (Roma: Vecchiarelli, 2006), 121–34; De Vivo, *Information and Communication in Venice*, 136–41.
[401] De Vivo, *Information and Communication in Venice*, 137–41.
[402] Judde De Lariviere, "Du Broglio à Rialto," 128–29.
[403] Giuseppe Maranini, *La Costituzione di Venezia*, vol. 2 (Firenze: La Nuova Italia editrice, 1974), 126; Giuseppe Gullino, "L'evoluzione costituzionale," in *Storia di Venezia. Dalle origini alla caduta della Serenissima* (Roma: Istituto della enciclopedia italiana fondata da Giovanni Treccani, 1996), 349; Francesca Medioli, "Rivalries and Networking in Venice: Suor Arcangela Tarabotti, the French Ambassador Gremonville and Their Circle of Friends, 1645-1655," *Archivio Veneto*, VI, CXLVI, no. 10 (2015): 128.

exchanges.[404] Even a ride in a gondola or boat could be newsworthy. For instance, in May 1532, while travelling on the *bucintoro*, the Doge's ceremonial barge, the French ambassador heard the Doge, Andrea Gritti, reading the most recent dispatches received from Istanbul.[405] Social events were crucial venues for networking. These included city-hosted events like processions commemorating victories or peace treatises or yearly celebrations like Carnival, as well as individual-hosted gatherings such as feasts, banquets, balls, and plays. By attending those events, diplomats could increase their social visibility and enter the upper circles of society, as well as establish contacts, exchange sensitive information, and reach agreements.[406] In addition, there existed less numerous forms of sociability, known as *ridotti*, which were gatherings of selected patricians held in closed and private spaces, such as the drawing rooms of private houses. Like the *broglio*, *ridotti* played an important role in Venetian politics because, besides being occasions to converse, listen to music, and gamble, they served as a forum for unofficial political discussions outside of the rigid structure of councils.[407] Outsiders such as ambassadors, men of letters, and foreigners also frequented the *ridotti*; for them, it was an additional occasion to interact with the ruling class and learn what was discussed and decided behind the Ducal Palace's walls.[408]

Reciprocal visits between diplomatic residents were crucial to gauge the moves and sentiments of other states as well as to receive reliable news from foreign courts to compare with the contents of letters and newsletters circulating in the city. For instance, the French embassy in the first half of the sixteenth century is described by Alonge as an open house, welcoming guests like merchants, travellers, soldiers, and fellows of the king, and with the table always lavishly prepared to attract local and foreign gentlemen. All of this was done as part of a strategy to enhance the ambassador's public image and gather information from the visitors.[409] Later, the ambassadors' residences were restricted to outlying areas of the city, far from Piazza

[404] Alonge, *Ambasciatori. Diplomazia e politica nella Venezia del Rinascimento*, 111.
[405] Alonge, 116.
[406] Edward Muir, "The Anthropology of Venice," in *A Companion to Venetian History, 1400-1797*, ed. Eric R. Dursteler (Leiden: Brill, 2013), 504–7, https://doi.org/10.1163/9789004252523_014; Alonge, *Ambasciatori. Diplomazia e politica nella Venezia del Rinascimento*, 104–6.
[407] Sansovino, *Venetia città nobilissima et singolare*, 169; De Vivo, *Information and Communication in Venice*, 47–48.
[408] De Vivo, *Information and Communication in Venice*, 73.
[409] Alonge, *Ambasciatori. Diplomazia e politica nella Venezia del Rinascimento*, 96–98.

San Marco, and many were located in Cannaregio, close to the ghetto.[410] The distinct topographical division between the Republic's palaces of power and the diplomatic headquarters was strengthened over time, even though no law established it.[411] The Venetian government believed that embassies situated too close to San Marco posed a risk to the secrecy of their government and policy.[412] On the other hand, foreign ministers felt safer in peripheral areas, where it was easier to operate, away from indiscreet gazes.[413]

Additionally, Venice was scattered with semi-public spaces where people met to engage in commerce and conduct other sorts of business as well as to talk and discuss news. These included, among other places, shops and their entrances, pharmacies, barbershops, warehouses, printing houses, bookshops, notaries, and professionals' studios.[414] Apothecaries, in particular, were excellent places to hear and discuss political news because patricians and wealthy and well-connected customers frequented them. Not only were they social hubs, but they turned out to be true centres of information, frequented by newswriters and foreign ambassadors' agents and where manuscript newsletters were read, exchanged, and occasionally even written.[415] Barbershops, on the other hand, were more centres of gossip than of real news due to their more modest clientele.[416] Tomaso Garzoni, in *La piazza universale di tutte le professioni del mondo*, states that "Nothing more can be said about the poor barbers, except that they commonly quack like magpies, because all of the news items, indeed all of the tall tales run to the barbers' shop, and blessed is the one who says the most misleading ones."[417] The exchange of information in Venice also took place extensively in the *osterie* (inns). Located by the Republic in two

[410] Coryat, *Coryat's Crudities*, I:379; Infelise, *Prima dei giornali*, 56; De Vivo, *Information and Communication in Venice*, 75; Lonardi, "Le carte del Luganeghèr. Segretezza e patrizi veneziani," 99.
[411] Infelise, "Conflitti tra ambasciate a Venezia alla fine del '600," 70.
[412] Alonge, *Ambasciatori. Diplomazia e politica nella Venezia del Rinascimento*, 94–95.
[413] Infelise, "Conflitti tra ambasciate a Venezia alla fine del '600," 70.
[414] De Vivo, *Information and Communication in Venice*, 94–95.
[415] Filippo De Vivo, "Pharmacies as Centres of Communication in Early Modern Venice," *Renaissance Studies* 21, no. 4 (2007): 508–10.
[416] De Vivo, *Information and Communication in Venice*, 98.
[417] Tomaso Garzoni, *La piazza universale di tutte le professioni del mondo*, ed. Paolo Cherchi and Beatrice Collina, vol. II (Torino: Einaudi, 1996), 1376: "De' poveri barbieri non si può dir altro, poi, se non che ciarlano communemente come le gaze, perchè tutte le nuove, anzi tutte le carotte corrono in barbaria, e beato colui che le dice più sfrondate".

clusters, one near Piazza San Marco and one in the Rialto neighbourhood, they served a wide range of travellers, including diplomats, messengers, soldiers, merchants, ship captains, nobles, pilgrims, artists, and performers. But even the locals frequented the inns to eat, drink, socialise, enjoy entertainment, gamble, or have encounters with the sex workers who frequently operated nearby. The inns acted as points of intersection for diverse trajectories, encouraging conversation with strangers and foreigners. In actuality, they were not only places of transit but also spaces where people waited, giving them ample time for social interactions and information sharing.[418]

Everybody in early modern Venice could carry a bit of information, be it a dispatch read in the councils, gossip overheard in the streets, or news read aloud from a letter. However, some people were more informed than others, and in order to stay up to date on the world's affairs and carry out his responsibilities as best as he could, the resident needed to be acquainted with them and visit them frequently. One of the most important information channels was the official line of communication with the Republic's authorities. Ambassadors were regularly summoned to audiences with the Doge and the Collegio, but they were also free to appear on their own initiative.[419] During these audiences, it was not uncommon for the Doge to share diplomatic information with the diplomats, especially concerning the Ottoman Empire.[420]

Despite the Venetian myth of secrecy, information circulated into "a large and loosely defined political arena of informal interactions between insiders and outsiders,"[421] well beyond the confines of the Ducal Palace and the official communications. The insiders were the patricians participating in Venetian politics, for example, members of the councils, candidates for office or re-election, and their friends, confidants, and private secretaries. The outsiders were the broader circle of acquaintances, which included men of letters, foreign gentlemen, diplomats, spies, and newswriters.[422] Going against the rules of the Republic, patricians leaked not only

[418] Rosa Salzberg, "Little Worlds in Motion: Mobility and Space in the Osterie of Early Modern Venice," *Journal of Early Modern History* 25, no. 1–2 (2021): 96–117, https://doi.org/10.1163/15700658-BJA10033.
[419] Alonge, *Ambasciatori. Diplomazia e politica nella Venezia del Rinascimento*, 112–13.
[420] Alonge, 124.
[421] De Vivo, *Information and Communication in Venice*, 46.
[422] De Vivo, 46; Petitjean, *L'intelligence des choses*, 180.

oral information but, even more seriously, written documents and reports, as the case of the unlawful circulation, copying, and dissemination of Ottaviano Bon's *relazione* (report) concerning his extraordinary embassy to France demonstrates.[423]

Secretaries also engaged in the systematic leaking of ambassadors' *relazioni* (reports). With their help, the documents were copied either by public scriveners or by professionals and disseminated externally, until they were extensively read across all of Europe. Whereas patricians leaked information to conduct their politics, the secretaries did it for financial gain since such reports had become commodities of exchange and were valued for economic, political, professional, and prestige-related reasons.[424] The size of the state's bureaucracy, consisting of eighty to one hundred permanent secretaries, made it difficult to stop the leaking of sensitive information. These individuals frequently possessed more knowledge than the patricians themselves, and some of them were also in charge of guarding the *Cancelleria Secreta*, the archive of governmental records. Along with high-ranking secretaries, lower-ranking employees such as guards and doorkeepers also engaged in the sale of information.[425] One instance is the collaboration between the *ballottini*, young men in charge of carrying the election urn, and the Ducal Palace's scribes to quickly disseminate the ballot results. The *ballotini* were the first to learn the outcomes: they promptly informed the scribes and went to the patricians' homes to share the news. Meantime, the scribes compiled the ballot results in weekly leaflets known as *consegi* or *brogietti*. These leaflets were circulated through subscription in the same manuscript newsletter circuits and contained essential information, including the winners, the total number of votes each candidate received, and the identities of the patricians who nominated the candidates.[426]

To provide his employer with faultless service, a resident had to be informed about more than just the events happening within the Ducal Palace's chambers. It was crucial to be acquainted with other foreign representatives in Venice, such as

[423] De Vivo, *Information and Communication in Venice*, 63–70.
[424] De Vivo, 56–63.
[425] De Vivo, 50–51.
[426] Raines, "Office Seeking, Broglio, and the Pocket Political Guidebooks in Cinquecento and Seicento Venice," 144–56.

ambassadors, agents, orators, their households, as well as undercover agents and spies. These individuals were in direct communication with their courts of origin and were invaluable sources of information from abroad.[427] A diplomat was not just a passive source of information nor just an active seeker; he acted in a two-way exchange of information, a balanced give-and-take. This led to an environment of intense espionage and intelligence. Diplomats, driven by the need for comprehensive and valuable information, engaged in a complex network of sources and used various means, including bribing patricians and secretaries, interacting with mainland nobles, and paying illegitimate sons of nobles.[428] Moreover, it was also not uncommon for ambassadors to surround themselves with confidants, information specialists and spies, and shadowy figures who served as middlemen between the diplomats and those who possessed inside information.[429]

A new information-related professional emerged in the second half of the sixteenth century: the newswriter. Called *reportisti* in Venice and *menanti* in Rome, they were professionals of the pen. Every week, they combined information taken from newsletters from all over Europe with what was happening or being said, for instance, in Venice, to create a report on political and military events. Their work was based on the premise that information had become a commodity which could be bought and sold. Newsletters were sold through a regular subscription service, and they could be customised to include or exclude news from specific cities based on the customers' interests.[430] A desk, some paper, and ink were the only expenses necessary to start a career as a newswriter. Individuals from various backgrounds committed themselves to this work; some did it full-time, while others worked part-time in addition to other jobs as teachers or secretaries.[431] Some newswriters ran workshops where the staff members were tasked with copying the news items from abroad while the workshop's owner handled writing the news from Venice and the recipients' names.[432] In addition

[427] De Vivo, *Information and Communication in Venice*, 70–71.
[428] De Vivo, 75–80.
[429] De Vivo, 73.
[430] Infelise, "Professione reportista. Copisti e gazzettieri nella Venezia del '600," 193–95; De Vivo, *Information and Communication in Venice*, 80–81; Lamal, *Italian Communication on the Revolt in the Low Countries (1566-1648)*, 19.
[431] Infelise, "Professione reportista. Copisti e gazzettieri nella Venezia del '600," 194–97.
[432] Infelise, 202–3.

to the few large workshops, Venice's news industry was then pulverised into a scattering of small newswriters who merely copied the newsletters on a makeshift desk in Piazza San Marco or Rialto, at home, or even in prison.[433]

Despite being a relatively new and hard-to-classify profession, newswriting was significant and not uncommon. This is evidenced by the two bans issued in Venice and Rome to restrict newswriters' activity. Already in 1567, for a case debated in front of the court of the *Esaminador*, the Council of Ten ordered that "news of things in the world, especially those about the Turk [...] it is not appropriate that it is circulated and disputed publicly."[434] In 1572, the Council of Ten issued a ban forbidding everyone from writing any kind of news, even news that was only heard in public squares, under penalty of five years rowing in a galley or ten years banishment from the state. The only exceptions were ambassadors, official agents, and foreign princes' secretaries, who were permitted to keep writing news reports to their home courts.[435] Thus, the decree acknowledges that the newswriting phenomenon had grown and spread to such an extent that the Republic of Venice felt the urge to restrict it, although the prohibitions did not succeed. A similar situation happened in Rome. On March 17, 1572, Pius V issued a bull "contra scribentes, exemplantes et dictantes monita vulgo dicta gli avisi, e ritorni" (against those who write, copy, and dictate notices commonly called *avvisi* and *ritorni*), forbidding any kind of writing, particularly the *lettere d'avvisi*, that involved harming someone's reputation, prognosticating about the future, or disclosing information about matters secretly discussed in relation to the Ecclesiastical State government. The authors were said to incur severe penalties, even death and confiscation, and likewise anyone who helped them copy and disseminate these writings or even carried them in their hands and did not immediately report them to the authorities.[436] Even though, in a few cases, newswriters and informers were executed in Rome, these laws never succeeded in regulating the thriving news market

[433] Infelise, *Prima dei giornali*, 21.
[434] Infelise, 134; Giovanna Garofalo, "Il fondo 'Avvisi' dell'Archivio di Stato di Venezia. Inventario analitico e proposta di riordino" (Master Thesis, Università Ca' Foscari Venezia, 2019), 21, http://hdl.handle.net/10579/14184: "avvisi delle cose del mondo et specialmente di quelli del turco […] non è a proposito, che tal cose vadano a torno, et siano disputate publicamente."
[435] Romanin, *Storia documentata di Venezia*, VI:129.
[436] Pius V, *Constitutio contra scribentes exemplantes, & dictantes monita vulgo dicta gli avisi, & ritorni* (Roma: apud haer. Antonio Blado, 1572); Sanfelice and Tomassetti, *Bullarum diplomatum et privilegiorum santorum romanorum pontificum*, VII:969–70; Bongi, "Le prime gazzette in Italia," 317–18.

and stopping the circulation of newsletters, in Rome or in Venice; they were likely intended by the authorities rather to induce newswriters into moderation.[437]

It was well known that diplomats used the newswriters' services to gather information,[438] but news could also be obtained from a wide range of other individuals who were not directly connected to the power or information professions. First came the couriers: not only was their work essential for developing the early modern information system,[439] but the couriers themselves, as travellers, brought news from other places.[440] The courier job was dangerous because of the hardships of the roads; moreover, it was not unusual for them to be robbed of their mailbags by thieves, soldiers, or spies, resulting in a possible leak of information[441]. Frequently, the couriers themselves behaved dishonestly, opening the seals of the letters, reading, and spilling the contents.[442] Hand in hand with this went the conduct of the Imperial postmasters, who were often accused of opening, copying, and resealing the letters. According to De Vivo, the interceptions of letters by governments or private persons occurred so frequently that they were not just incidents but practices intrinsic to the information system.[443] News could also be obtained from other kinds of travellers and foreigners, who undoubtedly crowded a commercial hub such as Venice. Merchants, sailors, craftsmen, mercenary soldiers, and pilgrims acted both as providers of news from abroad and seekers of information that might affect their activities or travels.[444] Moreover, the stable foreign communities in Venice, such as the Germans, Flemish,

[437] Infelise, *Prima dei giornali*, 155–57; Simone Testa, "Death of a Political Informer – Camillo Volta the Roman Agent of the Duc de Nevers. Notes on Work in Progress," *Lives and Letters* 2, no. 1 (2010): 1–8.
[438] Infelise, *Prima dei giornali*, 11–12; De Vivo, *Information and Communication in Venice*, 123–24.
[439] Schobesberger et al., "European Postal Networks."
[440] De Vivo, *Information and Communication in Venice*, 52.
[441] Rachel Midura, "Italian Messengers and Couriers," in *Routledge Resources Online - The Renaissance World*, ed. Kristen Poole and Suzanne Sutherland (Routledge, 2023), https://doi.org/10.4324/9780367347093-RERW103-1.
[442] Tomaso Garzoni, *La piazza universale di tutte le professioni del mondo*, ed. Paolo Cherchi and Beatrice Collina, vol. I (Torino: Einaudi, 1996), 723–25.
[443] Filippo De Vivo, "Wikileaks nel Seicento: corrieri svaligiati e lettere intercettate durante la Guerra dei Trent'anni," in *'Con licenza de' Superiori': Studi in onore di Mario Infelise*, ed. Flavia De Rubeis and Anna Rapetti (Venezia: Edizioni Ca' Foscari, 2023), 91–101, https://doi.org/10.30687/978-88-6969-727-2/011.
[444] De Vivo, *Information and Communication in Venice*, 110; Salzberg, "Little Worlds in Motion," 63.

Greeks, and Turks, maintained strong ties with their countries, ensuring a continuous flow of news from distant regions.[445]

To stay informed, a diplomat or his secretary also had to frequent a variety of professionals working outside of the political sphere, from prestigious lawyers, notaries, and doctors to humbler scriveners, scholars, publishers, printers, apothecaries, priests, barbers, mercers, and apprentices.[446] For example, the apostolic nuncio Francesco Vitelli's secretary, previously mentioned, reports that the nuncio had a "libraio confidente" (trustworthy bookseller) as an informer, who updated him on the corrupt books printed in Venice, so the nuncio could forward this information to Rome.[447] Thanks to their plain appearance, the humblest servants were often employed by ambassadors to collect informally disseminated information, such as news and rumours from conversations overheard on street corners, in markets, and in churches.[448] Lastly, even those who did not work at all, known as *otiosi* (idlers), engaged in conversations and shared news, although the contemporary Tomaso Garzoni judged them unfavourably. In *La piazza universale di tutte le professioni del mondo*, Garzoni criticizes the *otiosi* for frequenting barbershops, spreading tall tales, and spending their time at the newswriters' stalls, reading news items crafted for the ears of indolent and negligent people.[449]

The exclusion of women as potential informants could be perceived as an omission. In the early modern Venetian information scene, women had been often only associated with gossip and rumours.[450] Although women could not hold political office, there are a few examples in which they acted as intermediaries between those within and outside of the political arena. De Vivo, for instance, mentions a deposition made by the noble Francesco Falier, who claimed to have learned in prison that General Giovanni de' Medici had a mistress named Livia, to whom he wrote letters containing news from the battlefield. The news was then disseminated outside to both

[445] De Vivo, *Information and Communication in Venice*, 111.
[446] De Vivo, 86–87; De Vivo, "Pharmacies as Centres of Communication in Early Modern Venice"; De Vivo, "I luoghi della cultura a Venezia nel primo Cinquecento."
[447] Zanelli, "La vita giornaliera della famiglia di un nunzio pontificio a Venezia," 206.
[448] Alonge, *Ambasciatori. Diplomazia e politica nella Venezia del Rinascimento*, 98.
[449] Garzoni, *La piazza universale di tutte le professioni del mondo*, 1996, II:1294.
[450] Horodowich, "The Gossiping Tongue," 25–30.

nobility and commoners by those who frequented Livia Vernazza's home, such as the Florentine resident and a perfume maker.[451]

For writing his dispatches and informing his prince, numerous resources were available to a diplomat. Early modern Venice's political communication environment included a wide range of communication media, such as manuscripts, prints, posted proclamations, and oral discourses.[452] Particularly important was information distributed in the manuscript form. Petitjean proposes a division of manuscript information media into four key categories that developed within each other: private letters, *sommari* and *lettere d'avvisi*, *avvisi* or newsletters, and gazettes.[453] I will adhere to that division here.

Since the late Middle Ages, merchants in northern Italy began using vernacular letters as their primary means of communication to conduct their business. Letters sent between business partners contained political news, descriptions of cities, information on road conditions and travel security, as well as commodity news and financial forecasts.[454] Later, in early modernity, personal letters persisted as a vital component of the world of information, allowing direct and reliable communication with the recipient to the point that Petrucci talks about an epistolary explosion and revolution in the sixteenth century.[455] Diplomats also made extensive use of epistolary correspondence. They not only read and learned from letters sent by their home court and other embassies, but also accessed a wider network of official and private letters, even if they were not the intended recipients. In Venice, for example, the Collegio managed all dispatches from government officials outside of Venice and decided whether they should be read in the Senate or whether the Council of Ten or the Inquisitors should handle them due to the sensitive content and concerns about leaking.[456] Apart from unauthorised news disclosures, however, the Venetian

[451] De Vivo, *Information and Communication in Venice*, 116; for further information on the romance of Livia Vernazza and Giovanni de' Medici, see: Brendan Dooley, *A Mattress Maker's Daughter: The Renaissance Romance of Don Giovanni de' Medici and Livia Vernazza* (Cambridge, MA and London: Harvard University Press, 2014).
[452] De Vivo, *Information and Communication in Venice*, 9.
[453] Petitjean, *L'intelligence des choses*, 66–125.
[454] Armando Petrucci, *Scrivere lettere: una storia plurimillenaria* (Roma and Bari: Laterza, 2008), 53–54.
[455] Petrucci, 87.
[456] De Vivo, *Information and Communication in Venice*, 35.

government occasionally deliberately leaked certain pieces of information. When assessing these reports, diplomats had to exercise caution and discernment because the Republic might have manipulated them before releasing them.[457]

Merchants' private letters or official dispatches began to be copied and distributed autonomously to others besides the original sender and recipient. One of the oldest examples is a copy of a letter, dated Genoa, April 19, 1393, conserved in the State Archives of Modena.[458] Gradually, towards the end of the fifteenth century, just the most informative passages began to be selected and copied onto new sheets of paper. This process marked the shift from letters to *avvisi* and was also fostered by the development, in the same period, of stable networks of ambassadors who needed a regular supply of information.[459] The sheets gathering all of the letters' excerpts were called *copia di capitoli di lettere* (copies of summaries of letters), *sommari di lettere* (summaries of letters) or *sommari di avvisi* (summaries of news), and could be attached to the diplomats' dispatches.[460] There is evidence that rulers such as Ludovico il Moro and the Republic of Venice adopted this summary procedure to manage the large amounts of information they received from abroad and keep their diplomats informed. In compiling these summaries, the purely administrative aspects of the letters were neglected, and attention was systematically focused on political and military events.[461]

In the same period, informers started to compile *lettere d'avvisi* (letters of news). The novelty lies in the fact that several recipients received the same letter, containing the most important news items heard or received over a specific time period.[462] This practice is evident in the activities of the merchant, traveller, and chronicler Benedetto Dei. Between 1470 and 1480, he used his dense network of correspondents to gather news items from all of the most important Italian cities,

[457] Alonge, *Ambasciatori. Diplomazia e politica nella Venezia del Rinascimento*, 124–25.
[458] Ugo Bellocchi, *Storia del giornalismo italiano*, vol. I (Bologna: Edizioni Edison, 1974), 89–92.
[459] Infelise, "From Merchants' Letters to Handwritten Political Avvisi: Notes on the Origins of Public Information," 34–39.
[460] Bellocchi, *Storia del giornalismo italiano*, I:122–31.
[461] Infelise, "La circolazione dell'informazione commerciale," 501–2; Petitjean, *L'intelligence des choses*, 183–86.
[462] Petitjean, *L'intelligence des choses*, 96–97.

compile periodical letters, and send them to multiple patrons and friends. His letters, defined as *lettere elenco* (list letters) by Orvieto, are characterised by the absence of a specific addressee, the organisation of each news item into one paragraph, the same wording at the beginning of each paragraph ("Ho nuove di" [I have news from]), and the extreme clarity and conciseness of the pieces of information.[463] *Lettere d'avvisi* still retained some epistolary characters, as being written in the first person, but marked the development of a new, more functional, and less personal method of conveying news.[464]

The development of manuscript newsletters, called *avvisi* in Italian, occurred during the sixteenth century when the genre was shorn of any remaining resemblance to letters per se. The writers did not know their readers and did not add their signatures, making anonymity one of the main attributes of this document typology. Moreover, manuscript newsletters crystallised in a fixed layout, which became a universally acknowledged characteristic of the genre, regardless of the language in which they were written.[465] The news items were grouped under a heading with a place and date, and were arranged one per paragraph, frequently introduced by the conjunction "Che". Unlike letters, the headings of the newsletter indicated where the news came from rather than when and where the sheet was written.[466]

Petitjean distinguishes between local and international manuscript newsletters. Local newsletters were modelled after the sheets from Rome, and later adopted in Madrid and Naples. Each paragraph in them corresponds to a weekday, and the news reported was primarily local, specific to the city where the newsletter was written. Venice's newssheets, on the contrary, collected political, military, and diplomatic news from various Italian, European, and Mediterranean cities, and served as a model for international newsletters, the most common kind of newsletters. The

[463] Paolo Orvieto, "Un esperto orientalista del '400: Benedetto Dei," *Rinascimento* 9 (1969): 216–23; Infelise, "La circolazione dell'informazione commerciale," 505–6.
[464] Petitjean, *L'intelligence des choses*, 98–99.
[465] Petitjean, 114–16.
[466] Infelise, *Prima dei giornali*, 7–9; Zsuzsa Barbarics-Hermanik, "Handwritten Newsletters as Interregional Information Sources in Central and Southeastern Europe," in *The Dissemination of News and the Emergence of Contemporaneity in Early Modern Europe*, ed. Brendan Dooley (Farnham: Ashgate, 2010), 162–64.

headings were commonly presented in the same order: this is a result of the news being organised not according to the chronological order of events but rather according to the couriers' order of arrival.[467]

Newswriters' weekly services were so expensive that even the middle class could not afford the subscriptions; as a result, the *avvisi* readership was restricted to an elite audience.[468] However, newsletter content could frequently be found for free, as stated by the seventeenth-century writer Secondo Lancellotti, who also acknowledged manuscript newsletters as a component of modernity: "I think it was a very ingenious idea to send newsletters of the successes of, above all, princes from all over the world, and to know what was happening in Rome, France, Spain, Germany, and elsewhere without spending a penny."[469] In Venice, for instance, it was not unusual for the newswriters to discuss the news with friends or passersby who stopped at their stalls to find out what was new. The Inquisitori di Stato also reported episodes in which newswriters read the news aloud in the neighbourhood, and people gathered in public areas to read or listen to newsletters.[470]

Towards the end of the 1570s, the term *gazzetta* (gazette) started to be used to describe a new form of manuscript newssheets that, in contrast to *avvisi*, circulated outside of the court and the political and ecclesiastical circles. The purpose of the gazette, whose content was often described as unreliable, was more to pique the public's curiosity than to provide truthful information about government affairs. Nonetheless, although the meaning of the word *gazzetta* is not entirely clear and was also used to indicate other writings with news-related themes, it attests to the widening readership of news.[471]

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[467] Petitjean, *L'intelligence des choses*, 99–106.
[468] Mario Infelise, "News Networks between Italy and Europe," in *The Dissemination of News and the Emergence of Contemporaneity in Early Modern Europe*, ed. Brendan Dooley (Farnham: Ashgate, 2010), 58.
[469] Secondo Lancellotti, *L'hoggidi overo gl'ingegni non inferiori a' passati. Parte seconda. Con alcuni discorsi nel fine intitolati sfoghi di mente* (Venezia: appresso Paolo & Gaspare Guerigli, 1636), 450; also mentioned in Infelise, *Prima dei giornali*, 12: "Di bellissimo ingegno io stimo che sia stata la trovata d'inviare gli avvisi de' successi massime de' prencipi di tutto'l mondo in ogni parte, e sapere quello che fassi in Roma, in Francia, in Ispagna, in Germania, et altrove senza spendere un frullo".
[470] De Vivo, *Information and Communication in Venice*, 123–25.
[471] Mario Infelise, "The History of a Word: Gazzetta / Gazette," in *News Networks in Early Modern Europe*, ed. Joad Raymond and Noah Moxham (Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2016), 241–60.

Having outlined the world of information in Venice in the second half of the sixteenth century, I will now turn to how Cosimo Bartoli fits into this context. Chapter 4 will describe the digital methods used in this project to transcribe the copious correspondence Bartoli wrote and sent to Florence—a letter and a newsletter every week for a decade. These documents, which will be analysed in Chapter 5, provide a priceless window on his role as an agent and information master. While research on Bartoli's Venetian period has previously been done by Bryce and Benini Clementi,[472] this study concentrates on his function as an information gatherer for the Medici in Venice. Using his letters, I will reconstruct the network of individuals Bartoli interacted with in Venice, those he met, corresponded with and obtained information from. A thorough examination of his newsletters will clarify why certain news items were reported in the letters while others were in the newsletters. It will also shed light on the information-gathering process that Bartoli engaged in, whether he simply copied newsletters already composed by newswriters, or whether he actively sought out news items from a range of sources, sorted through them, and composed the news sheets.

[472] Benini Clementi, "Annotazioni sul soggiorno veneziano di Cosimo Bartoli"; Bryce, *Cosimo Bartoli (1503-1572): The Career of a Florentine Polymath*, 85–159.

ANNEX ONE

ASF, Mediceo del Principato 2634, fol. 687r-688r, 22 April 1562, Rough Copy of the Diplomatic Instruction to Cosimo Bartoli

When you arrive in Venice, you will present the credential letter that you bring with you to the Serene Doge, having first asked for a public hearing, where after the due compliments, you have to show two things: the first is our affection and observance towards that most Illustrious Republic, as its sons; the other is the desire that we have for the greatness of that Republic, and to do everything grateful towards it, for the splendour that it brings to the whole of Italy, and for the love that it has always shown us. Spend praiseworthy and affectionate words, offer yourselves promptly to serve His Serenity, and honour Him while doing your duties for us, knowing that this is our mind.	Conferito che vi sarete in Venetia, presenterete la lettera credentiale che portate al Serenissimo Doge, domandata prima la pubblica audientia, nella quale dopo li dovuti complementi havete a mostrare largamente due cose; l'una l'affettione, et osservanza nostra verso quella Repubblica Illustrissima come figliuoli che le siamo, l'altra il desiderio che tenemo d'ogni grandezza di quella, et di farle cosa grata, per lo splendore che di lei ne resulta a tutta Italia, et per l'amor che ci ha sempre dimostro, allargandovi con parole lodevoli et affettuose et offerendovi pronto mentre che exerciterete il nostro carico a servir Sua Serenità et honorarla, sapendo esser così la mente nostra.
Visit then the nuncio of His Holiness, with whom you must keep a close relationship, both because he is a virtuous person and a friend of us, and because he is a	Havete a visitar di poi il Nuntio di Sua Santità con il quale vi dovete intertenere strettamente, sì per esser persona virtuosa, et amica nostra, sì anco sendo

minister of His Beatitude, who is our father and master. Through a cautious and continuous conversation with him, you will learn and understand many things that happen that will honour you and satisfy and serve us.	ministro di Sua Beatitudine che ci è padre et Signore, oltre che con la conversatione circumspetta et continua, ne caverete et intenderete molte cose che passano, che vi faranno honore, et a noi satisfatione, et servitio.
Make yourself confident with the secretary or agent of the Majesty of the Catholic King, with whom you must keep a familiar and close relationship, showing him our devotion and willingness to serve that Majesty on every suitable occasion, which certainly cannot be any warmer or greater.	Fatevi confidente del Secretario o Agente della Maestà del Re Cattolico col quale havete a tenere familiare et domestica pratica, representandogli sempre in buona occasione quale sia la devotione, et servitù nostra verso quella Maestà che certo non può essere nè più calda nè maggiore.
With the minister of the Holy Roman Empire, behave in the same way [damaged line] inclined and attached to the August House of Austria, and that we have set it as our main aim, we wish that not only from our actions but also from those of our ministers and servants, they will know our mind and availability towards their Majesties.	Con il Ministro Cesareo vi governerete nel medesimo modo [damaged line] inclinati, et additti alla Augustissima Casa d'Austria, et che ce le habbiamo proposta per principalissimo obietto, vogliamo che non solo dalle nostre attioni, ma anco da quelle de ministri, et servitori nostri conoschino questo nostro animo, et ferma deliberatione verso lor Maestà.
Entertain yourselves modestly with the other royal ambassadors and ministers without neglecting to offer your service and show our kindness to them, in particular with that of France, with respect to the interest that we have with the Queen Mother. Try to be vigilant, continually declaring our good will	Intertenetevi modestamente con li altri Imbasciatori et ministri Regii, non pretermettendo officio, nè amorevolezza a nome nostro con essi loro, et particularmente con quel di Francia, rispetto allo interesse c'habbiamo con la Regina Madre, ingegnandovi più di stare advertito di continuo a declarare la buona

towards each Majesty and proceeding cautiously so that you bring home much more than you give.	voluntà nostra verso ciascuna Maestà et a proceder cauto di maniera che riportiate a casa molto più di quel che date.
Honour any other ambassador and minister as much as you can without harming our dignity, especially that of Savoy, with whom you do not have to compete for precedence since this has long belonged to him.	Honorate in quel che potete, salva la dignità nostra, ogni altro Imbasciatore, et ministro, maximo quel di Savoia col quale non havete a competere la precedentia, sendo anticamente sua.
But with Genoa, Ferrara, Mantua, Urbino, and the like, never give up on the precedence, but rather step forward with modesty, using gravity, and prudence in all of our affairs.	Ma con Genova, Ferrara, Mantova, Urbino et simili altri, non cedete mai, anzi fatevi vivo con la modestia che conviene, usando in tutte le cose nostre gravità, et prudentia.
There are some families that are friends of ours, such as Dolfina, Cornara, Grimanna, Lippomanna, Baduera, and others, which you will discover and get to know as you deal with them, but you can use them as you see fit.	Noi vi habbiamo alcune casate che ci si mostrano amiche come la Dolfina, la Cornara, la Grimanna, Lippomanna, Baduera, et altre, che nel trattarle di mano in mano l'anderete scoprendo, et conoscendo, però potrete farne quel capitale che vi parerà di poter fare.
The core of your office consists of acquiring friends and partisans in the ways you judge best suited to the moods you will discover there; carrying out our commissions with prudence, speed, solicitude, and love; and using diligence to understand everything, and to write it down for us, with all of the circumstances and details that will be said, regardless if they seem to be of little or no importance, because sometimes from such gossip	Il nervo dell'offitio vostro consiste in acquistarci delli amici, et partigiani con l'arte che giudicherete convenir alli humori che scoprirete; in exeguire le commessioni con prudentia, destrezza, sollecitudine, et amore; et in usare diligentia d'intender ogni cosa, et scrivercela, con tutte le circunstantie, et minutie che si diranno, non guardando che siano di poco, o nulla momento, perchè talvolta da simili ciance, et baie, si

and tattle, one learns more than is clearly shown. For the rest, we trust your prudence and that you will treat our affairs with faith, love, and that vigilance that the role you represent requires.	trahe più di quel che pare che le mostrino in faccia. Del resto ci rimettiamo alla prudentia vostra, confidando che tratterete le faccende nostre con fede, amore, et con quella vigilantia che ricerca il carico che voi representate.

ANNEX TWO

ASF, Mediceo del Principato 2633, II, fol. 487r-490v, Anonymous and Undated Series of Precepts and Advice for the Florentine Resident in Venice[473]

When the Most Serene Grand Duke's Minister arrives in Venice, the Republic uses any courtesy formula, or if one goes directly to his quarters.	*Se in arrivando il Ministro del Serenissimo Gran Duca a Venetia, la Repubblica usi termine alcuno di cortesia, o pure se si vadia a dirittura a sbarcare al suo alloggiamento.*
Ministers who do not have the title of Ambassador (as is known to Your Most Illustrious Lordship) have no apparent ceremony and go to their quarters, and many hours may pass that they are not even visited, as was the case in my time.	I Ministri che non hanno il titolo d'Ambasciatore, (come sa Vostra Signoria Illustrissima), non hanno cirimonie apparenti, e vanno a scavalcare a i loro propri alloggiamenti, et per il più a ore, e tempi; che sieno manco visti, e così successe ne tempi miei.
How to request an audience, whom to contact, which quality of the person to be sent and how to request the audience the first time.	*Come si usi domandar l'Audienza, a chi si faccia capo, et che qualità di persona si mandi per detta Audienza, et la prima volta che termine si tenga.*
The audience must be requested at the Savio di settimana at the Palace and the entrance of the Collegio. It is always held in the morning, and the first time, the	L'Audienza si manda a domandare al savio di settimana al Palazzo, et alla Porta del

[473] I have included the full transcription here because, to the best of my knowledge, only an excerpt of this document has ever been transcribed and published (see Volpini, *Ambasciatori nella prima età moderna tra corti italiane ed europee*, 70–71). To improve the visual clarity of the document's dialogue structure, I italicized the questions.

Postmaster of Florence is usually sent. Any servant can then be sent. *Whether the Republic always grants the audience when requested, whether it negotiates matters with delegates or always in public.* Ministers of Princes are never denied an audience, and private Ministers not only go to the Palace but also to the antechamber of the Collegio, with the certainty of obtaining the audience and there they request it. *Whether the negotiations, after having talked about them in the substance, are written down or how the answers are received.* If the matter is serious and lengthy, negotiations could be written down. Still, usually, the Minister talks to the Doge, who gives general answers and says that those gentlemen will consult and provide the answer. When they have decided in Pregadi, they call that Minister to the Collegio and read him the decisions taken, which constitute the answer. *What kind of compliment is to be paid the first time, whether standing or sitting, whether covered or uncovered, whether to speak loudly or in plain speech, or in oration.*	Collegio, e sempre si dà la mattina, et la prima volta si suol mandare il maestro delle poste di Fiorenza, e si può mandare ogni servitore. *Se la Repubblica dia sempre l'Audienza, quando si domanda; se si negotia mai con persone deputate, overo sempre, in publico.* Non si suol mai negare l'audienza a i Ministri de Principi, et i Ministri privati vanno non solo in Palazzo, ma anco nell'anticamera del Collegio con certezza d'haverla, e quivi la domandono. *Se il negotio che si rappresenta, doppo havendo in sostanza detto, si lasci in scritto, e come se ne riceva la risposta.* Se è negotio grave e lungo si può lassare in scritto, ma per ordinario si parla con il Doge, il quale dà risposte generali, e poi dice che quei signori consulteranno, e se li darà la risposta, e quando hanno resoluto in Pregadi chiamono quel Ministro al Collegio, e gli leggono le resolutioni fatte, e quella è la risposta. *Che sorte di complimento si faccia la prima volta; se si sta in piedi, o a sedere, se coperto, o scoperto, se si usi parlare forte overo in modo di discorso semplice, overo d'oratione.* Si entra in Collegio con le solite reverenze, et si va fino alla scala o gradi; e lì si ferma

The Minister enters the Collegio with the usual reverence and goes to the stairs or steps. There he stands and begins to speak uncovered. The Doge makes him cover, and he talks. The letter of credence is handed to a Secretary standing nearby, who reads it out loud. All ends with words of ceremony. The Minister should speak loudly so that everyone can hear. *Whether the Minister of the Grand Duke has any exemption in taxes, has the power to carry arms, how justice is applied to the house of the Resident.* Exemptions include carrying his belongings and other things. There is no difficulty in carrying arms for his family, and Ministers and their houses are respected by justice and by all. Still, there is no franchigia, and it is not advisable to take risks in serious matters. *Which visits should be made on arrival, and whether France, Spain, or His Holiness's Nuntio are used to return the visit. Whether Savoy should be visited first, and whether the other Ministers of the Princes of Italy, who do not have the title of Ambassador, should visit the Minister of the Grand Duke first; and if they do have the title of Ambassador,*	in piedi, e discoperto si comincia a parlare. Il Doge fa coprire, e si parla, e la lettera credentiale si dà a un Segretario che sta in piedi lì vicino, il quale la legge forte, et con parole di cirimonie si finisce, et si parla forte che ogn'uno senta. *Se il Ministro del Gran Duca ha esentione alcuna, o di Gabelle, o di Dazi; Del potere fare portare arme; Come la Giustitia porti rispetto alla casa del Residente.* L'esentioni sono di portare, et riportare le sue robe, e qualch'altra cosa, et quanto al portar l'arme per la famiglia non vi è difficoltà, et sono rispettati i Ministri, et le lor case, e dalla giustitia, et da tutti, ma non è già franchigia, et per cose gravi non sarà bene arrisicarsi. *Che sorte di visite si devino fare all'arrivo, et se Francia, Spagna, Il Nuntio di Sua Santità usino rendere la visita. Se Savoia si visita prima, e si li altri Ministri de Principi d'Italia, che non habbino Carattere d'Ambasciatore visitino prima loro il Ministro del Gran Duca; e sebene habbino Carattere d'Ambasciatori come Mantova, Parma, Urbino, e simili venghino prima loro a visitare.* Si visitono il Nuntio, e Ambasciatore dell'Imperatore, e poi quanto al visitare Francia, e Spagna vi erono de fastidi già; perchè chi visitava prima l'uno, era poi ributtato dall'altro, e si cercava d'andare,

such as Mantua, Parma, Urbino, and the like, they should visit them first. The Nuntio and the Emperor's Ambassador are visited first. Then, with regard to the visits to France and Spain, there have been problems in the past: whoever visited one of the two countries first was then rejected by the other, so the Minister tried to go when one was absent. England also demanded to be visited first. Ambassadors are all visited first, and the Minister expects to be visited by the other private Ministers. This is the ordinary rule, but some do otherwise, but it is an extraordinary courtesy. *The Grand Duke's Minister must go to Rialto or Piazza San Marco in the morning to find out what is happening and how it is used. Whether he carries a velvet pillow in the churches or on the gondola.* In my time and before, one always went to San Marco and Rialto in the morning and to private Ministers in the evening, and the Ambassadors sent their Secretaries there. However, I do not know how it is done now; I only know that Mister Sacchetti avoided doing it. *Whether the Resident must give the place to the Florentine Gentlemen or other Vassals of His Highness, either in his*	quando l'uno di questi era assente, et anco Inghilterra pretendeva. Gli Ambasciatori si visitono tutti prima, e da gl'altri ministri privati s'aspetta d'essere visitato, e questa è regola ordinaria vi è ben chi fa diversamente ma è cortesia straordinaria. *Che il Ministro del Gran Duca deva la mattina andare in Rialto, o a Santo Marco per sapere quel che passa, e come si usi: se si porti cuscino nelle Chiese, di velluto, com'ancora alla Gondola.* In mio tempo e prima sempre si andava a San Marco, e Rialto mattina, e sera da i ministri privati e gl'Ambasciatori vi mandavono i Segretari. Sento che il signore Sacchetti se n'asteneva, non so però come s'usassi ora. *Se il Residente dia in Casa sua, o in gondola il luogo alli Gentilhuomini Fiorentini, o altri Vassalli di Sua Altezza, et se mai si ritrovi in luoghi publici con il Consolo della Nazione, et se al detto Consolo in casa, o in Gondola si dia il luogo.* Al Consolo della Natione si deve lasciare il primo luogo solo nella sua festa in Chiesa, e ne suo Tribunale, e così m'ordinò il Gran Duca Ferdinando di gloriosa memoria; nella Gondola, e Casa propria si può usare cortesia, perchè non si pregiudica; Io non

house or on the gondola, and when he is in public areas with the Consul of the Nation; whether it is appropriate to give the place to the Consul, either in his house or on the gondola. The Consul of the [Florentine] Nation must be given the first place only during his feast in the Church and in his Court, as the Grand Duke Ferdinand of glorious memory ordered me. Courtesy may be used in the gondola and in one's own house because it does not harm. I have never had occasion to give or receive annoyance. *What kind of formalities does the Grand Duke's Postmaster perform in regard to His Highness's Resident.* On your first arrival, the Postmaster must be available to Your Illustrious Lordship in order to go back and forth as needed, being as he is the Nation's caretaker; he may go to the Palace to ask for the first audience, making known Your Illustrious Lordship's arrival; he must then come and take the letters from you to send and bring those that come, and be ready for anything. *How often His Highness's Minister visits Ambassadors or Ministers of Princes.*	hebbi mai occasione alcuna di dare, o ricevere disgusti. *Che sorte di servitù usi fare il maestro delle Poste del Gran Duca al Residente di Sua Altezza.* Il Maestro delle Posta nel primo arrivo dovrà essere da Vostra Signoria Illustrissima per andare innanzi, et indietro secondo il bisogno, essendo come bidello della Nazione; Potrà andare a domandare l'audienza a Palazzo facendo sapere l'arrivo di Vostra Signoria Illustrissima, deve poi venire a pigliare le lettere da lei per mandare, e portarle quelle che vengono, et esser pronto a tutto. *Come il Ministro di Sua Altezza usi spesso visitare gl'Ambasciatori, o Ministri de Principi.* Con gl'Ambasciatori doppo havere fatto le prime visite, è poi arbitrario l'andare più, o meno, ma la carestia di conversatione, che hanno i Ministri, gli necessita ad essere fra di loro spesso et il desiderio di sentire nuove. *Che sorte di Casa, o di servitù possa bastare al Ministro sopradetto, e quanto fitto di Casa.* Una casa di fino a 150 ducati di fitto, e cinque, o sei servitori bastono per

With the Ambassadors, after the first visits, it is then arbitrary how often to visit them, but the scarcity of conversation, which the Ministers have, as well as the desire to hear new things, forces them to be with each other often. *What kind of house or household can suffice for the above-mentioned Minister, and how much rent for the house he should pay.* A house of up to 150 ducats rent and five or six servants is enough for the ordinary; whoever wants more, can do as he pleases. *Whether they customarily make provisions in time for the expenses of the house and whether they give a percentage to the servants and how much.* I have not seen in Venice the percentage given to anyone other than the Gondolier as money, nor do I believe it could be done if it were not a large house of some Ambassador. *Whether at Christmas or other times, they give gratuities, and to whom, and whether the Grand Duke reimburses them.* Gratuities are given at Christmas, and they are then reimbursed by the Grand Duke, and there must be a note, but I don't remember it, and I also believe that	ordinario, chi ne vuole più può fare a suo arbitrio. *Se si usino fare le provisioni a i tempi per la spesa della Casa, e se si stili dare la parte alli servitori, et quanta.* Io non ho visto dare la parte a Venetia ad altri che al Gondolieri in danari, né credo che si possa fare, se non fussi una Casa grande di qualche Ambasciatore. *Se il Natale, o per altri tempi, si usino dare Mancie, et a chi, et se il Gran Duca le fa buone.* Si danno non so che mancie al Natale, e sono fatte buone poi dal Gran Duca, et ve ne suole essere una nota, ma io non me ne ricordo per appunto, e credo anco che nella prima giunta se ne dia non so che, ma veramente non me ne ricordo, et il Bartoli, et il Maestro della Posta lo sapranno. Quando il Residente vuole spedire Corrieri, o staffette, et haverle in punto, Paga il Maestro della Posta, e poi il Residente li fa il mandato perchè li sieno resi i danari spesi: Deve anco fare sapere quando nessuno Mercante spedisce, o altri ancora, perchè il Residente possa scrivere volendo, e informare, et avvertire dove faccia di bisogno.

during the first arrival some gratuities are given, but I don't know, and I really don't remember, and Bartoli and the Postmaster will know. When the Resident wants to send couriers and have them on demand, he pays the Postmaster, and then the Resident makes the mandate so that the money spent is returned to him. The Postmaster must also let him know when Merchants or others send couriers so that the Resident may write, inform, and warn where he needs. *Whether the Republic customarily appoints Nobles or Secretaries, especially to listen to the Ministers of Princes.* The Ministers of Princes talk about all that they need in the full Collegio and to the Doge himself, and not elsewhere, nor have I ever seen or understood that any Nobleman or Secretary has been appointed to listen to them; the custom may perhaps now be changed, but I do not know, nor do I believe it. *How the first compliment in the Collegio happens, the first time the Minister goes to the Audience, and whether the credential letter is presented before he starts speaking or when.*	*Se usi la Repubblica deputare Nobili, o Segretari in spetie per sentire Ministri de Principi.* I Ministri de Principi rappresentono tutto quello che gl'occorre nel pieno Collegio, e non altrove, et al medesimo Doge, né io ho mai visto, et inteso che sia stato deputato Nobile, o Segretario per sentirli, potria forsi ora essersi mutato l'uso ma non lo so, né lo credo. *In quello che versi il primo complimento che si fa in Collegio la prima volta che il Ministro va all'Audienza, et se la lettera credentiale si presenta avanti che si cominci a parlare o quando.* Io ho visto usare, et usai entrato in Collegio la prima volta con le debite reverenze di andare al luogo solito de i Ministri che non hanno il titolo d'Ambasciatore, che è rincontro al Doge a piede de i scalini; et lì fermato in piedi, et discoperto portando la lettera credentiale in mano, cominciare a dire: Il Gran Duca mio Signore mi manda a far reverenza a Vostra Serenità, et a questi Signori Eccellentissimi, et risedere a suo nome; sì come questa lettera di Sua Altezza le darà conto, la quale io supplico Vostra Serenità a comandare che sia letta; et facendo segno di baciarla, si porge a un Segretario che è lì in piedi, il qual la piglia, et la legge

I have seen it customary, and I was used to it, when I entered the Collegio the first time with due reverence, going to the usual place for Ministers who do not have the title of Ambassador, which is opposite the Doge, at the foot of the stairs; and there standing, and uncovered, carrying the credential letter in hand, beginning with "The Grand Duke my Lord sends me to do reverence to Your Serenity, and these Most Excellent Gentlemen, and reside in his name; as this letter from His Highness will inform you, which I beseech Your Serenity to command to be read"; and making a sign to kiss it, handing it to a Secretary who is standing there, who takes it and reads it aloud. After it has been read, the Minister presents his embassy, denoting that the Grand Duke, wishing to continue and increase the good intelligence and correspondence of his predecessors, wants to maintain the custom of keeping one who resides in his name with His Serenity and with deference represents his filial affection. Your Illustrious Lordship will know better how to say this than I do. The Doge then courteously replies as much as he needs to, so the Minister takes his leave and leaves the Collegio. It could be that immediately after reading the Grand Duke's letter, the Doge starts	forte. Doppo letta, si espone la sua ambasciata, denotando, che il Gran Duca, volendo continuare, et accrescere la buona intelligenza et corrispondenza de suoi antecessori, et mantenere l'uso di tenere di continuo uno che risedendo a suo nome appresso Sua Serenità, et con l'ossequio rappresenti il suo affetto filiale. In questo saprà meglio di me dire Vostra Signoria Illustrissima. Il Doge risponde poi cortesissimamente quanto gli occorre, et così si licentia il Ministro et se n'esce di Collegio, potrebb'essere, che subito letta la lettera del Gran Duca il Doge si mettesse a parlar lui, nel qual caso doppo ch'egli ha finito, il ministro fa la sua espositione. *Se si porti Coscino di Velluto in Chiesa, e se alla Gondola si porti e adopri velluto, o Coscino.* Il velluto alla Gondola lo portano gl'Ambasciatori, come anco il coscino in Chiesa, e quello è il segno loro per essere conosciuti per Ambasciatori. Quelli che non hanno titolo d'Ambasciatore non lo portano, o almeno in tempo mio mai lo portò nessuno, e sarebbono stati burlati, anzi io fui informato diversamente, sì che feci il velluto, et il coscino, et credo haverlo ancora senz'haverlo mai adoprato. Nella mia partenza, par che il Signor Sacchetti volessi portarlo, et era male intesa, e

to speak, in which case, after he has finished, the Minister makes his exposition. *Whether you bring a velvet pillow in church and whether you bring and use the velvet and the pillow in the gondola.* The velvet on the gondola is brought by Ambassadors, as is the pillow in church, and this is their sign to be recognised as Ambassadors. Those who do not have the title of Ambassador do not bring it, or at least in my time, no one ever did, and they would have been mocked. Indeed, I was informed otherwise, so I acquired the velvet and the pillow, and I believe I still have them without ever having used them. When I left, it seemed that Mister Sacchetti wanted to use it, and it was misunderstood by the other ministers and everyone. However, I do not know what happened and what use there is now. *Whether the Grand Duke reimburses the letters' expenses.* Letters that come and go through the couriers of Florence do not have to be paid for. Letters that come from the courts of the Emperor, the King of Poland, the Archdukes, and the Dukes of Bavaria and Lorraine, which are ordinary, especially to the Caesarean Court, are	dagl'altri Ministri, et da tutti, io non so però quel che seguissi, et che uso vi sia adesso. *Se il Gran Duca faccia buoni i porti di lettere.* Le lettere che vanno, et vengono per i procacci, et Corrieri di Fiorenza, certo è che non si pagano. Le lettere che vanno per servitio di Sua Altezza, et vengono dalle Corti dell'Imperatore, del Re di Pollonia, da gl'Arciduchi, et Duchi di Baviera, Lorena, che sono ordinarie massime alla Corte Cesarea, si pigliono quelle che vengono da i Maestri delle Poste del Imperatore, et a lor medesimi si mandono quelle che vanno, et quasi di continuo vi son grossi mazzi, et loro notano i porti a volta per volta, e in capo di dui, o tre mesi ne portano la lista al residente, il quale li fa un ordine sotto quella lista in uno de i Signori Fiorentini che ha cura di pagare, che in mio tempo erano prima i Carnesecchi, e Cambii, poi Riccardi, et Mannelli, et quelli pagano, et si fanno rifare in Fiorenza, dove anche il Residente ne dà cenno al primo Segretario di Stato. Se bisogni spedire corrieri, o staffette al Residente per servitio del Gran Duca l'ordina al maestro delle Poste di Fiorenza, il quale spedisce, et doppo qualche settimana dà la nota al Residente che la

taken by the Emperor's Postmasters, and those to send are given to them as well, and almost continuously there are large bundles of letters, and Postmasters note the costs every time. At the end of every two or three months, a list is sent to the Resident, who orders payment to one of the Florentine gentlemen, who are entrusted with this function. In my time, these gentlemen were first the Carnesecchi and the Cambii, then the Riccardi and the Mannelli. They pay and ask to get reimbursed from Florence. And the Resident must inform the First Secretary of State of that. If it is necessary to send couriers on behalf of the Grand Duke, the Resident orders the Postmaster of Florence, who then sends the courier. After a few weeks, the Postmaster sends a note to the Resident, who signs it and orders the gentleman in charge of His Highness's payments to make the payment. In regard to the Pope's post, when I was in Venice, first I had to pay for it, but then they gave me the favor always to get the service free up to three ounces, and this should continue. *If the Grand Duke reimburses the Resident every year for writing expenses, such as sheets, pens, and other things necessary for this purpose.*	sottoscrive, ordinando a quel medesimo Gentilhuomo che suol pagare per Sua Altezza. Della Posta del Papa quando io ero in Venetia prima si pagavano, ma me ne fecero gratia che per tre oncie mi fossero date sempre gratis; et si deve continuare. *Se il Gran Duca faccia buono al Residente qualche cosa l'anno per la spesa dello scrivere, cioè per fogli, penne, et altre cose per tal effetto.* Non si è fatto mai buono niente al mio tempo per tal cosa, né meno se n'è mai parlato né forsi pensato; et pure per 14 primi anni mi davano solo 50 scudi il mese, adesso non so come si usi. Si fanno buone le mancie che si danno al Natale per circa 30 scudi l'anno, et quando viene forestieria mandata per servitio di Sua Altezza sogliono rifare le spese che se li fa, sebene io hebbi in ciò mala fortuna.

I was never reimbursed for this during my time, nor was it ever talked about or even thought about. I only received 50 scudi a month for the first 14 years, now I don't know how it is. The Christmas gratuities are reimbursed at about 30 scudi a year, and when a group is sent on behalf of His Highness, the expenses are usually paid back, although I have had bad luck in this.	

CHAPTER FOUR

THE DIGITAL PROJECT

This chapter describes the digital project built around the letters and manuscript newsletters that Cosimo Bartoli wrote to Cosimo I and Francesco de' Medici while serving as their agent in Venice. It might appear out of place here, positioned between the investigation of Bartoli's background, his appointment and his duties as an agent, and the Venetian information system analysed in Chapters 2 and 3, and the discussion of the findings in Chapter 5. Its placement, however, is deliberate and critically important.

This chapter serves two purposes. On the one hand, it explains the digital methods employed to produce the transcriptions and data that will serve as the basis of the analysis in Chapter 5. It details the technologies and methodological approaches, providing transparency into the research process. On the other hand, the project has required a thorough assessment of the technologies available for the transcription and publication of historical primary sources. Sharing this evaluation aims to advance the knowledge of archivists and scholars of how digital methods, specifically Handwritten Text Recognition and crowdsourcing, can be combined to increase the accessibility and study of archival collections via digital means.

The digital project related to this research was conceived and developed within the EURONEWS Project (ENP), which was funded by the Irish Research Council and hosted at University College Cork from 2019 to 2023. The ENP aimed to investigate the phenomenon of news circulation in early modern Europe, focusing on the invaluable collection of manuscript newsletters gathered by the Medici Grand Dukes thanks to their dense network of diplomats and informers throughout Europe and currently held at the State Archives of Florence.[474]

[474] "EURONEWS."

The ENP team self-digitised the manuscript newsletters and uploaded them to the Medici Interactive Archive (MIA) platform,[475] created and maintained by the Medici Archive Project.[476] While conventional digitisation is expensive, time-consuming, and laborious, and because of the insufficient resources to handle the entire archive, comprising over 15 million documents, MIA seeks to digitally reconstruct and preserve the Medici Archive through self-digitisation and self-archiving practises. MIA transcends the fixed structure of the physical archive and replaces the traditional archival catalogue. Records are created for individual documents and enriched with transcriptions, synopses, metadata, and tags, thus making document-level searching possible. In addition, it provides a platform where scholars can readily work on the documents by transcribing, adding metadata, searching, gathering documents by topics, and, if they choose, making their work and findings publicly available to the entire early modern community.[477] This initiative (and others outlined below) provided a model for the Bartoli project.

After self-digitising the documents in the archive and uploading the images to MIA, the ENP team catalogued, transcribed, and tagged the manuscript newsletters within the platform. The first step in creating a document in the MIA portal is to select the images, i.e. the pages comprising the document, and add the basic metadata, including the date, language, and document typology from a controlled list. The second step consists of transcribing the entire document or a section and creating an English synopsis. Moreover, document searchability is enhanced by selecting the names and places mentioned in the document from a specific database developed within MIA. The person and place metadata depend on the document typology. For instance, in a letter, one can add the sender, the recipient, and any other individuals mentioned in or linked to the document, as well as the sender's and the recipient's locations. On the other hand, with manuscript newsletters, the fields that can be entered are the compiler, related people, place of compilation, and places where the news came from. Lastly, it is possible to select one or more topics covered in the document from a limited list of forty-five topics, the majority of which are related to material culture.

[475] "MIA (Medici Interactive Archive)."
[476] Assonitis, "The Expanding Role of Digitized Collections"; Paltrinieri and Allori, "A Collaborative Workspace for Archival Research"; Colin Rose, "Assonitis, Alessio, Project Dir. The Medici Archive Project. Database," *Renaissance and Reformation* 45, no. 2 (2022): 259–61, https://doi.org/10.33137/rr.v45i2.39766.
[477] Assonitis, "The Expanding Role of Digitized Collections," 266–67, 269–73.

While entering the first newsletters in MIA, the ENP team noticed that MIA's structure prevented them from capturing all of the data required for the subsequent analysis of the news circulation, the information agents, and the macro themes covered in the newsletters. Because of this, they decided to enrich the transcription in MIA with XML fragments, in order to define additional metadata fields that specifically deal with the news and track the path of each piece of news though time and space, from the location and time of the event to the location, time, and means of its distribution, to the compilation of the newsletter and its delivery to Florence.[478]

While analysing the newsletters in the Medici Archive within the ENP, I encountered the 500 newsletters sent by Cosimo Bartoli during his 10-year residency as an agent in Venice. This is a fairly large and uniform corpus that can be used to study the availability of news to an agent such as Bartoli and the dynamics of news circulation in mid-sixteenth-century Venice. The Medici Archive also preserves the letters, 736 in all, for the most part bound in six volumes, sent weekly by Bartoli to Cosimo I de' Medici until 1564, and then to his son Francesco. Originally, the newsletters were attached to the letters, but later, they were separated and bound in three separate volumes. Digital technologies, however, enable the digital reconstruction of archives that no longer exist,[479] or, as in this instance, the reunion of documents whose original bond vanished due to archival practices. Because of the uniqueness, the idea of transcribing, analysing, and digitally reuniting Cosimo Bartoli's letters and newsletters arose. The aim is to make all of the documents accessible, searchable, and readable in their original context, as well as discovering if the reconstructed original link between the letters and newsletters sheds new light on their interpretation.

While looking for ways to manage and valorise the mass of Bartoli's material, during the first phase of the COVID pandemic, in the spring of 2020, I attended two online workshops on Transkribus, organised by Annemieke Romein, followed by a more advanced

[478] Wouter Kreuze, "Temporal Philology. Reconstructing Patterns of Avvisi Creation and Distribution with Travel Times," *Magazén* 3, no. 1 (2022): 16–20, https://doi.org/10.30687/mag/2724-3923/2022/05/001; Lorenzo Allori et al., "Transcription Xml Encoding Guidelines," GitHub, accessed January 6, 2024, https://perma.cc/FT6E-8C4P; Sara Mansutti et al., "1600: A Year to Remember," in *Exciting News! Event, Narration and Impact from Past to Present*, ed. Brendan Dooley and Alexander Samuel Wilkinson (Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2024), 15–40, https://doi.org/10.1163/9789004689831_003.

[479] Peter Crooks and Gary Munnelly, "Towards an Archive of the Future: Reconstructing Ireland's Lost History through the Beyond 2022 Project," in *Proceedings of the 32st ACM Conference on Hypertext and Social Media* (HT '21: 32nd ACM Conference on Hypertext and Social Media, ACM, 2021), https://doi.org/10.1145/3465336.3475090; "Research Programme," Virtual Treasury, accessed January 7, 2024, https://perma.cc/RGC9-Z5YZ.

one in October of the same year.[480] Transkribus is a platform that uses Handwritten Text Recognition (HTR) technology to automatically transcribe manuscripts and printed documents.[481] The idea to use Transkribus for transcribing Cosimo Bartoli's vast collection developed after following these workshops, also considering the large number of documents and the limited time and resources at the disposal of a Ph.D. student. I first collaborated with three other early modern scholars, Jake Dyble, Antonio Iodice, and Rachel Midura, to train together a model capable of automatically transcribing early modern Italian archival documents. In addition to being publicly available to any user of the Transkribus platform,[482] the resulting model served as the base for training a specialised model on the hands found in Bartoli's documents, as I will detail in the following paragraphs. The model required a fair amount of fine-tuning. Following a quite satisfactory but still provisional specialised model, I decided to process two of the nine volumes with it. The automatic transcription of these two volumes was not only corrected by me, but also by volunteers active within a participatory project I designed and led. The two corrected volumes formed new training data for an even more accurate model, with which the remaining seven volumes were processed. The entire workflow is schematized in Figure 3.

Since my research aims to analyse the newsletter as a documentary unit and does not focus on mapping the spread of individual news items, the encoding using the EURONEWS XML schema was excluded from the start. The initial plan was to transcribe the nine volumes with Transkribus and correct all of them through the participatory project. I quickly realised, however, that this would not have been feasible due to the large number of pages, the small pool of volunteers, and the substantial time commitment required to manage the participatory project. I therefore redesigned the project and decided that all of the volumes would be transcribed automatically using Transkribus, but only two of them, one of letters and one of newsletters, would be corrected manually.

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[480] Christel Annemieke Romein and Johanna Walcher, "Digi-Workshop. Transkribus: Getting Started. The Basics (Powerpoint)," https://doi.org/10.5281/zenodo.3759787; *Digi-Workshop. Transkribus: Getting Started. The Basics (Video)* (Zenodo, 2020), https://zenodo.org/record/3760331; Christel Annemieke Romein, "Digi-Workshop. Transkribus: Advanced (Powerpoint)," https://doi.org/10.5281/zenodo.3834205; *Digi-Workshop. Transkribus: Advanced (Video)* (Zenodo, 2020), https://doi.org/10.5281/zenodo.3834737; Christel Annemieke Romein, "Transkribus Webinar #3 Update & Pylaia (Powerpoint)," https://doi.org/10.5281/zenodo.4073462; *Transkribus Webinar #3 Update & Pylaia (Video)* (Zenodo, 2020), https://doi.org/10.5281/zenodo.4073478.
[481] Muehlberger et al., "Transforming Scholarship in the Archives through Handwritten Text Recognition."
[482] Sara Mansutti, "Cosimo Bartoli's Italian Humanistic and Cursive Scripts (1562-1572)," Transkribus, accessed October 18, 2024, https://perma.cc/8T24-6A8X.

With an accuracy of 96.80% achieved by the best trained model, the automatic transcriptions available in the digital edition (https://smansutti.github.io/cosimobartoli/), even if not perfect, are still a valuable resource for other researchers. Searches for names, places, and terms can be conducted, and the text is accessible to those who cannot physically go to the archive. Furthermore, other kinds of analysis can be performed on the entire corpus. Indeed, it has been proven that texts produced by Optical Character Recognition (OCR) can be effectively used for quantitative historical text analysis, even if they contain noise and have not been manually corrected. A quality threshold between 70 and 90 per cent, depending on the tasks, is sufficient to achieve satisfactory results.[483]

The primary objectives of this digital project are threefold. First, it aims to help me address my research questions on Bartoli's role as an information master in Venice in the second half of the sixteenth-century: what kind of network he established, how he obtained information, how the news in the letters related to the news in the newsletters, and what part Bartoli played in the newsletters' composition. The second goal is to publish the primary sources' transcriptions and enable other researchers to access, search, and reuse them. Finally, the project also served as an experiment to investigate if the use of Artificial Intelligence combined with a participatory project and the commitment of volunteers could pave new paths for the edition of manuscript primary sources.

This chapter is therefore intended to stand as a journal of the digital project built as part of my Ph.D., to explain the decisions taken, as well as a helpful guide for anyone considering using HTR and/or a participatory project to transcribe early modern documents.

[483] Mark J. Hill and Simon Hengchen, "Quantifying the Impact of Dirty OCR on Historical Text Analysis: Eighteenth Century Collections Online as a Case Study," *Digital Scholarship in the Humanities* 34, no. 4 (2019): 825–43, https://doi.org/10.1093/llc/fqz024; Daniel Van Strien et al., "Assessing the Impact of OCR Quality on Downstream NLP Tasks," in *Proceedings of the 12th International Conference on Agents and Artificial Intelligence* (SCITEPRESS - Science and Technology Publications, 2020), 484–96, https://doi.org/10.5220/0009169004840496; Giovanni Colavizza, "Is Your OCR Good Enough? Probably so. Results from an Assessment of the Impact of OCR Quality on Downstream Tasks," KB LAB, 2021, https://perma.cc/UL7V-FWW6.

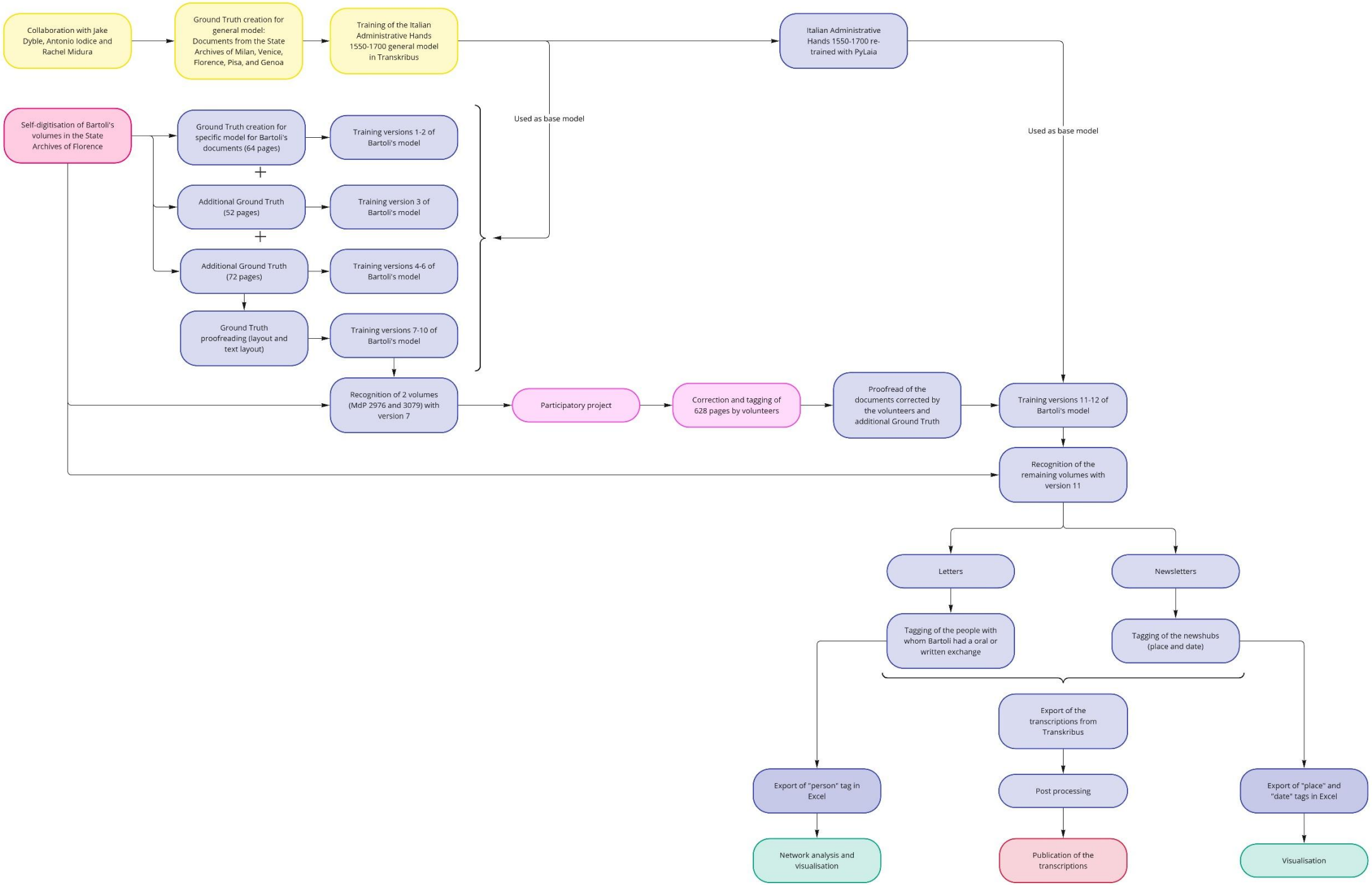


Figure 3. The Flowchart of the Digital Project

4.1 Handwritten Text Recognition of Early Modern Archival Sources

The problem of converting handwritten text into machine-encoded text is not recent and does not only concern cultural institutions such as archives, libraries, and museums. Already in 1957, Dimond researched handwritten character recognition to solve a realistic and onerous problem: how to convert the two billion paper tickets that the Bell System toll switchboard operators produced each year for long-distance calls. He was looking for a method to extract information from the tickets and convert it into a computer-intelligible format. The proposed solutions were two: a stylus-shaped device that recognises characters written on a platen in real time, and a method to constrain character writing to make it more regular and easier to read afterwards by the machine.[484] These solutions, albeit outdated today, exemplify the two main and still actual areas of Handwritten Text Recognition (HTR): online and offline. Online HTR captures the trajectory and movement of the pen while the person is writing the text on an electronic device using a stylus or an electronic pen.[485] On the other hand, in offline HTR, the text is scanned or photographed and the recognition happens on the image without any knowledge of the pen's trajectory during writing. Unless otherwise specified, all references to "Handwritten Text Recognition" or "HTR" in this thesis are to offline HTR, as that is the only area of interest of this study.

Handwritten Text Recognition is the process of converting handwritten text images into machine-readable textual data.[486] It is a complex task which combines two different domains: computer vision to extract features from an input image and automatic language processing to convert those features into an output sequence of characters. To better understand the process, it can be divided into three phases: initially, the image is segmented into lines; subsequently, one or multiple strings of characters are associated with each segment; lastly, to obtain a meaningful transcription, the most likely string of characters is chosen by considering the choices made thus far and the language component.[487] HTR is

[484] T. L. Dimond, "Devices for Reading Handwritten Characters," in *Papers and Discussions Presented at the December 9-13, 1957, Eastern Joint Computer Conference: Computers with Deadlines to Meet* (New York: Association for Computing Machinery, 1957), 232–37, https://doi.org/10.1145/1457720.1457765.
[485] Trishita Ghosh et al., "Advances in Online Handwritten Recognition in the Last Decades," *Computer Science Review* 46 (2022): 100515, https://doi.org/10.1016/j.cosrev.2022.100515.
[486] Christel Annemieke Romein et al., "State of the Field: Digital History," *History* 105, no. 365 (2020): 295, https://doi.org/10.1111/1468-229X.12969.
[487] Phillip Benjamin Ströbel, "Flexible Techniques for Automatic Text Recognition of Historical Documents" (Doctoral Thesis, University of Zurich, 2023), 19–21, https://doi.org/10.5167/uzh-234886.

similar to Optical Character Recognition (OCR): they share the same objective, converting scanned images of text into machine-encoded text. For this reason, the term Automated Text Recognition (ATR) has been coined to group the two technologies.[488] HTR, however, faces many more challenges than OCR. OCR segments text at the character level, automatically isolating each character prior to transcription. When used on handwritten documents, this segmentation method fails because handwritten words frequently contain ligatures that connect one letter to the next, and even when they do not, the blank space that separates one character from another is irregular, unlike in print.[489] Another issue with HTR is the wide variation in writing styles among people, which makes it necessary to use contextual and semantic information in addition to optical recognition.[490] Finally, historical documents pose additional challenges due to their irregular layout, the presence of different scripts and sizes, strikethrough words, and their overall state of preservation, which can have been deteriorated by tears, stains, corrosive ink, or ink bleeding through the paper.[491]

The HTR field has grown significantly over the past twenty years for a variety of reasons. From a technical perspective, the complexity of HTR started to be compared to continuous speech recognition in degraded audio files.[492] The application of techniques that had previously been used for Automatic Speech Recognition, specifically Hidden Markov Models, became one of the most widely used strategies for resolving the HTR problem.[493] Hidden Markov Models, however, failed to take into account context information.[494] HTR was revolutionised by the application of Neural Networks first and, following the rise of deep learning, of Deep Neural Networks, which allowed the recognition of lines of text without any

[488] Christel Annemieke Romein, "Entangled Histories: OCR + HTR = ATR: Automatic Text Recognition," KB LAB, January 6, 2020, https://perma.cc/6Z9Y-AV8H; Ströbel, "Flexible Techniques for Automatic Text Recognition of Historical Documents," 19.
[489] Verónica Romero et al., "Handwritten Text Recognition for Historical Documents," in *Proceedings of the Workshop on Language Technologies for Digital Humanities and Cultural Heritage*, ed. Cristina Vertan et al. (Workshop on Language Technologies for Digital Humanities and Cultural Heritage, Association for Computational Linguistics, 2011), 90–96, https://aclanthology.org/W11-4114.
[490] George Retsinas et al., "Best Practices for a Handwritten Text Recognition System," in *Document Analysis Systems*, ed. Seiichi Uchida, Elisa Barney, and Véronique Eglin, vol. 13237 (Cham: Springer International Publishing, 2022), 248, https://link.springer.com/10.1007/978-3-031-06555-2_17.
[491] Romero et al., "Handwritten Text Recognition for Historical Documents," 91.
[492] Romero et al., 90.
[493] Joan Andreu Sánchez et al., "A Set of Benchmarks for Handwritten Text Recognition on Historical Documents," *Pattern Recognition* 94 (2019): 122, https://doi.org/10.1016/j.patcog.2019.05.025.
[494] Arthur Flor de Sousa Neto et al., "HTR-Flor: A Deep Learning System for Offline Handwritten Text Recognition," in *2020 33rd SIBGRAPI Conference on Graphics, Patterns and Images (SIBGRAPI)*, 2020, 54, https://doi.org/10.1109/SIBGRAPI51738.2020.00016.

prior character segmentation.[495] Moreover, starting in 2010, advancements in research and enhanced hardware made it possible to train models more efficiently and on larger datasets.[496] To date, Convolutional Recurrent Neural Networks (CRNN) represent the state of the art for HTR. [497] In more detail, Convolutional Neural Networks (CNN) are used to extract features from images, while Recurrent Neural Networks (RNN) are used to generate the most likely sequence of characters.[498] The current CRNN approach may be surpassed in the near future by Transformers, which have emerged as a powerful machine-learning architecture, mainly for natural language tasks but with some very promising results also in HTR.[499]

In addition to technological improvements, the development of HTR was also helped by the increase of public datasets of images and transcripts that could be used for training and testing,[500] and by large grants that fostered research in this field. To only focus on Europe, the tranScriptorium project, headed by the University of Valencia, received funding from the European Community's Seventh Framework Program from 2013 to 2016 in order to develop HTR into a mature technology.[501] From 2016 to 2019, the research was continued by the READ project. Funded by the European Union's Horizon 2020 Framework Programme for Research and Innovation and coordinated by the University of Innsbruck, it aimed to make HTR technology accessible to archivists, librarians, scholars, students, genealogists, and volunteers through the creation of a virtual research environment, the Transkribus platform.[502] During the same years, a portion of the funds from the Horizon 2020-funded Resilience project and the French National Research Agency's Biblissima+ project also went towards developing HTR.[503]

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[495] Retsinas et al., "Best Practices for a Handwritten Text Recognition System," 248–49.
[496] Ströbel, "Flexible Techniques for Automatic Text Recognition of Historical Documents," 30–31.
[497] Sánchez et al., "A Set of Benchmarks for Handwritten Text Recognition on Historical Documents," 54.
[498] Ströbel, "Flexible Techniques for Automatic Text Recognition of Historical Documents," 30–31.
[499] Minghao Li et al., "TrOCR: Transformer-Based Optical Character Recognition with Pre-Trained Models" (arXiv, September 6, 2022), https://doi.org/10.48550/arXiv.2109.10282; Phillip Benjamin Ströbel et al., "Transformer-Based HTR for Historical Documents" (arXiv, March 21, 2022), https://doi.org/10.48550/arXiv.2203.11008.
[500] Sánchez et al., "A Set of Benchmarks for Handwritten Text Recognition on Historical Documents," 121.
[501] "tranScriptorium | tranScriptorium Project | Fact Sheet | FP7," CORDIS | European Commission, accessed February 2, 2024, https://perma.cc/S5PA-2DF6.
[502] "Recognition and Enrichment of Archival Documents | READ Project | Fact Sheet | H2020," CORDIS | European Commission, accessed February 2, 2024, https://perma.cc/ZZL3-XMZ8.
[503] "REligious Studies Infrastructure: tooLs, Experts, conNections and CEnters | RESILIENCE Project | Fact Sheet | H2020," CORDIS | European Commission, accessed February 2, 2024, https://perma.cc/D7N2-N7GT;

The spread and growth of HTR beyond academic research, however, have been possible only thanks to the enthusiastic participation of archives and libraries that have increasingly started using HTR to make their digitised manuscripts searchable and readable, even by those without palaeographic skills. Since the 1980s, libraries and archives have been heavily investing in the digitisation of their print and manuscript collections. The emergence of the World Wide Web revolutionised access to digitised materials, allowing users to consult them from everywhere at any time.[504] However, access to a particular document's content remained the same, whether it was presented in a physical copy or a digital surrogate, until it could be converted into electronic text. For this reason, the digitisation of written materials was soon complemented by OCR. The OCR results on historical prints and manuscripts were so poor and had so many misspelt words that it was impossible not only to perform a computational text analysis but even a standard search.[505] With more and more institutions adopting HTR in recent years, this problem has started to be resolved. For instance, the National Archives of Finland automatically transcribed over three million pages of nineteenth-century handwritten court records.[506] Another example is the project that the National Archives of the Netherlands and Noord-Hollands Archief carried out to automatically transcribe three million pages of Dutch archives from the seventeenth, eighteenth, and nineteenth centuries with a character correctness rate of more than 90%.[507]

HTR is demonstrating its power in opening up archives and libraries and democratising access to our written heritage.[508] Nonetheless, even if the HTR technology is mature, its application is still in its infancy: standards on how to handle the HTR text have not yet been developed; many content management systems have not been designed to display the transcribed text next to the digitised image; it is not always specified which texts have been automatically transcribed, which corrected by specialists, and which

"Biblissima+, Observatoire des cultures écrites anciennes, de l'argile à l'imprimé," Agence nationale de la recherche, accessed February 2, 2024, https://perma.cc/X55M-FV6P.

[504] Melissa Terras, "The Rise of Digitization," in *Digitisation Perspectives*, ed. Ruth Rikowski (Rotterdam, Boston and Taipei: Sense Publishers, 2011), 3–20, https://doi.org/10.1007/978-94-6091-299-3_1.

[505] David Smith and Ryan Cordell, "A Research Agenda for Historical and Multilingual Optical Character Recognition" (Northeastern University, 2018), http://hdl.handle.net/2047/D20297452.

[506] "The Finnish Court Records Search Service: You Can Now Use Full-Text Search with over Three Million Hand-Written Pages," Kansallisarkisto, accessed February 3, 2024, https://perma.cc/R4TR-AKEA.

[507] Liesbeth Keijser, "6000 ground truth of VOC and notarial deeds 3.000.000 HTR of VOC, WIC and notarial deeds" (Zenodo, January 21, 2020), https://doi.org/10.5281/zenodo.4159268.

[508] Joe Nockels, Melissa Terras, and Paul Gooding, "A Speculative Design for Future Handwritten Text Recognition: HTR Use, and Its Impact on Historical Research and the Digital Record" (Digital Humanities 2023, Zenodo, June 30, 2023), 254, https://doi.org/10.5281/zenodo.8108002.

crowdsourced, thus raising trust issues for the researcher who would like to use that dataset.[509] Although it is evident that HTR is changing archival document research, as demonstrated by the growing number of articles mentioning the Transkribus platform,[510] no study has yet examined how historians, academics, and the general public access, use, and assess primary sources that have been processed through HTR, and how HTR is affecting research practices. As the increased access to digitised primary sources has transformed the workflow of historians in archival settings,[511] it is to be expected that HTR will have a similarly revolutionary effect on the investigation of our handwritten past.

4.1.1 Evaluating HTR Software Options

When selecting the software to automatically transcribe Bartoli's letters and newsletters in the spring of 2020, the only two options I was aware of were Transkribus and eScriptorium. I will first provide an overview of the currently available solutions for training HTR models and processing images before explaining why my choice was Transkribus. I hope this will benefit early modern historians who are approaching this topic and are interested in understanding the best tool for their needs.

It is first necessary to distinguish between HTR engines and the platforms that utilise them. HTR engines provide the core technology for text recognition and do not come with a user interface. They must be operated via the command line and require programming skills. On the other hand, platforms such as Transkribus and eScriptorium offer a user-friendly interface that enables users to train and run HTR models without having extensive technical knowledge. These platforms incorporate one or more HTR engines but also offer a comprehensive tool for managing the entire transcription process, from the upload to the automatic recognition, manual correction, and exportation.

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[509] Melissa Terras, "The Role of the Library When Computers Can Read: Critically Adopting Handwritten Text Recognition (HTR) Technologies to Support Research," in *The Rise of AI: Implications and Applications of Artificial Intelligence in Academic Libraries*, ed. Sandy Hervieux and Amanda Wheatley (Chicago: ACRL - Association of College & Research Libraries, 2022), 142–44.

[510] Joe Nockels et al., "Understanding the Application of Handwritten Text Recognition Technology in Heritage Contexts: A Systematic Review of Transkribus in Published Research," *Archival Science* 22, no. 3 (2022): 367–92, https://doi.org/10.1007/s10502-022-09397-0.

[511] Alexandra Chassanoff, "Historians and the Use of Primary Source Materials in the Digital Age," *The American Archivist* 76, no. 2 (2013): 458–80.

These are the HTR engines most frequently mentioned in relation to the automatic recognition of historical documents:

- **Kaldi** (open-source): a library originally developed for speech recognition and then adapted for HTR;[512]
- **Kraken** (open-source): an optimised OCR system for historical and non-Latin script material, written by Benjamin Kiessling. It is an extensively rewritten fork of the OCRopus system;[513]
- **PyLaia** (open-source): a toolkit for Automatic Text Recognition and Keyword Spotting. It was written by Joan Puigcerver and Carlos Mocholí in 2018;[514]
- **HTR+** (proprietary): a HTR system developed within the READ project by the Computational Intelligence Laboratory (CITlab) at the University of Rostock and the technology company PLANET. It was licensed for use within Transkribus until November 2022;[515]
- **IDA** (proprietary): a HTR system developed by the technology company PLANET;[516]
- **TrOCR** (open-source): a Transformer-based OCR model that combines an image Transformer as an encoder and a language Transformer as a decoder.[517]

Those engines have been compared in a few studies. In Maarand et al., a dataset of historical documents in Norwegian from the late-nineteenth to early-twentieth century was

[512] Ashish Arora et al., "Using ASR Methods for OCR," in *2019 International Conference on Document Analysis and Recognition (ICDAR)* (2019 International Conference on Document Analysis and Recognition (ICDAR), Sydney: IEEE, 2019), 663–68, https://doi.org/10.1109/ICDAR.2019.00111.
[513] Benjamin Kiessling, "Kraken - a Universal Text Recognizer for the Humanities" (DataverseNL, 2019), https://doi.org/10.34894/Z9G2EX; "Kraken, Version 5.2," kraken, n.d., https://perma.cc/GDZ6-FWPZ; Benjamin Kiessling, "The Kraken OCR System," Python, April 2022, https://perma.cc/F62N-DHN5.
[514] Joan Puigcerver, "Are Multidimensional Recurrent Layers Really Necessary for Handwritten Text Recognition?," in *2017 14th IAPR International Conference on Document Analysis and Recognition (ICDAR)* (2017 14th IAPR International Conference on Document Analysis and Recognition (ICDAR), Kyoto: IEEE, 2017), 67–72, https://doi.org/10.1109/ICDAR.2017.20; Joan Puigcerver, "Jpuigcerver/PyLaia," Python, May 23, 2024, https://github.com/jpuigcerver/PyLaia.
[515] Johannes Michael, Max Weidemann, and Roger Labahn, "D7.9 HTR Engine Based on NNs P3 Optimizing Speed and Performance - HTR+," READ - H2020 Project 674943, 2018, https://perma.cc/7RH5-7QHQ; Muehlberger et al., "Transforming Scholarship in the Archives through Handwritten Text Recognition," 958.
[516] "IDA Recognition," PLANET AI, accessed June 4, 2024, https://perma.cc/BX7M-EBYF.
[517] Li et al., "TrOCR"; Ströbel, "Flexible Techniques for Automatic Text Recognition of Historical Documents," 41.

used to train models using state-of-the-art HTR engines. Their performance was then compared by measuring the Character Error Rate and the Word Error Rate on a test set.[518]

The Character Error Rate (CER) is a key metric for assessing the accuracy of text recognition models. It is determined by comparing the automatically generated transcription with the correct, human-verified transcription (Ground Truth) and measuring the percentage of the minimum number of insertions (i), substitutions (s), and deletions (d) of characters, including spaces, that are required to obtain the Ground Truth transcription out of the total number of characters (n):[519]

$$CER = [(i + s + d) / n]*100$$

For example, a CER of 5% means that the model correctly transcribes 95 characters out of 100 characters. The Word Error Rate (WER) is similar to the CER, but at the word level; it is calculated as the ratio of the minimum number of word substitutions, deletions, or insertions required to align the automatic recognition output with the Ground Truth transcription, divided by the total number of words.[520]

Maarand et al.'s comparison results indicate that HTR+ has the best CER, followed by PyLaia and Kaldi. In terms of WER, HTR+ leads, followed by Kaldi and PyLaia. Based on the results of this experiment, PyLaia and Kaldi are the best open-source engines, as HTR+ is proprietary.[521] In Leifert's comparison of various HTR engines trained on diverse datasets, both printed and handwritten, in various languages and scripts, IDA outperforms PyLaia in Glagolitic and German Shorthand scripts. For Roman Type Print and early modern Dutch handwritten documents, HTR+ produces the best results, but these could be influenced by the fact that HTR+ transcription was used as a first guess when creating the Ground Truth to train the model. This study, however, also highlights the trade-off between training and processing time and quality, with HTR+ and PyLaia being faster than IDA and TrOCR.[522]

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[518] Martin Maarand et al., "A Comprehensive Comparison of Open-Source Libraries for Handwritten Text Recognition in Norwegian," in *Document Analysis Systems*, ed. Seiichi Uchida, Elisa Barney, and Véronique Eglin (Cham: Springer International Publishing, 2022), 399–413, https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-031-06555-2_27.
[519] Elisabeth Heigl, "CER? Don't Worry!," Rechtsprechung im Ostseeraum - Digitization & Handwritten Text Recognition, August 14, 2020, https://perma.cc/LV5K-WMNA.
[520] Sánchez et al., "A Set of Benchmarks for Handwritten Text Recognition on Historical Documents," 124.
[521] Maarand et al., "A Comprehensive Comparison of Open-Source Libraries for Handwritten Text Recognition in Norwegian."
[522] Gundram Leifert et al., "Evaluating State-of-the-Art Handwritten Text Recognition (HTR) Engines; with Large Language Models (LLMs) for Historical Document Digitisation," https://doi.org/10.5281/zenodo.8102666.

Finally, Huff and Stöbener compare HTR+ and Kraken. They trained on the same Ground Truth composed of historical juridical consultations in German, a HTR+ model in Transkribus and a Kraken model in eScriptorium. The research shows that Kraken has a higher CER than HTR+ (5.27% against 2.09%). The distance between the two error rates cannot be attributed to the intrinsic measurement systems within the two platforms, as an external comparison done by the authors with the external OCR evaluation tool Dinglehopper has shown.[523]

With regard to the platforms offering solutions for automatic text recognition of handwritten documents, four are the most widely used in the Humanities and the GLAM sector: Transkribus, eScriptorium, OCR4all, and ArkIndex. Table 1 presents a comparison of their main features.

- **Transkribus** is a platform that offers the possibility of training and applying AI models to facilitate the work with historical written documents. Initially, it was developed as a desktop application called Transkribus Expert within the READ project, funded by the European Union's Horizon 2020 Framework Programme for Research and Innovation and coordinated by the University of Innsbruck.[524] Since the end of the project in 2019, the platform has been sustained and further developed by the European Cooperative Society READ-COOP.[525] A web application, originally intended as a simpler version of Transkribus and called Transkribus Lite, was introduced later. Over time, it has included more and more advanced functions, and in 2022, it was announced that the web app would become the primary platform where all of the new features would be implemented. This shift prioritised the web app over Transkribus Expert, which, while still functional, no longer receives updates.[526] Whether using the desktop or web version, images uploaded to Transkribus are stored and processed on the READ-COOP servers in Innsbruck, where models are also trained. This means

[523] Dorothee Huff and Kristina Stöbener, "Projekt OCR-BW: Automatische Texterkennung von Handschriften," *o-bib. Das offene Bibliotheksjournal / Herausgeber VDB* 9, no. 4 (November 29, 2022): 11–13, https://doi.org/10.5282/o-bib/5885.
[524] "Recognition and Enrichment of Archival Documents | READ Project | Fact Sheet | H2020"; Philip Kahle et al., "Transkribus - A Service Platform for Transcription, Recognition and Retrieval of Historical Documents," in *2017 14th IAPR International Conference on Document Analysis and Recognition (ICDAR)* (2017 14th IAPR International Conference on Document Analysis and Recognition (ICDAR), Kyoto: IEEE, 2017), 19–24, https://doi.org/10.1109/ICDAR.2017.307; Muehlberger et al., "Transforming Scholarship in the Archives through Handwritten Text Recognition."
[525] "Foundation of READ-COOP," READ-COOP, June 25, 2019, https://perma.cc/732W-CQ5C.
[526] "Introducing the New Transkribus Web App," READ-COOP, August 30, 2023, https://perma.cc/8X9P-X4G7.

that an Internet connection is all that is needed to use Transkribus, and no computers with high-end components are required because the READ-COOP's servers handle all of the intense computing resource work.[527] By uploading the images to the servers, however, the user grants READ-COOP the "licence to use the Material and Training Data exclusively for the purpose of providing you with our Products and Services,"[528] and this might be problematic in the case of sensitive data. Transkribus supported HTR+ until November 2022; at this moment, the only HTR engine available for training is PyLaia. There are a few Transformer-based models that can only be used for recognition but cannot be trained by users.[529] Transkribus was initially completely free; in 2020, it became a paid-for service.[530] At the time of writing, the user can choose between different plans; the free plan includes 100 processing credits per month, which corresponds to the possibility of transcribing 100 handwritten pages per month.[531] In addition to that, READ-COOP supports B.A., M.A., and Ph.D. students by granting scholarships consisting of free credits to process their materials.[532]

- **eScriptorium** is an open-source platform designed for the analysis, annotation, and automatic text recognition of handwritten documents. It has been developed at the PLS University within the Scripta programme, which gathers more than 100 researchers from various fields, such as Humanities, Digital Humanities, Social Science, and Computer Vision. It received funding from, among others, the Horizon 2020-funded Resilience project and the French National Research Agency's Biblissima+ project.[533] The platform is designed to offer a free and open-source tool for working with manuscripts, transcribing them, manually or automatically, and annotating them. It is intended to work with documents in various writing systems and directions. The HTR engine available in eScriptorium is Kraken.[534] eScriptorium

[527] "Uploading Files," Transkribus Help Center, accessed June 8, 2024, https://perma.cc/LQV8-FCMW.
[528] "Terms and Conditions," READ-COOP, accessed June 8, 2024, https://perma.cc/D67F-AEJP.
[529] "Introducing Transkribus Super Models - Get Access to 'The Text Titan I,'" READ-COOP, July 10, 2023, https://perma.cc/Z9WV-FFT8.
[530] Nockels et al., "Understanding the Application of Handwritten Text Recognition Technology in Heritage Contexts," 368.
[531] "Plans & Pricing," READ-COOP, accessed June 8, 2024, https://perma.cc/B65P-WQVX.
[532] "Scholarship," READ-COOP, accessed June 8, 2024, https://perma.cc/FQ6J-LK4Q.
[533] "Scripta / Escriptorium - GitLab," GitLab, June 7, 2024, https://perma.cc/JX8A-ELKK; "REligious Studies Infrastructure"; "Biblissima+, Observatoire des cultures écrites anciennes, de l'argile à l'imprimé."
[534] Benjamin Kiessling et al., "eScriptorium: An Open Source Platform for Historical Document Analysis," in *2019 International Conference on Document Analysis and Recognition Workshops (ICDARW)*, vol. 2, 2019, 19, https://doi.org/10.1109/ICDARW.2019.10032.

has a decentralised form: each institution can deploy it on its own server and open it to its fellows. In the case of several users, the institution must purchase, rent, or share one or more GPUs to enable several trainings to take place at the same time. Even if eScriptorium is free, the deployment and maintenance may cost thousands of euros, as detailed by Chagué and Clérice in a blog post where they describe their experience in building a server infrastructure for the CREMMA project.[535] For personal or light use, however, eScriptorium can be installed on a personal machine, using it as a local server. It must be considered that one still has to be familiar with the command line interface and working with Docker for the installation,[536] that using the personal computer's CPUs alone to run eScriptiorium is slower, and that training a model might take two or three days.[537] With eScriptorium, users have full control over the data and the possibility of downloading models. Opening models to other users is also an option, though it is only available to those who are a part of the same infrastructure.[538]

- **OCR4all** is a platform specifically addressed to non-technical users, that combines various open-source solutions for the automatic text recognition of historical handwritten and printed documents. The software was developed within the Kallimachos project, funded by the German Federal Ministry of Education and Research, and has been designed initially to work with historical prints. It is now maintained by the Centre for Philology and Digitisation at the University of Würzburg.[539] Calamari is the engine available in OCR4all for text recognition and text model training. The platform is free, and a modern computer is enough for training models.[540] For the installation, one has to be familiar with the command line interface and working with Docker, but the website offers detailed setup guides.[541] Based on

[535] Alix Chagué and Thibault Clérice, "017 - Deploying eScriptorium Online: Notes on CREMMA's Server Specifications," December 22, 2023, https://inria.hal.science/hal-04362085.
[536] "Anleitung Zur Lokalen Installation von eScriptorium Unter Linux Bzw. Windows (WSL/Virtual Box)," eScriptorium Dokumentation, accessed June 9, 2024, https://perma.cc/97UY-N7NJ.
[537] Chagué and Clérice, "017 - Deploying eScriptorium Online."
[538] Kiessling et al., "eScriptorium: An Open Source Platform for Historical Document Analysis."
[539] "What Is OCR4all?," OCR4all, accessed June 9, 2024, https://perma.cc/7X56-2K6T.
[540] Christian Reul et al., "OCR4all - An Open-Source Tool Providing a (Semi-)Automatic OCR Workflow for Historical Printings," 2019, https://doi.org/10.48550/ARXIV.1909.04032.
[541] "Quickstart," OCR4all, accessed June 9, 2024, https://perma.cc/4VKH-R8DC.

the information I found, the platform is designed for individual and local use and has no functions for sharing models or documents.

- **ArkIndex** is a platform developed by the French company TEKLIA for the automatic processing of handwritten and printed documents.[542] There are three versions: the open-source version, the enterprise version, and the version fully hosted by TEKLIA. The open-source and enterprise solutions are self-hosted and can be deployed on the project's own hardware or cloud provider, but some technical requirements must be met, and IT support is needed for the installation.[543] A demo of the fully hosted solution, instead, is accessible by registration to everyone,[544] but the full version is only accessible behind a paywall.[545] The HTR engine integrated is PyLaia, which has also been maintained and improved since 2022 by three members of TEKLIA.[546] The integration of custom algorithms is also a feasible option. It is possible to export trained models and run them externally.[547] In addition, ArkIndex is fully integrated with TEKLIA's web platform for document annotation, Callico, specifically designed for participatory annotation campaigns.[548]

[542] "Arkindex, the Document Processing Platform," TEKLIA, accessed June 10, 2024, https://perma.cc/K4R7-DZNA.
[543] "Arkindex Deployment," Arkindex Documentation, accessed June 10, 2024, https://perma.cc/VN9Q-8ZK4.
[544] "Demo ArkIndex 1.6.1," accessed June 10, 2024, https://perma.cc/6Z33-M44A.
[545] "Arkindex Solutions Pricing," TEKLIA, accessed June 10, 2024, https://perma.cc/Q3MY-UJCG.
[546] "What Is PyLaia?," TEKLIA, accessed June 10, 2024, https://perma.cc/592E-B7ZV.
[547] "Arkindex versus the Other Platforms," TEKLIA, accessed June 10, 2024, https://perma.cc/3AZ5-U9SN.
[548] "Arkindex, the Document Processing Platform."

Table 1. A Feature Comparison of HTR Platforms

Platform	**Available HTR engines**	**Open source**	**Cost**	**Requirements**	**Sharing features**
Transkribus	HTR+ (until November 2022); PyLaia; TrOCR (only for recognition, not for training)	No	Freemium (100 pages per month); scholarship scheme	Regular computer; Internet connection	Yes: sharing documents and models; making models public. No: trained model download
eScriptorium	Kraken	Yes	Free; deployment and maintenance costs	Servers, GPUs, and IT service in the case of deployment on their own servers; for personal use, it can also run on a regular computer	Yes: sharing models and documents with users in the same infrastructure; trained model download
OCR4all	Calamari	Yes	Free	Regular computer	No
Arkindex	PyLaia; possibility to integrate custom algorithms	Yes	Free (the open-source version); paid (enterprise and fully hosted versions)	Servers, eventually GPUs and IT support in the case of the open-source and enterprise versions; regular computer and Internet connection for the fully hosted version	Yes: sharing models and documents with users in the same infrastructure; trained model download

In the spring of 2020, my knowledge of HTR platforms was limited to Transkribus and eScriptorium. My eventual choice of Transkribus for the Bartoli project was influenced by various factors. The first and most important was the ease of use, as I simply had to install Transkribus Expert like any other desktop application, to be ready to begin working on my documents. With eScriptorium, I would have needed IT assistance for the local deployment, and in any case, this would not have been a sufficient solution for me, as it would not have had the sharing features I needed for the participatory project. On the other hand, because of the costs and maintenance involved, the eScriptorium's server deployment solution was not practical. At the time I started, moreover, training models and recognising pages were completely free of charge in Transkribus, even though they had already announced the introduction of the paid model. However, even when it turned into a paid-for service, I was still able to finish transcribing the volumes because of the free credits I received from the scholarship program. Additionally, compared to eScriptorium, Transkribus offered more learning resources, such as webinars and how-to guides, as well as the support from the active user community, which Melissa Terras has referred to as a community of practice.[549] In conclusion, Transkribus was the most fitting option in terms of costs and required technical skills for the project discussed here.

It is also important to recognise the opportunities that come with working extensively with Transkribus. Transkribus is the largest HTR platform in terms of users: READ-COOP reported that there are 127,332 active users, while 12,946 pages are processed daily.[550] Over the years, Transkribus has had a significant impact on the academic and GLAMs community, and a great interest in the platform has also grown among non-digital humanists. This has also become an important asset for many experienced users who have been involved in new projects or have been invited to hold workshops due to their expertise with Transkribus. Furthermore, the option of making models public not only allows others to benefit from the work done but also provides visibility to the model's creator, which lasts beyond the project's conclusion and does not require any upkeep.

[549] Melissa Terras, "Inviting AI into the Archives: The Reception of Handwritten Recognition Technology into Historical Manuscript Transcription," in *Archives, Access and Artificial Intelligence. Working with Born-Digital and Digitized Archival Collections*, ed. Lise Jaillant (Bielefeld: Bielefeld University Press, 2022), 179–204, https://doi.org/10.1515/9783839455845-008.
[550] Joseph Nockels, Paul Gooding, and Melissa Terras, "The Implications of Handwritten Text Recognition for Accessing the Past at Scale," *Journal of Documentation* 80, no. 7 (2024): 150, https://doi.org/10.1108/JD-09-2023-0183.

4.1.2 Training the Best Text Recognition Model: a Long Process

As pointed out by many researchers working on developing HTR systems, the biggest challenge does not lie in the development or modelling of the technology, which has already reached its maturity, but in obtaining sufficient amounts of high-quality training data.[551] All of the HTR systems presented in the previous section fall within the field of supervised machine learning. The machine learns to make predictions or recognise patterns based on human-labelled data, called the Ground Truth, on which it is trained. The output of the training is a model that can be used to make predictions or recognise patterns in new data. In the case of HTR, the labelled data on which the machine is trained consists of a series of images alongside their one hundred per cent "true" transcription.

Creating Ground Truth transcriptions is the most time-consuming, resource-intensive, and challenging part. On the one hand, it has to be done for each collection, or at least for documents written by hands with certain similarities, for instance, from the same time period, language, and script. It thus implies an expertise or training in palaeography. Transcribing one page could take up to 40 minutes even for experienced palaeographers, and reviewing it might be necessary to ensure the transcription's consistency.[552] Transcribing historical documents is often challenging per se, moreover, it has to be done with a slightly unfamiliar technology that enables the creation of a correspondence between the lines in the image and the lines of text.[553] In fact, each image has to be segmented into text regions and lines before typing the transcription because the HTR input, both for training and recognising, is the whole line of text.[554] In Transkribus, layout segmentation can easily be done automatically, but learning to use Transkribus proficiently and, in particular, how to

[551] R. Reeve Ingle et al., "A Scalable Handwritten Text Recognition System," in *2019 International Conference on Document Analysis and Recognition (ICDAR)*, 2019, 17, https://doi.org/10.1109/ICDAR.2019.00013; Sánchez et al., "A Set of Benchmarks for Handwritten Text Recognition on Historical Documents," 122; Tobias Hodel et al., "General Models for Handwritten Text Recognition: Feasibility and State-of-the Art. German Kurrent as an Example," *Journal of Open Humanities Data* 7 (2021): 3, https://doi.org/10.5334/johd.46.

[552] Marie-Laure Massot, Arianna Sforzini, and Vincent Ventresque, "Transcribing Foucault's Handwriting with Transkribus," *Journal of Data Mining & Digital Humanities*, 2019, 12, https://doi.org/10.46298/jdmdh.5043; Maartje Hids and Kay Pepping, "The (Ground) Truth Is out There," GLOBALISE, December 13, 2022, https://perma.cc/KDE9-ZHZD; Beatrice Couture et al., "The Challenges of HTR Model Training: Feedback from the Project Donner Le Gout de l'archive a l'ere Numerique," *Journal of Data Mining & Digital Humanities*, 2023, 4, https://doi.org/10.46298/jdmdh.10542.

[553] Hids and Pepping, "The (Ground) Truth Is out There."

[554] Ströbel et al., "Transformer-Based HTR for Historical Documents," 19–21.

correct the layout and create the Ground Truth requires a few hours of training and some days of practice.[555]

For all of these reasons, the creation of the Ground Truth to train HTR models is often a shared task. Many are the projects where scholars, students, and the interested public cooperate to create Ground Truth data that one single person could not do by themselves, with the goal of training better models.[556] The "Donner le gout de l'archive à l'ère numérique" Project, for instance, started as a team of five people, then enlarged thanks to a call to the community.[557] Iwona Krawczyk and Jagoda Marszałek recruited, online, twenty-two volunteers to transcribe Medieval manuscripts from Polish sources: the transcriptions were used to train a HTR model as well as being published.[558]

However, besides all of the great collaborative initiatives and the training of many HTR models, a reference system for documenting how the Ground Truth data is created is still missing. If it is true that every project has its own requirements and can decide the level of standardisation to apply to the transcription, Ground Truth data can become reusable only if properly documented and shared.[559] There is currently a vacuum on what happens to the Ground Truth data after training: few projects share the Ground Truth on public repositories like Zenodo, and even fewer document the process accurately.[560]

The training of a HTR model for the letters and newsletters sent by Cosimo Bartoli from Venice has been a long process. In May 2020, I started a collaboration with three other researchers, Rachel Midura, Jake Dyble, and Antonio Iodice, to train a model for Italian administrative archival documents spanning between the mid-sixteenth to the seventeenth century. The beginning of the collaboration was somewhat fortuitous: thanks to Twitter and the Transkribus Facebook Group, we discovered that we were working on Italian documents

[555] Massot, Sforzini, and Ventresque, "Transcribing Foucault's Handwriting with Transkribus."
[556] Hodel et al., "General Models for Handwritten Text Recognition," 8.
[557] Couture et al., "The Challenges of HTR Model Training."
[558] Jagoda Marszałek and Iwona Krawczyk, "1st Medieval Latin Transcribathon from Polish Sources," October 30, 2022, https://doi.org/10.34055/osf.io/dnhcw.
[559] Matthias Boening et al., "Ground Truth: Grundwahrheit oder Ad- Hoc-Lösung? Wo stehen die Digital Humanities?," in *Konferenzabstracts* (DHd 2018 Kritik der digitalen Vernunft, Köln, 2018), https://perma.cc/L8SE-KVPQ.
[560] Christel Annemieke Romein et al., "Exploring Data Provenance in Handwritten Text Recognition Infrastructure: Sharing and Reusing Ground Truth Data, Referencing Models, and Acknowledging Contributions. Starting the Conversation on How We Could Get It Done," *Journal of Data Mining & Digital Humanities*, 2024, 10403, https://doi.org/10.46298/jdmdh.10403.

from the same period, and we were all planning to train a Transkribus model to transcribe our documents automatically. We then decided to join forces to create a general model for Italian early modern handwritten documents.

HTR models can be categorised into two main groups based on the training data and the level of accuracy and generalisation wanted. Specific models are trained to recognise one or a small set of very similar hands: the Ground Truth contains examples of all of these specific hands, and if trained on a sufficient number of pages, the model can achieve an accuracy of over 95%. General models, on the other hand, are trained on a variety of hands spanning over more than a decade and aim to be able to generalise their recognition ability on similar but new hands, which were not seen at all during the training.[561] We decided to pursue this second approach, knowing that a general model could benefit various projects and that Transkribus offers the possibility of using it as a base model to train more specific models. As Ströbel explains, "a base model initialises the model's weights and allows for fine-tuning the model on novel data. This way, the model knows something about handwriting before seeing the new training data, leading to faster convergence and better performance."[562] In simpler words, when using a base model, the training of the new model does not start from scratch but from the knowledge already acquired by the base model. Therefore, assuming the two models are trained on similar hands and periods, the base model is often helpful to improve the accuracy of the new model, especially if trained on a small dataset.[563]

During a series of remote meetings, Rachel, Jake, Antonio, and I decided which materials to include and the transcription conventions to adopt. The Ground Truth consists of a variety of Italian-language documents from the State Archives of Milan, Venice, Florence, Pisa, and Genoa. It encompasses a range of humanistic, italic, and cursive hands employed by secretaries and newswriters, typical of administrative records. Following the advice of the Transkribus team and experts to adhere as much as possible to what is written

[561] Hodel et al., "General Models for Handwritten Text Recognition," 4–7.
[562] Phillip Benjamin Ströbel et al., "Evaluation of HTR Models without Ground Truth Material," in *Proceedings of the 13th Conference on Language Resources and Evaluation (LREC 2022)* (13th Conference on Language Resources and Evaluation, Marseille, France: European Language Resources Association, 2022), 4400, https://aclanthology.org/2022.lrec-1.467.
[563] Couture et al., "The Challenges of HTR Model Training," 10–11.

in the document to obtain more robust models,[564] we decided to keep the abbreviations and transcribe them using the most similar characters and symbols, as documented on the model's webpage.[565] With more testing, it has been discovered that neural network models are more capable than expected and can learn to solve abbreviations if those are expanded in the training data and appear frequently.[566] However, at the time of the training, this piece of information was not at our disposal, and we decided to follow the recommended approach and transcribe everything as written in the manuscript, except for the normalisation of u/v.

The "Italian Administrative Hands, 1550-1700" model was trained on 315 pages for a total of 67,361 words. When training a model in Transkribus, the Ground Truth is split manually or automatically into two groups: the Training Set and the Validation Set. The Training Set (315 pages in this case) is the actual pages on which the model is trained and learns. The Validation Set is unbiased material used by the model to assess its accuracy at every training cycle. The Validation Set originates from the Ground Truth but is unknown to the model since the model is not trained on it. For this reason the error rate of the model is measured on the Validation Set, which consists of pages similar to the ones in the Training Set but not seen by the model during the training.[567] The Transkribus team recommends automatically assigning 10% of the Ground Truth to the Validation Set.[568] In the "Italian Administrative Hands, 1550-1700" model, we followed this recommendation and automatically 33 pages were assigned to the Validation Set. During the training, the model goes through the Training Set multiple times; each time is a training cycle or epoch. The default and recommended number of epochs was first set to 200 in Transkribus; then it was reduced to 100. It is always possible to increase this value if the Training Set consists of thousands of pages, and, likely, it will not learn everything in just 100 epochs.[569] After every epoch and at the end of the training, Transkribus measures the CER on the Validation Set. Figure 4 shows the learning curve of the "Italian Administrative Hands, 1550-1700" model:

[564] "Transkribus Transcription Conventions," READ-COOP, November 29, 2020, https://perma.cc/3H96-VVLP; *Digi-Workshop. Transkribus*, 2020.
[565] Jake Dyble et al., "Italian Administrative Hands, 1550-1700 Handwritten Text Recognition (HTR) Model for Transkribus," Early Modern Digital Itineraries, July 21, 2020, https://perma.cc/9USV-QS83.
[566] Achim Rabus, "Handwritten Text Recognition for Croatian Glagolitic," *SLOVO* 72 (2021): 184–90, https://doi.org/10.31745/s.72.5.
[567] Huff and Stöbener, "Projekt OCR-BW."
[568] "Model Setup and Training," Transkribus Help Center, accessed April 25, 2024, https://perma.cc/HSG2-JSDM.
[569] "Model Setup and Training."

the x-axis shows the epochs; the y-axis represents the CER. The curve decreases as the training progresses and the model improves.

The engine used to train the model was CITLab HTR+. The model obtained a CER of 10.80% on the Validation Set and was made publicly available to the Transkribus community in September 2020.[570] After the discontinuation of CITLab HTR+ in the Transkribus platform in November 2022,[571] the model was retrained using PyLaia: the CER increased to 12.20% and at the moment, the PyLaia version is the one publicly available in the Transkribus platform.[572]

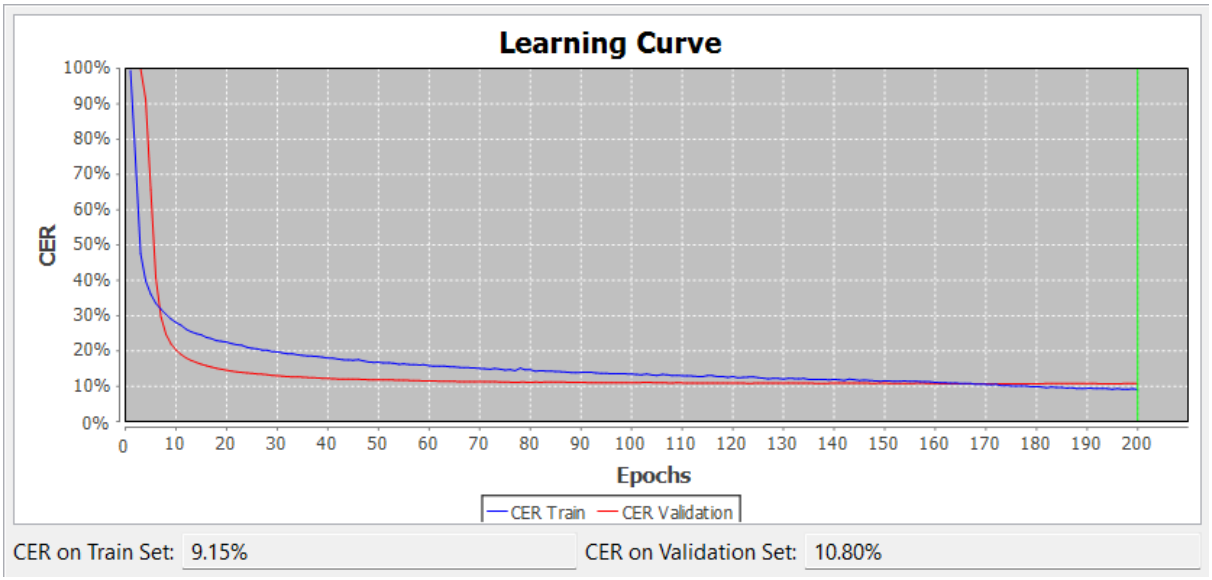


Figure 4. The Learning Curve of the "Italian Administrative Hands, 1550-1700" Model – Engine CITLab HTR+

Beyond the figures, however, it is crucial to understand what is considered a good CER in common practice. Hodel et al. suggested this subdivision: [573]

[570] "Public Model for Italian Administrative Hands," READ-COOP, September 18, 2020, https://perma.cc/6G65-R7VV.
[571] "Retraining with PyLaia," Transkribus Help Center, accessed April 26, 2024, https://perma.cc/Q67Q-VMEF; Couture et al., "The Challenges of HTR Model Training," 2, note 2.
[572] "Italian Administrative Hands 1550-1700 - Public Transkribus AI Model," READ-COOP, accessed April 26, 2024, https://perma.cc/3T46-NTG5.
[573] Hodel et al., "General Models for Handwritten Text Recognition," 2.

- Good: CER ≤10%
  The text is legible and can be efficiently post processed; correcting the automated output is faster than typing everything manually.[574]
- Very good: CER ≤5%
  Correcting the automated output is even faster; the errors are often limited to rare and unknown words.
- Excellent: CER ≤2.5%
  Reaching a CER below 3% for manuscript documents mainly depends on the regularity of scripts and if and how much they have been seen during the training.

The "Italian Administrative Hands, 1550-1700" model's CER is higher than what is considered a good model. However, its performance is below 10% on 21 of 33 pages of the Validation Set when trained with the CITLab HTR+ engine (Table 2) and it has proven to be an efficient base model.[575]

Table 2. The Measurements of the WER and CER of Each Page of the Validation Set of the "Italian Administrative Hands, 1550-1700" Model – Engine CITLab HTR+ and Engine PyLaia

	Engine CITLab HTR+		**Engine PyLaia**	
Pages	**Word Error Rate**	**Char Error Rate**	**Word Error Rate**	**Char Error Rate**
Overall	32.18	9.76	38.41	12.55
Page 1	19.23	5.00	22.00	6.06
Page 2	32.24	7.08	39.34	8.57
Page 3	30.91	10.88	30.91	11.36
Page 4	48.08	16.17	55.45	18.16
Page 5	41.25	13.33	42.50	15.59
Page 6	17.17	4.39	20.60	5.39
Page 7	20.23	6.28	26.05	7.99

[574] Muehlberger et al., "Transforming Scholarship in the Archives through Handwritten Text Recognition," 962.
[575] Eduardo Fernández Guerrero [@ApocalypsisNova], "This Is an Appreciation Tweet for the 'Italian Administrative Hands 1550-1700' @Transkribus Model Developed by @rcmidura @JakeDyble Antonio Iodice and @SaraMansutti. Used as the Base Model with a Bit of Training (Just Four Pages!) From My Own Ms. the Result Is Astonishing! Https://T.Co/SAwT25W7om," Tweet, *Twitter*, October 15, 2022, https://perma.cc/QDL8-9AV5.

Page 8	34.93	8.92	37.32	10.42
Page 9	26.87	8.46	35.24	10.55
Page 10	27.42	9.35	31.30	9.35
Page 11	37.34	13.49	39.48	14.58
Page 12	42.26	10.74	41.89	12.09
Page 13	31.37	9.91	34.31	11.39
Page 14	19.10	5.16	26.69	6.81
Page 15	25.14	6.77	28.21	7.84
Page 16	25.66	6.66	28.30	7.99
Page 17	20.38	5.55	34.62	10.16
Page 18	40.26	15.38	48.84	20.14
Page 19	27.10	8.18	32.58	13.82
Page 20	29.27	7.52	40.24	14.27
Page 21	30.43	7.79	44.83	14.56
Page 22	39.41	12.50	45.76	15.43
Page 23	52.47	16.06	59.88	20.03
Page 24	43.72	10.61	48.99	14.94
Page 25	39.03	23.42	62.45	35.41
Page 26	33.21	7.81	36.05	9.53
Page 27	58.17	22.07	67.33	27.15
Page 28	27.42	8.12	30.79	10.34
Page 29	32.99	8.40	41.67	12.07
Page 30	24.66	5.62	30.41	7.02
Page 31	37.18	13.02	41.03	14.21
Page 32	32.95	9.37	46.90	14.31
Page 33	49.33	18.92	60.99	22.01

After the collaboration to train the “Italian Administrative Hands, 1550-1700” general model, I started working on the specific model for the letters and newsletters sent by Cosimo Bartoli to the Duke of Florence. 75.51% of the documents are written by Cosimo Bartoli; 23.98% by his nephew Curzio; there are also a few ones (3.51%) written by a third

hand, Giovanni Gavazzo, a servant who worked for Bartoli. Since the number of hands is limited, I aimed to train a model specialised on these three hands with a CER of 5% or less. I did not opt to train three different models, one per hand, because the third hand is very scarce, and some documents present a mixture of two hands. In fact, Cosimo Bartoli often intervened to make corrections or additions in the newsletters penned by Curzio.

As shown in Figure 3, reaching the final version of Bartoli's model has been a long journey, and thirteen versions of the model were trained in total. I decided to use an iterative approach. First, I selected a random sample of pages from all of Bartoli's volumes. I transcribed 64 Ground Truth pages from the sample and trained a preliminary version of the model. Since the results were not satisfactory, I transcribed more pages and increased the Ground Truth twice, totalling 188 pages. I then used version 7 (CER 5.70%) to automatically recognise one volume of Bartoli's letters (Mediceo del Principato 2976) and one volume of newsletters (Mediceo del Principato 3079). A large portion of the automatic transcriptions of these two volumes was corrected by volunteers within the participatory project described in the next section. Before using those pages as the Ground Truth, I proofread them to check that the volunteers had properly corrected them, following the defined editorial guidelines. I also corrected some new pages in Curzio's hand to prevent the model from becoming overspecialised in Cosimo Bartoli's hand, which is the most present in the corpus. All of the Ground Truth pages summed up to 1,043: version 11 was trained on them and achieved a CER of 3.20%. This version was then used to recognise all of the other volumes of letters and newsletters sent by Bartoli.

It is worthwhile to examine the elements and parameters that helped the model to improve the CER from 5.70% to 3.20%. Table 3 shows the details of each version: the engine used (CITLab HTR+ or PyLaia); the adoption of a base model; the number of trained epochs; the number of words, lines, and pages in the Training Set; the number of pages in the Validation Set; the total number of Ground Truth pages (the sum of the Training and Validation Set); and the CER measured on the Validation Set.

Table 3. The Versions and Details of the Model Trained on Bartoli's Letters and Newsletters

Version	Model ID	Date	Engine	Base Model	Epochs	Nr. of words	Nr. of lines	Nr. of pages Training Set	Nr. of pages Validation Set	Tot. Nr. Pages GT	CER on Validation Set
1	27857	23.11.20	CITlab HTR+	yes	200	17,828	1,629	55	9	64	8.36%
2	27864	23.11.20	CITlab HTR+	no	200	17,828	1,629	55	9	64	9.56%
3	30198	14.02.21	CITlab HTR+	yes	200	34,009	3,101	105	11	116	6.96%
4	35083	17.07.21	CITlab HTR+	yes	200	52,124	4,671	169	18	187	6.43%
5	35099	18.07.21	CITlab HTR+	no	200	52,124	4,671	169	18	187	6.68%
6	35100	18.07.21	CITlab HTR+	yes	400	52,124	4,671	169	18	187	6.45%
7	35863	14.08.21	CITlab HTR+	yes	200	51,736	4,661	170	18	188	5.70%
8	35877	15.08.21	CITlab HTR+	yes	400	51,736	4,661	170	18	188	5.81%
9	35910	16.08.21	CITlab HTR+	yes	800	51,736	4,661	170	18	188	5.82%
10	48388	01.12.22	PyLaia HTR	yes	250	51,736	4,661	170	18	188	6.40%
11	60205	28.02.24	PyLaia HTR	yes	250	233,000	20,541	939	104	1,043	3.20%
12	60189	28.02.24	PyLaia HTR	no	127	233,000	20,541	939	104	1,043	3.41%
13	71609	06.05.24	PyLaia HTR	yes	250	235,075	20,541	939	104	1,043	11.00%

The two elements that have improved the model the most are the amount of Ground Truth and the adoption of a base model. Figure 5 presents a comparison of versions 1, 3, 4, 7, and 11 based on the quantity of words they were trained on and the CER obtained. The number of words increased from 17,828 in version 1 to 233,000 in version 11; as the trained words increased, the CER dropped from 8.36% to 3.20%. However, the drop in the CER is not directly proportional to the increase in words: the Training Set of version 11 is 13 times larger than version 1, but the CER of version 11 has only decreased by two and a half times compared to version 1. If one tried to increase the number of words even further, the improvements in terms of CER would be smaller and smaller.

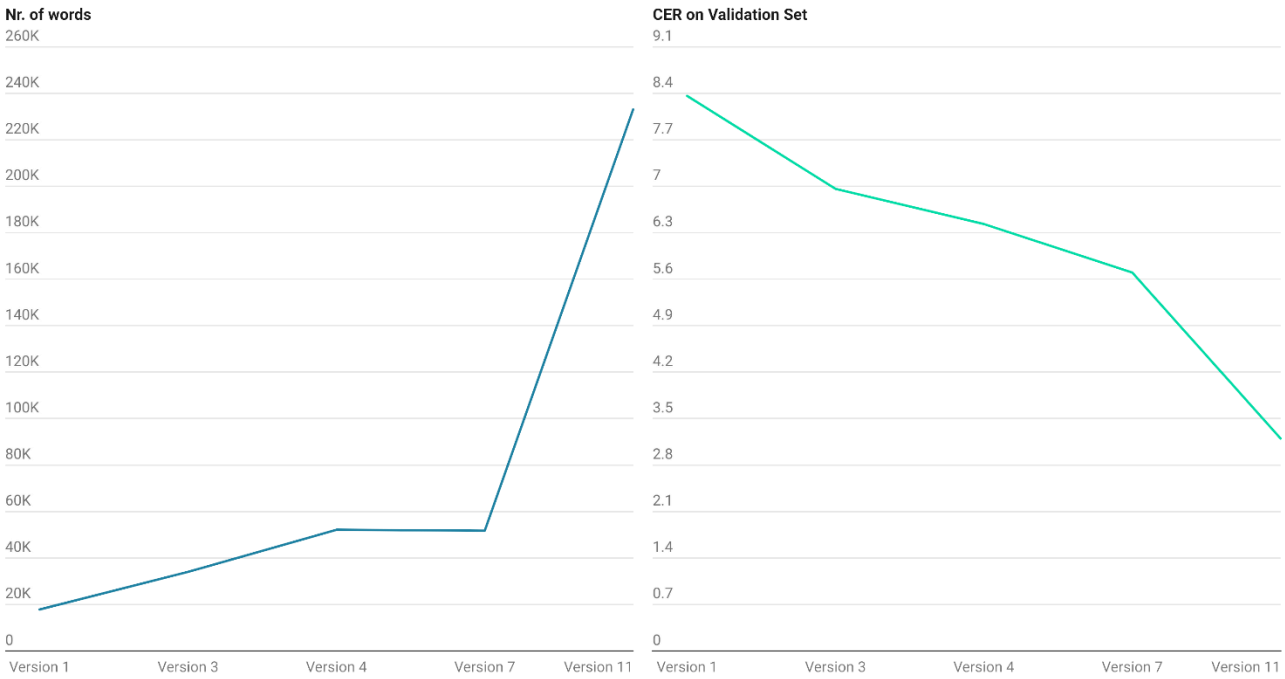


Figure 5. Two Charts Showing the Number of Words in the Training Set and the CER of Versions 1, 3, 4, 7, and 11

The second important factor of improvement is the use of a similar base model. In three cases, I did a test by training two versions on the same number of words and with the same settings, except that in one version I selected the “Italian Administrative Hands, 1550-1700” model as the base model, while in the other one I did not. In all three cases, the use

of the base model yielded a lower CER (Figure 6), confirming what had also been observed in other projects.[576]

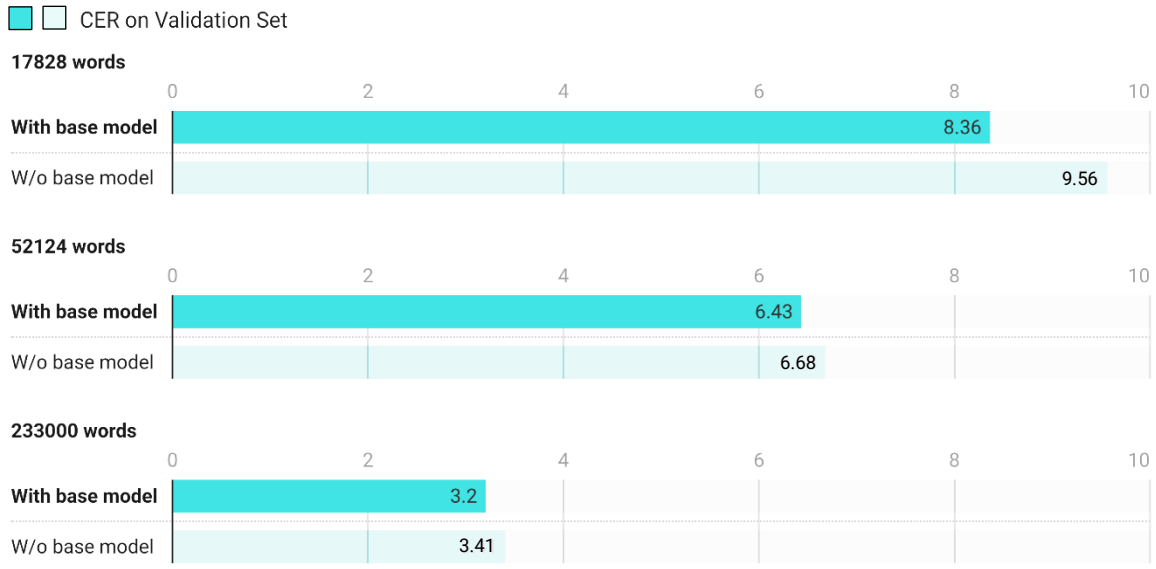


Figure 6. A Comparison of Versions Trained on the Same Number of Words With and Without a Base Model

Finally, I note the importance of accuracy and precision in creating the Ground Truth. Between version 4 and version 7, I did not increase the number of transcriptions but revised all of the pages of Ground Truth to check that the baselines were correct and that the transcriptions were free of errors and consistent with the editorial guidelines I had decided to adopt. Errors can occur while transcribing if there is no double revision; moreover, as the Ground Truth was created over a period of several months, my interpretation of abbreviations could have been changed slightly. In addition, in order to avoid training the model on inaccurate or ambiguous transcriptions, I removed some words from the Ground Truth whose transcriptions were unclear or whose positions were too close to the inner margin and made them difficult to read. As a result, version 7 was trained on 51,736 words, which is slightly fewer words than version 4 (52,124). Despite this, the CER of version 7 is

[576] Couture et al., "The Challenges of HTR Model Training," 10–11; Carlotta Capurro, Vera Provatorova, and Evangelos Kanoulas, "Experimenting with Training a Neural Network in Transkribus to Recognise Text in a Multilingual and Multi-Authored Manuscript Collection," *Heritage* 6, no. 12 (2023): 7488, https://doi.org/10.3390/heritage6120392.

0.79% lower than that of version 4, demonstrating how not only the number of words but also the quality and consistency of the transcriptions used to train a HTR model are relevant to obtaining accurate results.

The first nine versions were trained using the CITLab HTR+ engine, which has been proven better than the PyLaia engine, especially when working with small/medium datasets.[577] After November 2022, when CITLab HTR+ was discontinued on the Transkribus platform,[578] I used the PyLaia engine to retrain version 7, which was the best CITLab HTR+ version obtained thus far. Since it is not technically possible to train a PyLaia model on top of a CITLab HTR+ model, I had to use the "Italian Administrative Hands, 1550-1700" retrained model as the base model. The Training Set and Validation Set remained the same. Version 10 achieved a CER of 6.40%, performing slightly worse than version 7 (CER 5.70%).

With some versions, I experimented with the number of epochs, i.e., the number of times the model sees the Training Set, to test whether this may improve the model. The training parameters for version 6 were identical to those for version 4, with the exception of the increased number of epochs from 200 to 400. Versions 8 and 9 were trained using the same parameters as version 7, with the exception of the increased epoch count to 400 and 800, respectively. As a result of the additional training cycles, the CER increased slightly rather than decreased. Further, increasing the epochs also produced a significant waste of resources due to the longer training period. It can, therefore, be concluded that for medium/small models, 200 epochs are sufficient for the model to learn everything it can and increasing the number of epochs does not produce better results.

Lastly, it should be mentioned that version 11 and version 12 were trained with the advanced parameter "Dewarping Method" set to "dewarp". It is a correction method for non-horizontal lines, useful if some lines in the Training Set are curves. It should enhance the recognition of curved lines, such as those near the inner margin of a tight volume (Figure 7).

[577] Hodel et al., "General Models for Handwritten Text Recognition," 5; Maarand et al., "A Comprehensive Comparison of Open-Source Libraries for Handwritten Text Recognition in Norwegian," 10; Leifert et al., "Evaluating State-of-the-Art Handwritten Text Recognition (HTR) Engines."
[578] "Retraining with PyLaia"; Couture et al., "The Challenges of HTR Model Training," 2, note 2.

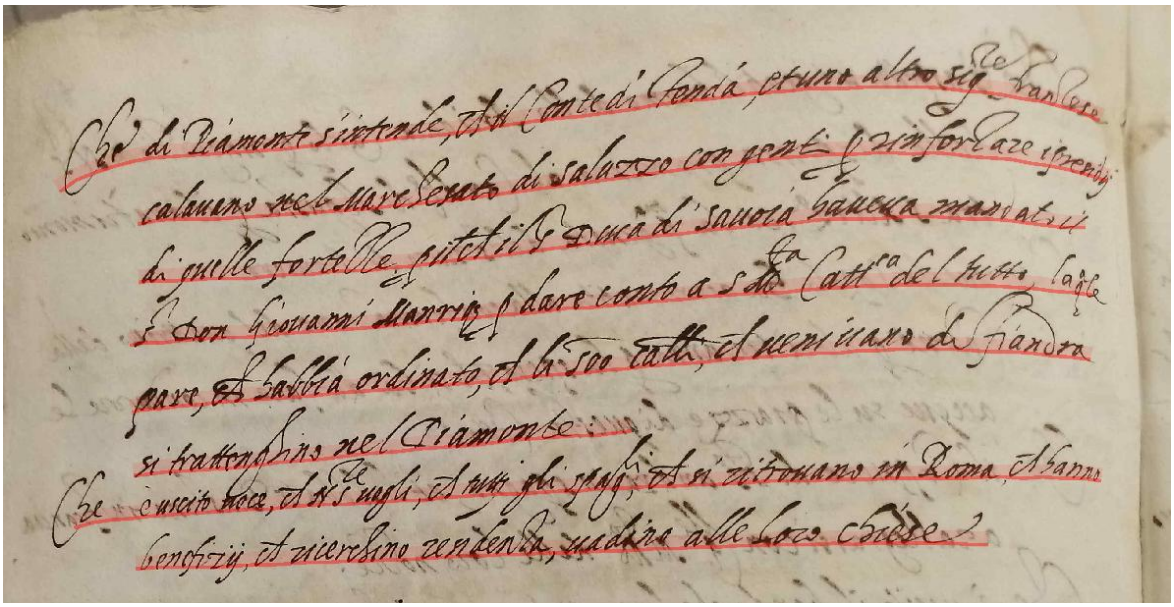


Figure 7. Example of Curved Lines near the Inner Margin, ASF, Mediceo del Principato 3080, fol. 867v

After training versions 11 and 12, which had achieved satisfactory results, with a CER of 3.20% and 3.41%, respectively, I conducted some tests to see which model was the best. What I wanted to investigate in particular was whether the use of the language model, which can be selected during recognition with a PyLaia model, would improve the results. When the language model is activated, the optical model that creates line hypotheses from the image is combined with the language model and language statistics are used to reevaluate these hypotheses.[579] The language model does not come from an external dictionary but is trained on the transcriptions in the Ground Truth. Various studies have proven that the adoption of a language model significantly improved the quality of the recognition, in particular, the Word Error Rate (WER).[580]

To have a Test Set not seen at all during the training, I generated a random sample of pages from Bartoli's still unprocessed volumes and transcribed them so that the accurate transcription could be used as a benchmark. I then ran the recognition with versions 11 and 12, both with and without the language model. As can be seen in Table 4, with version 11,

[579] Solène Tarride and Christopher Kermorvant, "Revisiting N-Gram Models: Their Impact in Modern Neural Networks for Handwritten Text Recognition" (arXiv, April 30, 2024), 1–2, http://arxiv.org/abs/2404.19317.
[580] Sánchez et al., "A Set of Benchmarks for Handwritten Text Recognition on Historical Documents," 124; Leifert et al., "Evaluating State-of-the-Art Handwritten Text Recognition (HTR) Engines"; Tarride and Kermorvant, "Revisiting N-Gram Models."

the CER and WER do not show any significant improvement on average when the language model is activated compared to when it is not used. Conversely, with version 12, which was trained without the base model, the influence of the language model is more notable, resulting in improvements in both the CER and WER, with the latter showing a decrease of up to 1.22%. On some pages of the Test Set, the CER and WER is 0.00%, which means that the automatic transcription is completely correct. All of these pages were the most external pages of the folder, used to close the missive and containing only three lines of text with the recipient's name. On challenging pages, the language model's influence is more noticeable, even if no clear trend is detectable. For instance, on page 40, the most complex page on the basis of the highest CER, the language model improves the CER of version 11 by 2.36% and the WER by 5.31%. The scatterplots in Figure 8 and Figure 9 illustrate how the language model affects the CER on pages with varying levels of difficulty. The x-axis represents the CER without a language model, which can be used as a parameter to measure the difficulty of the page. The y-axis displays the difference between the CER with and without the language model: a value above 0 indicates that the automatic transcription using the language model is more accurate than it is without the language model, and a value below 0 indicates that it is more inaccurate. Although there is no discernible pattern, the figures lead to the conclusion that language models typically improve recognition on the most challenging pages (CER > 4.00%).

Based on the results of the Test Set, I opted to utilise version 11 over version 12 to process all of the remaining volumes due to its lower CER and WER. Additionally, I decided to activate the language model, as it often improves the recognition on the most challenging pages.

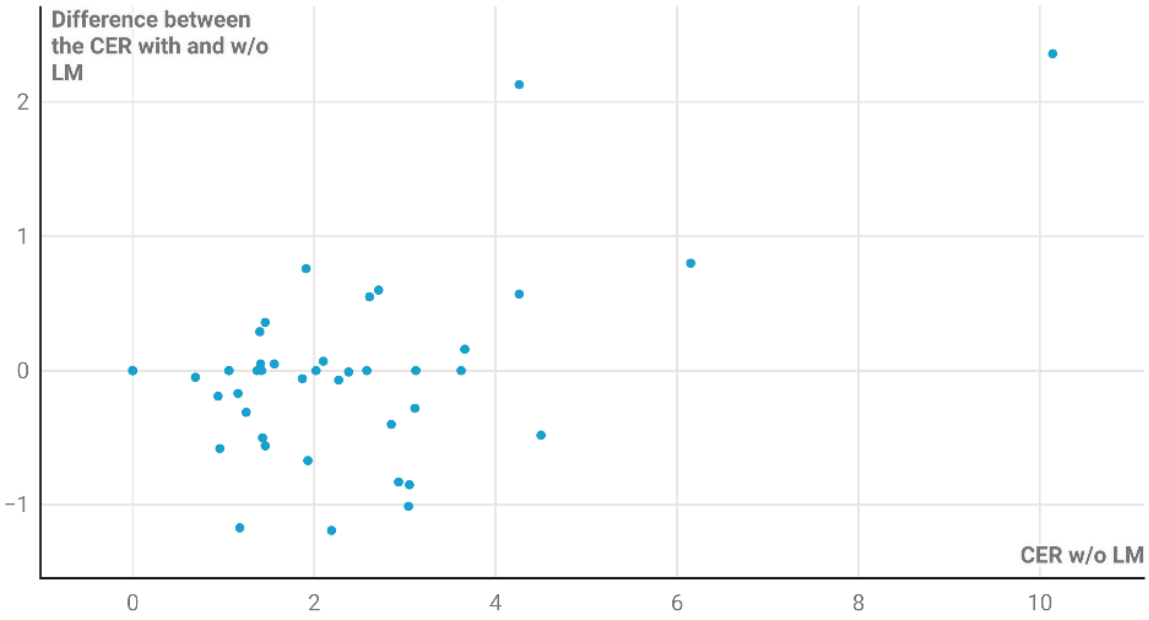


Figure 8. Version 11 – A Scatter Plot of the Language Model's Impact on the CER

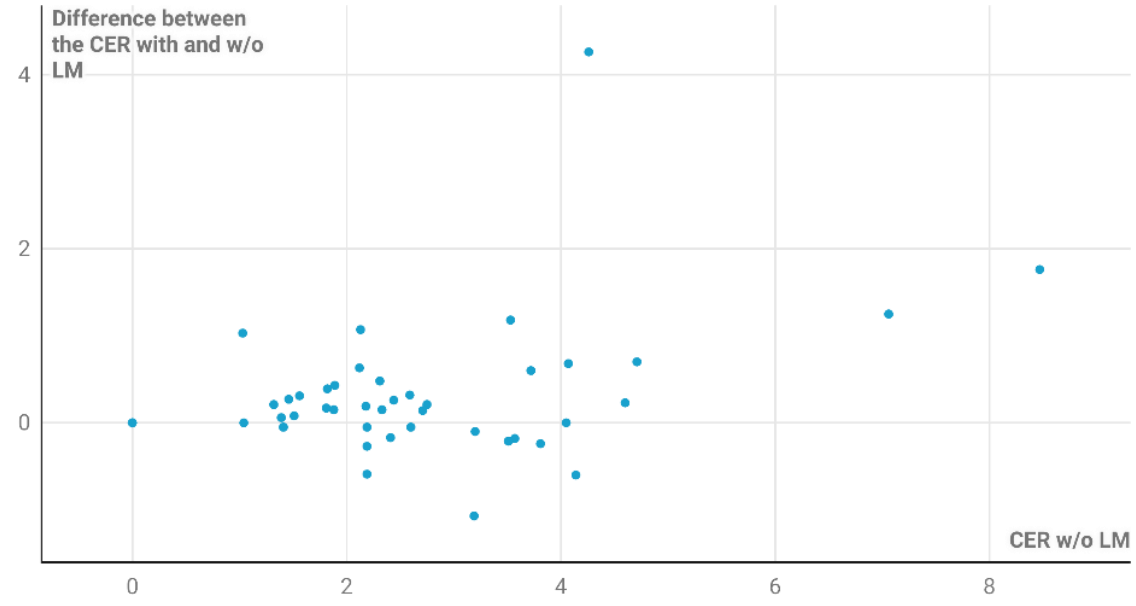


Figure 9. Version 12 – A Scatter Plot of the Language Model's Impact on the CER

Table 4. The CER and WER of Versions 11 and 12, With and Without a Language Model, Measured on a Test Set of 42 Pages

Model	Language Model	Average CER	Average WER	Lowest CER	Page(s) with the lowest CER	Lowest WER	Page(s) with the lowest WER	Highest CER	Page(s) with the highest CER	Highest WER	Page(s) with the highest WER
Version 11	no	2.38%	9.64%	0.00%	11, 20, 25	0.00%	11, 20, 25	10.14%	40	27.50%	40
Version 11	yes	2.39%	9.56%	0.00%	11, 20, 25	0.00%	11, 20, 25	7.78%	40	22.19%	40
Version 12	no	2.75%	11.53%	0.00%	11, 25	0.00%	11, 25	8.47%	40	27.19%	40
Version 12	yes	2.54%	10.33%	0.00%	11, 20, 24, 25	0.00%	11, 20, 24, 25	6.71%	40	21.78%	37

Following Hodel's distinction between general and specific models,[581] all of the versions trained within this project can, without a doubt, be classified as specific models because they focus only on three specific hands. As a final test, however, it would be interesting to see how much the best trained model, version 11, is able to generalise and make predictions on other hands, from the same time and region, but not seen during the training. To run the test, I created a sample of 165 images from various volumes, other than those of Bartoli, that I had entirely or partially digitised at the State Archives in Florence. The volumes belong to the Mediceo del Principato and Miscellanea Medicea archival collections.[582] The selected images come from letters, letter registers, and manuscript newsletters, are written by administrative hands and span from the 1540s to the early eighteenth century. As before, I had to transcribe the pages to have a benchmark on which to calculate the CER of the automatic transcription. To save time and avoid transcribing 165 entire pages while still testing a variety of hands, I chose to transcribe only two lines per image. Although Transkribus Expert offers a feature for randomly extracting a given number of lines per page,[583] it did not function properly at the time of the test, likely due to a bug. Therefore, I manually selected and transcribed two lines per image, ensuring that if two different hands appeared in an image, both were included. I obtained a test set consisting of 3,426 words and 329 lines.

Table 5 summarises the performance of three different HTR models on the test set: version 11, the "Italian Administrative Hands, 1550-1700" model, and the "Transkribus Italian Handwriting M1" public model trained by the Transkribus team on documents in Italian from the sixteenth to the nineteenth century. Each model was tested with and without the activation of the language model. Version 11 exhibits the best performance in terms of the CER. This number does not, however, imply that version 11 is the best model among the three. Transkribus Italian Handwriting M1, despite a higher CER, obtains the best WER with the language model activated. Moreover, it is interesting to note that the number of pages where version 11's CER is less than 10%, and therefore the automatic transcription can be

[581] Hodel et al., "General Models for Handwritten Text Recognition," 2–4.
[582] Volumes from which one to five pages were selected to create the sample: ASF, Mediceo del Principato 210, 211, 212, 214, 215, 216, 218, 219, 220, 221, 222, 223, 224, 225, 226, 227, 228, 229, 231, 233, 234, 235, 236A, 237, 238, 239, 240, 2633, 2634, 2695, 2845, 2858, 2863, 2996, 3042, 3049, 3088C, 3091, 3256, 3701, 4019, 4259, 4356, 4416, 4420, 4428, 4572, 4578, 4579, 4893, 4990; ASF, Miscellanea Medicea 95 ins. 10, 100 ins. 6, 254 ins. 12, 268 ins. 5, 404.
[583] "Computing Accuracy," Transkribus Help Center, accessed May 22, 2024, https://perma.cc/L3GY-KCZU.

considered good, is only 36, whereas for Italian Administrative Hands, the number rises to 45 without the language model and 48 with the language model, and for Transkribus Italian Handwriting M1 the number increases to 60 and 64, respectively with and without the language model. The better performance of version 11 seems to be only apparent.

Table 6 compares the CER of the six recognitions for each page in the Test Set. There are some pages on which the general models performed much worse than version 11 (pages 33, 39, 110, 120, 121, 126, 127, 137, 138). On those pages, the general models were unable to transcribe some lines, possibly because they were too slanted or rotated or due to inaccurate line polygons. The line polygons are regions encasing all of the handwritten text of the line; they are computed automatically from the baselines and are the input images given to the model during the recognition. If the line polygons are inaccurate and include portions of the line above and below (Figure 10 and Figure 11), there is a risk that the model will become confused and unable to determine what to transcribe. I suppose that the use of a Dewarping method during the training of version 11 facilitates version 11's ability to transcribe even the most inaccurate polygons. While the general models, Italian Administrative Hands and Transkribus Italian Handwriting, may have an optical recognition capability that is equal to or greater than version 11, they tend to make more errors when faced with inaccurate polygons due to not being trained with this parameter.

In conclusion, version 11 is clearly a specific model: it is not as good at generalisation as the other two general models, which were trained on a significantly larger number of hands. However, it can lead to very good results when used to transcribe hands similar to the three on which it was trained. For this reason, I decided to make the model public within Transkribus.[584] It can be used by any user of the platform for the automatic recognition of handwritten texts similar to Bartoli's or as a base model for a new model.

[584] Mansutti, "Cosimo Bartoli's Italian Humanistic and Cursive Scripts (1562-1572)."

Table 5. The Performance of Bartoli Version 11, Italian Administrative Hands, 1500-1700 and Transkribus Italian Handwriting M1 on the Test Set Containing Hands Not Seen during the Training

HTR Model	Training words	Language Model	CER	WER	Nr of pages where the CER is below 10%
Bartoli version 11	233,000	no	21.75%	51.93%	36
Bartoli version 11	233,000	yes	20.72%	47.12%	36
Italian Administrative Hands	67,361	no	25.43%	54.15%	45
Italian Administrative Hands	67,361	yes	26.75%	49.10%	48
Transkribus Italian Handwriting M1	653,630	no	24.56%	49.82%	60
Transkribus Italian Handwriting M1	653,630	yes	26.42%	45.97%	64

Table 6. The CER Percentage Measured for Each Page of the Test Set Containing Hands Not Seen during the Training

Page	Bartoli version 11 w/o LM	Bartoli version 11 with LM	Italian Administrative Hands w/o LM	Italian Administrative Hands with LM	Transkribus Italian Handwriting M1 w/o LM	Transkribus Italian Handwriting M1 with LM
1	27.27	23.38	18.83	17.53	18.18	14.94
2	10.92	11.76	7.56	5.88	7.56	4.20
3	52.63	52.63	59.65	59.65	56.14	57.89
4	49.15	49.15	47.46	51.69	47.46	50.85
5	86.40	94.40	95.20	96.00	99.20	99.20
6	43.62	46.98	61.07	65.10	54.36	61.74
7	31.48	30.56	23.15	30.56	23.15	25.00
8	30.77	28.21	47.01	52.99	46.15	52.99
9	4.79	3.42	5.48	4.79	3.42	0.68
10	42.06	48.41	57.14	59.52	55.56	55.56
11	12.58	11.92	11.92	7.28	10.60	9.93
12	83.33	93.52	90.74	96.30	99.07	99.07
13	3.42	5.13	5.98	5.13	6.84	5.98
14	48.78	52.85	50.41	52.03	51.22	53.66
15	33.09	28.68	22.79	21.32	21.32	22.79
16	2.33	2.33	4.65	3.10	4.65	2.33
17	12.17	9.57	19.13	16.52	9.57	10.43
18	7.83	9.57	18.26	17.39	15.65	14.78
19	14.85	8.91	15.84	11.88	19.80	16.83
20	6.92	10.00	8.46	10.00	9.23	9.23
21	10.00	11.67	11.67	13.33	9.17	5.83
22	0.85	2.56	3.42	5.13	1.71	5.98
23	9.29	9.29	16.43	14.29	16.43	22.14
24	31.40	26.45	33.88	38.84	42.98	48.76
25	20.00	18.00	11.33	12.00	12.67	12.00

26	39.46	44.90	49.66	57.82	46.26	57.14
27	25.30	27.71	28.92	31.33	21.69	31.93
28	16.25	18.12	20.62	25.00	16.88	28.75
29	18.71	20.00	19.35	17.42	18.71	19.35
30	25.53	23.40	30.85	30.85	30.85	32.98
31	27.55	29.59	20.41	15.31	16.33	18.37
32	7.94	7.94	8.73	7.14	11.11	11.11
33	1.01	1.01	45.45	46.46	47.47	49.49
34	11.32	10.38	18.87	15.09	14.15	12.26
35	7.41	6.48	4.63	3.70	6.48	5.56
36	2.99	2.99	5.22	3.73	1.49	2.24
37	9.73	9.73	23.01	18.58	15.04	11.50
38	23.97	19.01	16.53	13.22	11.57	9.92
39	30.00	26.67	78.33	95.83	85.00	96.67
40	13.97	11.03	11.76	14.71	15.44	13.97
41	51.19	54.17	53.57	57.74	52.98	55.36
42	9.38	5.62	6.88	6.25	9.38	9.38
43	4.96	4.96	17.36	14.88	18.18	14.88
44	7.53	4.30	16.13	13.98	7.53	7.53
45	5.74	6.56	11.48	7.38	9.84	11.48
46	5.56	6.35	6.35	5.56	7.14	5.56
47	7.44	6.61	27.27	45.45	24.79	37.19
48	15.32	10.81	14.41	12.61	10.81	8.11
49	7.32	7.32	10.57	9.76	6.50	8.13
50	11.11	6.84	30.77	35.04	33.33	43.59
51	15.27	10.69	16.03	14.50	10.69	9.16
52	8.33	9.09	9.85	15.91	10.61	12.12
53	13.29	9.79	46.15	53.85	51.05	53.85
54	16.67	14.49	11.59	14.49	12.32	13.04
55	5.34	6.11	15.27	16.79	9.16	15.27
56	27.73	21.85	23.53	15.97	15.13	10.92
57	15.22	13.04	16.67	11.59	10.87	8.70

58	10.26	4.27	21.37	17.95	26.50	23.08
59	6.11	6.87	6.87	9.16	5.34	4.58
60	9.16	10.69	12.98	11.45	9.16	9.16
61	10.08	9.24	6.72	7.56	9.24	8.40
62	14.29	13.49	14.29	9.52	12.70	11.11
63	10.14	6.52	7.97	10.14	8.70	7.97
64	11.57	8.26	10.74	10.74	10.74	10.74
65	3.25	3.25	5.84	5.19	7.14	6.49
66	8.28	6.90	5.52	6.21	6.90	5.52
67	30.13	28.85	35.90	40.38	48.72	57.05
68	12.21	10.69	47.33	52.67	56.49	54.96
69	12.28	10.53	23.68	24.56	23.68	36.84
70	6.67	5.00	6.67	8.33	6.67	7.50
71	60.00	61.00	58.00	62.00	60.00	60.00
72	36.72	39.06	51.56	60.94	53.91	56.25
73	2.27	3.41	4.55	5.68	2.27	2.27
74	9.92	9.09	5.79	4.96	4.96	4.13
75	14.16	9.73	18.58	17.70	13.27	18.58
76	15.91	15.15	10.61	8.33	7.58	6.82
77	20.47	26.77	40.94	50.39	51.97	53.54
78	37.23	43.07	51.82	55.47	52.55	54.74
79	47.06	49.58	44.54	50.42	52.10	53.78
80	40.00	33.33	14.44	13.33	7.78	7.78
81	60.48	60.48	71.86	77.84	70.06	80.84
82	68.35	75.95	80.38	94.30	90.51	98.10
83	2.94	4.71	10.00	7.65	8.24	9.41
84	20.83	22.92	28.12	27.08	26.04	21.88
85	22.11	21.05	37.89	29.47	24.21	28.42
86	58.89	56.67	76.67	96.67	85.56	95.56
87	11.85	14.07	16.30	14.81	11.85	10.37
88	21.74	18.12	14.49	11.59	7.97	8.70
89	15.09	16.98	33.96	32.08	28.30	20.75

90	33.02	32.08	29.25	30.19	26.42	23.58
91	22.35	17.65	1.18	2.35	1.18	2.35
92	21.74	17.39	14.13	14.13	8.70	10.87
93	7.53	7.53	9.68	12.90	4.30	6.45
94	14.00	13.00	6.00	5.00	6.00	5.00
95	12.14	10.00	15.00	15.71	13.57	20.00
96	44.86	43.93	33.64	30.84	29.91	29.91
97	47.46	45.76	66.10	72.88	71.19	77.12
98	39.13	40.00	11.30	11.30	23.48	16.52
99	45.71	40.95	29.52	24.76	22.86	22.86
100	32.17	30.43	27.83	17.39	18.26	20.00
101	26.23	22.95	15.57	13.11	10.66	8.20
102	11.32	11.32	8.49	5.66	1.89	2.83
103	10.83	12.50	7.50	6.67	5.83	5.83
104	12.12	6.06	6.06	3.03	1.01	0.00
105	16.67	17.65	19.61	16.67	5.88	11.76
106	10.09	8.26	6.42	6.42	4.59	3.67
107	6.73	3.85	3.85	1.92	0.96	2.88
108	9.43	4.72	8.49	4.72	4.72	3.77
109	10.53	9.47	14.74	20.00	11.58	11.58
110	25.00	25.00	55.00	58.00	43.00	51.00
111	32.67	31.68	43.56	44.55	40.59	49.50
112	6.93	8.91	9.90	6.93	1.98	3.96
113	43.14	41.83	49.67	53.59	53.59	54.25
114	25.68	24.32	29.73	32.43	37.84	40.54
115	26.25	27.50	38.75	46.25	38.75	52.50
116	25.00	17.50	8.75	10.00	16.25	17.50
117	14.04	14.04	34.21	48.25	35.96	44.74
118	26.05	25.21	42.02	48.74	39.50	47.90
119	21.82	18.18	25.45	27.27	30.91	32.73
120	31.39	21.90	53.28	67.15	52.55	73.72
121	12.60	7.09	51.97	54.33	56.69	57.48

122	6.58	6.58	3.95	7.89	3.95	6.58
123	13.58	8.64	16.05	11.11	6.17	3.70
124	21.01	16.81	16.81	17.65	24.37	29.41
125	37.42	33.55	25.16	24.52	21.94	18.71
126	48.89	46.67	86.67	97.04	91.11	96.30
127	48.68	46.05	69.74	82.24	71.71	94.74
128	25.45	18.18	21.82	17.27	19.09	13.64
129	35.11	36.17	18.09	17.02	17.02	19.15
130	31.37	33.33	38.24	42.16	37.25	53.92
131	17.78	12.22	12.22	17.78	13.33	3.33
132	21.51	18.28	12.90	12.90	10.75	13.98
133	17.71	9.38	9.38	9.38	7.29	9.38
134	25.00	23.68	19.74	13.16	15.79	9.21
135	76.42	84.91	77.36	88.68	83.02	96.23
136	11.03	9.56	8.82	8.09	12.50	14.71
137	11.56	9.25	89.60	97.69	88.44	95.95
138	7.03	7.81	42.97	50.78	47.66	50.78
139	14.85	12.87	6.93	2.97	4.95	1.98
140	13.14	13.14	10.95	8.76	9.49	9.49
141	25.56	26.67	14.44	13.33	7.78	3.33
142	15.87	12.70	15.87	33.33	30.16	10.32
143	17.97	19.53	19.53	17.19	11.72	10.16
144	16.22	9.91	7.21	7.21	4.50	3.60
145	11.50	6.19	8.85	6.19	6.19	5.31
146	11.36	9.09	11.36	11.36	9.09	6.82
147	49.04	50.96	45.19	48.08	46.15	51.92
148	14.55	10.00	7.27	4.55	2.73	3.64
149	21.88	19.79	16.67	16.67	18.75	23.96
150	15.74	16.67	11.11	11.11	8.33	8.33
151	7.41	9.26	9.26	9.26	11.11	5.56
152	14.42	13.46	8.65	8.65	1.92	1.92
153	13.76	11.93	5.50	8.26	5.50	5.50

154	18.27	9.62	32.69	41.35	17.31	25.96
155	12.77	13.83	13.83	10.64	7.45	9.57
156	15.62	18.75	23.96	21.88	14.58	14.58
157	24.43	21.37	26.72	22.90	23.66	33.59
158	13.08	4.67	6.54	7.48	4.67	4.67
159	31.34	25.37	8.96	5.97	5.97	5.97
160	20.81	16.24	11.68	11.68	10.15	10.66
161	25.42	22.03	11.86	7.63	8.47	5.93
162	23.23	20.20	42.42	41.41	43.43	52.53
163	16.00	13.00	7.00	7.00	4.00	5.00
164	22.92	20.83	9.38	10.42	10.42	12.50
165	19.64	19.64	10.71	9.82	8.04	3.57

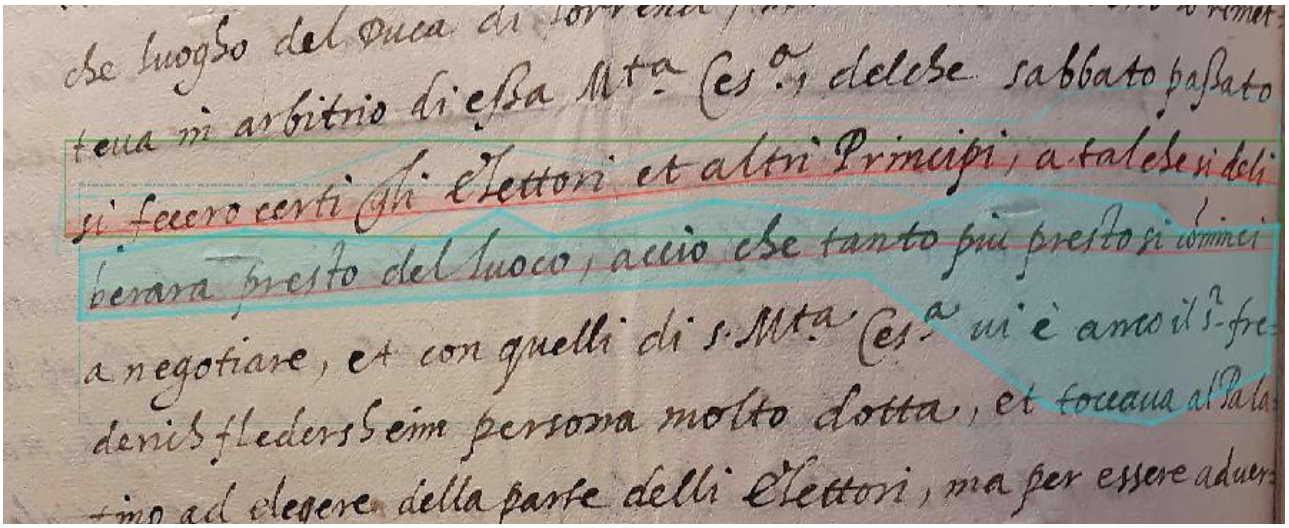


Figure 10. The First Example of an Inaccurate Line Polygon

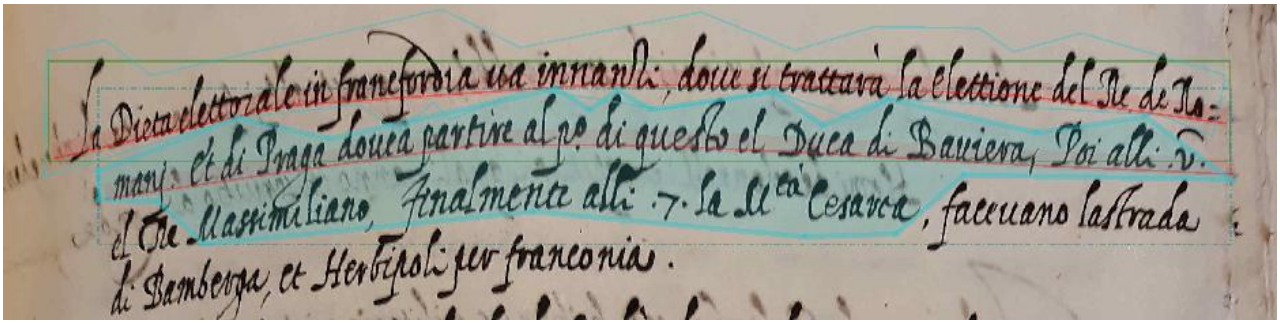


Figure 11. The Second Example of an Inaccurate Line Polygon

4.1.3 Dealing with Abbreviations

The letters and newsletters in the Bartoli corpus are heavily abbreviated, as is typical of early modern writing. To give some numbers, the first volume of letters[585] is composed of 714 pages, of which 496 are written, 488 of which are by Cosimo Bartoli. The volume contains a total of 28,367 abbreviations, which corresponds to a mean of 57 abbreviations per written page. The newsletters written by Curzio Bartoli are less abbreviated; in the final 135 pages of the first volume of newsletters,[586] 112 of which are written, all by Curzio, there are, on average, 25 abbreviations per written page. Given the large number of abbreviated words, how to treat them, whether they should be transcribed verbatim or solved by integrating the missing letters, is a key decision. When training a HTR model, the model learns to imitate how the Ground Truth has been transcribed. For this reason, it is important to be consistent with the method when creating the Ground Truth; otherwise, the model risks being confused and making more errors.[587] The choice of how to handle abbreviations also turns into an editorial decision that affects how the document transcripts are displayed and accessed.

There are four approaches regarding abbreviations when training a HTR model in Transkribus. The first one is to make a diplomatic transcription, keeping the abbreviations and using the UNICODE characters closest to the document. The model will be trained to transcribe abbreviations as they appear. This was the approach the Transkribus experts advised when I first started using it.[588] The second option consists of transcribing the abbreviations, tagging them with the textual tag “abbrev”, and writing the expanded form as a property of the tag. Version 1.18.0 of Transkribus Expert introduced the feature of training abbreviations with expansions during the training of the HTR model. The output will be an automatically recognised text where abbreviations are tagged with “abbrev” and associated with their corresponding expanded forms. However, it is important to note that the automatic tagging process does not employ a custom entity recognition model trained on tags. Instead, the HTR model is trained using Ground Truth transcriptions that incorporate the tags. For instance, the Ground Truth would not merely contain the abbreviation “Sig.re,”

[585] ASF, Mediceo del Principato 2976, fol. 1r-357v.
[586] ASF, Mediceo del Principato 3079, fol. 762r-829v.
[587] Couture et al., “The Challenges of HTR Model Training,” 7–8.
[588] Romein and Walcher, “Digi-Workshop. Transkribus.”

but would also include the expanded form within a tag structure (e.g., "<abbrev: Signore>Sig.re"). During the recognition process, then, the content within angle brackets is automatically converted into a tag. This approach results in a higher CER, because the correctness of the tags and expansions is also weighted in the CER, and sometimes the expanded form appears in the text instead of as metadata.[589] As a third option, the text can be normalised, and the abbreviations solved in the transcription. Neural networks can successfully learn to transcribe the expanded form appearing in the Ground Truth instead of what is actually written in the document when abbreviations occur frequently.[590] Rabus defines these models as "smart models" because they can mimic, to a certain extent, the philological work and make educated guesses, such as solving abbreviations.[591] The fourth approach involves training the model to keep abbreviations, followed by the application of separate models for word segmentation and normalisation outside of Transkribus. This modular approach yields the best WER results in Camps's experiment on Medieval Latin manuscripts; however, the test is not conducted with HTR+ or PyLaia, but only with Kraken and an adaptation of another engine, Calfa Vision.[592]

The optimal solution highly depends on the project's goals, whether one wants a diplomatic transcription or prefers a normalised text to facilitate word searches. When I started using Transkribus, I did not yet know about the possibility of training smart models, so I decided to follow the experts' recommendation and train a model that transcribes the abbreviations verbatim. Thanks to a blog post about a project that used Transkribus on medieval legal texts, I learnt about a script called abbrevSolver, written by the developer Ismail Prada. It allows the user to automatically tag abbreviations and write the expansion as a tag property based on a custom external dictionary.[593] The script, available on GitHub, requires exporting the transcription in the PageXML format from Transkribus and has to be run for each individual page.[594] However, as also mentioned in the blog post, the author

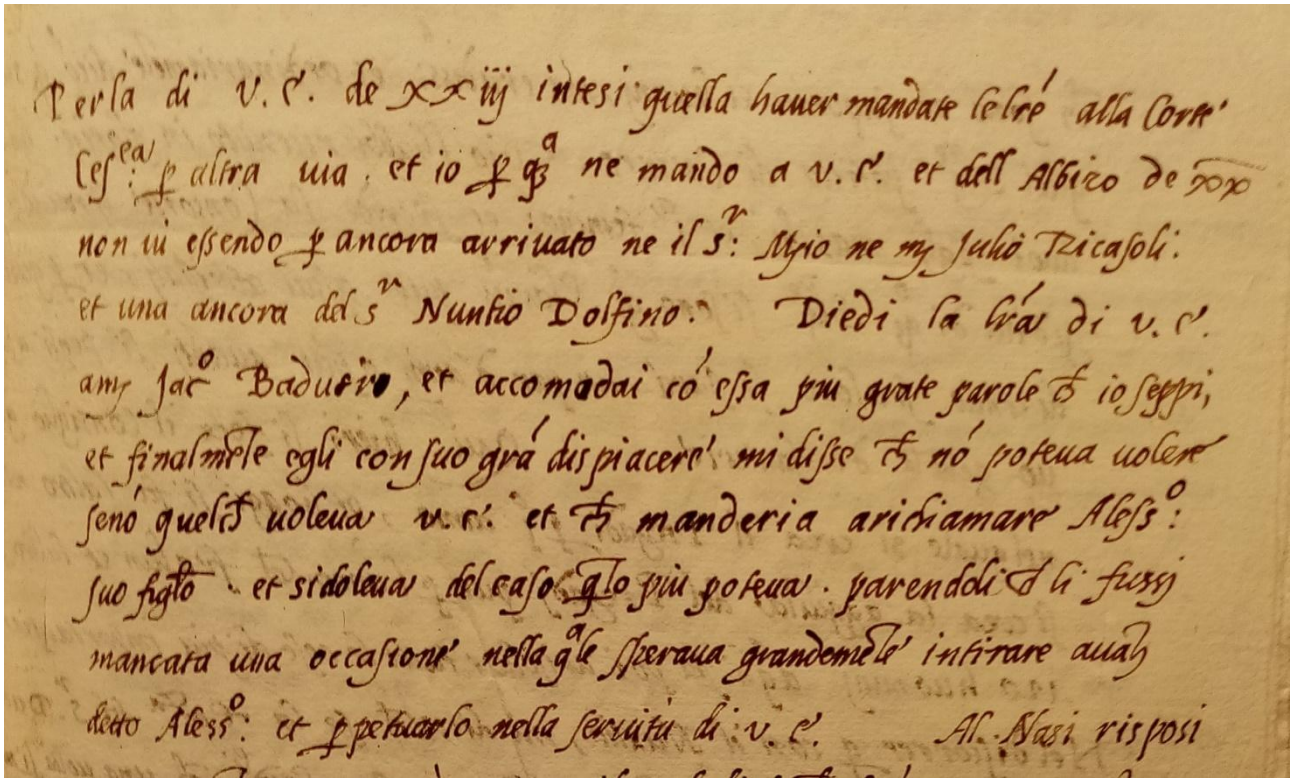
[589] Rachel Griffiths, "Transkribus in Practice: Abbreviations," Digital Orientalist, November 1, 2022, https://perma.cc/ZA3H-8S7W.
[590] "Data Preparation," Transkribus Help Center, accessed June 10, 2024, https://perma.cc/3RN3-7WT7.
[591] Rabus, "Handwritten Text Recognition for Croatian Glagolitic," 184.
[592] Jean-Baptiste Camps, Chahan Vidal-Gorène, and Marguerite Vernet, "Handling Heavily Abbreviated Manuscripts: HTR Engines vs Text Normalisation Approaches," in *Document Analysis and Recognition – ICDAR 2021 Workshops*, ed. Elisa H. Barney Smith and Umapada Pal, vol. 12917 (Cham: Springer International Publishing, 2021), 306–16, https://link.springer.com/10.1007/978-3-030-86159-9_21.
[593] Chris Riley, "UCL–University of Toronto: Transkribus, HTR, and Medieval Latin Abbreviations | UCL Transcribe Bentham," Transcribe Bentham - Blog UCL, April 20, 2021, https://perma.cc/LJE2-PPGR.
[594] Ismail Prada, "abbrevSolver," Python, May 18, 2021, https://perma.cc/J9ZY-48WU.

developed an alternative version that interfaces directly with Transkribus through the API, enabling the bulk tagging of the transcripts. This is the solution I decided to adopt. First, I recognised the text; then, I created a dictionary listing all of the abbreviations and their corresponding expansions; lastly, I executed the script to add the tags and their corresponding expansions automatically. The abbreviation dictionary compiled for the Bartoli corpus contains over 900 entries, reflecting the considerable inconsistency in abbreviation practices. This variability is evident not only among the three writers but also within an individual writer, who often abbreviated the same word in different ways.[595] The only drawback of abbrevSolver is that it does not take context into account and is unable to determine, in the case of ambiguous abbreviations, which is the correct expansion to choose.

Even though the function of training a model with abbreviation tags was introduced after my choice, I still attempted to train a model with this feature (version 13, Table 3). The CER of 11% is significantly higher than the 3.20% of version 11, also because the errors in the tags were weighed in the CER measure. Additionally, upon visual inspection of the Validation Set, it appears that the abbreviations are confusing the recognition of even straightforward and frequent words, such as “l͡ra” (lettera), “V.E.” (Vostra Eccellenza), and “oss.mo” (osservantissimo) (Figure 12 and Table 7).

In conclusion, the decision to transcribe the abbreviations and use abbrevSolver to tag them was the best course of action, given the information at hand. If I had learnt about smart models at that time, I would have preferred that solution because the project’s primary goal is to make the text searchable rather than to provide a diplomatic transcription.

[595] For example, in the abbreviation dictionary, 14 abbreviated forms correspond to the expansion “Monsignor”:
Mons
Mons.
Mons.r
Mons:
Mons:͡
Mons͡
Mons͡:
Monsig.r
Monsigr
Monsr
Mons:r
Mons.r
Mōs
Mōs:



Per la di v. s. de xxiij intesi quella hauer mandate le sue alla Corte
Cesa: & altra uia. et io & q3a ne mando a v. s. et dell Albizo de xxx
non ui essendo & ancora arriuato ne il sr: Mgio ne my Julio Tricasoli:
et una ancora del sr Nuntio Dolfino. Diedi la lra di v. s.
amy Jaco Baduero, et accomodai co essa piu grate parole & io seppi,
et finalmte egli con suo grá dispiacere mi disse & nó poteua uolere
seno quello uoleua v. s. et & manderia aricchiamare Aless:
suo figlo. et si doleua del caso q lo piu poteua. parendoli & li fussi
mancata una occasione nella q3le sperana grandemte intirare auan
detto Aless: et & perdiarlo nella seruitu di v. s. Al. Nasi risposi

Figure 12. The Snippet of ASF, Mediceo del Principato 2977, fol. 35r, Transcribed in Table 7

Table 7. The Comparison of the Transcriptions of the First Eleven Lines of Mediceo del Principato 2977, fol. 35r, With Errors in the Automatic Transcription and Abbreviation Expansion Highlighted in Red

Correct text	**Automatic recognition with Bartoli version 11 with LM + abbrevSolver script**	**Automatic recognition with Bartoli version 13**
Ill:mo[Illustrissimo] et Ecc:mo[Eccellentissimo] S:⁀[Signor] et Patrō[on] mio oss:mo[osservantissimo] Per la di V. E.[Vostra Eccellenza] de xxiii intesi quella haver mandate le l⁀re[lettere] alla Corte Ces:ea[Cesarea] ꝑ[per] altra via, et io ꝑ[per] q⁀a[questa] ne mando a V. E.[Vostra Eccellenza] et dell Albizo de x̄x̄[xx] non vi essendo ꝑ[per] ancora arrivato né il S:r[Signor] M⁀io[Mario] né ms[messer] Iulio Ricasoli. et una ancora del Sr[Signor] Nuntio Dolfino. Diedi la l⁀ra[lettera] di V. E.[Vostra Eccellenza] a ms[messer] Iaco[Iacopo] Baduero, et accomadai cō[on] essa più grate parole	Ill:mo[Illustrissimo] et Ecc:mo[Eccellentissimo] S:⁀[Signor] et Patrō[on] mio oss:mo[osservantissimo] Per la di V. E.[Vostra Eccellenza] de xxiii intesi quella haver mandate le l⁀re[lettere] alla Corte Ces:ea[Cesarea] ꝑ[per] altra via, et io ꝑ[per] q⁀a[questa] ne mando a V. E.[Vostra Eccellenza] et dell Albizo de x̄x̄[xx] non vi essendo ꝑ[per] ancora arrivato né il S:r[Signor] Mio ne ms[messer] Iulio Ricasoli. et una ancora del Sr[Signor] Nuntio Dolfino. Diedi la l⁀ra[lettera] di V. E.[Vostra Eccellenza] a ms[messer] Iaco[Iacopo] Baduero, et accomadai cō[on] essa più grate parole	Illmo et Ecc:mo S:r et Patrō mio ossmo Per la di V. E.Vostra Eccellenza de xiii essi quella haver mante le l⁀re[lettere] alla Corte Ces:ea ꝑ[per] la via. et io ꝑ q⁀a ne mando a V. E.Vostra Eccellenza et dell Albizo de x̄ non vi essendo ꝑ[per] ancora arrivato né il S:⁀[Signor] M⁀in (missing né) messer Iulio Ricasoli et una ancora del Sr[Signor] Nuntio Dolfino. Diedi la l⁀ra[lettera] di V. E.Vostra Eccellenza (missing a) ms[messer] Iaco[Iacopo] Baduero, et accomandai cō[on] essa più grate parole cħ[che] io seppi(missing ,) et finalmē[en]te egli con suo grā[an]

cħ[che] io seppi, et finalmē[en]te egli con suo grā[an] dispiacere mi disse cħ[che] nō[on] poteva volere se nō[on] quel cħ[che] voleva V. E.[Vostra Eccellenza] et cħ[che] manderia a richiamare Aless:o[ssandro] suo fig⁀lo[figliolo] et si doleva del caso qto[quanto] più poteva. parendoli cħ[che] li fussi mancata una occasione nella qale[quale] sperava grandemē[en]te in tirare avā[an]ti detto Aless:o[ssandro] et ꝑ[per]petuarlo nella servitù di .V. E.[Vostra Eccellenza] Al Nasi risposi	cħ[che] io seppi(missing ,) et finalmē[en]te egli con suo grā[an] dispiacere mi disse cħ[che] nō[on] poteva volere se nō[on] quel cħ[che] voleva V. E.[Vostra Eccellenza] et cħ[che] manderia a richiamare Aless:o[ssimo] suo fig⁀lo[figliolo] et si doleva del caso qto[quanto] più poteva. parendoli cħ[che] li fussi mancata una occasione nella qale[quale] sperava grandemē[en]te intirare avā[an]ti detto Aless:o[ssimo] et ꝑ[per]petuarlo nella servitù di .V. E.[Vostra Eccellenza] Al Nasi risposi	dispiacere mi disse cħ[che] nō[on] poteva volere se nō[on] quel cħ[che] voleva V. E.Vostra Eccellenza et cħ[che] manderia a richiamare Aless:o[ssimo] suo fig⁀lo[figliolo], et si doleva del caso qto[quanto] più poteva. parendoli cħ[che] li fussi mancata una occasione nella qale[quale] sperava grandemē[en]te intirare avā[an]ti detto Aless:o[Alessandro] et ꝑ[per]petuarlo nella serviti di V. E.Vostra Eccellenza Al Nasi risposi

4.1.4 The Importance of Layout

An element that is frequently overlooked in HTR is the importance of Layout Analysis. Layout Analysis is the process of segmenting an image into text regions and baselines, which are polylines running along the bottom of the handwritten text line (Figure 13). It can be done manually or, as it happens in most of the cases, automatically. Then, an algorithm extrapolates the line polygons from the baselines. The line polygons are line regions encasing all of the letters in the line, including the ascenders, descenders, and upper-case letters (Figure 14) and are the input images of the HTR systems.[596] Stated differently, the HTR model recognises only what falls inside the line polygons, and its precision is mainly dependent on the quality and completeness of the line polygon extraction. Having accurate baselines and, by extension, accurate line polygons ensures higher accuracy in the automatic text recognition output.[597]

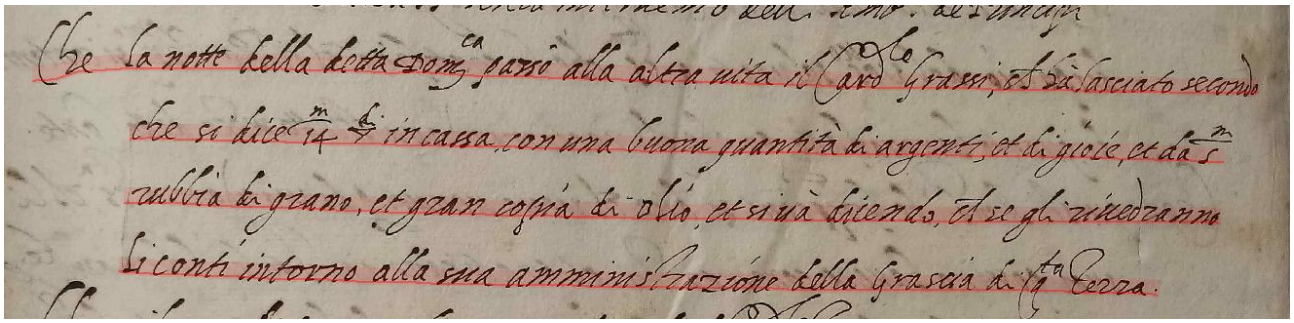


Figure 13. The Baselines Running Along the Bottom of the Handwritten Text Lines

[596] Muehlberger et al., "Transforming Scholarship in the Archives through Handwritten Text Recognition," 21–22.
[597] Veronica Romero et al., "Influence of Text Line Segmentation in Handwritten Text Recognition," in *Proceedings of the 2015 13th International Conference on Document Analysis and Recognition (ICDAR)* (2015 13th International Conference on Document Analysis and Recognition (ICDAR), IEEE Computer Society, 2015), 536, https://doi.org/10.1109/ICDAR.2015.7333819.

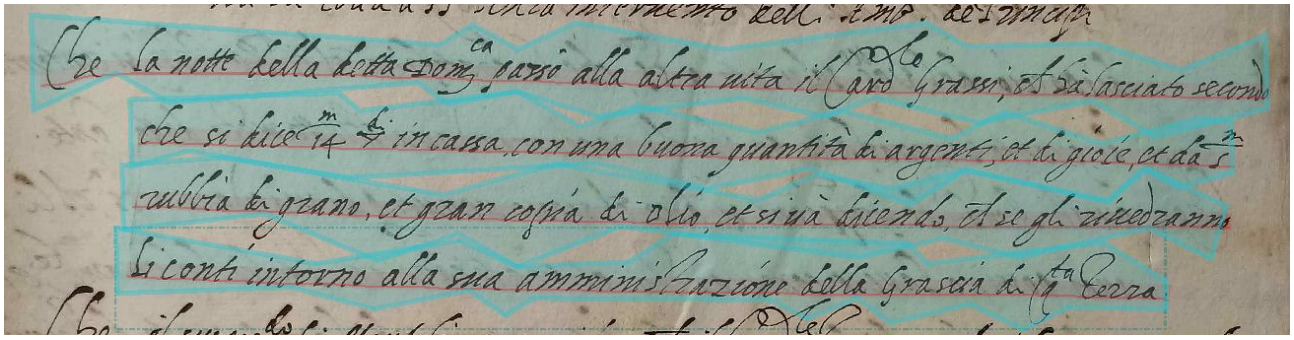


Figure 14. The Line Polygons Encasing All of the Letters of the Line

Since my goal for the volumes that would not undergo manual correction was to achieve the best possible automatic result, I focused not only on training the best possible HTR model but also on achieving the most accurate automatic layout recognition. There are various parameters in Transkribus that can affect the quality of the Layout Analysis:[598]

- Baseline model: is the model used to detect the baselines. There are various general public baseline models available on the platform; they were trained on a variety of handwritten and printed documents and are an out-of-the-box solution that works well in most cases. If the public models are not able to identify all of the baselines correctly, the user can train a custom baseline model.
- Baseline accuracy threshold: during the Layout Analysis, every pixel is labelled as baseline, separator, or other. Separators are small vertical lines that mark the start and end of each baseline. The baseline accuracy threshold applies to this labelling step: higher values enforce higher accuracy in the detected baselines.
- Separator threshold: indicates how the separators are used. When the value is low, separators are not used; when the value is high, separators are used, which prevents nearby baselines from merging.

[598] "Layout Analysis Help," READ-COOP, accessed June 17, 2024, https://perma.cc/BB4W-W9HA; "Advanced Layout Configuration Settings," Transkribus Help Center, accessed June 17, 2024, https://perma.cc/99TJ-J7Z9.

- Minimal baseline length: is the minimal length of a baseline in pixels. Baselines shorter than this are ignored. It helps prevent the recognition of too short and often incorrect baselines, such as stains and see-thorough ink.
- Max-distance for merging baselines: when the distance between two adjacent baselines is less than a set fraction of the image width, nearby baselines are merged together.
- Image scaling: this option enables the upscale of low-resolution images and the downscale of high-resolution ones.
- Region detection method: this parameter rules out how the baselines are clustered together into text regions. With the “General” option, baselines are clustered from left to right. With the “Custom” option, the baselines are clustered based on their distance. This option, moreover, also allows having only one text region per image.

The default settings used within Transkribus are as follows:

- Minimal baseline length: Medium (25)
- Baseline model: Mixed Line Orientation
- Baseline accuracy threshold: Medium (55)
- Separator threshold: No (-1)
- Max-distance for merging baselines: Medium (0.01)
- Image scaling: Default (1.0)
- Region detection method: General

These parameters work fairly well on Bartoli’s letters but not on the newsletters. The outdented “Che” that introduces each news item is often recognised as a separate baseline from the rest of the line, or the capital C is not recognised, causing errors in the transcription (Figure 15). For this reason, I decided to train a baseline model specifically for Cosimo Bartoli’s letters and newsletters. This model would be able to recognise the outdented "Che" as part of the paragraph’s opening line but would also be able to ignore later-written page numbers and archival notes. The Training Set consists of 545 pages, while the Validation Set has 60 pages. I trained two versions of the baseline model. The first version, “Bartoli’s letters and

newsletters_baselines_v1", is trained using the "Mixed Line Orientation" public model as the base model and reached a 3.88% Loss on the Validation Set. This percentage is the equivalent of the CER and measures the percentage of pixels incorrectly classified. A Loss of less than 10% indicates that the model is effective.[599] The second version, "Bartoli's letters and newsletters_baselines_v2", is trained only on Bartoli's pages without selecting a base model, and the Loss obtained is 3.56%.

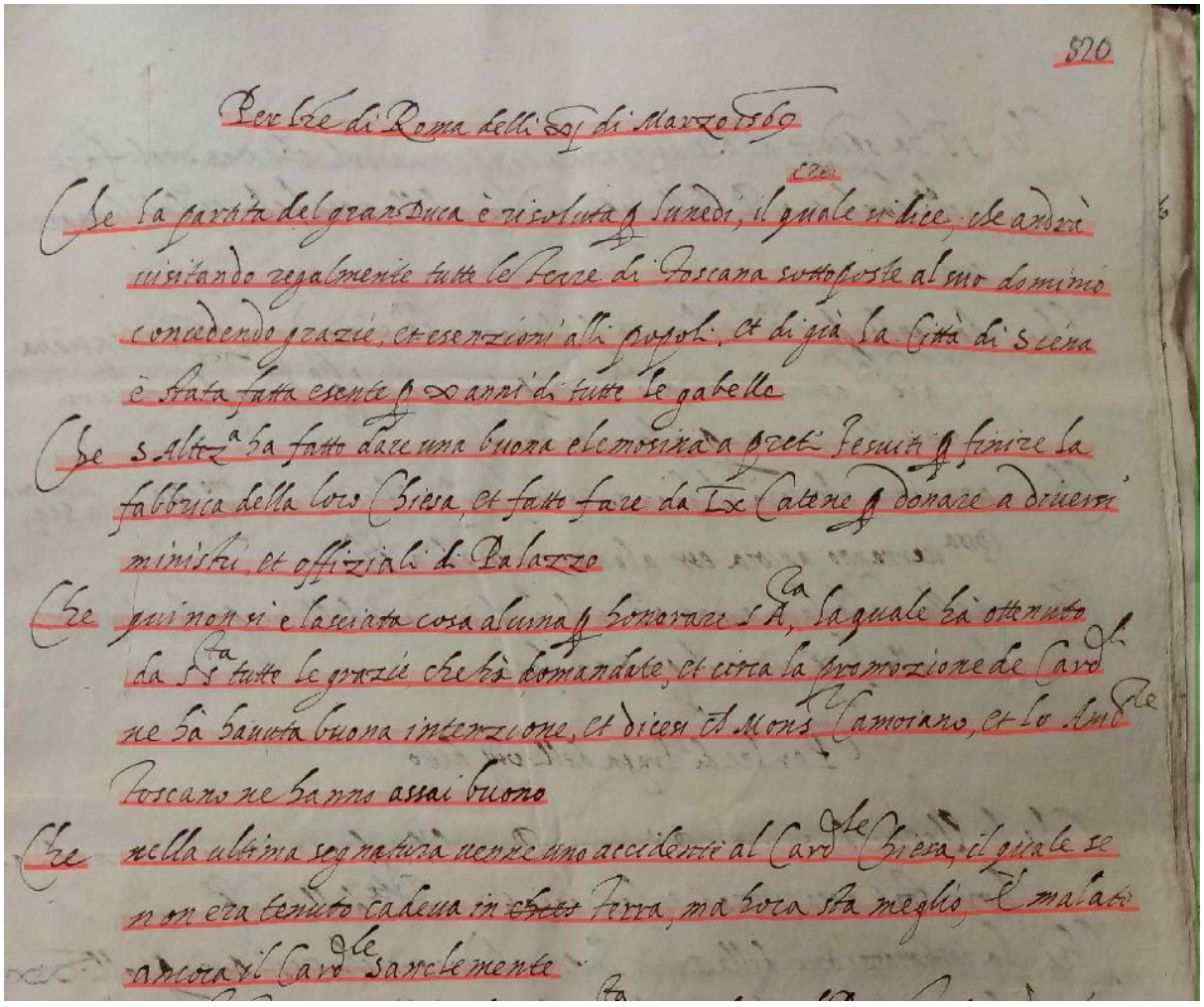


Figure 15. The Layout Analysis with the Default Parameters. The "Che" at the Beginning of Each News Item Is Often Detected Incorrectly

[599] "Baselines Models," Transkribus Help Center, accessed June 18, 2024, https://perma.cc/S9BR-R3LU.

I then ran a test to see which model, in combination with advanced parameters, gives the most accurate results. The test was conducted on two sets of images: the Validation Set of 60 pages and a randomly selected Test Set of 42 pages, taken from those volumes that were only processed automatically and were not used to train the baseline model. The three baseline models I wanted to test were: Mixed Line Orientation, Bartoli's letters and newsletters_baselines_v1, and Bartoli's letters and newsletters_baselines_v2. Given the hundreds of possible parameter combinations, I restricted the number of parameter sets to four (Table 8). The parameters modified from the default settings are the minimal baseline length and the maximum distance for merging baselines because, based on my experience and the document characteristics, they could yield the best results. The first set of parameters is what Transkribus uses by default for layout recognition. In the second set, the minimal baseline length is set to High (40 pixels as opposed to 25), which should prevent the detection of too short and meaningless lines. In the third set, the maximum distance for merging baselines is set to High (0.05 instead of 0.01), with the goal of merging baselines belonging to the same line but recognised as detached due to the significant space between words, e.g. between "Che" and the rest of the line. The fourth set has both the minimal baseline length and the maximum distance for merging baselines set to High. All of the other parameters are set to their default values, with the exception of the region detection method. It was always set to "Custom - one text region," because I took one photo per page, thus there would only be one region per page.

On both the Validation Set and the Test Set, I ran 12 layout recognition jobs, i.e. the four parameter sets combined with the three different baseline models. Transkribus Expert has a feature to compute the quality of the baseline detection by comparing the automatic recognition with the manually corrected layout.[600] The performance is measured in Precision, Recall, and F1-score. These measures are comparable to the traditional Precision, Recall, and F1 metrics used in information retrieval but adapted to the special use case of baseline recognition, where no "true"

[600] "Transkribus/TranskribusBaseLineEvaluationScheme," Java (2016; repr., Transkribus, December 22, 2023), https://perma.cc/4G49-UFY4.

Ground Truth baseline exists. Therefore, a notion of tolerance comes into play. Precision indicates how accurate the baseline recognition is, especially in terms of length, angle, and position. Recall measures how reliably the text would be recognised, regardless of the layout issues. F1 is the harmonic mean between Precision and Recall, thus serving as an estimation of overall model performance, taking into account the trade-off between Precision and Recall.[601] Table 9 shows the metrics for all of the 12 recognitions, both on the Validation Set and the Test Set, and their arithmetic mean. The first thing one notices is that the Precision of the general "Mixed Line Orientation" model is considerably worse than the models specifically trained on Bartoli's documents. The Recall, however, is 0.99. This means that the general model would recognise 99% of the text correctly but would also recognise other baselines that are not correct or detect several baselines instead of one, thus creating a noisier transcription.

Among the combinations with the highest mean, I selected version 2 of the custom baseline model in combination with Set 3 to recognise all of the remaining pages. I opted for version 2 instead of version 1 due to its higher accuracy in the Test Set. The Test Set is more significant than the Validation Set because it was randomly selected precisely from the pages that needed processing. The metrics are identical across Sets 2, 3, and 4. After I visually inspected the recognised pages, I concluded that Set 3 produces the closest layout to my desired outcome.

In conclusion, these are the layout settings I used for the layout recognition of the volumes which have only been recognised automatically but not manually corrected:

- Baseline model: Bartoli's letters and newsletters_baselines_v2
- Minimal baseline length: Medium (25)
- Baseline accuracy threshold: Medium (55)
- Separator threshold: No (-1)
- Max-distance for merging baselines: High (0.05)

[601] Tobias Grüning et al., "READ-BAD: A New Dataset and Evaluation Scheme for Baseline Detection in Archival Documents" (arXiv, 2017), https://doi.org/10.48550/ARXIV.1705.03311.

- Image scaling: Default (1.0)
- Region detection method: Custom – one text region

Table 8. The Four Sets of Parameters Used to Assess which, in Combination With the Three Baseline Models, Gives the Most Accurate Recognition

	Set 1	**Set 2**	**Set 3**	**Set 4**
Minimal baseline length	Medium (25)	High (40)	Medium (25)	High (40)
Baseline accuracy threshold	Medium (55)	Medium (55)	Medium (55)	Medium (55)
Use trained separators	No (-1)	No (-1)	No (-1)	No (-1)
Max-dist for merging baselines	Medium (0.01)	Medium (0.01)	High (0.05)	High (0.05)
Image scaling	Default (1.0)	Default (1.0)	Default (1.0)	Default (1.0)

Table 9. The Measures of the Accuracy of the Three Baseline Models in Combination With the Four Sets of Parameters on the Validation and Test Sets

Baseline model	**Settings**	**Validation Set**			**Test Set**			
		Precision	**Recall**	**F1**	**Precision**	**Recall**	**F1**	**Mean**
Mixed Line Orientation	Set 1	0.84	0.99	0.91	0.78	0.99	0.87	0.8967
Mixed Line Orientation	Set 2	0.91	0.99	0.95	0.86	0.99	0.92	0.9367
Mixed Line Orientation	Set 3	0.87	0.99	0.92	0.82	0.99	0.90	0.9150
Mixed Line Orientation	Set 4	0.93	0.99	0.96	0.89	0.99	0.94	0.9500
Bartoli's letters and newsletters_baselines_v1	Set 1	0.99	1.00	0.99	0.98	0.99	0.99	0.9900
Bartoli's letters and newsletters_baselines_v1	Set 2	0.99	0.99	0.99	0.99	0.99	0.99	0.9900
Bartoli's letters and newsletters_baselines_v1	Set 3	0.99	1.00	0.99	0.99	0.99	0.99	0.9917
Bartoli's letters and newsletters_baselines_v1	Set 4	0.99	0.99	0.99	0.99	0.99	0.99	0.9900
Bartoli's letters and newsletters_baselines_v2	Set 1	0.99	0.99	0.99	0.98	1.00	0.99	0.9900
Bartoli's letters and newsletters_baselines_v2	Set 2	0.99	0.99	0.99	0.99	1.00	0.99	0.9917
Bartoli's letters and newsletters_baselines_v2	**Set 3**	**0.99**	**0.99**	**0.99**	**0.99**	**1.00**	**0.99**	**0.9917**
Bartoli's letters and newsletters_baselines_v2	Set 4	0.99	0.99	0.99	0.99	1.00	0.99	0.9917

4.2 A Small Digitally-Enabled Participatory Project: Design, Management, and Results

The participatory or crowdsourcing phase, in which volunteers contributed to correcting transcripts within Transkribus, was a significant component of the digital project. In the first phase, participants helped to revise and tag the first two volumes, one of letters and one of newsletters, which had already been automatically transcribed using version 7 of the Bartoli HTR model (CER 5.70%). Their help brought a twofold benefit: corrected transcripts to be published and more Ground Truth to train an even more accurate model, which ended up being the final version, version 11 (CER 3.20%). A second phase of the participatory project was planned and would have involved participants reviewing all of the remaining seven volumes that were automatically transcribed using version 11, but as will be discussed later, it was not carried out due to time constraints.

At this point, it is worth defining crowdsourcing in general and in the cultural/academic sphere to better understand the motivations that led me to choose this approach and whether it could be a sustainable solution to build a community of interested people and foster the publication of manuscript sources.

In 2006, Jeff Howe wrote the article *The Rise of Crowdsourcing* for Wired Magazine. He coined the neologism "crowdsourcing" by analogy to the term outsourcing to indicate a variety of both commercial and non-commercial activities which take advantage of the crowd's time, experience, expertise, and talent through online platforms.[602] Some crowdsourcing projects, like Wikipedia, are free and open. On other websites, like iStock, InnoCentive, and Amazon Mechanical Turk, crowd labour is paid, and businesses usually use and appreciate it because it is considerably less expensive than hiring traditional employees. Among the various definitions of crowdsourcing, I find this one to be the most comprehensive:

[602] Jeff Howe, "The Rise of Crowdsourcing," Wired, June 1, 2006, https://web.archive.org/web/20230227133342/https://www.wired.com/2006/06/crowds/.

> Crowdsourcing is a type of participative online activity in which an individual, an institution, a non-profit organization, or company proposes to a group of individuals of varying knowledge, heterogeneity, and number, via a flexible open call, the voluntary undertaking of a task. The undertaking of the task, of variable complexity and modularity, and in which the crowd should participate bringing their work, money, knowledge and/or experience, always entails mutual benefit. The user will receive the satisfaction of a given type of need, be it economic, social recognition, self-esteem, or the development of individual skills, while the crowdsourced will obtain and utilize to their advantage what the user has brought to the venture, whose form will depend on the type of activity undertaken.[603]

All crowdsourcing initiatives, in summary, share the following features: an open and not targeted call to participate, voluntary participation, a benefit for both the initiator and the crowd, and the use of the Internet to disseminate the call and complete tasks by participants. The advent of Web 2.0 enabled the development of a networked world and the removal of barriers that separated amateurs and professionals, making crowdsourcing possible. In his fundamental article *What is Web 2.0*, Tim O'Reilly outlined how Web 2.0 has "embraced the power of the web to harness collective intelligence" and marked the end of the consumer culture and the beginning of a new era in which users actively create their own content as opposed to merely being consumers of media created by others.[604] Hence, crowdsourcing appears as a natural product of the cultural shift from Web 1.0 to Web 2.0.

Crowdsourcing was initially utilised in the business sector, but it quickly spread to other industries, including the cultural and heritage sectors. Wikipedia, founded in 2001 on the idea that everyone can contribute to the creation and editing of the online encyclopaedia, can be credited as the father of crowdsourcing. In the Digital Humanities field, Melissa Terras names the Australian Newspaper Digitisation

[603] Enrique Estellés-Arolas and Fernando González-Ladrón-de-Guevara, "Towards an Integrated Crowdsourcing Definition," *Journal of Information Science* 38, no. 2 (2012): 197, https://doi.org/10.1177/0165551512437638.
[604] Tim O'Reilly, "What Is Web 2.0," O'Reilly, September 30, 2005, https://perma.cc/BFV3-VWYM.

Program, launched in 2008, as the earliest large-scale crowdsourcing project.[605] One may argue that the contribution of volunteer citizens to cultural heritage and science projects is not a novelty and has a long offline history.[606] In the 1850s, for instance, Joseph Henry from the Smithsonian created a meteorological programme to solve the problem of American storms. To gather meteorological observations, he asked for the help of volunteers and created a network of 600 weather observers across the United States of America, the Caribbean, and Latin America, who monthly mailed compiled logs of daily weather observations to the Institute.[607] The *Oxford English Dictionary* is another example. Its editors launched various appeals in the second half of the nineteenth century, asking the English-speaking and reading public to locate specific words in early texts, copy the quotes on slips of paper, and send them to the editors, who would then use the raw material to understand the history and usage of words and compile the dictionary.[608] Mia Ridge argues that even these contributory projects, although offline, can be defined as crowdsourcing and the advent of the Internet and Web 2.0 has only transformed crowdsourcing. The use of online platforms has made it easier for volunteers to input data and for the project team to collect, validate, and reuse it since it is already in digital format and does not need to be manually gathered from thousands of handwritten forms and processed. Furthermore, the use of the Internet has facilitated reaching a wider audience, keeping continuous communication with the volunteers, and making the tasks more engaging, in some cases even gamifying them.[609]

Libraries, archives, and museums have extensively developed crowdsourcing projects in order to, on the one hand, get a wider public to interact with their online

[605] Melissa Terras, "Crowdsourcing in the Digital Humanities," in *A New Companion to Digital Humanities*, ed. John Unsworth, Susan Schreibman, and Ray Siemens (Chichester, West Sussex, UK: Wiley-Blackwell, 2016), 424.
[606] Terras, 427–28.
[607] "Joseph Henry A Life in Science - Meteorology," Smithsonian Institution Archives, March 21, 2012, https://perma.cc/8MST-UZ7J.
[608] Peter Gilliver, "'Your Dictionary Needs You': A Brief History of the OED's Appeals to the Public," Oxford English Dictionary, October 4, 2012, https://perma.cc/EZ6C-273Q; Mia Ridge et al., *The Collective Wisdom Handbook: Perspectives on Crowdsourcing in Cultural Heritage - Community Review Version*, 1st ed. (PubPub, 2021), https://doi.org/10.21428/a5d7554f.1b80974b.
[609] Mia Ridge, "Crowdsourcing in Cultural Heritage: A Practical Guide to Designing and Running Successful Projects," in *Routledge International Handbook of Research Methods in Digital Humanities*, ed. Kristen Schuster and Stuart Dunn (London: Routledge, 2021), 363–64.

collections and, on the other hand, to improve the quality of metadata and consequently broaden access to them. The tasks mainly concern transcribing texts or correcting OCR'ed texts, annotating texts, photos, and maps, creating new metadata, collecting data, and generating new content.[610] Academic scholars have frequently engaged with cultural institutions in these projects, as they are the ultimate researchers of the data created by the volunteers. In addition, historians and scientists have frequently started their own crowdsourcing projects to crowdsource time-consuming and complex tasks that were traditionally performed by academics but have become unmanageable to complete, given the limited time and resources at their disposal. For instance, the 2010-launched citizen science project *Old Weather* asks volunteers to locate and transcribe weather observations from ship logs from the nineteenth and twentieth centuries through an online platform. Scientists are using the data to reconstruct historical global weather and climate patterns and develop more accurate climate prediction models.[611] The most renowned crowdsourcing project in the Digital Humanities is the *Bentham Papers Transcription Initiative*, or simply, *Transcribe Bentham*. The critical edition of the philosopher Jeremy Bentham's works began in 1959, but due to Bentham's hard-to-read handwriting, very few of his manuscripts have been published to date. Starting in 2010 and still ongoing, the crowdsourcing project aims to produce accurate transcriptions of Bentham's papers that can be uploaded to the library's digital repository and used as a basis for the critical edition.[612] Today, after fifteen years, crowdsourcing in the humanities and cultural heritage is no longer a new phenomenon; it has become an established method, especially in the context of Digital Humanities.[613]

What essentially differentiates business crowdsourcing from the non-commercial and academic approaches is the purpose behind the project's creation and the crowd's motivation and condition. In the first scenario, the workers complete

[610] Ridge et al., *The Collective Wisdom Handbook*.
[611] Lucinda Blaser, "Old Weather: Approaching Collections from a Different Angle," in *Crowdsourcing Our Cultural Heritage*, ed. Mia Ridge (Farnham: Ashgate, 2014), 45–55.
[612] Tim Causer and Melissa Terras, "'Many Hands Make Light Work. Many Hands Together Make Merry Work': Transcribe Bentham and Crowdsourcing Manuscript Collections," in *Crowdsourcing Our Cultural Heritage*, ed. Mia Ridge (Farnham: Ashgate, 2014), 57–87.
[613] Ben Brumfield, "The Decade in Crowdsourcing Transcription," FromThePage Blog, January 9, 2020, https://perma.cc/TF9Q-EEGW.

tasks in exchange for payment and act in an anonymous manner, without interacting with the business or other workers. On the other hand, in citizen science and humanities crowdsourcing, the participants are volunteers driven by a passion for the subject or by social and community factors, such as the willingness to contribute to a meaningful collective goal.[614] Successful crowdsourcing initiatives have always established robust communities of participants. Open lines of communication between project teams and individual participants are crucial for fostering a sense of community among volunteers and minimising the possibility of them feeling exploited by memory organisations or scholars.[615]

Although commonly used, the term "crowdsourcing" is somewhat problematic in reference to projects regarding cultural heritage and the humanities. In such projects, the participants are more than an anonymous mass of people carrying out a task; they are, instead, a group of individuals who volunteer their time, deeply engage with the project's mission and material, create relationships with the team and with each other, and sometimes even act as chat moderators or mentors for newcomers. Moreover, it rarely constitutes a large crowd: a successful project can also be carried out with only a handful of highly committed participants.[616] Alternatives may be "digitally-enabled participatory project," "community-sourcing," "micro-volunteering," "nichesourcing," and "targeted crowdsourcing."[617] The term I prefer for defining my project is "digitally-enabled participatory project" since the digital medium was essential to the completion of the tasks, and I had the opportunity to meet nearly all of the volunteers during introductory calls, transcription marathons, and some of them even in person. They were anything but anonymous. In the course of the discussion, for convenience, I will use the shorthand terms "participatory project" and "crowdsourcing" to refer to my digitally-enabled participatory project.

After this brief overview of crowdsourcing, I would like to discuss why I decided to start a participatory project. In a time- and cost-benefit sense, a manuscript

[614] Mark Hedges and Stuart E. Dunn, *Academic Crowdsourcing in the Humanities: Crowds, Communities and Co-Production* (Cambridge, MA: Elsevier, 2018), 87–103.
[615] Hedges and Dunn, 103, 108–13.
[616] Ridge et al., *The Collective Wisdom Handbook*.
[617] Ridge, "Crowdsourcing in Cultural Heritage," 365.

transcription project does not guarantee achieving goals quicker with less expense of time, effort, and money. As Causer, Tonra, and Wallace demonstrate, reflecting upon the first funding phase of *Transcribe Bentham*, in a six-month testing period, the two staff members spent a total of one month's labour each only to review the volunteers' submissions. They also estimate that if the two staff members had been employed full-time only to transcribe manuscripts, in a year, they would have transcribed more than double the amount of text that the volunteers would have done. Thus, at least in the first phase of *Transcribe Bentham*, the benefits did not exceed the costs in terms of quickening the pace of transcription. However, as highlighted by the authors, no funding body would finance a mere transcription work, and, more importantly, cost-effectiveness is not the only measure for the success of a participatory project.[618]

My primary reason for launching a participatory project was not the opportunity to easily obtain corrected transcriptions for free but the desire to open the doors of both the archive and academic research to people who do not usually engage with them. Museums, libraries, and archives are not only guardians of cultural heritage but also have the mission of providing access to this and finding ways to make it accessible and comprehensible to the general public. Archival materials are, without a doubt, the least accessible among materials conserved and the most difficult for the public to engage with. Through my participatory project on sixteenth-century letters and newsletters, I aimed to find a new means of public engagement with archival documents and build a community of interested individuals who are not academics or regular visitors to the Florentine State Archives. These people ordinarily would not be able to see and read the documents, usually hidden behind the archive's walls.

Additionally, the project allowed the participants to contribute to and play a part in academic research: the pages they corrected were used to train a new and more accurate HTR model, which can be publicly used within Transkribus. Furthermore, the transcriptions were published after the review, and the corpus was made available to other researchers. Equally important for my research, the participatory phase allowed

[618] Tim Causer, Justin Tonra, and Valerie Wallace, "Transcription Maximized; Expense Minimized? Crowdsourcing and Editing The Collected Works of Jeremy Bentham," *Literary and Linguistic Computing* 27, no. 2 (2012): 119–37, https://doi.org/10.1093/llc/fqs004.

me to evaluate if HTR in combination with crowdsourcing could be a winning combination of methods for transcribing archival documents since traditional transcription and editing projects of primary sources are less and less frequently funded and published.

When designing the participatory project, I adopted a typology developed by Hedges and Dunn for academic crowdsourcing in the humanities. Producing academically credible knowledge is the biggest challenge when managing a crowdsourcing project. For this reason, the authors create a typology aiming to model how academic crowdsourcing may be considered as a research methodology rather than merely a process to create resources or data. They identify four elements in the life of a crowdsourcing project: assets, tasks, processes, and outputs. Assets are the type of content object of crowdsourcing activities; in other words, the materials which the humanist studies, and the participants work on: texts, images, videos... (Table 10). The activities the participants perform on the assets are referred to as processes (Table 11). Processes connect the assets and the outputs, which are what is produced at the end of the project, either tangible or intangible (Table 12). Processes are composed of various tasks, which the authors categorise into task types based on how mechanical or creative they are and how independent the participants are in the task (Table 13).[619]

Table 10. Asset Types. Source: Reproduced from Mark Hedges and Stuart E. Dunn, Academic Crowdsourcing in the Humanities: Crowds, Communities and Co-Production (Cambridge, MA: Elsevier, 2018), 39

Assets
Geospatial
Text
Image
Sound
Video

[619] Hedges and Dunn, *Academic Crowdsourcing in the Humanities*, 27–49.

Ephemera and intangible cultural heritage
Numerical or statistical information

Table 11. Process Types. Source: Reproduced from Hedges and Dunn, Academic Crowdsourcing in the Humanities, 30

Processes
Transcribing[a]
Correcting and modifying content
Collaborative tagging
Categorising
Cataloguing
Linking
Contextualising
Recording and creating content
Commenting, critical responses, and stating preferences
Mapping
Georeferencing
Translating

[a] This category also includes marking up transcriptions, e.g., as TEI XML.

Table 12. Task Types. Source: Reproduced from Hedges and Dunn, Academic Crowdsourcing in the Humanities, 44

Task
Mechanical
Configurational
Editorial
Synthetic
Investigative
Creative

Table 13. Output Types. Source: Reproduced from Hedges and Dunn, Academic Crowdsourcing in the Humanities, 47

Output
Transcribed text
Original text
Corrected text
Enhanced Text
Metadata
Structured data
Transcribed music
Synthesis
Composite digital collections with multiple meanings
Knowledge/awareness

In my participatory project, I asked the participants to undertake five activities:

1. Correct the automatically transcribed text;
2. Check the words automatically tagged with the “abbrev” tag and the tags’ “expansion” property, and correct them if wrong or missing;
3. In the letters, tag with the “person” tag the people whom Cosimo Bartoli mentioned to have met in person and the people with whom he had an exchange of letters;
4. In the newsletters, tag the news hub of the newsletter’s centred header with the “place” tag and type the place in its original language in the tag’s “place” property;
5. In the newsletters, tag the date of the newsletter’s centred header with the “date” tag and type the normalised date in the tag’s “day,” “month,” and “year” properties.

I used Dunn and Hedges’s methodology to frame my participatory project. The assets are both images and texts. In fact, the participants must look at both the automatically generated text to correct it and the images as a point of reference to check the

transcription's correctness. The processes are twofold: first, correcting and modifying the content, in this case, the HTR-ed transcriptions; second, marking up the transcription with tags, which falls under the transcribing process category in Dunn and Hedges's schema. Both processes are categorised as Editorial task types because the participants modify and improve the existing asset, i.e. the automatic transcription. This is not a mechanical task because the participants must have or acquire the ability to read sixteenth-century Italian handwriting and decipher abbreviations. With regards to the outputs, the corrected and tagged text is the final tangible product, but intangible concepts are produced as well. For instance, during the project, the participants acquired or strengthened their paleographical skills and increased their knowledge in Italian language and history.

After defining the tasks, I chose the online platform on which to host the participatory project. I evaluated five tools:

- **Zooniverse**: it is the most popular and largest platform for citizen-science projects. It started in 2007 with the astronomy *Galaxy Zoo* project and then developed into a platform to host every type of people-powered research.[620] Many history and literature projects in Zooniverse include tasks that are closer to mine. Zooniverse's most significant advantage lies in the platform itself, which has been specifically designed and built to host crowdsourcing projects. It engages the participants by showing them a board with the project's statistics and eases the communication with the volunteers, thanks to the Talk forum where volunteers can ask questions, communicate with the research team, and chat with other users about the materials. In addition, a tutorial section aids participants in getting started on the tasks. In 2021, at the time of my evaluation, the interface displayed the image on the left side and a text editor on the right side without any correspondence between the image and the line. Zooniverse was also testing a new approach to text transcription. It was used for the first time in the Tate Museum and Archives' project *AnnoTate* and

[620] "Zooniverse," accessed July 10, 2024, https://www.zooniverse.org/; Karen L. Masters and the Galaxy Zoo Team, "Galaxy Zoo: Outreach and Science Hand in Hand," *Proceedings of the International Astronomical Union* 10, no. H16 (2012): 689–91, https://doi.org/10.1017/S1743921314012927.

consists of transcribing a line at a time, instead of the whole page. The first transcriber has to manually underline the line of text in the image and transcribe it; the following volunteers can read the already-submitted transcription and agree with it or correct it. Manually underlining the lines might be time-consuming, but this approach allows one to manage multiple keying and quality control easily.[621] However, it was still an experimental feature that Zooniverse had not released to everyone in 2021. In addition, in standard projects, Zooniverse did not allow the addition of custom tags, and the only tags volunteers could use were Deletion, Insertion, and Unclear.

- **FromThePage**: it is a transcription software for collaborating and transcribing historical documents.[622] Unlike Zooniverse, it has been specifically designed for transcription crowdsourcing projects and is largely used by libraries, archives, and humanities projects. If the project exceeds 200 pages, the researcher or institution must buy a subscription for hosting the project on FromthePage's servers.[623] The advantage of such a platform is the visibility: each project appears on the project board, which is visited by volunteers already involved in other transcription projects.[624] It is, therefore, easier to find a volunteer base, even if most projects deal with English-language documents. In addition, it offers a variety of import and export options (including TEI-XML) and an advanced mark-up editor with the possibility to customise tags.

- **Transkribus**: Transkribus has been used for crowdsourcing in a number of projects despite not being designed as a crowdsourcing platform.[625] Document

[621] The Zooniverse, "One Line at a Time: A New Approach to Transcription and Art History," *Zooniverse* (blog), September 1, 2015, https://perma.cc/8ZJ7-AES9.
[622] "FromThePage," accessed July 10, 2024, https://www.fromthepage.com/landing.
[623] "Pricing," FromThePage, accessed July 10, 2024, https://perma.cc/H77C-JY56.
[624] "Find a Project," FromThePage, accessed July 10, 2024, https://fromthepage.com/findaproject.
[625] "Transkribus - Unlocking the Past with AI," Transkribus, accessed July 11, 2024, https://perma.cc/NDX6-JYZD; "Read.Hanse.Sources!," Forschungsstelle für die Geschichte der Hanse und des Ostseeraums, accessed July 10, 2024, https://perma.cc/X422-NDF2; *Saving Our Cultural Heritage - Engaging New Users across All of Denmark | Anette Larner*, 2022, https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=4eisevgwJGY; Dick Kasperowski, Karl-Magnus Johansson, and Olof Karsvall, "Temporalities and Values in an Epistemic Culture: Citizen Humanities, Local Knowledge, and AI-Supported Transcription of Archives," *Archives & Manuscripts*, 2024, e10937, https://doi.org/10.37683/asa.v51.10937.

collections can be shared with other registered users, who can be assigned different roles (Owner, Editor, Transcriber, Reader), each of which grants access to different actions. The Transkribus editor is highly effective for transcription work because the automatic Layout Analysis creates a correspondence between the lines in the image and the lines in the text editor. This ensures that while the users are transcribing, the image is automatically centred on the line they are working on. Special characters can be easily added through a virtual keyboard, the text tags are customisable, and there are many export formats available, including TEI-XML. Transkribus was available in two versions at the time of my evaluation: Transkribus Expert, the desktop version, and Transkribus Lite, the online application. The former had a non-straightforward installation process and a steep learning curve, even for basic tasks like editing, because it had many advanced functions. On the other hand, Transkribus Lite could be easily used with just a browser and an Internet connection. Unfortunately, it was still immature and not very reliable, especially when it came to saving, in addition to having several bugs, particularly with regards to tags. What Transkribus lacks in comparison to Zooniverse and FromThePage is the possibility of assigning tasks, adding help resources, displaying the project statistics, and, above all, allowing communication between the project managers and the volunteers within the platform.

- **Transcribe Bentham Transcription Desk**: *Transcribe Bentham*'s transcription tool uses a MediaWiki framework. The code is open-source and can be downloaded and re-used by similar projects.[626] *Transcribe Bentham* is likely the best example of academic crowdsourcing because the volunteers' transcriptions, after being reviewed by editors, are used to prepare new volumes of the Bentham's Collected Works edition. Furthermore, *Transcribe Bentham* serves as a model for crowdsourcing transcription because volunteers are asked to encode the text in TEI-compliant XML format. The TEI standard assures the quality and reliability of the project, but it also requires volunteers to read extensive guidelines before beginning transcription, which

[626] onothimagen, "Cbp-Transcription-Desk," PHP, February 17, 2018, https://perma.cc/FL8X-6KRV.

may cause them to give up. The transcription tool's advantage is that it runs on MediaWiki, which everyone can easily set up. However, the editor is very basic, not intuitive or engaging, and its design is quite outdated in light of recent advancements in user interface.

- **Scripto:** Omeka is an open-source web publishing platform to display digital collections.[627] It offers a plugin called Scripto to crowdsource the transcriptions of the collection's content.[628] An example of Scripto's application is the Irish crowdsourcing initiative *Letters 1916-1923*.[629] Scripto and Omeka have the great benefit of allowing volunteers to both explore the collection and transcribe the textual materials. Since Omeka is a publishing platform, the transcriptions are made available right away. Both Omeka and the Transcribe Bentham Transcription Desk are not offered as cloud services but have to be set up and hosted on a domain.

In choosing the most suitable platform for my participatory project, I had to weigh the features dedicated to community engagement, the platform's or hosting costs, and my digital skills. What I refused to compromise were the tasks the participants were asked to complete in order for the project to create academically valuable knowledge. My choice fell on Transkribus, firstly because it allowed the fulfilment of all of the five tasks designed for my project in an environment where participants can easily transcribe thanks to the link between image lines and text lines and add tags, which I had already predefined. Furthermore, using Transkribus was the most straightforward workflow option because the images from the first two volumes had already been uploaded to and automatically transcribed in Transkribus, and I wanted to reuse the same corrected transcriptions to train a more accurate HTR model. If I had chosen another platform, I would have had to export the images and automatic transcripts from Transkribus, upload them to a different platform for the volunteers' correction and tagging, upload the transcripts back to Transkribus, and match them with the

[627] "Omeka," accessed July 10, 2024, https://omeka.org/.
[628] "Scripto," Omeka, accessed July 10, 2024, https://perma.cc/4CVZ-HRB5.
[629] "Letters 1916-1923," accessed July 10, 2024, https://perma.cc/TX2T-WCYL.

image layout. The other crowdsourcing solutions mentioned above do not work with line coordinates, which are instead crucial for training HTR models in Transkribus. At the time of my decision, Transkribus did not have any storage limits. Apart from Zooniverse, which has a cap of 10,000 images for beta projects, the other solutions would not have been free. With FromThePage, I would have needed to purchase an annual subscription plan; with Bentham's Transcription Desk and Scripto, I would have required a web domain with a minimum of 30 GB of storage.

While choosing Transkribus had its benefits, there were drawbacks as well. Discussion spaces, tutorials, a help centre, and statistics, all functions that are specifically related to crowdsourcing projects, were absent from the platform. To compensate for this lack, I decided to create a website bearing the name of the participatory project, "Cosimo's Cosmos: Cosimo Bartoli and Renaissance News." It contains the primary information for volunteers about the project, including how to participate, and the tasks.[630] The contents of the website are accessible in both English and Italian. To be more specific, the website contains:

- a Homepage with a description of the project and its goals;
- Instructions:
    - How to Get Started: an explanation of how to register on Transkribus and a form for the participants to express their interest in taking part in the project, receive a welcome email, and be added to the collection in Transkribus.
    - How to Correct and Tag: the instructions on how to perform the tasks within Transkribus, specifically the transcription conventions, how to handle numerals, insertions, unclear text, and abbreviations; the list of accepted special characters; how to tag abbreviations, people in the letters, and hubs and dates in the newsletters.
    - Abbreviations: an extensive list of the most common abbreviations in Bartoli's documents. The participants can search through the more than

[630] Sara Mansutti, "Cosimo's Cosmos: Cosimo Bartoli and Renaissance News," accessed July 11, 2024, https://cosimobartoli.saramansutti.com/; https://web.archive.org/web/20240816174427/https://cosimobartoli.saramansutti.com/.

800 abbreviations by typing both the abbreviated form and the expansion.

- Tutorials: in order to accommodate different learning styles, I created two video tutorials: "How to Get Started" and "How to Correct and Tag". Some participants may prefer to watch video explanations with screen recordings rather than read the instructions.
- Discussion Forum: a space where participants can post questions about the project or any problems encountered while correcting and tagging. They can create a new topic or post a reply to an existing one, with or without creating an account.

To oversee the participants' work and prevent them from transcribing the same pages more than once, I created a shared spreadsheet where they could add their name to the page they were working on and indicate whether it was in progress or finished. The idea and structure of the spreadsheet were inspired by the Early Modern Recipe Online Collective project, which organised a collective transcription marathon in March 2021.[631] Unlike other crowdsourcing projects, I decided not to have multiple participants correct the same page and then compare the transcripts. Multi-keying is useful with large amounts of short texts, such as dates and names in forms, tables, and index cards, because it makes it simple to compare the input from multiple participants and mark the response that the majority of them agree upon as correct. In my case, there was no need for two participants to spend time on the same page because I would review all of the pages corrected by them.

The participatory project ran from October 2021 to May 2023. In October 2021, I did an online presentation to present the project to a small group of people I know who might be interested. The plan was to have a small group to test the workflow and instructions before making the project public. After that, I began to advertise the project on Twitter, through mailing lists, and at a few presentations, as well as sending emails to Renaissance or Early Modern Italian professors who might be interested in

[631] "Past Transcribathons – Instructions, Glossaries and More," Early Modern Recipe Online Collective, accessed July 12, 2024, https://perma.cc/6UZA-D3RU; "Getting Started with Transcription," Early Modern Recipe Online Collective, accessed July 12, 2024, https://perma.cc/XE5X-AETT.

having their students participate in the project or use it as a teaching tool to help them learn Italian palaeography while working with primary sources. A total of 57 people registered via the form on the website. Of those, 42% (24 participants) wrote their name in the spreadsheet, logged into Transkribus, and edited at least one page. Despite the apparent low retention rate between signups and participants, the percentage is good when compared to the first six months of the Transcribe Bentham project, which saw 1,207 registrations between September 2010 and March 2011, with only 21% of those accounts doing any transcriptions.[632] The 24 active participants corrected and tagged a total of 628 pages. As shown in Figure 16, the distribution of pages was not equal among the participants. One-third of the participants edited only one page, while the four most active participants edited almost 73% of the pages (more precisely: user 2: 25.16%; user 5: 19.76%; user 6: 17.04%; user 1: 10.99%). This is a well-known phenomenon in humanities crowdsourcing; it occurs commonly that most of the work is done by a small cohort of dedicated contributors, defined as "super-contributors" or "super-users."[633]

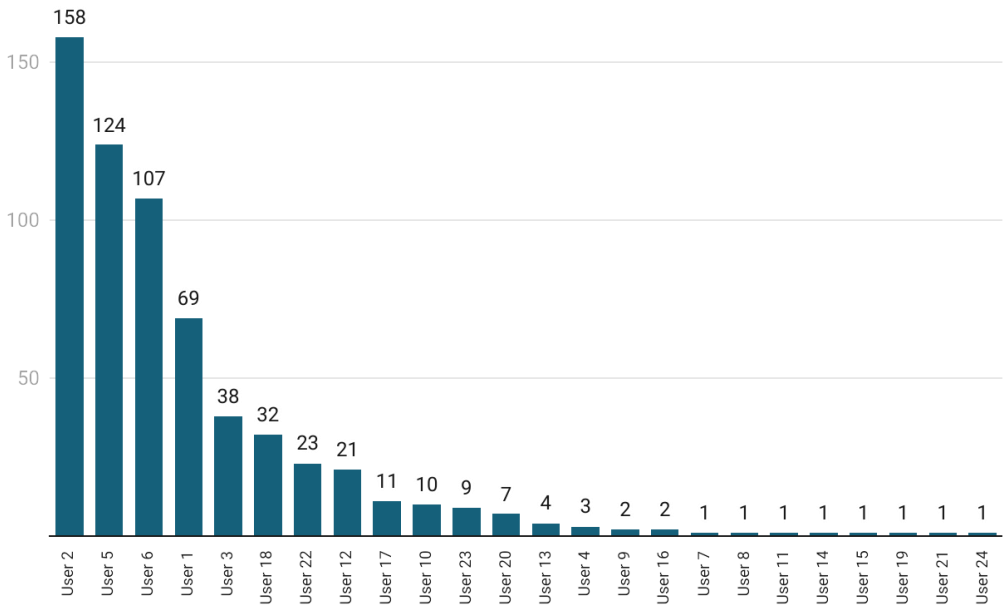


Figure 16. The Number of Pages Corrected by Each Participant

[632] Causer, Tonra, and Wallace, "Transcription Maximized; Expense Minimized?," 126.
[633] Causer and Terras, "Many Hands Make Light Work," 72–80; Hedges and Dunn, *Academic Crowdsourcing in the Humanities*, 23–24.

The work of the participants was initially only done asynchronously and autonomously. Following their registration, the participants received an email containing the instructions and links to online resources. I also offered them to organise an online meeting so that I could walk them through the tasks in real time, or we could revise together the first pages they had corrected.

Since December 2021, I combined independent work with online transcribathons. The Folger Library defines a transcribathon as "a community event running for a pre-determined number of hours (generally, 3-12 hours), in which participants transcribe and encode manuscripts, individually or in small groups, in the same room or across many rooms simultaneously."[634] Europeana highlights also the competitiveness of transcribathons, with prizes awarded for the amount of transcribed pages and their accuracy.[635] Between December 2021 and May 2023, I organised 12 transcribathons. Of these, 11 were for all of the participants, while one in March 2022 was in collaboration with Bembus, a community of early-career researchers on Digital Philology,[636] and was mainly targeted to students. The transcribathons consisted of a seven-hour online meeting held on Zoom or Google Meet that participants could join for as long as they wanted. In the call, everyone worked on their own documents, but the online space provided a chance for people to get to know each other, ask questions, and receive feedback quickly. At the conclusion of the day, all of the pages transcribed during that day, not just those done during the meeting, were tallied in order to identify the virtual marathon winner, who was awarded a prize. Out of the 24 active participants, 12 participated in at least one transcribathon. During these events, 296 pages were corrected, about half of all of the revised pages in the participatory projects. The most attended transcribathon was in March 2022, with seven participants, and it was also the one in which the most pages were

[634] "Transcribathon," Folgerpedia, accessed July 19, 2024, https://perma.cc/U6FL-SFZ7.
[635] Emily D'Alterio, "More than a Buzzword: Why Transcribathon Exemplifies the Need for Digital Transformation (and Just What That Means!)," Europeana PRO, January 22, 2019, https://perma.cc/AA98-KTQY; "Transcribathon," Europeana PRO, accessed July 19, 2024, https://perma.cc/QSJ8-524H.
[636] "Bembus. A Knowledge Production Community in the Humanities," accessed December 17, 2024, https://web.archive.org/web/20220215090319/https://bembus.org/.

corrected. User 5 was the most assiduous participant, taking part in 11 marathons, followed by User 6 and User 18, who attended 7 and 6 events, respectively (Figure 17).

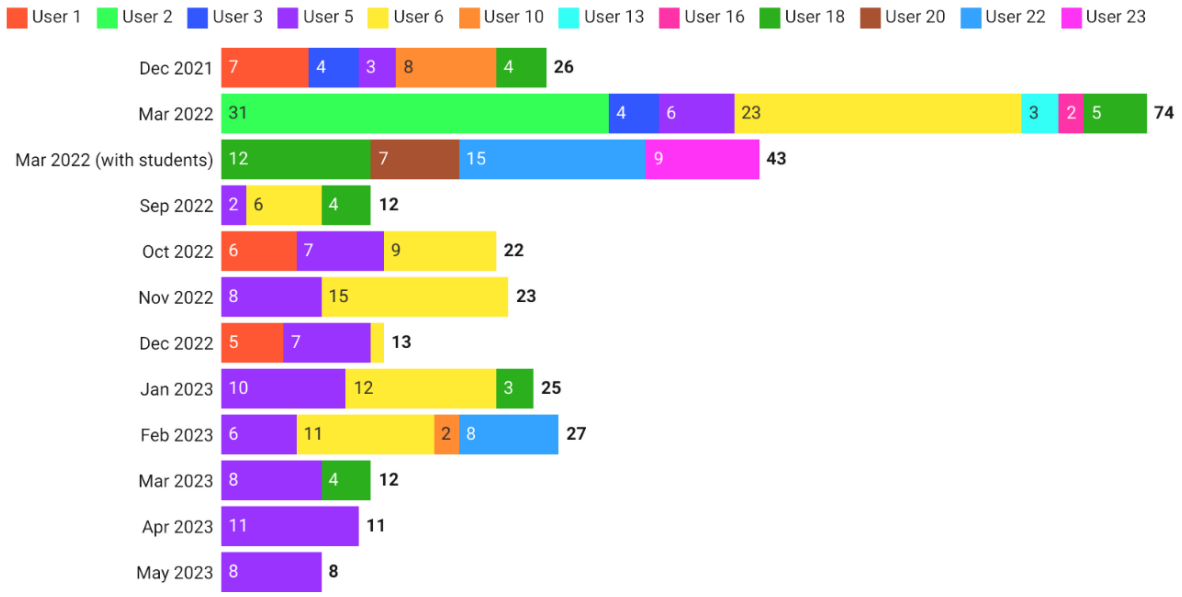


Figure 17. The Number of Pages Corrected per Participant during the Transcribathons

To draw some conclusions about the participatory project experience, the goal of correcting transcripts, tagging them, and creating academically valid knowledge was achieved, although it took more effort and time than expected. In my initial plan, I would have liked to involve the participants in the correction of all of the nine volumes of Bartoli, while we managed to do only the first two.

A community of participants was created around the project, mainly thanks to the transcribathons. Although the Discussion Forum on the website contains 113 posts and was used at the beginning to ask questions about abbreviations, corrections, and tags, it never evolved into a place where users communicated and engaged with one another. No survey was administered to the participants, but conducting surveys before, during, and after the project would have been beneficial in

gathering information about their expectations, motivations, and the impact the project had on them.

The biggest challenges I faced were: the language and content of the documents, which is not as engaging as that of other crowdsourcing projects; the lengthy tasks, which forced participants to take a specific amount of time to sit in front of the computer and correct, unlike other crowdsourcing projects that ask for shorter tasks that can be even performed via tablet and smartphone; some technical issues with installing and using Transkribus Expert, which caused two people, who were initially interested in the project, to decide not to participate because they felt they lacked sufficient digital skills. Reflecting retrospectively, I should have spent more time recruiting new participants, using various communication channels, and keeping existing ones motivated and engaged. As a result, there has been a decrease in transcribathon participation in the last several months. This proves again that a participatory project should not just be seen as a way to get data to analyse for free but as a means whereby the project managers may nurture and grow a community of interest and their relationships.

4.3 The Semi-Automated Digital Scholarly Edition of Bartoli's Letters and Newsletters

The advent of digital technologies has transformed the field of scholarly editing and created new possibilities for presenting and analysing historical documents. The primary goal of scholarly editions, whether in print or digital format, has always been to bring texts out of archives and libraries and make them accessible to the public. Sahle defines them as "the critical representation of historic documents" and identifies four key points that scholarly editions share: representation, critical approach, focus on documents, and historical significance.[637] Representation involves the recording of a document and its transformation into the same or another medium.

[637] Patrick Sahle, "What Is a Scholarly Digital Edition?," in *Digital Scholarly Editing: Theories and Practices*, ed. Matthew James Driscoll and Elena Pierazzo (Cambridge: Open Book Publishers, 2016), 23–26, https://doi.org/10.11647/OBP.0095.02.

The critical aspect refers to the scholarly engagement with the material, applying academic knowledge and transforming documents into an edition. Because editing can only address pre-existing material, historical documents, in any form, are the focus of the editions, and scholarly editions serve to reveal the history of the documents and their transmission. Finally, they should serve as reliable texts for future research.

The project on Bartoli's letters and newsletters falls within these principles of scholarly editing. In terms of representation, the images of the archival documents are converted into digital, machine-readable text. The critical aspect is present in various elements. On the one hand, the editorial choices made when transcribing the Ground Truth influenced the HTR model and its output. On the other hand, scholarly knowledge and a critical approach were essential for reconstructing the documents' unity and for collecting metadata for each document, such as the document typology, recipient, date, location, and writer, and, in the end, to reconstruct the link between the letters and the attached newsletters. Regarding the final two points, the project focuses on historical archival textual documents and has been designed from the start to serve as a valuable research tool for historians who are unable to visit the State Archives in Florence and read the original documents there. It is also intended for researchers looking for particular names, locations, and objects, as well as for those who want to use the data from these historical sources for their own analysis.

Whereas digital editions share the same subject matter and goals as the printed ones, they differ significantly in content, structure, and role. Digital editions have unique advantages in terms of accessibility, searchability, usability, and computability. According to Sahle, a digital edition can be defined as such only if it "cannot be given in print without significant loss of content and functionality."[638] The Bartoli edition has some features that cannot be replicated in a printed version: first, users can search through both metadata and full text; second, they can navigate from one document to its attachment via hyperlinks; finally, the digital format makes the edition more of a process than a finished and fixed publication in time. It is open to future enhancements, such as the addition of documents written by Bartoli that have

[638] Sahle, 26–28.

not yet been discovered because they are preserved in other collections, the publication of images alongside the text, or the manual correction of more documents. The choice of creating a digital edition was driven by all these factors, together with economic considerations that make a digital edition far more feasible than a printed one.

Given these characteristics, the project can be classified as a digital scholarly edition. However, unlike more traditional digital editions, the fact that seven volumes out of nine were automatically transcribed and were not manually corrected by an editor must be addressed. Even though HTR transcriptions have been used in many projects, there is a gap in the scholarly editing literature regarding editions made from them. Terras defines "automated editions" as those that result directly from the HTR recognition and are immediately made available online.[639] While the Bartoli project utilised HTR-generated text as a starting point, it went beyond mere automation by incorporating metadata and a manual review of some volumes. Therefore, the term "semi-automated digital scholarly edition" seems to describe the digital output of the Bartoli project more accurately.

The choice of the platform to use to build the Bartoli digital edition was mainly driven by its economic and technical sustainability. According to Meneses and Furuta, the average lifespan of online Digital Humanities projects before abandonment is five years.[640] The lack of resources, end of funding, change of interests of the researcher, move to a new institution, obsolescence of technology, hackers' attacks, or server issues are all elements that may jeopardise the existence of a digital project on the web.[641] The first weakness of a website lies in the payment of the domain name registration fee. Unless the site is hosted on institutional servers, the individual researcher is responsible for covering the cost of the project domain and is unlikely to

[639] Melissa Terras et al., "On Automating Editions: The Affordances of Handwritten Text Recognition Platforms for Scholarly Editing," *Scholarly Editing* 41 (2024), https://doi.org/10.55520/W257A74E.
[640] Luis Meneses and Richard Furuta, "Shelf Life: Identifying the Abandonment of Online Digital Humanities Projects," *Digital Scholarship in the Humanities* 34, no. Supplement 1 (2019): i129–34, https://doi.org/10.1093/llc/fqy079.
[641] James Cummings, "Academics Retire and Servers Die: Adventures in the Hosting and Storage of Digital Humanities Projects," *Digital Humanities Quarterly* 17, no. 1 (2023), https://digitalhumanities.org/dhq/vol/17/1/000669/000669.html.

secure funding to maintain it indefinitely. The second weakness is the hosting and maintenance of the website. To have a long-lasting online digital project, the *Endings Principles for Digital Longevity* advises building a static website that is free of databases, PHP, or Python, independent of external libraries or services, where each entity has its unique page with a simple URL. In short, it is critical to prioritise reliability, compatibility, and low maintenance over trendy tools and a fashionable user interface.[642] For all of these reasons, I decided to host my website on GitHub and publish it for free using GitHub Pages rather than using web publishing services like WordPress, Omeka, or Scalar. Although those publishing platforms have been used successfully in various digital projects, and their interfaces are familiar to users, they require more resources and maintenance than a static website hosted on GitHub. I also decided not to use TeiPublisher, an application specifically designed for digital edition publishing, based on a dynamic, database-driven architecture, for the same reasons mentioned above, as well as the fact that my current technical skills are not advanced enough to set TeiPublisher up independently.[643]

Edition Visualisation Technology (EVT) and Ed were the two possible solutions for building a static website for a digital edition. Edition Visualisation Technology is a lightweight and flexible publishing tool designed to create digital editions starting from the TEI XML-encoded files of the transcriptions. To ensure the edition's longevity, EVT is built using open and standard web technologies, in particular HTML, CSS, and JavaScript, and is distributed as an open-source software. It has been specifically designed for diplomatic and critical editions, and to present the manuscript images alongside the edited text.[644] The other alternative, Ed, is a Jekyll theme for minimal digital editions.[645] Jekyll is a software that creates static websites: it takes the text

[642] The Endings Project Team, "Endings Principles for Digital Longevity Version 2.2.1, 2023-03-03," accessed August 6, 2024, https://perma.cc/33RW-PMYZ.
[643] "TEI Publisher," accessed August 6, 2024, https://perma.cc/X6HX-LMXK.
[644] Roberto Rosselli Del Turco et al., "Edition Visualization Technology: A Simple Tool to Visualize TEI-Based Digital Editions," *Journal of the Text Encoding Initiative* 8 (2014), https://doi.org/10.4000/jtei.1077; Roberto Rosselli Del Turco, Chiara Di Pietro, and Chiara Martignano, "Progettazione e implementazione di nuove funzionalità per EVT 2: lo stato attuale dello sviluppo," *Umanistica Digitale* 7 (2019): 5–21, https://doi.org/10.6092/ISSN.2532-8816/9322.
[645] Susanna Allés Torrent et al., "Ed.," minicomp, accessed August 7, 2024, https://perma.cc/J5QA-3LDD; Susanna Allés Torrent et al., "Minicomp/Ed," SCSS (2017; repr., minicomp, July 10, 2024), https://github.com/minicomp/ed.

files written in Markdown and uses templates to generate the website pages.[646] The Ed theme helps the editor to create a minimal edition, particularly suitable for simple reading editions or traditional scholarly editions with footnotes and a bibliography, without the trouble of customising Jekyll from scratch.[647] It aims to create long-lasting digital editions by using a series of static pages, which degrade much more slowly than websites built on a database architecture.

Between the two tools, my choice fell on Jekyll and the Ed theme because it is the most suitable for text-only editions like mine. Although I have the images of the documents, they were taken with a smartphone and do not have the quality needed for a digital edition; moreover, publishing images is legally more problematic than publishing transcriptions. Using EVT for an edition like mine would have meant dismissing many key functions of EVT, such as the features and tools for images and the possibility of comparing different manuscripts of the same text. Furthermore, while EVT is designed to focus on a single manuscript and its text, my project seeks to present the letters and newsletters as individual entities, reflecting how they were originally sent by Cosimo Bartoli and received by the Medici in Florence, rather than how they were later bound together in the secretariat or the archive. In this respect, Ed provides greater flexibility.

In creating my digital edition with Ed, I treated each letter and newsletter as a document. I adapted the genres, as Ed only offered poem, narrative and drama as genres, adding the letter, newsletter, and other genres. “Other” was used to indicate documents that contained information and were attached to the letter but did not take the form of a newsletter, lacking the hub and date where the news items were compiled. Each web page corresponds to a document and contains a section with the metadata at the top, followed by the transcription of all of the pages within that document. Metadata varies according to the genre of the document (Table 14). “Attached Newsletter” and “Attached Letter” links, respectively, to the newsletter that was annexed to the letter and to the letter with which the newsletter was sent.

[646] Amanda Visconti, “Building a Static Website with Jekyll and GitHub Pages,” ed. Fred Gibbs, *Programming Historian*, no. 5 (April 18, 2016), https://doi.org/10.46430/phen0048.
[647] Roopika Risam and Alex Gil, “Introduction: The Questions of Minimal Computing,” *Digital Humanities Quarterly* 16, no. 2 (2022), http://www.digitalhumanities.org/dhq/vol/16/2/000646/000646.html.

"Reviewed" indicates whether I have personally reviewed the transcription or if it is the automatic transcription generated by Transkribus, thus signalling that it is less accurate.

In order to facilitate document reading and searching, I decided to replace all abbreviations with the expanded form. The TEI XML files with all of the tagged abbreviations and the expanded forms as tag properties are still made available on Zenodo.[648] The Search page contains a basic search box to search through the documents. This might not be handy for someone who wants to search only through the metadata instead of all of the transcriptions. To implement both the presentation and navigation of the individual documents, given their large quantity, I customised the Home page and created a table with, for each document, a combination of the most important metadata and the link to the page with the transcription. In the table, one can filter documents by Document Type, Shelfmark, Letter's Date, and Newsletter's Hubs.

After creating the structure of the website, I had to take a few steps to convert the Transkribus export into Markdown files and add metadata to each document, as the metadata was initially stored in a spreadsheet. This is the summary of the workflow I built:

- Export Transcriptions: export the transcriptions of all of the volumes from Transkribus in DOCX format. This format is chosen because it is the only one in Transkribus that allows for the automatic substitution of abbreviations with their expansions;
- Split DOCX Files: use a Python script to split the DOCX file of the entire volume into individual DOCX files, each corresponding to a single page;
- Convert and Combine: Use another Python script to convert the DOCX files into Markdown files. This script also combines the transcriptions of pages that belong to the same letter or newsletter based on the metadata spreadsheet and adds the relevant metadata to the header of the Markdown file.

[648] Mansutti, "Cosimo Bartoli's Correspondence and Newsletters (1562-1572)."

The digital edition “Cosimo Bartoli and Renaissance News. A semi-automated edition of letters and newsletters from Venice” is available at this link: https://smansutti.github.io/cosimobartoli.

Table 14. The Metadata Shown for Documents in the Digital Edition, According to Their Document Type

Genre	**Metadata**
Letter	Document Type Shelfmark Date Place Sender Recipient Attached Newsletter Reviewed
Newsletter	Document Type Shelfmark Hubs Writer Attached Letter Reviewed
Other	Document Type Shelfmark Title Attached to Reviewed

To preserve the edition, I submitted all of its pages to the Internet Archive Wayback Machine.[649] I also decided to make all of the transcriptions available on Zenodo in Page XML and TEI XML format, together with the Markdown files of the digital edition.[650] This should offer more options to researchers who want to work with the data and improve its usability and longevity.

The Bartoli project, in conclusion, shows how Digital Humanities can contribute to the preservation and valorisation of historical documentary heritage. In addition to providing online access to the letters and newsletters of Cosimo Bartoli, supporting my discussion and conclusions, the project has created a framework for making primary sources more accessible. The methodological insights gained from exploring alternatives to the conventional approach of manual transcription and paper publication provide guidance to researchers working with large manuscript collections. Before starting the project, the researchers should evaluate the various approaches, HTR, crowdsourcing or a combination of the two, and reflect on some important points, including time and resources that can be invested, the desired output quality, and what potential impact they want to create for both academic and non-academic communities. The practical experiences documented in this chapter and the lessons learned will aid future Digital Humanities projects in overcoming similar challenges.

[649] Sara Mansutti, "Cosimo Bartoli and Renaissance News: A Semi-Automated Edition of Letters and Newsletters from Venice," Internet Archive Wayback Machine, December 26, 2024, https://web.archive.org/web/20241226212522/https://smansutti.github.io/cosimobartoli/.
[650] Mansutti, "Cosimo Bartoli's Correspondence and Newsletters (1562-1572)."

CHAPTER FIVE

BARTOLI, THE INFORMATION MASTER

This chapter examines Cosimo Bartoli's role as an information master in Venice through the lens of his written testimonies. It builds on the discussion in Chapter 3 about the duties of early modern agents and the role of Venice as a European information centre and aims to shed light on Bartoli's role and activity during his residency in Venice through the analysis of his letters and newsletters, transcribed as detailed in Chapter 4. In addition, it seeks to ascertain how much his figure and methods correspond to the findings of the literature on early modern diplomacy and information flow.

Bartoli's letters provide a weekly chronicle spanning over a decade, detailing who he met, where he went, what he heard or the rumours circulating around Venice. Through these letters, it has been possible to reconstruct the flow of news to Florence and to discover if the volume of information fluctuated over time. Moreover, the letters reveal all of the people with whom Bartoli mentioned interacting. Although these references do not register all of the individuals he met, it can be inferred that those mentioned to the Medici were the most crucial to his duties as an agent, each potentially serving as a source of information, whether deliberately or otherwise.

Attached to the letters are the newsletters. The chapter examines them not primarily for their content but to map the hubs from which the news items came, to learn how and from whom Bartoli obtained the information, and to see how he wrote the newsletters. Newsletters are not self-explanatory sources and contain very little information on their own production. Thus, one must read the meta-notes that Bartoli occasionally left at the bottom of the newsletters or dig into the letters to locate and interpret the infrequent remarks about his newsgathering methods.

A significant advantage for this case study is the preservation of both Bartoli's letters and newsletters despite having subsequently been bound in separate volumes. By reconstructing the link between letters and newsletters, the two documents can be considered as a unit and read as they were originally received by Duke Cosimo I and Prince Francesco de' Medici. This approach not only virtually restores the original documentary link but also helps clarify why some news items, although coming from outside Venice, were covered in the letters instead of the newsletters. This analysis also contributes to determining whether Bartoli performed an "editorial" role in selecting which information to include in his letters and which to leave in the newsletters.

5.1 Bartoli, the Eternal Copyist: Frequency and Analysis of his Correspondence with Florence

The sixteenth century experienced an explosion in written correspondence in both the public and the private sphere, as Petrucci points out, resulting in the birth of the modern letter. It was driven by several factors, including a rise in literacy, the widespread use of vernacular languages in written communication, people's increased mobility and the growing necessity for long-distance communication, the growth of postal services, and the cheaper cost and greater availability of paper compared to parchment as a writing support.[651] The practice of writing letters was mastered by the secretaries in the chancelleries of the Italian states and by diplomats to communicate with their court of origin. It is no coincidence that Senatore refers to the metaphor of "uno mundo de carta" (a world of paper) to describe the sheer number of letters an ambassador had to write and read to fulfil his role.[652] This, combined with the archiving practice of early modern chancelleries, has made it possible for letters to be preserved to this day.

Because Bartoli, as an agent, does not exhibit any unique or exceptional features, he can be considered and studied as representative of a typical agent

[651] Petrucci, *Scrivere lettere*, 87–90.
[652] Senatore, *Uno mundo de carta*, 25–28.

operating in Italy in the second half of the sixteenth century. During his ten-year stay in Venice, 736 letters were sent to the Medici court, primarily to Cosimo I and Francesco de' Medici (APPENDIX ONE). Of these, 723 letters were written by Bartoli, who carried out his duties with dedication. He was substituted on only four occasions. The first occurred in July 1566: Bartoli was lying sick in bed, and Curzio Bartoli—officially his nephew but, in fact, his natural son—sent two letters on his behalf. Bartoli's health again prevented him from writing on January 21, 1568, and on January 9, 1572: the correspondence to Florence was handled respectively by Curzio and by the servant Giovanni Gavazzo, since Curzio had returned to Florence in the autumn of 1571.[653] Bartoli's only prolonged period of absence from Venice was between October and November 1568, when he went to Florence because of his brother's death and to resolve some family matters.[654] During that period, Curzio substituted for him once again, sending information about what was happening and what was heard in Venice to Francesco de' Medici.

Figure 18 shows the frequency of letters sent by Cosimo Bartoli, Curzio Bartoli, and Giovanni Gavazzo during Bartoli's 124 months of service in Venice, from June 1562 to September 1572. On average, 5.9 letters per month were sent, with a minimum of two letters in April 1564 and a maximum of 14 letters in July 1562. The scarcity of letters from April 1564 cannot be attributed to Bartoli; rather, it is the result of the letters either being misfiled in another volume or not being preserved. Evidence of this can be found in Bartoli's own correspondence. For instance, on May 6, 1564, he mentions a letter which was sent the previous week, on April 29, but this has not been found.[655] On the other hand, the fact that July 1562 was the first month of Bartoli's new position in Venice helps to explain the spike in letters that month. Moreover, six of these 14 letters were addressed to Cardinal Giovanni de' Medici and pertained to matters related to the abbey of Santo Stefano at Carrara, near Padua. The other two periods dense with letters are March 1565 and November 1571. In the first case, the news became more frequent as a result of a series of reports on the Turkish threat and the preparations of the Turkish fleet which would shortly sail to besiege Malta.

[653] Bryce, *Cosimo Bartoli (1503-1572): The Career of a Florentine Polymath*, 157.
[654] Bryce, 155.
[655] ASF, Mediceo del Principato 2976, fol. 270r, 6 May 1564, Cosimo Bartoli to Cosimo I de' Medici.

There are other instances, however, where the above-average number of letters can be explained by the presence of trusted persons travelling to Florence. This is the case in November 1571, when Agnolo Guicciardini, extraordinary ambassador to Venice, carried two letters written by Bartoli back to Florence.

Unless Bartoli gave the dispatches to trusted individuals travelling to Florence or sent an extraordinary courier due to the urgency of communicating the information, the departure of his letters was typically synchronised with the scheduled departure of the ordinary Florentine courier. This can be seen in Table 15, which groups the letters by day of the week and shows that 400 letters were sent on Saturdays, the typical departure day for the Florentine courier,[656] while 231 letters, the second greatest number after Saturday, were sent on Wednesdays. The yearly change in courier schedules, which took place approximately between November and March, was the reason for this. During these winter months, the designated departure day changed from Saturday to Wednesday, and Bartoli warned the Medici about it in his correspondence.[657]

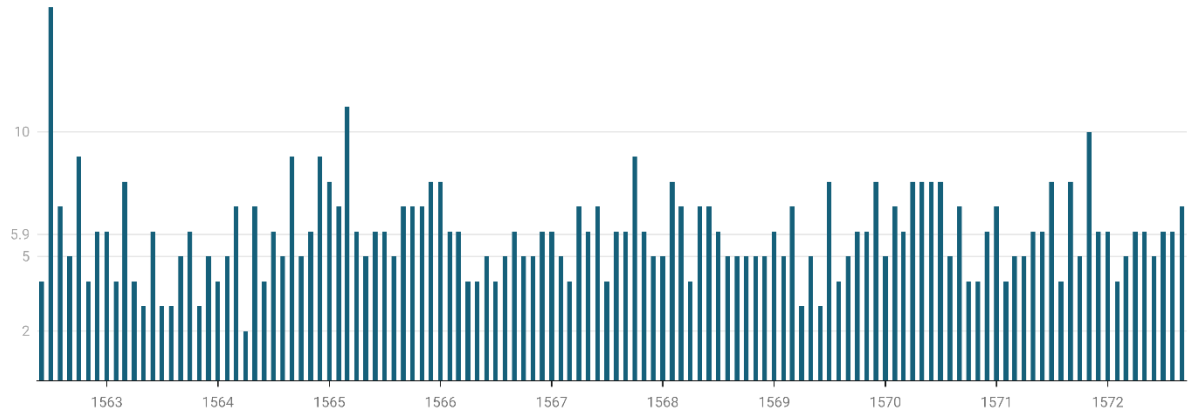


Figure 18. Frequency of the Letters Sent by Cosimo Bartoli Grouped by Month and Year

[656] Albanese and Figliuolo, *Giannozzo Manetti a Venezia, 1448-1450*, 31–32.
[657] ASF, Mediceo del Principato 2979, fol. 253r, 26 November 1569, Cosimo Bartoli to Francesco de' Medici; ASF, Mediceo del Principato 2979, fol. 511v, 22 November 1570, Cosimo Bartoli to Francesco de' Medici; ASF, Mediceo del Principato 2980, fol. 67r, 21 April 1571, Cosimo Bartoli to Francesco de' Medici; ASF, Mediceo del Principato 2980, fol. 337r, 10 November 1571, Cosimo Bartoli to Francesco de' Medici.

Table 15. Letters Sent by Bartoli Grouped by Day of the Week when They Were Sent

Monday	13
Tuesday	13
Wednesday	231
Thursday	29
Friday	18
Saturday	400
Sunday	20
Unknown	11

Figure 19 illustrates the correlation between the dispatch date of the letters and their length. Each dot represents an individual letter, the x-axis representing the timeline and the y-axis indicating the word count of each letter. The colour schema distinguishes the various recipients. The median length of letters over the ten years is 783.5 words, but the corpus shows significant variation. The longest letter was sent on April 7, 1572, to Francesco de' Medici,[658] while the shortest is just 84 words long and was written by Bartoli to accompany a box containing a diamond that the courier was transporting to Florence.[659] The data reveal two periods where the letter length peaks over 1,800 words more often: between April and August 1563 and between 1570 and 1572. A closer reading of the letters from the first period did not reveal any common topics that could explain the greater length of those letters. Instead, each letter is longer than average for diverse factors, such as the report of Cardinal Charles de Lorraine's visit to Venice,[660] details of a dispute over the sale of some diamonds,[661] the presentation of a Venetian patrician asking for intercession to Cosimo I,[662] and the

[658] ASF, Mediceo del Principato 2981, fol. 191r-196v, 5 July 1572, Cosimo Bartoli to Francesco de' Medici.
[659] ASF, Mediceo del Principato 2976, fol. 157r, 26 June 1563, Cosimo Bartoli to Cosimo I de' Medici.
[660] ASF, Mediceo del Principato 2976, fol. 113r-116v, 7 April 1563, Cosimo Bartoli to Cosimo I de' Medici.
[661] ASF, Mediceo del Principato 2976, fol. 153r-156v, 26 June 1563, Cosimo Bartoli to Cosimo I de' Medici.
[662] ASF, Mediceo del Principato 2976, fol. 166r-169v, 24 July 1563, Cosimo Bartoli to Cosimo I de' Medici.

account of Bartoli's audience at the Collegio, where he was told what the Venetian ambassador in Madrid had reported about Francesco de' Medici's visit to the Spanish Court.[663] On the other hand, in the last three years, all of the letters tend to become longer, as the trend line shows. Towards the end of his term of office, Bartoli admitted he was no longer fit for his role due to his old age, the problematic mobility caused by pain in his legs that forced him to buy a gondola and pay a servant to row it around the city,[664] and the illness that kept him indoors for several months in the winter of 1572.[665] He wrote:

> I must again remind Your Serenity that I am in bed as I have been for several weeks, and I have reached a state where, not being able to stand nor walk, I cannot serve Your Serenities as they deserve and as I wish, and as I have done in the past. Therefore, not wanting to deceive or eat their bread in betrayal, I am forced to inform them that it does not serve their benefit for me to remain in bed or at home to serve them by others' reports. I therefore beg them to be content to consider their needs more than mine.[666]

Despite his heartfelt appeal to his masters, the data analysis reveals a contrary trend. In his later years, the information transmitted to Florence actually increased and became more extensive than in previous periods. This pattern suggests that the network Bartoli had built in Venice proved remarkably resilient: despite his infirmity,

[663] ASF, Mediceo del Principato 2976, fol. 175r-180v, 7 August 1563, Cosimo Bartoli to Cosimo I de' Medici.
[664] ASF, Mediceo del Principato 2980, fol. 168r, 24 June 1571, Cosimo Bartoli to Bartolomeo Concino.
[665] ASF, Mediceo del Principato 2981, fol. 76r-77v, 1572, Cosimo Bartoli to Francesco de' Medici; ASF, Mediceo del Principato 2981, fol. 106r, 12 April 1572, Cosimo Bartoli to Francesco de' Medici; ASF, Mediceo del Principato 2981, fol. 140r, 10 May 1572, Cosimo Bartoli to Francesco de' Medici.
[666] ASF, Mediceo del Principato 2981, fol. 155v, 24 May 1572, Cosimo Bartoli to Francesco de' Medici: "Restami di nuovo a ricordar alla Serenità Vostra che io sono in letto come sono stato più settimane et che io mi vegho condotto a tale che non potendo in fuori né stare in piede non posso servire le Serenità Vostre come quelle meritano et come io desidero et ho fatto per il passato. Siché io non le volendo ingannare né mangiar il pan di quelle a tradimento, son forzato a significar loro che a benefitio loro non concerne che io stia in letto o in casa per servirle per relation. Pregole adunque che siano contente pensar al bisogno loro più che al mio."

he maintained his capacity to gather information thanks to people visiting him at home[667] or meeting with his servants.[668]

When the letters' length and their recipients are correlated, it can be seen that the most extended letters are always sent either to Cosimo I or to Francesco de' Medici. The letters sent to Cosimo I are most frequent between 1562 and 1564 (Figure 21). When the state management was transferred to Francesco de' Medici in 1564, Bartoli started sending weekly letters to Francesco instead of to Cosimo, and the flow of information towards Florence remained consistent until 1572 (Figure 20). Despite this shift in the primary recipient, two notable periods of increased correspondence with Cosimo I are evident after 1564. The first cluster spans from October 6 to December 1, 1565, during which time Bartoli sent eleven letters to the Duke. This surge coincides with Francesco's journey to the Imperial Court.[669] The second cluster occurred in the first half of 1570 for two distinct reasons: in February and March, Bartoli corresponded with both Cosimo I and Francesco to keep the Grand Duke informed during his visit to Rome. Subsequently, from April to June 1570, Bartoli directed several letters to Cosimo I regarding an affair involving the engineer Giuseppe Bono, who had lived in Venice before entering ducal service (Figure 21). In addition to his primary correspondents, Bartoli corresponded with court ministers and members of the Medici family. He wrote 34 letters to Bartolomeo Concino, seven to Cardinal Giovanni de' Medici, two to Antonio Serguidi, and one each to Francesco Orlandi, Lelio Torelli and Ferdinando de' Medici (Figure 22, Figure 23, Figure 24 and Figure 25). Notably, the communications sent to the court officials were usually shorter than the average letter length.

[667]ASF, Mediceo del Principato 2980, fol. 352r, 21 November 1571, Cosimo Bartoli to Francesco de' Medici; ASF, Mediceo del Principato 2981, fol. 46r, 6 February 1572 (1571 in Florentine style), Cosimo Bartoli to Francesco de' Medici.
[668] ASF, Mediceo del Principato 2981, fol. 185v, 28 June 1572, Cosimo Bartoli to Cosimo I de' Medici.
[669] Berti, *Il principe dello studiolo*, 279.

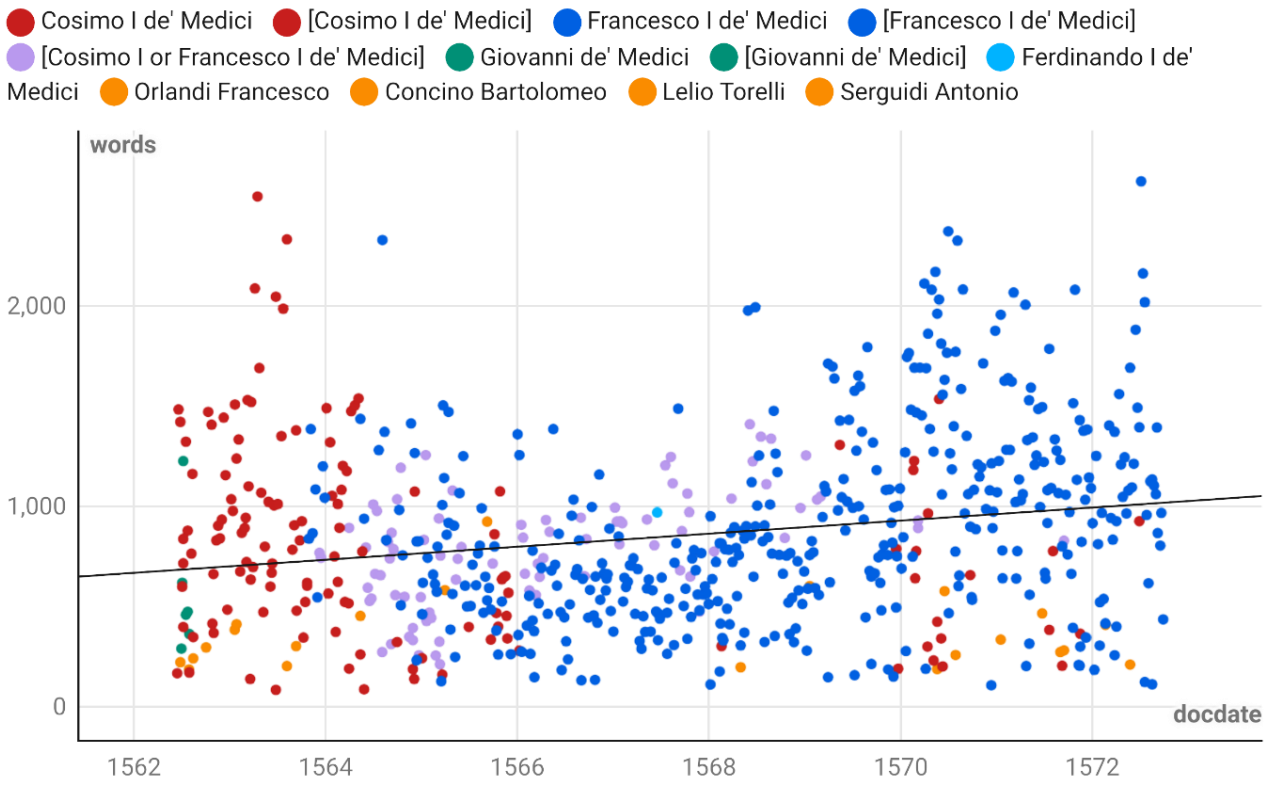


Figure 19. Correlation Between Sent Dates and Letter Lengths[670]

[670] Recipients in square brackets are those deduced from the letters' content but whose names are not written on the document, often because the more external sheet on which the addressee's name was usually written is lost. In some cases, it was not possible to establish whether the letter was addressed to Cosimo I or Francesco de' Medici because the last sheet was missing or because the salutation form was not differentiated between the Duke and his son, as it occurred instead after Cosimo I received the Gran Duke's title.

Figure 21. Scatter Plot of Letters Sent to Cosimo I de' Medici

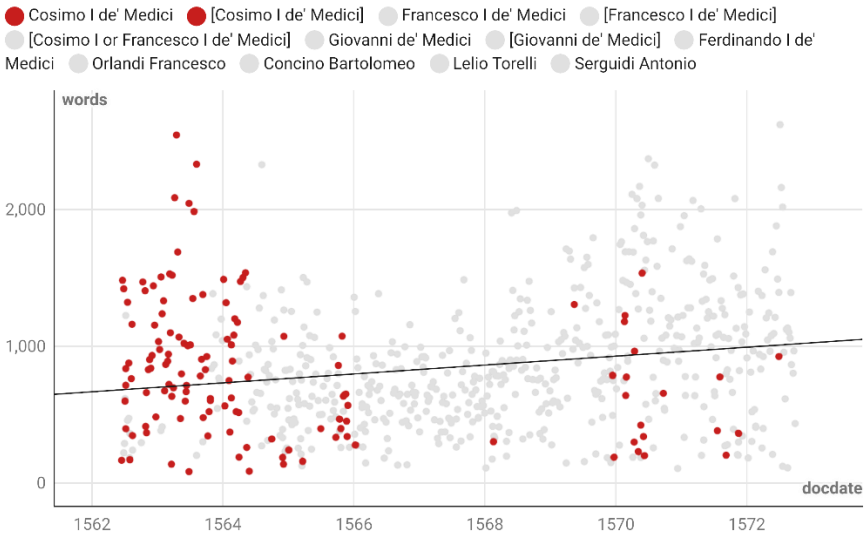


Figure 20. Scatter Plot of Letters Sent to Francesco de' Medici

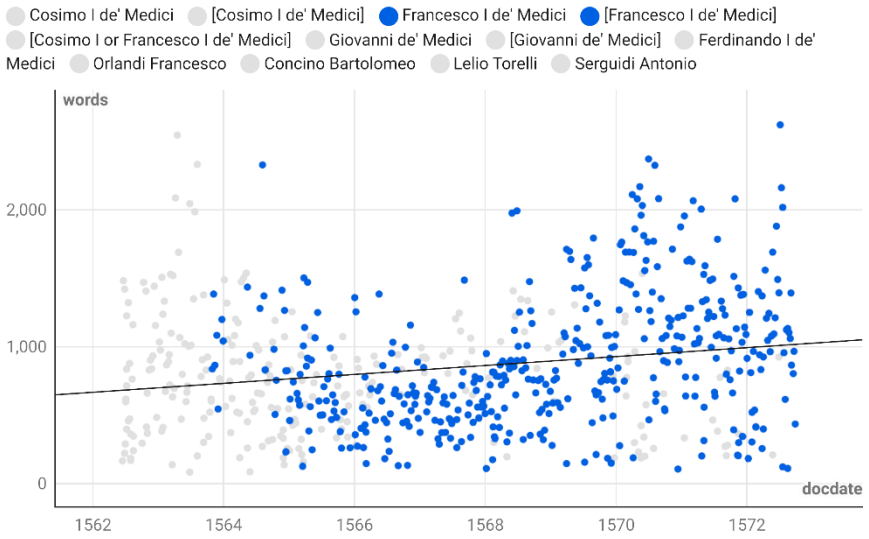


Figure 23. Scatter Plot of Letters Sent to Cosimo I or Francesco de' Medici

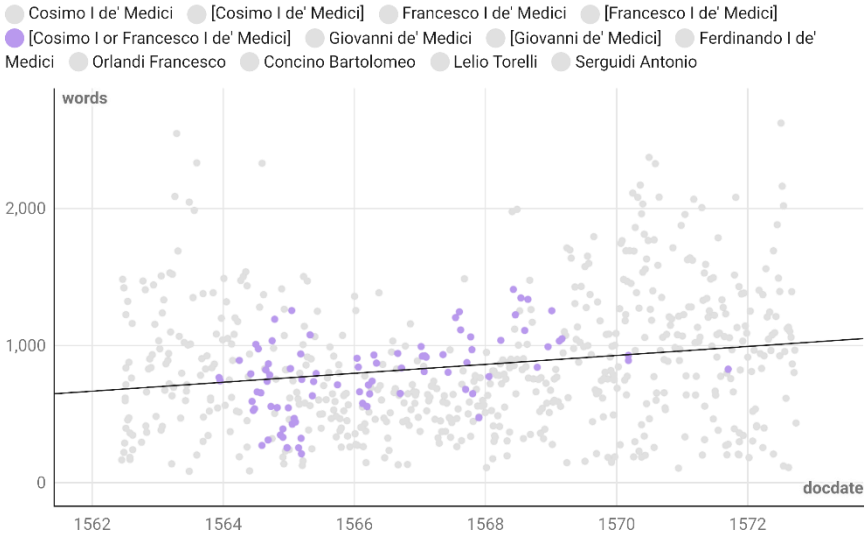


Figure 22. Scatter Plot of Letters Sent to Ministers and Secretaries of the Medici Court

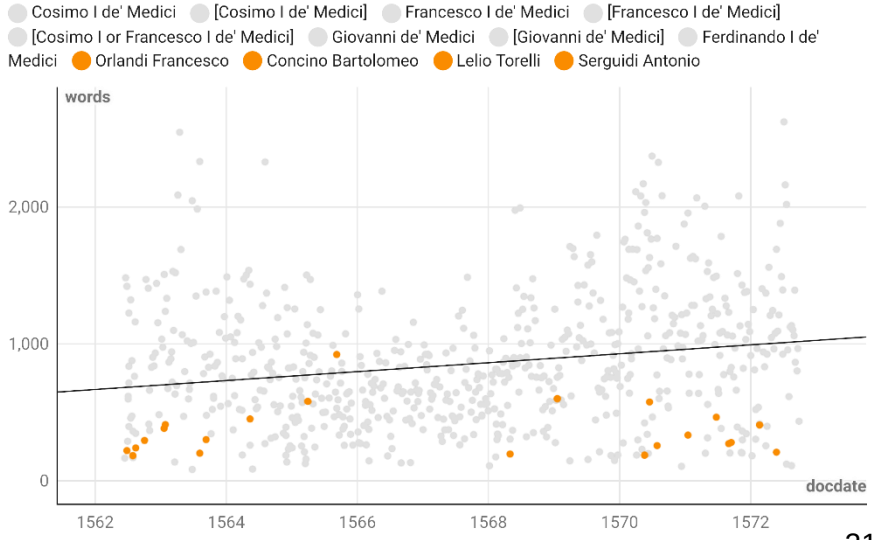


Figure 25. Scatter plot of Letters Sent to Cardinal Giovanni de' Medici

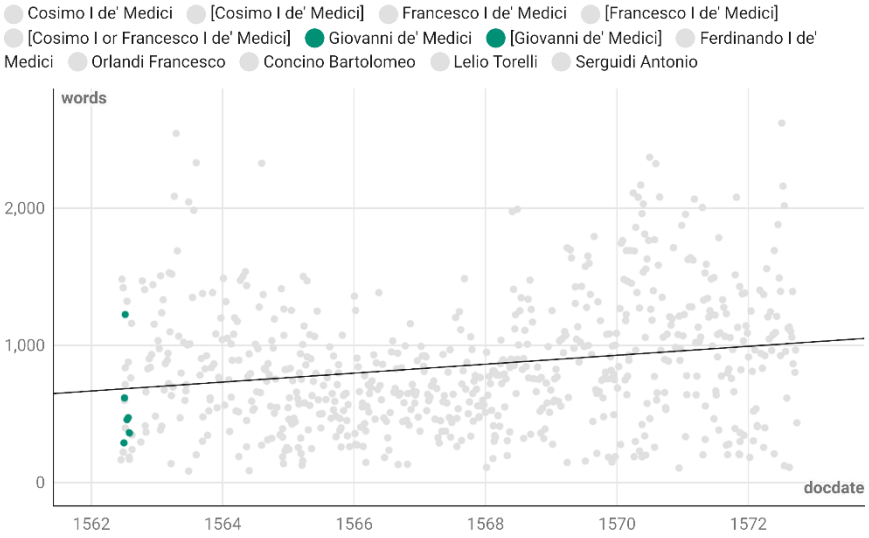
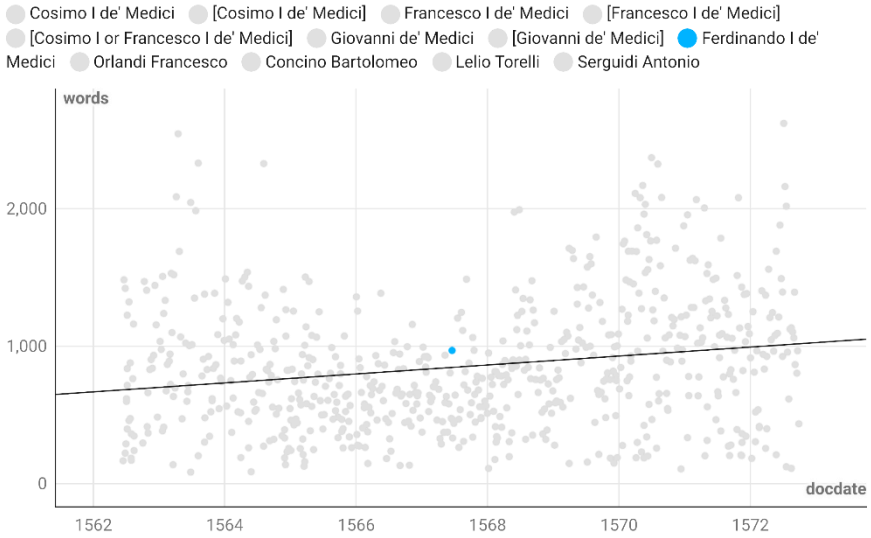


Figure 24. Scatter Plot of Letters Sent to Ferdinando de' Medici



The volume and length of Bartoli's correspondence indicate that he dedicated a significant portion of his time to writing letters, a condition shared by many early modern diplomats, who spent the majority of the day writing and reading letters, as all of the written information was transmitted through epistolary correspondence.[671] In a private letter to his friend Giorgio Vasari, Bartoli permitted himself to make a confession that he could not have made in official letters to the Medici. He expressed his frustration about his condition of being "in these lagoons […] eternally a copyist."[672] This complaint provides insight into Bartoli's perception of his role: after a decade of service, he viewed the tasks of writing and copying reports and information as the defining activities of his professional identity.

Cosimo Bartoli's handwriting is different from the chancery cursive usually adopted in the Renaissance chancelleries. He instead used a humanistic script with well separated letters and very rare ligatures, which are present only in a few abbreviations (Figure 26). In contrast, the scripts of Curzio Bartoli and Giovanni Gavazzo are cursive with frequent ligatures and a more pronounced left-hand slant, although they employ abbreviations less frequently than Cosimo Bartoli (Figure 27 and Figure 28).

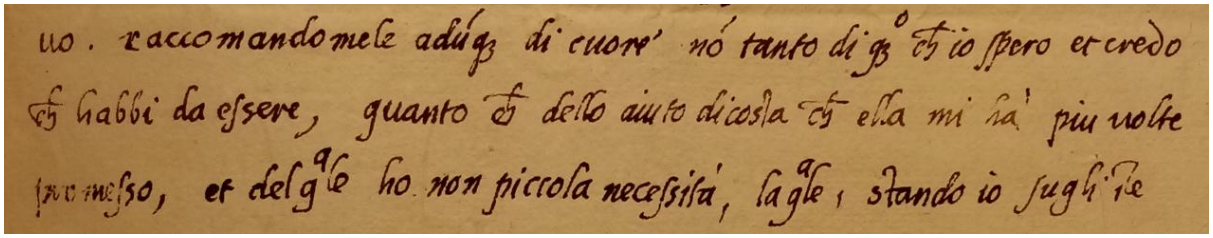


Figure 26. Cosimo Bartoli's Handwriting, ASF, Mediceo del Principato 2977, fol. 53r

[671] Petrucci, *Scrivere lettere*, 99–100.
[672] Arezzo, Archivio Vasari 11 (45), fol. 91r, 1 March 1572, Cosimo Bartoli to Giorgio Vasari: "Se con gli anni miei et con la indisposizione io havessi qualche contenteza o di utile o di honore come ha Vostra Signoria servengo un Sanctissimo Papa et un Grandissimo Duca talché io mi immortalassi come voi et non havessi in queste lagune eternamente copista mi quieterei dello animo."

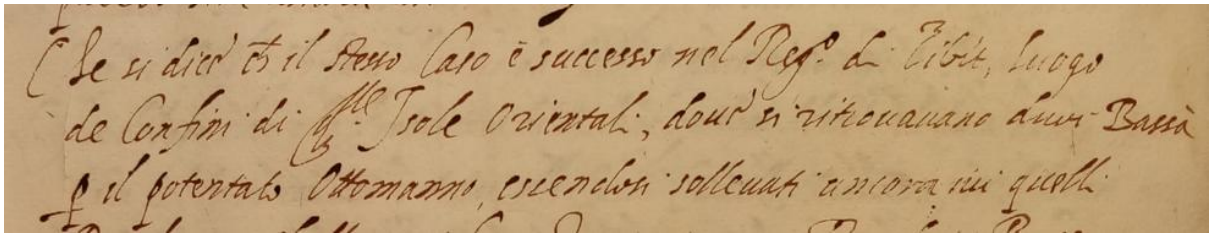


Figure 27. Curzio Bartoli's Handwriting, ASF, Mediceo del Principato 3080, fol. 9r

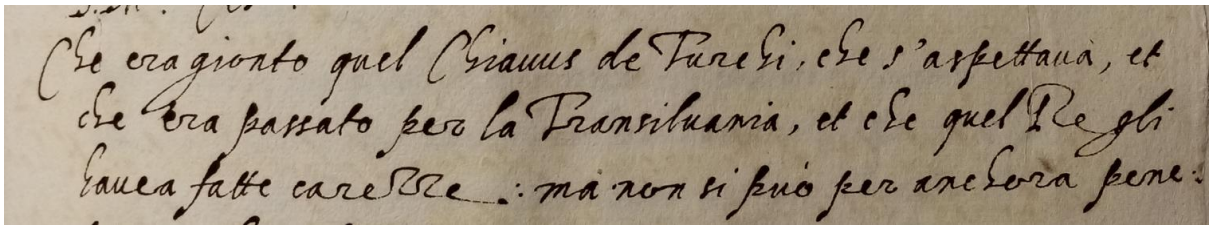


Figure 28. Giovanni Gavazzo's Handwriting, ASF, Mediceo del Principato 3081, fol. 231r

The formal structure of the letters is regular. They always begin with a salutation tailored to the recipient's status (e.g. "Illustrissimo et Eccellentissimo Signor mio osservantissimo," "Serenissimo Principe Signor et Patron mio osservantissimo," "Serenissimo Gran Duca Signor et Patron mio osservantissimo," "Molto Magnifico Signor"). This is followed by the mention of the last letter received from Florence or a note of its absence. The letter's body includes a report of all relevant events that occurred in Venice as well as any information that Bartoli heard or read of which he thought the Duke should be aware. He usually started by reporting whether he has had an audience with the Collegio and the Doge that week. Next, he would report on foreign policy news obtained through numerous channels, via ambassadors or secretaries, or by informal talking in Piazza San Marco. When needed, he discussed the interests of the Medici in Venice, whether it be the purchasing of gems, the securing of spices, or the seeking of qualified workers to relocate to Tuscany. Often included were requests from individuals, Florentines and others, seeking ducal favour or offering services to the Medici family. He usually closed the letter with notice of the enclosed weekly newsletters and other attachments. These additional attached documents, totalling 78 in the corpus, do not have the traditional

newsletter structure but still convey information; they mainly comprise copies of letters, reports, speeches, and memorials. Following the location, date, and signature, the letter ends with a respectful sign-off in which Bartoli reminded the recipient that he was their most loyal and affectionate servant. The addressee's name is written on the outermost page.

Bartoli's letter structure aligns, for the most part, with the norms given in the contemporary diplomatic treatise *Le parfait ambassadeur* by Juan Antonio de Vera y Zúñiga.[673] As suggested in the treatise, the dispatches are structured in paragraphs, each discussing a separate item.[674] Bartoli always specified whether a piece of news was certain, if it had been heard or read but not confirmed by other sources yet, or if it was just a rumour told in Piazza San Marco or Rialto. This is in line with de Vera's statement that the perfect ambassador "must write this [the piece of information] in such a way that his letter is not received as a gazette from Rome, or Germany: and above all he must be very careful, as a very dangerous thing, not to affirm as certain a news item, until it is not sure. In this case, it is sufficient simply to write as it has been heard because a man […] loses much when he makes himself known to be too credulous."[675] De Vera's comparison between letters and gazettes, or public newsletters, is significant because it focuses precisely on the reliability and sources of information in these two types of document. While a newsletter may simply report news of an event without any mention of its origin, a diplomat in a letter was expected to provide both the news and details about who provided it, whether they are reliable, and if multiple channels have confirmed the information.

In accordance with the diplomatic customs of the day, Bartoli sent a letter with every ordinary courier even if he had no news to report. However, in a few respects,

[673] Vera Figueroa y Zuñiga, *Le parfait ambassadeur*; Juan Antonio de Vera Figueroa y Zuñiga, *Il perfetto ambasciatore trasportato dall'idioma spagnolo, & francese nell'italiano. Per Mutio Ziccata. Opera politico-historica* (Venezia: appresso Giusto Vviffeldick. All'Insegna di Colonia Agrippina, 1649).
[674] Vera Figueroa y Zuñiga, *Il perfetto ambasciatore*, 293.
[675] Vera Figueroa y Zuñiga, 299–300: "Ma deve scrivere questo in modo, che là una lettera non sia havuta per una Gazetta di Roma, o di Germania: et sopratutto haver molto rigguardo, come a cosa pericolosissima, di non affermare giamai per certa una nova di consideratione, non essendo ben sicura; Basta in questo caso semplicemente che scrivere come l'ha udita, perchè un huomo cava poco utile in veder riuscire una cosa nella quale non si impaccia punto, et perde molto, quando si fa conoscere troppo credulo."

Bartoli's practice differs from what the treatise suggests. De Vera recommends that the writer, at the beginning of a new letter, recalls the date of his last dispatch and what was said in it.[676] However, Bartoli did not follow this practice. He usually inserted a copy of the last letter only when he suspected that it had not reached its recipient. In addition, Bartoli's level of detail departs from de Vera's instructions. While de Vera warns that "the ambassador must not take the time to write minutely all the speeches that have been made about the negotio, of which he wants to give notice, it would be too much trouble and useless effort,"[677] Bartoli wrote extensive and detailed accounts. This was, in fact, the express wish of Cosimo I de' Medici, who asked Bartoli to put into writing everything that reached his ears or eyes. Furthermore, Bartoli rarely noted the time when he closed the letter, except when postscripts were written late at night and the timing is included to explain why the piece of information was not contained in the main dispatch. According to Mattingly, writing the time as well as the day was a custom of diplomats so that their masters could know the speed of the courier.[678]

5.2 Bartoli's Network in Venice

Building and maintaining a network of contacts was the core business of early modern agents.[679] In particular, resident diplomats had to be able to create a network of acquaintances, friends, collaborators, and informants in the city to which they were sent.[680] Besides the direct correspondence with their home sovereign, they had to establish relations with the monarch or the institutions of the host country, as well as with all of the secretaries and various offices. They also had to visit the other foreign ambassadors regularly and create closer relationships, especially with diplomats from those countries that were allied with their sovereign.[681] Indeed, their ability to build

[676] Vera Figueroa y Zuñiga, 301–2.
[677] Vera Figueroa y Zuñiga, 293: "non deve l'ambasciatore impiegarsi a scrivere minutamente tutti li discorsi andati in volta sopra il negotio, del quale vuol dare aviso, riuscirebbe troppo grande, et inutile fatica."
[678] Mattingly, *Renaissance Diplomacy*, 87.
[679] Keblusek, "Introduction. Profiling the Early Modern Agent," 13.
[680] Volpini, *Ambasciatori nella prima età moderna tra corti italiane ed europee*, 9.
[681] Volpini, "Ambasciatori, cerimoniali e informazione politica: il sistema diplomatico e le sue fonti," 257–58.

lasting relationships and to be seen as trustworthy became a key factor in their success. News exchanges in the sixteenth century did not rely only on official communications. Rather, it was a combination of interactions between the institutions, ambassadors, informers, spies, and everyday people who were met and overheard in public spaces.[682] From this perspective, the reconstruction of Cosimo Bartoli's network in Venice is a crucial step in understanding his role better and beginning to discover how and from whom he gathered the information he wrote in the letters and newsletters.

To reconstruct Bartoli's network, I have examined two time periods: the first three years of his stay in Venice, from June 1562 to June 1565, and his last three years, between September 1569 and September 1572. I chose these two periods to compare how Bartoli's network evolved from the initial years, when he first arrived and had to build relationships almost from scratch, with no introduction or handover from his predecessor, to his final years when he was well established in his position. Besides, the last three years of his residency were particularly eventful for both the Medici and the Republic of Venice: Cosimo I de' Medici had recently been appointed Grand Duke of Tuscany; war broke out between the Venetian Republic and the Ottoman Empire; the Holy League was formed, and the Battle of Lepanto took place. I read Bartoli's letters and tagged people he mentioned meeting or corresponding with. I also tagged the people with whom one of Bartoli's contacts spoke or wrote. For example, in September 1562, Bartoli reported speaking with Johannes Amauser, "the chief factor currently present at the Fondaco dei Tedeschi." Amauser sent letters to four German merchants to pursue Cosimo I de' Medici's interests. Thus, these merchants were recorded as having a secondary connection to Bartoli through Amauser.[683] However, such instances of Bartoli mentioning his contacts' contacts are rare. I did not record cases where Bartoli used impersonal formulas such as "si dice" (it is said) without clearly stating from whom the information was derived. Conversely, when Bartoli

[682] Dall'Aglio, "Cosimo I's Self-Made Spy," 2.
[683] ASF, Mediceo del Principato 494A, fol. 1191r, 12 September 1562, Cosimo Bartoli to Cosimo I de' Medici: "primo fattore che hoggi si trovi nel fondaco de Tedeschi."

mentioned a person or friend who preferred to remain anonymous, I tagged them even if the name was unknown.

Using Gephi software,[684] all of the relationships between Cosimo Bartoli and his contacts have been visualised in two network diagrams, one for the years 1562-1565 (Figure 29) and another for the years 1569-1572 (Figure 30). Network analysis, a methodology long established in sociology, has seen a slow but steady growing application in the arts and humanities since 2010 as a means of visualising and measuring the connections between people, characters, places, objects, and other entities.[685] The two fundamental elements of a network are the nodes, i.e. the entities, and the edges, the connections between the nodes.[686] In the case of a social network such as Bartoli's, persons are the nodes, and their interactions build the edges. An original example of the application of network analysis on early modern correspondence is the work by Ruth Ahnert and Sebastian Ahnert. They reconstructed the network of the underground Protestant community living in England during the reign of Mary I, starting from their letters, and discovered new patterns and the centrality of some people considered so far only as minor players.[687]

However, it must be pointed out that applying network analysis to historical sources poses a series of challenges. Firstly, humanities data are complex and hard to categorise.[688] For instance, I decided not to create nodes for vague references like "it is said," even though it is clear that Bartoli learned that piece of information from someone. Instead, I focused on those individuals that Bartoli explicitly named. This example shows how the network is always a simplification of the complexity of reality, but at the same time, it allows me to analyse the complexity from a new angle and to see features that might otherwise have remained hidden.[689] Another issue in building networks from historical letters is that correspondence can be incomplete due to the archive's vicissitudes. Ryan and Ahnert conducted experiments simulating the

[684] Bastian, Heymann, and Jacomy, "Gephi."
[685] Ruth Ahnert et al., *The Network Turn: Changing Perspectives in the Humanities* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2020), 5, https://doi.org/10.1017/9781108866804.
[686] Scott B. Weingart, "Demystifying Networks, Parts I & II," *Journal of Digital Humanities* 1, no. 1 (2011).
[687] Ahnert and Ahnert, "Protestant Letter Networks in the Reign of Mary I."
[688] Weingart, "Demystifying Networks, Parts I & II."
[689] Ahnert et al., *The Network Turn*, 25, 43.

different types of data loss an archive might encounter over the centuries. They demonstrated that network analysis results on early modern correspondence are still reliable even when there is a letter loss of up to 50%. The incompleteness of the correspondence therefore does not invalidate the conclusions of the network analysis.[690]

The diagrams of Bartoli's networks are created using a force-directed algorithm named ForceAtlas available in Gephi.[691] Force-directed algorithms model the network as if the nodes were physical entities driven by invisible forces, such as electromagnetic repulsion. Nodes can be thought of as magnets with the same polarity, pushing each other away. On the other hand, edges resemble springs that link two nodes and oscillate until they reach an uninterrupted position of maximum relaxation.[692] The nodes with most connections are located near the network's centre, while those less connected appear at the periphery.[693] Force-directed algorithms are designed to create compact, readable and aesthetically pleasing diagrams and work very well for visualising small networks, as in the case of Bartoli.[694] Moreover, Bartoli's network is defined as an ego network because it is the representation of the social interactions of a single person. The ego network consists of a focal node, the ego, and the nodes to which the ego is directly connected, the alters. Even if this type of network does not reveal anything about the importance of the ego in its larger context, it offers insights on the social context in which the ego lives and the number, nature and frequency of its social relationships.[695] Finally, Bartoli's network is both weighted and undirected. It is weighted because the edge thickness is proportional to the number of interactions between Bartoli and each node. It is undirected because the edges do

[690] Yann C. Ryan and Sebastian E. Ahnert, "The Measure of the Archive: The Robustness of Network Analysis in Early Modern Correspondence," *Journal of Cultural Analytics* 6, no. 3 (2021), https://doi.org/10.22148/001c.25943.
[691] "ForceAtlas Publication-Gephi Forums," accessed October 11, 2024, https://perma.cc/N79Y-FMJQ; Mathieu Jacomy et al., "ForceAtlas2, a Continuous Graph Layout Algorithm for Handy Network Visualization Designed for the Gephi Software," ed. Mark R. Muldoon, *PLoS ONE* 9, no. 6 (2014): e98679, https://doi.org/10.1371/journal.pone.0098679.
[692] Ahnert et al., *The Network Turn*, 37–38.
[693] Ahnert and Ahnert, "Protestant Letter Networks in the Reign of Mary I," 6.
[694] Ryan and Ahnert, "The Measure of the Archive," 60.
[695] Valerio Arnaboldi et al., "Online Social Networks and Information Diffusion: The Role of Ego Networks," *Online Social Networks and Media* 1 (2017): 46, https://doi.org/10.1016/j.osnem.2017.04.001.

not have a specific direction and the link from A to B implies the same connection from B to A.[696]

Figure 29 and Figure 30 show Bartoli's social network diagram for the two periods, 1562-1565 and 1569-1572. The central node is Cosimo Bartoli; nodes closer to the centre represent his most frequent contacts; nodes that are far away from the centre of the graph are those with whom he rarely interacted. The edge thickness is correlated with the number of interactions with that node. It is interesting that the two diagrams share a similar structure, two distinct circles being visible. The inner circle includes persons who met Bartoli at least twice, while the outer circle comprises those who had only one interaction with Bartoli. Beyond these, there are the peripheral nodes, representing those that interacted with Bartoli through an intermediary. Although it does not represent Cosimo Bartoli's complete network because it is based only on his letters to the Medici, its structure resembles the structure theorised for ego networks (Figure 31). A personal social network typically consists of a series of concentric circles of alters around the ego. As the social circles expand outward from the ego, they encompass more people, but the strength of relationships, measured through friendship, support, and frequency of contact, decreases.[697]

[696] Weingart, "Demystifying Networks, Parts I & II."
[697] Arnaboldi et al., "Online Social Networks and Information Diffusion," 46.

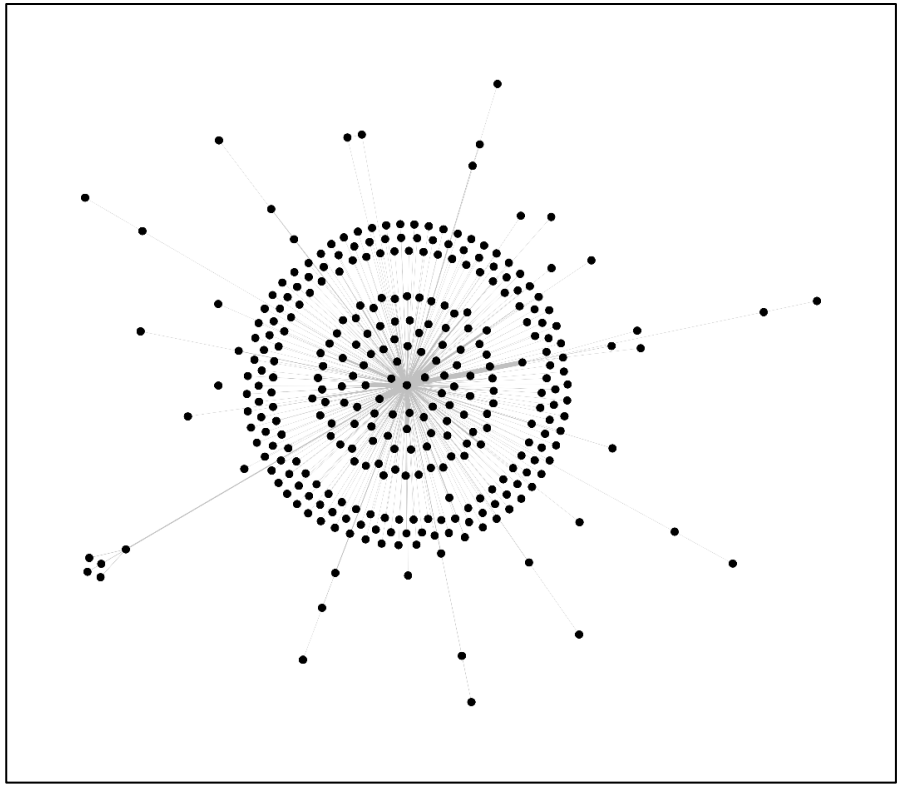


Figure 29. Bartoli's Network Diagram in the Period June 1562–June 1565

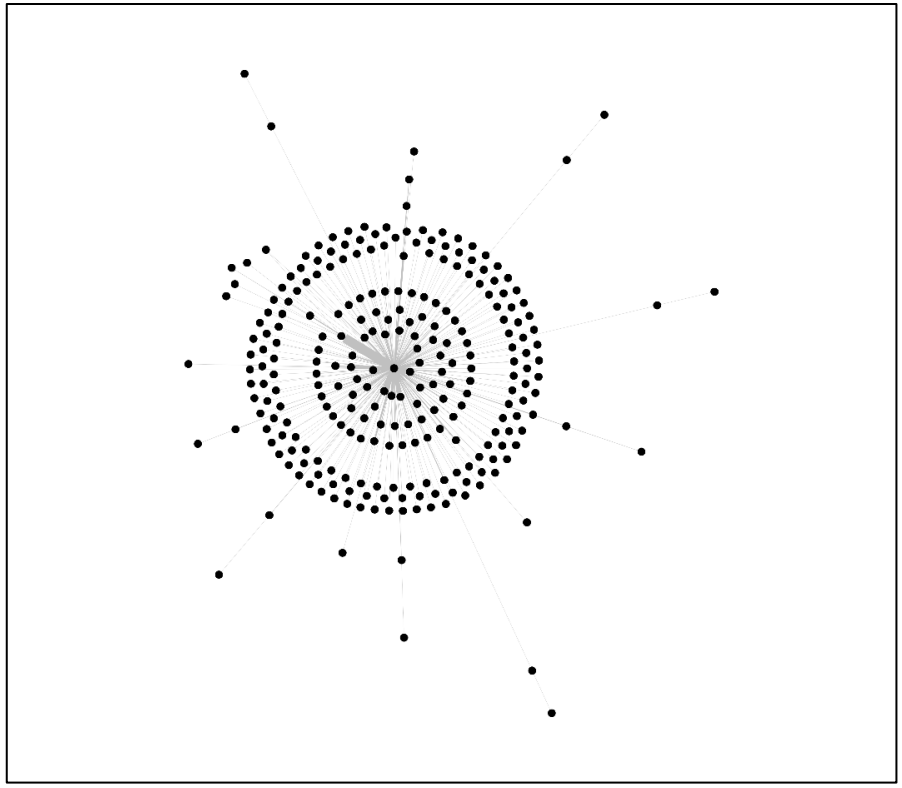


Figure 30. Bartoli's Network Diagram in the Period September 1569–September 1572

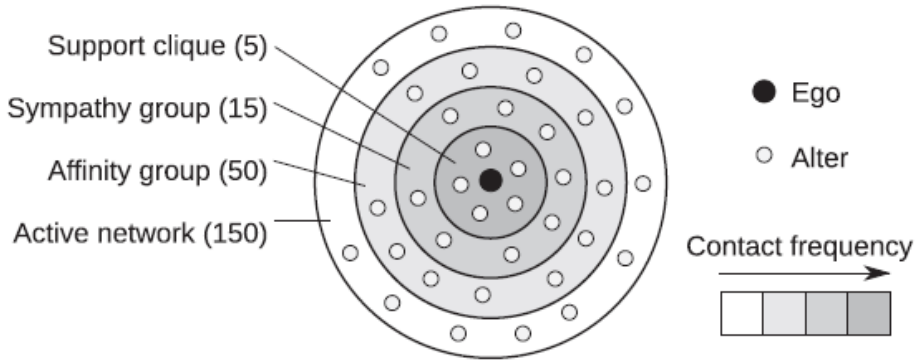


Figure 31. Ego Network Model. Source: Reproduced from Valerio Arnaboldi et al., "Online Social Networks and Information Diffusion: The Role of Ego Networks," Online Social Networks and Media 1 (2017), 46

I now turn to a closer examination of the two network diagrams. The network from 1562 to 1565 consists of 319 nodes and 328 edges. Of these, 292 are the individuals who had direct contact with Cosimo Bartoli, while 36 edges represent connections between alters. Among Bartoli's direct contacts, the average number of interactions per node is 2.5. People in the innermost circle of the diagram, i.e. those who had at least two interactions with Bartoli, number 114, while those in the outermost circle number 178. On the other hand, in the network from 1569 to 1572, there are 262 nodes and 268 edges. The edges that reach Bartoli are 246, while 22 edges link others. In regard to the nodes directly linked to Bartoli, the average number of interactions remains at 2.5. The inner circle contains 92 people, while the outer circle consists of 154. I can conclude there was a 16% decrease in Bartoli's personal contacts in the latter period. More precisely, the inner circle shrinks by 19%, while the outer circle is reduced by 13%. This decline might be attributed to Bartoli's advanced age and failing health: first, he was forced to get around by gondola, which was less likely to result in random encounters than walking through Venice; then he spent many months at home, limiting his social circle to those who paid him a visit.

The two charts (Figure 32 and Figure 33) display the people with whom Bartoli interacted more than four times during the two periods. In the first period examined, they are the Collegio, i.e. the cabinet of the Senate (37 interactions); the apostolic nuncio Ippolito Capilupi (33); the Doge Girolamo Priuli (25); the informer and *sensale*

(middleman) of the Fondaco dei Todeschi Medoro Nucci (23); the senator Giacomo Badoer (22); the Imperial ambassador Francesco Della Torre (20); the jeweller Alessandro Caravia (18); the *familiare* of Francesco de' Medici and manager of the Badia's interests Francesco Bellotti (16); the French ambassador Jean Hurault de Boistaillé (13); an anonymous friend, but it is not possible to establish if Bartoli is referring to the same or multiple friends (10); and the apostolic nuncio Guido Ferrero (10).

In the second period, the persons Bartoli met more frequently are the apostolic nuncio Giovanni Antonio Facchinetti (46 interactions); the Imperial ambassador Vito Donberg (30); the Spanish ambassador Diego Guzman De Silva (29); the Doge Alvise Mocenigo (22); the Collegio (16); the French ambassador Arnaud Du Ferrier (15); the captain Marcantonio Colonna (12); the Senate (11); and the Florentine ambassador at the Imperial Court Lodovico Antinori (9).

The distribution of Bartoli's principal correspondents throughout the two periods falls broadly into two groups: diplomats of foreign states residing in Venice and representatives of the Venetian Republic. Nonetheless, there are two notable differences between the two periods. Contacts with the Collegio are halved from the first period to the second. In addition, interactions with some trusted people outside the diplomatic sphere, such as the informer Nucci, the Senator Badoer, and the jeweller Caravia, decrease. This does not mean that Bartoli ceased to meet with other people; rather, it implies that his preferred interlocutors became the ambassadors and he developed more intimate and regular relationships with them.

Bartoli's network confirms the fundamental importance of relations with ambassadors from other courts, something already underlined by Mattingly, Volpini, and, for Venice, De Vivo.[698] The diplomat with whom he cultivated the closest relationship in both the early and the later period under examination was the apostolic nuncio. Bartoli claimed to have received many favours from the nuncio and often dined

[698] Mattingly, *Renaissance Diplomacy*, 208–9; Volpini, *Ambasciatori nella prima età moderna tra corti italiane ed europee*, 103–4; De Vivo, *Information and Communication in Venice*, 75–80.

with him.[699] The nuncio Ippolito Capilupi, in 1564, asked him for advice because he wanted to become a cardinal and was seeking the support of Cosimo I de' Medici.[700] The nuncio Giovanni Antonio Facchetti, in a letter to Girolamo Rusticucci dated 1571, expresses praiseworthy sentiments concerning Bartoli, describing him as "a gentleman whom the Grand Duke of Tuscany keeps here as his secretary, about 68 years old, but very vigorous [...] a man of fine letters, who has a good knowledge of history and in whom I have always seen a warm desire for the good and peace of Italy."[701]

The second ambassador with whom Bartoli had frequent meetings was the Imperial representative, first Francesco della Torre and subsequently Vito Donberg. The relationship changed after the appointment of Cosimo I de' Medici as Grand Duke of Tuscany, however. Bartoli himself reported in June 1570 that he visited the Imperial ambassador three times but was always denied an audience with an excuse and had to engage with the Imperial secretary instead.[702] In February 1571, after receiving a piece of information from "a person worthy of faith," Bartoli began to suspect that the Imperial ambassador was the person who had spread the rumour about the Emperor sending an envoy to Rome to protest and ask the Pope to revoke the title newly given to Cosimo I.[703]

Despite the fact that ambassadors were Bartoli's most frequent interlocutors during the final three years of residency, a comparison of the two network diagrams reveals that the number of individuals belonging to the diplomatic sphere, i.e. ambassadors, secretaries and agents, drops from 46 to 28 between the first and

[699] ASF, Mediceo del Principato 2976, fol. 102r, 17 February 1564 (1563 in Florentine style), Cosimo Bartoli to Cosimo I de' Medici; ASF, Mediceo del Principato 2979, fol. 554v, 17 January 1571 (1570 in Florentine style), Cosimo Bartoli to Francesco de' Medici.
[700] ASF, Mediceo del Principato 2976, fol. 102r, 17 February 1564 (1563 in Florentine style), Cosimo Bartoli to Cosimo I de' Medici.
[701] Aldo Stella, ed., *Nunziature di Venezia*, vol. X, Nunziature d'Italia: secoli XVI-XVIII (Roma: Istituto storico italiano per l'eta moderna e contemporanea, 1977): "Io son ricerco di far testimonio a Vostra Signoria illustrissima di messer Cosmo Bartoli: questo è un gentilhuomo che 'l signor Granduca di Toscana tiene qui per segretario suo, d'anni 68 in circa, ma di forze anco assai gagliarde; è persona ecclesiastica et ha benefitii in Firenze, huomo civile di belle lettere, che ha buona cognitione d'historie et nel quale mi è parso di conoscere sempre caldo desiderio del bene et quiete d'Italia; et questo è quanto le posso dir per adesso."
[702] ASF, Mediceo del Principato 2979, fol. 422r, 17 June 1570, Cosimo Bartoli to Francesco de' Medici.
[703] ASF, Mediceo del Principato 2980, fol. 9r, 7 February 1571 (1570 in Florentine style), Cosimo Bartoli to Francesco de' Medici.

second period (Figure 34 and Figure 35). The causes of this decrease might be the slight general reduction of Bartoli's contacts, likely due to his precarious health condition, and the fact that the final stage of the Council of Trent falls in the first period under study, which implies that more diplomats went to Trento and stopped in Venice prior to, during or after the Council. However, considering the quality of these diplomatic contacts, the percentage of ambassadors against that of agents and secretaries remains constant over the two periods (first period 1562-1565: ambassadors 52.17%; agents: 6.52%; secretaries/others: 41.30%; second period 1569-1572: ambassadors 53.58%; agents: 7.14%; secretaries/others: 39.29%). In addition, the overall number of interactions with diplomats remains almost constant between the first period (176) and the second period (168). This indicates that, even if he maintained fewer relationships with diplomats during the second period, those were stronger, more frequent, and always with key figures of the diplomatic system.

Contacts with diplomats were Bartoli's main channel for obtaining news from abroad. Several times, in fact, he reported news he heard from ambassadors, in particular the nuncio and the Imperial ambassador.[704] In some cases, he also saw the actual letters received by ambassadors and summarised their contents in his dispatches. Sometimes, he even copied their content in the newsletters, paying attention to specify the source of the news items in the header (for instance, "From letters of the 6th from Prague read at the Nuncio"[705]) or adding a note such as "I saw this news in a letter that came to the Secretary of the Catholic King residing here".[706] Interacting with ambassadors from major courts could also be an easier and quicker means of accessing news possessed only by the Republic of Venice and gaining

[704] ASF, Mediceo del Principato 2976, fol. 140v, 5 June 1563, Cosimo Bartoli to Cosimo I de' Medici; ASF, Mediceo del Principato 2979, fol. 254r, 26 November 1569, Cosimo Bartoli to Francesco de' Medici; ASF, Mediceo del Principato 2979, fol. 444v, 28 July 1570, Cosimo Bartoli to Francesco de' Medici; ASF, Mediceo del Principato 2979, fol. 488v, 28 September 1570, Cosimo Bartoli to Francesco de' Medici; ASF, Mediceo del Principato 2980, fol. 31v, 28 March 1571, Cosimo Bartoli to Francesco de' Medici.
[705] ASF, Mediceo del Principato 3079, fol. 202r-v, Newsletter with news from Savoy (dd-mm-1562), Prague (06-mm-1562), Rome (13-mm-1562), Milan (10-mm-1562), France (10-mm-1562), Brussels (13-mm-1562), written by Cosimo Bartoli: "Per lettere de 6 di Praga nel Legato."
[706] ASF, Mediceo del Principato 3079, fol. 212r-213, Newsletter with news from France (17-06-1562), Milan (16-06-1562), Prague (15-06-1562), Prague (dd-06-1562), Antwerp (13-06-1562), Flanders (14-06-1562), Flanders (15-06-1562), Flanders (16-06-1562), Strasbourg (15-06-1562), Cologne (16-06-1562), Speyer (16-06-1562), written by Cosimo Bartoli: "vedi tal aviso in una lettera che veniva al Secretario qui del Re Cattolico."

insights into its decisions. For example, during a visit to the Imperial ambassador in September 1572, Bartoli learnt that the Senate had that same morning called the ambassador for an audience to warn him that there was suspicion of Ottoman preparations for a major raid and that he should inform the Emperor.[707] Without Bartoli's contact with the Imperial ambassador, it is likely that he either would have been unaware of this news or would have learnt about it only later. The ambassadors' secretaries were equally important for getting news. By way of example, in 1572 and 1573, the secretaries of Guzman de Silva, the Spanish ambassador in Venice, anonymised and copied news items from received letters into anonymous newsletters, which were then distributed to other princes, lords and agents.[708] In Bartoli's network, secretaries of diplomats represent 12 nodes in the first period and eight in the second.

The network diagrams in Figure 38 and Figure 39 additionally illustrate Bartoli's frequent contacts with the governing bodies of the Republic of Venice: the Collegio, the Senate, and the Doge. In the first phase, engagements with the Collegio were predominant in Bartoli's relationships, with a total of 46 documented interactions. This elevated frequency is also significant, considering the information Bartoli could have gathered. The Collegio was the central body controlling the communication mechanisms of the Venetian political system; it received and read the dispatches from Venetian ambassadors abroad and then evaluated which information must be presented before the Senate or kept confidential. Moreover, the Collegio was also responsible for dealing with foreign diplomats, and so was a necessary point of contact for Bartoli as well.[709] Nevertheless, during the second period, Bartoli's interactions with the Collegio diminished to 16, whereas his engagements with the Doge remained constant in both periods, with 25 contacts in the first period and 26 in the second.

In addition to formal audiences, Bartoli's network illustrates his informal connections to senators and patricians (Figure 40 and Figure 41). Venetian laws

[707] ASF, Mediceo del Principato 2981, fol. 240r, 20 September 1572, Cosimo Bartoli to Francesco de' Medici.
[708] Lamal, *Italian Communication on the Revolt in the Low Countries (1566-1648)*, 28.
[709] De Vivo, *Information and Communication in Venice*, 35–37.

prohibited members of the Senate, the Collegio, and other secret councils from discussing state affairs with foreign ambassadors, while patricians needed special dispensation to visit ambassadors at their homes.[710] However, Bartoli's network highlights how frequently these rules were disregarded, although some care was taken to avoid making the meeting too obvious. Already in 1548, in the diplomatic instructions to Pier Francesco Pandolfini, Florentine ambassador in Venice, Cosimo I suggested that Pandolfini should meet with patricians in public places such as churches, where the encounters might seem fortuitous.[711] Bartoli had to be similarly careful. Alvise Dolfin, brother of Zaccaria Dolfin, apostolic nuncio to the Imperial Court, met Bartoli shortly after his arrival in Venice in June 1562. He gave Bartoli a packet of letters but warned him not to nod or greet him in public places like Piazza San Marco or Rialto. A notable connection in this respect is that between Bartoli and Senator Giacomo Badoer, a member of one of the Venetian patrician families that Cosimo I recommended Bartoli get in touch with upon his arrival in Venice.[712] During the first three years, Badoer contacted Bartoli 22 times. Most of the time, he asked for Cosimo I to intercede with the Pope or Cardinal Borromeo in an ecclesiastical dispute in which he was involved, but there was at least one instance where Bartoli obtained information from him. When Bartoli heard rumours in March 1563 that an armada was being prepared to fight the Turks, Giacomo Badoer denied the information and said that the regular guard would only have 40 galleys at most.[713]

During the second period, there were notable interactions with Abbot Andrea Lippomano, another patrician. He was the brother of Girolamo Lippomano, author of the report concerning the Duke and fictitiously directed to an academy in Venice discussed in Chapter 2, and Venetian orator at the Duchy of Savoy from 1570. In one case, Bartoli reported the details contained in a letter sent by Girolamo: he had likely obtained this information from the brother, Andrea.[714] Bartoli also noted that Andrea Lippomano received weekly letters from Rome containing good quality and up-to-date

[710] Iordanou, *Venice's Secret Service*, 60–61.
[711] ASF, Mediceo del Principato 2634, fol. 143v, 30 September 1548, *Instruttione a Pier Filippo Pandolfini*.
[712] ASF, Mediceo del Principato 2634, fol. 687r-688r, 22 April 1562, rough copy of the diplomatic instruction to Cosimo Bartoli.
[713] ASF, Mediceo del Principato 2976, fol. 39r, 24 March 1563 (1562 in Florentine style), Cosimo Bartoli to Cosimo I de' Medici.
[714] ASF, Mediceo del Principato 2981, fol. 178r, 14 June 1572, Cosimo Bartoli to Francesco de' Medici.

news that, Bartoli said, would otherwise take two weeks to reach Venice through official channels.[715] Andrea Lippomano was renowned for his intelligence activities: he provided confidential information to the apostolic nuncio in Venice, the French and Imperial ambassadors in Rome, and Cardinal Alessandrino, to whom he also sent manuscript newsletters. In 1565, Bartoli wrote that Andrea's father, Giovanni Lippomano, had been reprimanded for his son's "conversations and practices with foreigners."[716] However, this did not stop Andrea from engaging in illicit activities until 1567, when he was arrested and banned on espionage charges for correspondences sent to the Imperial ambassador in Rome and Zaccaria Dolfin, a Venetian patrician and former apostolic nuncio to Vienna.[717] After four years, when he came back to Venice, he should have remained a valuable source of information for Bartoli, as evidenced by the fact that Bartoli introduced Andrea to Orazio Urbani, his successor.[718]

Bartoli's network emphasises the significance of various groups beyond the political elite: merchants, couriers, postmasters, captains, and informers were crucial to his function as a news gatherer. Merchants, through their broad networks of communication, served as vital channels for news circulations since the fourteenth century (Figure 42 and Figure 43).[719] Couriers and postmasters were instrumental in the delivery of Bartoli's correspondence (Figure 44, Figure 45, Figure 46 and Figure 47). Most of the time, those mentioned are the Florentine couriers. In the first period, Bartoli referred to the Imperial postmaster stationed in Venice nine times: often, the mention was motivated by payment issues, but in two cases Bartoli reported information contained in the letters that the Imperial postmaster was delivering.[720] The second period sees an increase in Bartoli's interactions with military figures,

[715] ASF, Mediceo del Principato 2977, fol. 150r, 16 June 1565, Cosimo Bartoli to Francesco de' Medici.
[716] ASF, Mediceo del Principato 2977, fol. 150r, 16 June 1565, Cosimo Bartoli to Francesco de' Medici.
[717] Stella, *Nunziature di Venezia*, 1963, VIII:296, 299, 301–2, 331; Stella, *Nunziature di Venezia*, 1972, IX:255; Gullino, "LIPPOMANO, Girolamo"; Preto, *I servizi segreti di Venezia*, 115–16.
[718] ASF, Mediceo del Principato 2981, fol. 248v, 4 October 1572, Orazio Urbani to Francesco de' Medici.
[719] Jérôme Hayez, "Avviso, informazione, novella, nuova: la notion de l'information dans les correspondances marchandes toscanes vers 1400," in *Information et société en Occident à la fin du Moyen Âge*, ed. Claire Boudreau et al. (Paris: Éditions de la Sorbonne, 2004), 113–34, https://doi.org/10.4000/books.psorbonne.13049; Infelise, "From Merchants' Letters to Handwritten Political Avvisi: Notes on the Origins of Public Information."
[720] ASF, Mediceo del Principato 2976, fol. 49r, 30 July 1562, Cosimo Bartoli to Bartolomeo Concino; ASF, Mediceo del Principato 2977, fol. 136v, 26 May 1565, Cosimo Bartoli to Francesco de' Medici.

particularly Marcantonio Colonna, the general captain of the papal fleet, whom Bartoli mentioned having met 12 times (Figure 48 and Figure 49). This shift reflects the geopolitical climate of the time with the ongoing war against the Ottoman Empire.

Informers are less prominently featured in Bartoli's network than one might expect (Figure 50 and Figure 51). The primary informer during the first period was Medoro Nucci with 23 mentions, followed by Paolo Geri with six, and Matteo Sofferoni with three. All of these three had already been at the service of Pietro Gelido. Carlo Stuerdo was one of the main informers during the second period. Stuerdo was the agent of Ottavio Farnese, Duke of Parma and Piacenza, in Rome. Although Bartoli only reported two contacts with him, it turned out in 1572 that he had a weekly exchange of letters with him.[721]

An equally significant yet less visible category within Bartoli's network is anonymous contacts. In the first period, Bartoli recorded 24 interactions with anonymous friends or individuals, while in the second period, this number slightly decreased to 17. These anonymous sources likely represented people whose identities were deliberately hidden to protect them from possible consequences. In the case of the "anonymous friend," it is likely that the Duke was aware of his identity but Bartoli thought it would be safer to omit the name so there would be no risk of him being discovered. This was a common practice in diplomatic correspondence, where terms like "amico," "bonum," "amicissimo," "fidel," and "sapiens" were commonly used as placeholders to obscure the identities of sensitive informants, particularly those in influential positions.[722] These interactions reveal Bartoli's ability to navigate the delicate balance of securing vital information while lowering the risks to both himself and his informants.

Finally, jewellers represent a distinct subset of Bartoli's network (Figure 52 and Figure 53). During the first period, Bartoli maintained close contact with Alessandro Caravia,[723] a jeweller and friend, as testified by 18 contacts. In the second period, this

[721] ASF, Mediceo del Principato 2981, fol. 93r, 26 March 1572, Cosimo Bartoli to Francesco de' Medici.
[722] Lazzarini, *Carteggio degli oratori mantovani alla corte sforzesca (1450-1500)*, I:XVI.
[723] Benini, "Alessandro Caravia, gioielliere dei Medici a Venezia," 177–94; Benini Clementi, *Riforma religiosa e poesia popolare a Venezia nel Cinquecento: Alessandro Caravia*.

number grew to include 14 jewellers, nine of whom belonged to Bartoli's inner circle. This growth is explained by Francesco de' Medici's interest in jewels and gemstones, proving how the network also changed to meet the shifting demands of the Medici patrons. In conclusion, Bartoli's network not only highlights the complexity of diplomatic relationships in early modern Venice but also shows how flexible and resourceful an agent must be to fulfil his role. His ability to navigate official and unofficial channels, to cultivate personal connections, and to leverage diverse sources of information reflects the intricate web of interactions that defined his role.

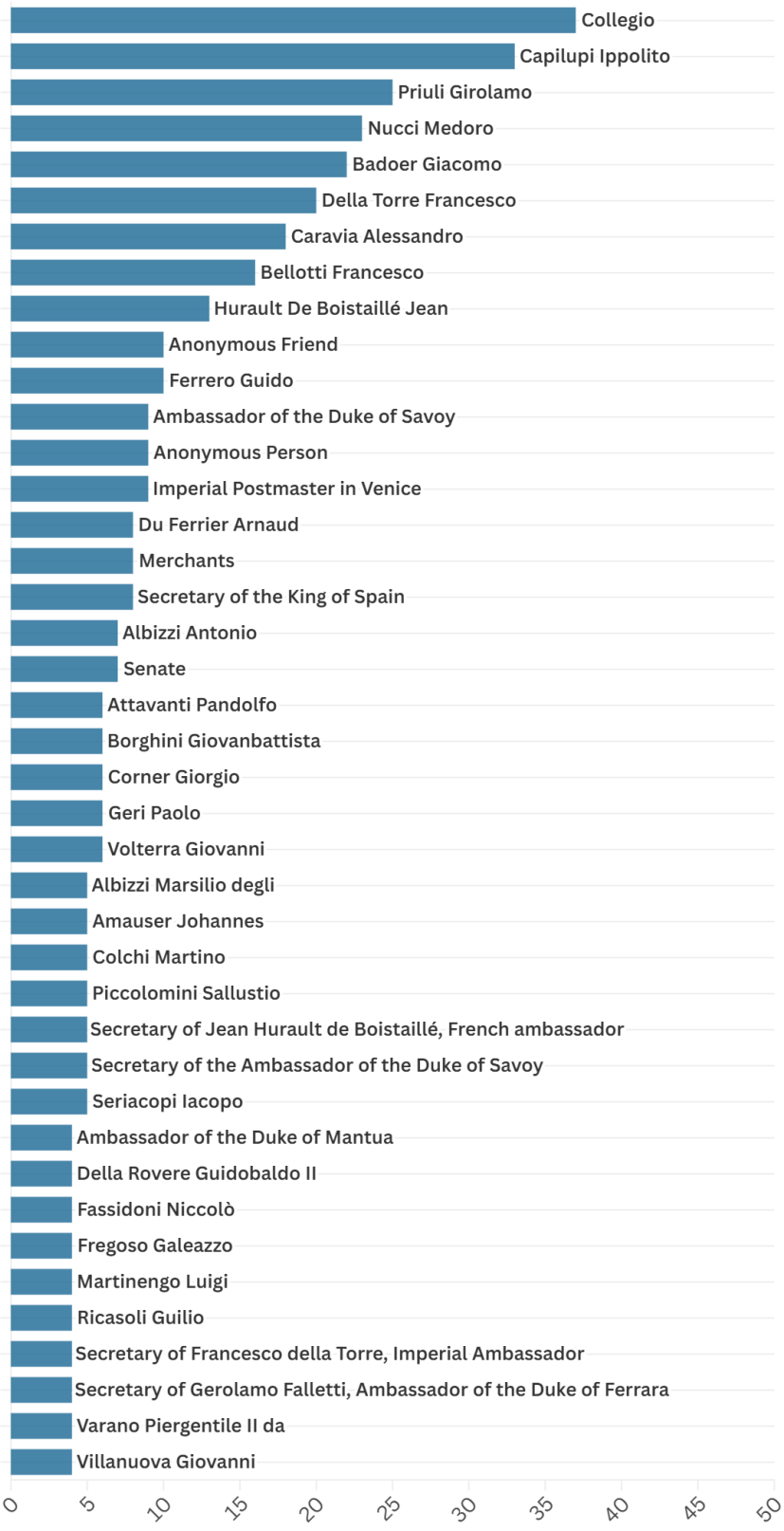


Figure 32. Chart of the People Who Had More than Four Interactions with Bartoli in the Period June 1562–June 1565

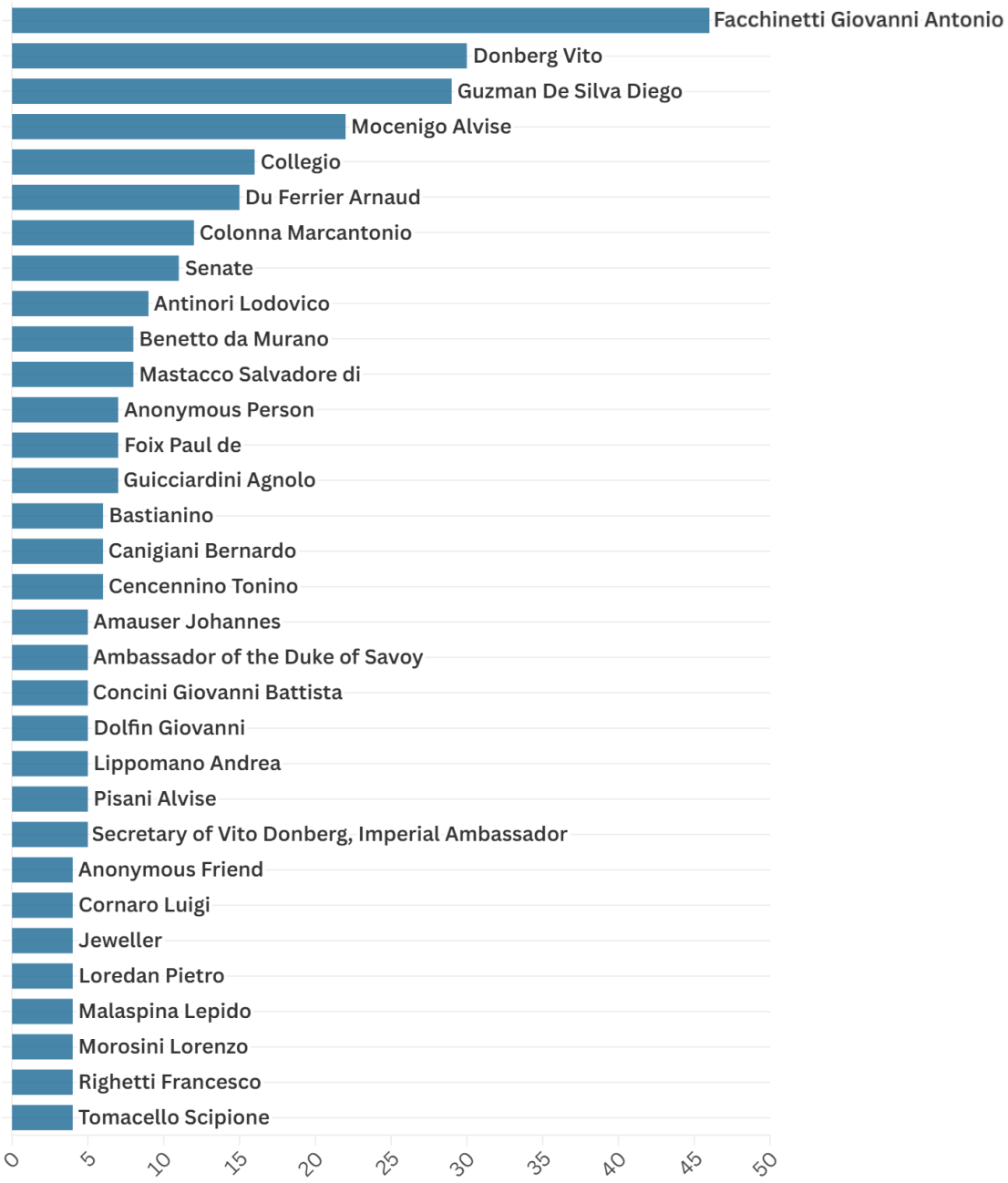


Figure 33. Chart of the People Who Had More than Four Interactions with Bartoli in the Period September 1569–September 1572

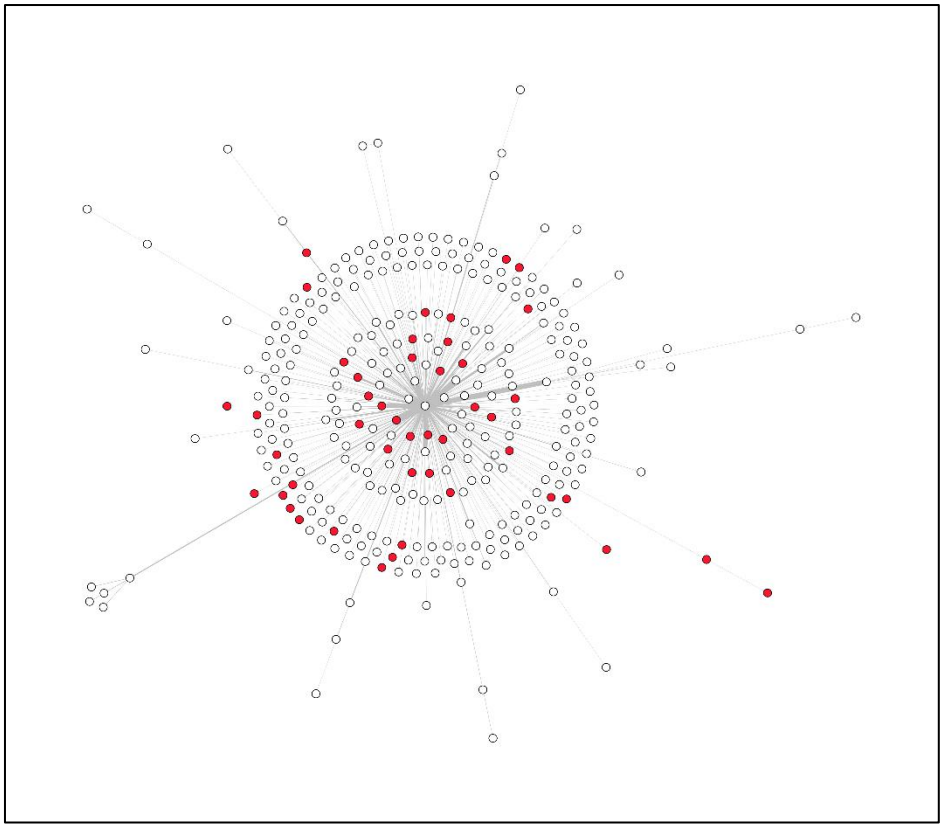


Figure 34. 1562–1565 Network Diagram with Diplomats Highlighted

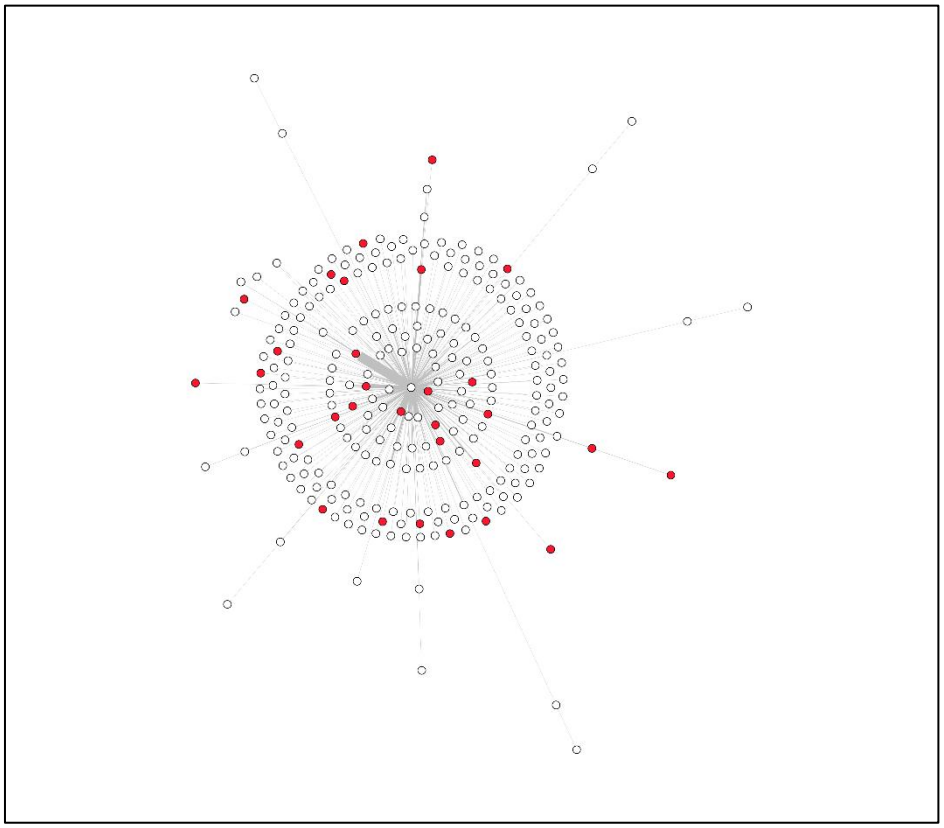


Figure 35. 1569–1572 Network Diagram with Diplomats Highlighted

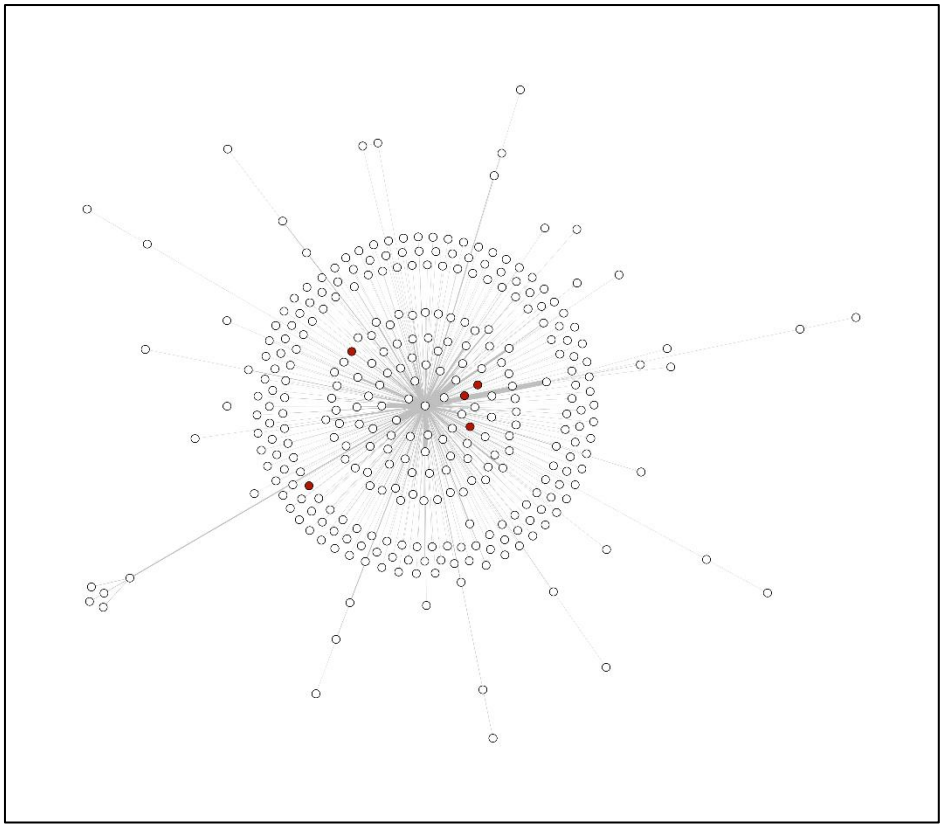


Figure 36. 1562–1565 Network Diagram with Florentine Diplomats Highlighted

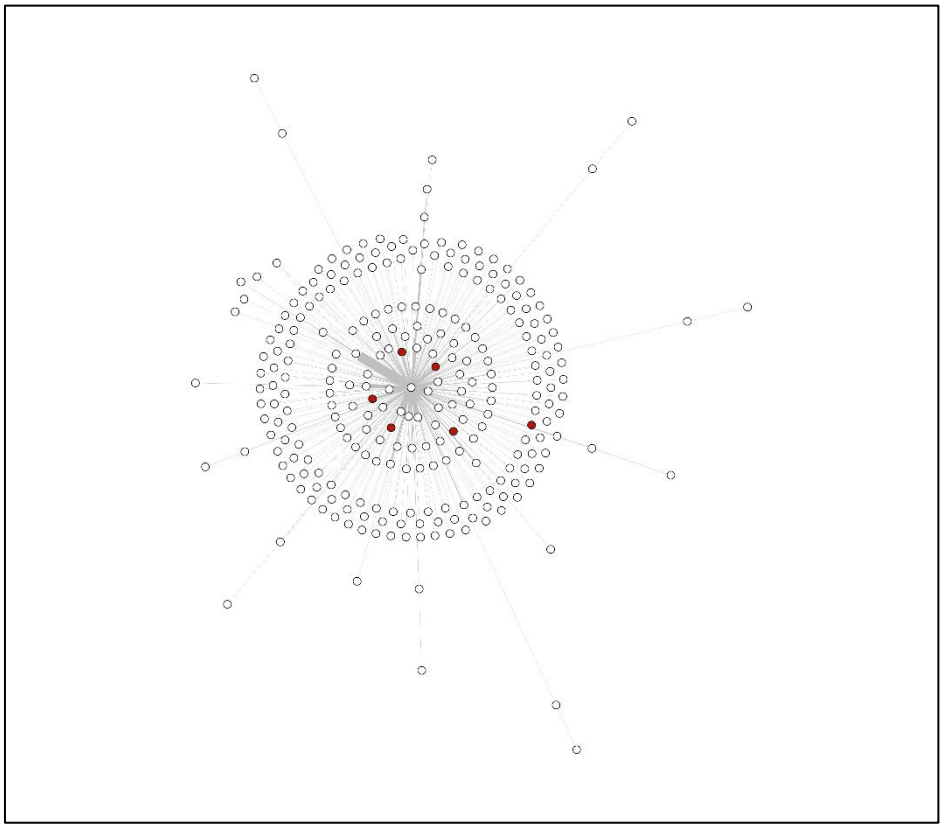


Figure 37. 1569–1572 Network Diagram with Florentine Diplomats Highlighted

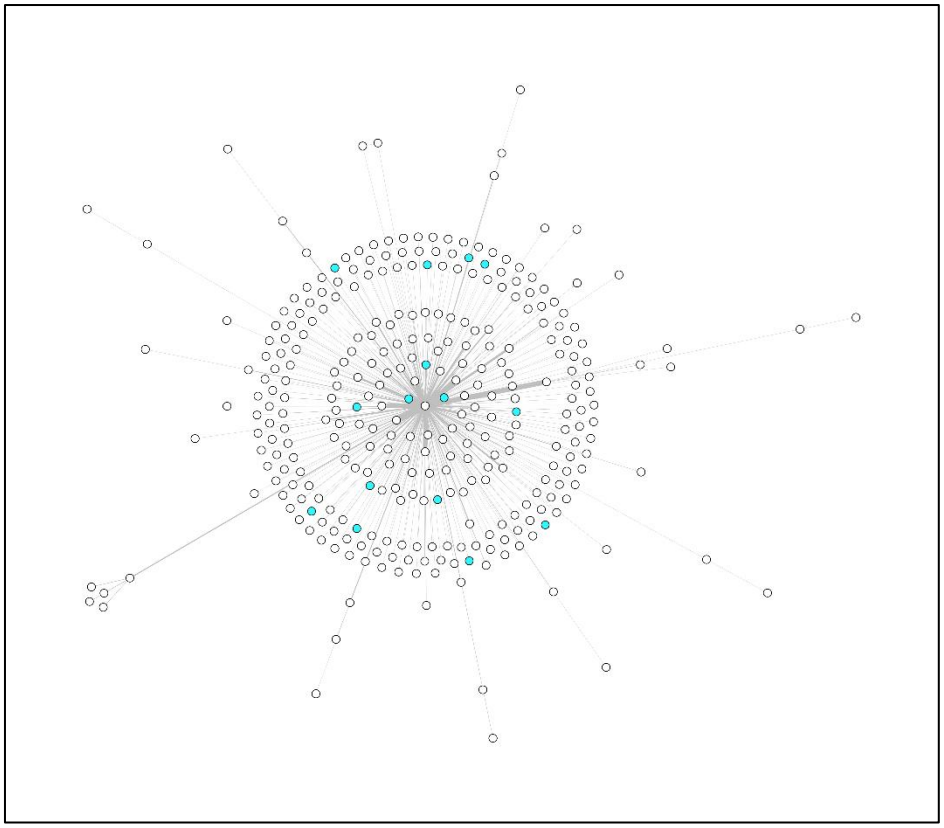


Figure 38. 1562–1565 Network Diagram with Republic of Venice Representatives Highlighted

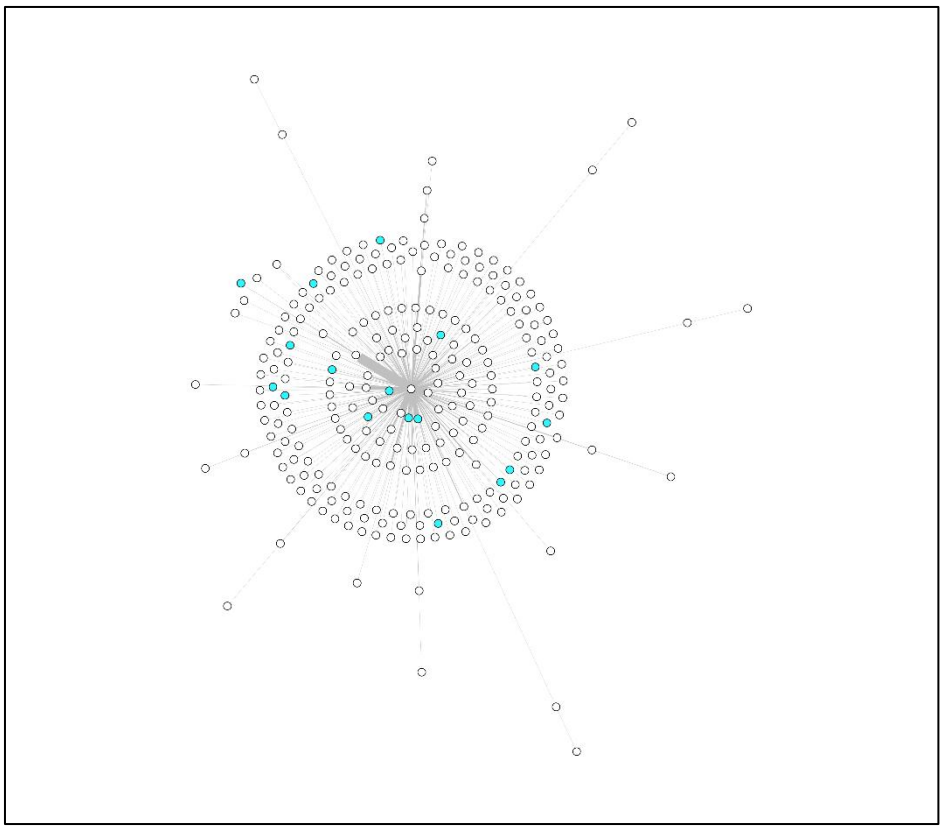


Figure 39. 1569–1572 Network Diagram with Republic of Venice Representatives Highlighted

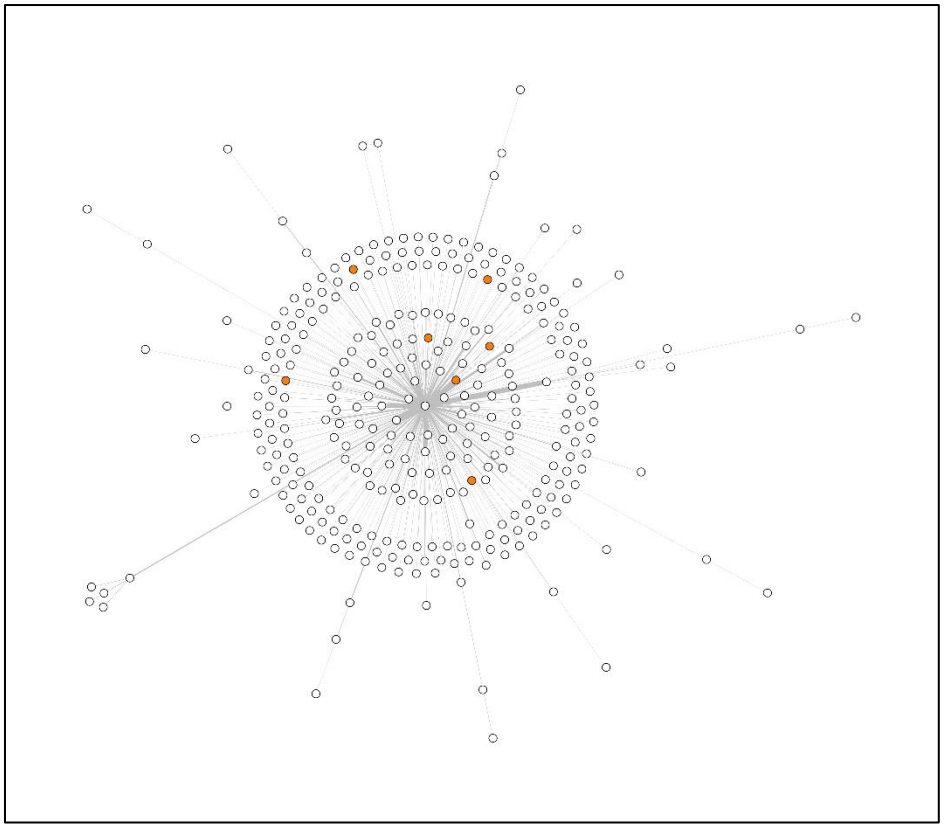


Figure 40. 1562–1565 Network Diagram with Patricians Highlighted

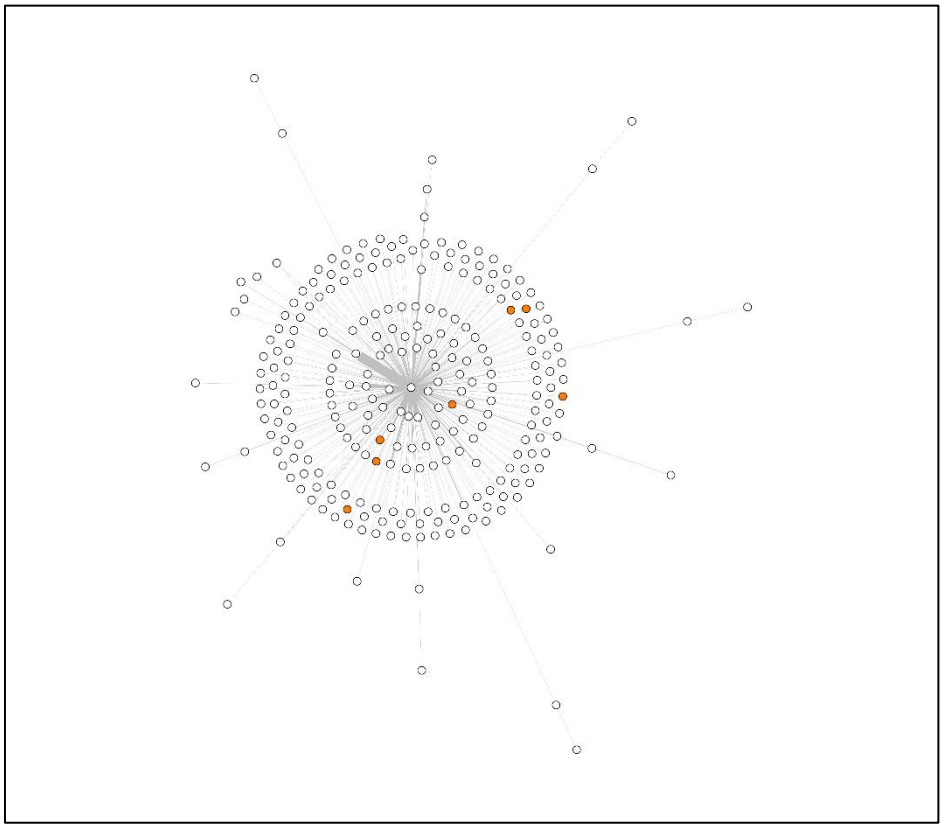


Figure 41. 1569–1572 Network Diagram with Patricians Highlighted

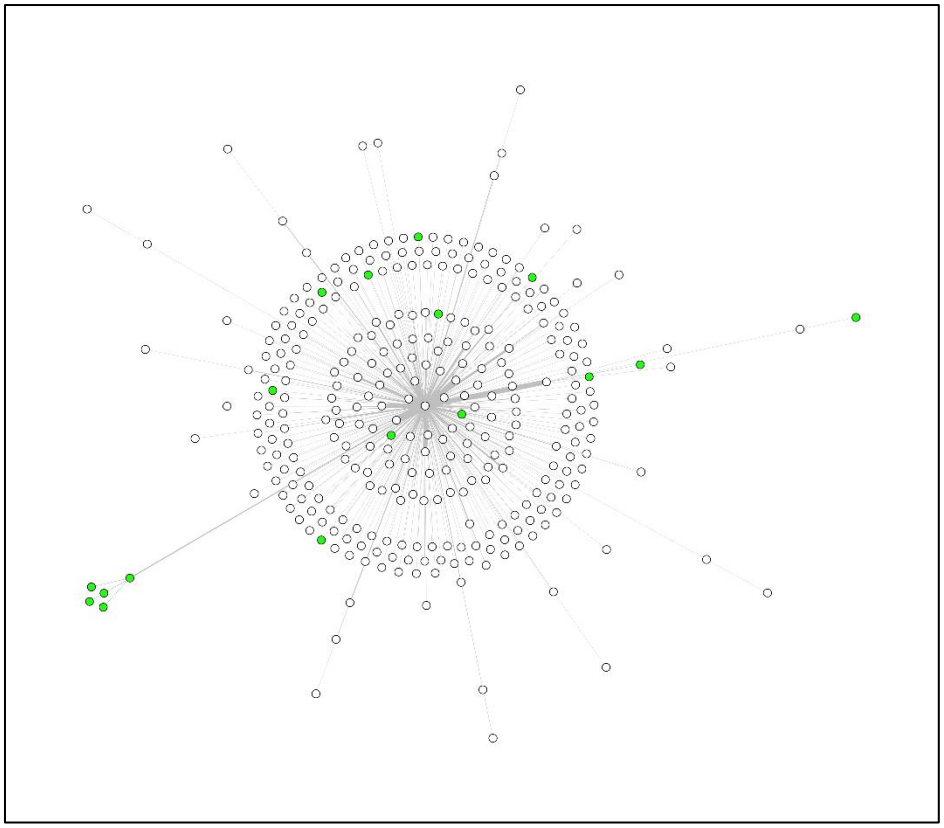


Figure 42. 1562–1565 Network Diagram with Merchants Highlighted

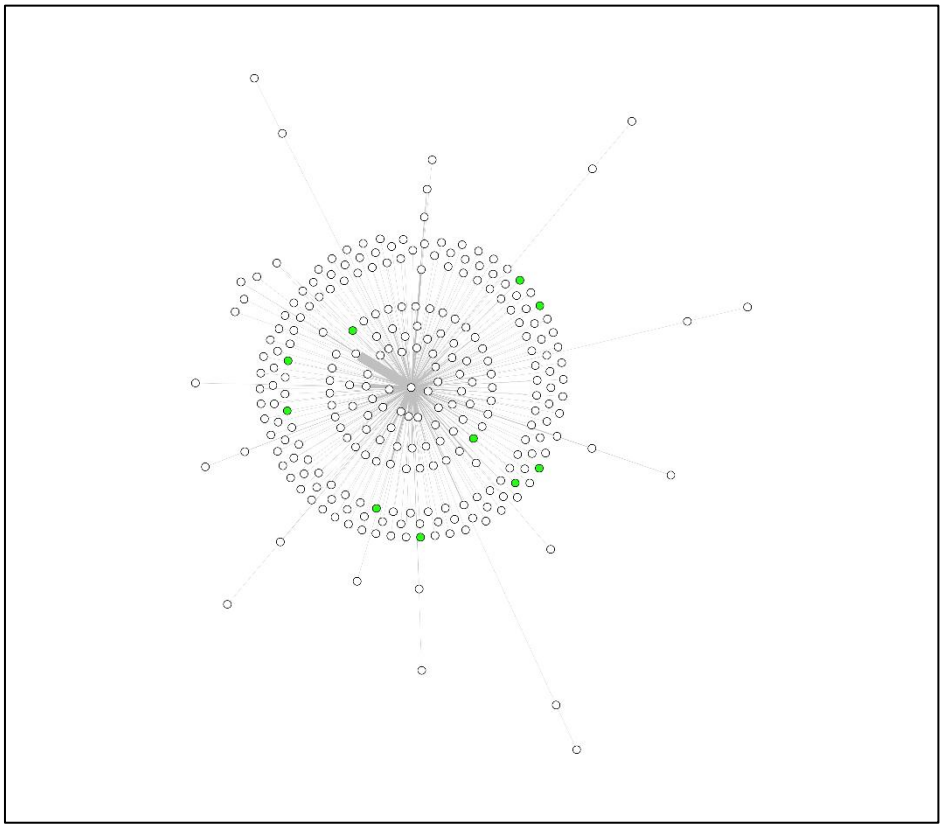


Figure 43. 1569–1572 Network Diagram with Merchants Highlighted

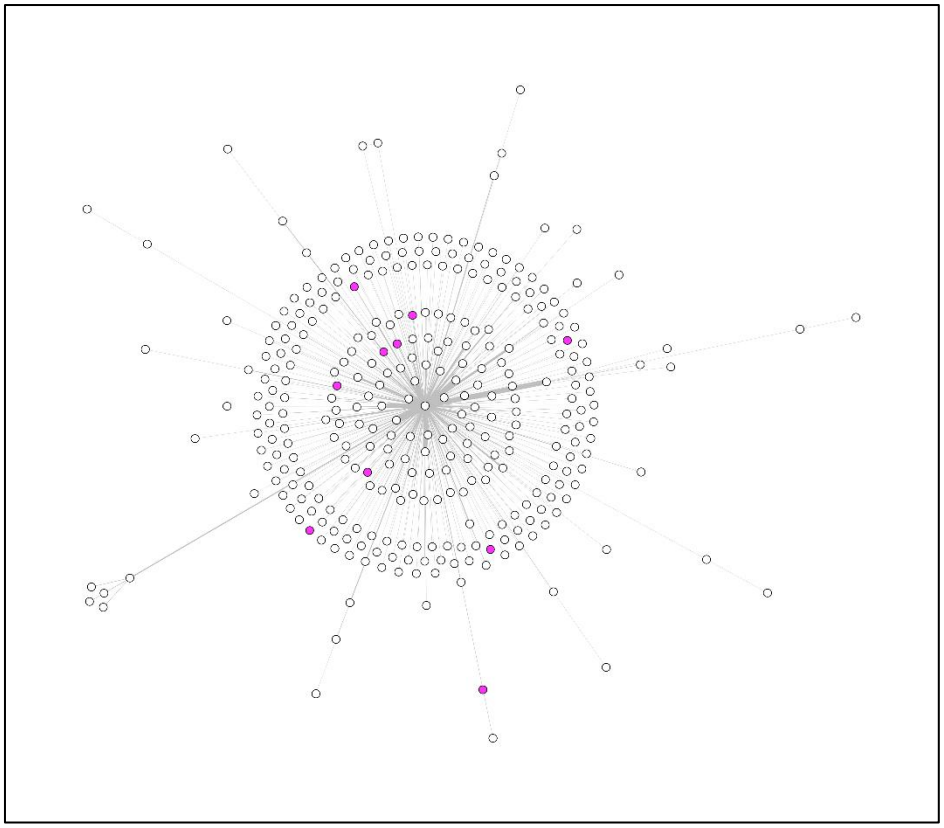


Figure 44. 1562–1565 Network Diagram with Couriers Highlighted

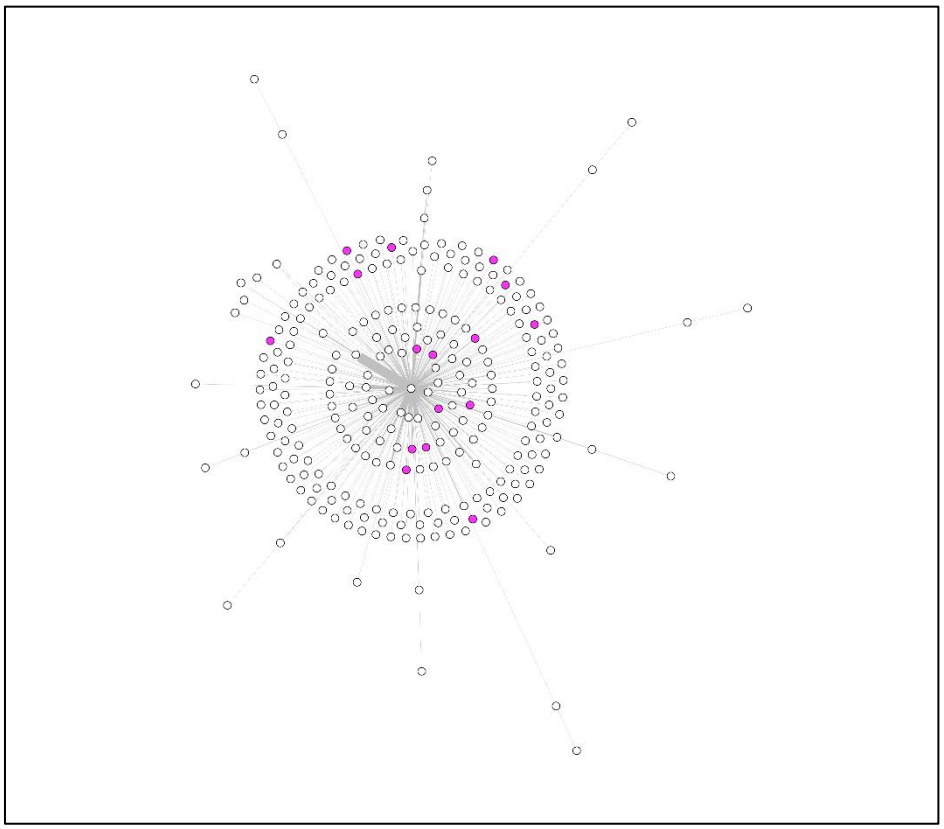


Figure 45. 1569–1572 Network Diagram with Couriers Highlighted

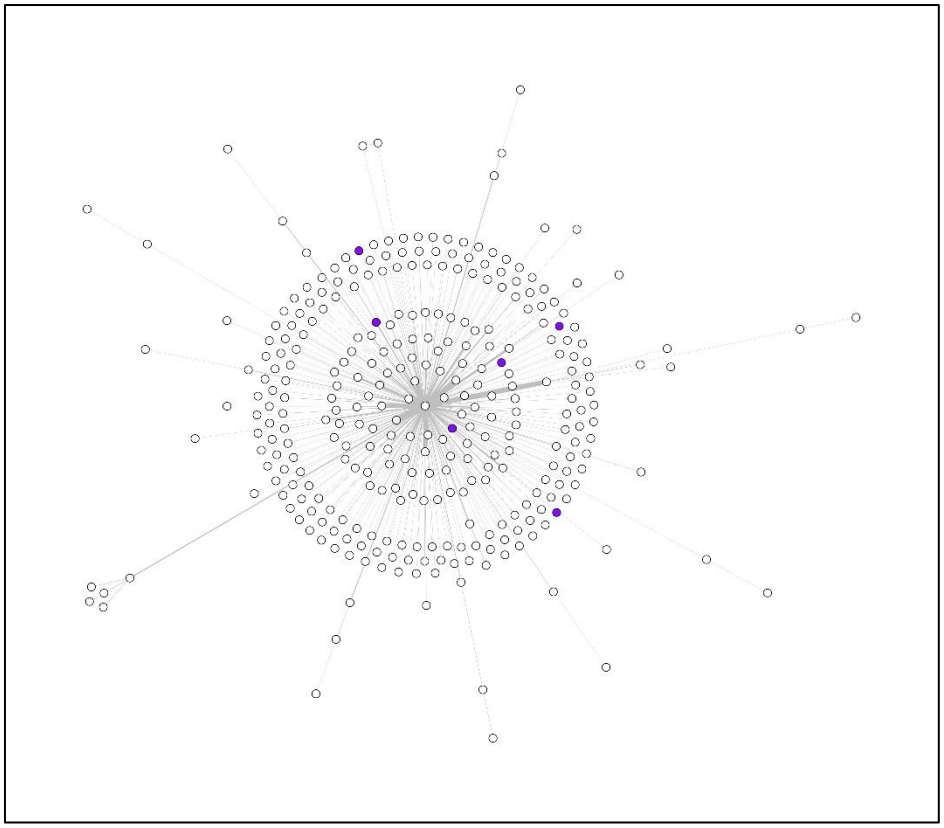


Figure 46. 1562–1565 Network Diagram with Postmasters Highlighted

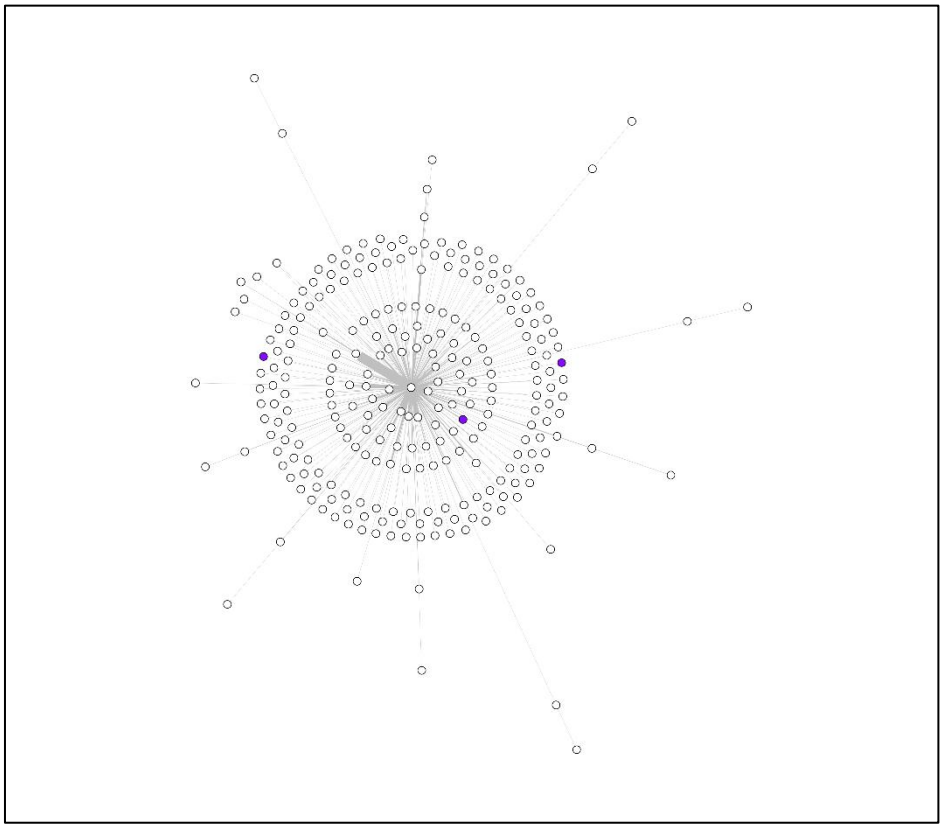


Figure 47. 1569–1572 Network Diagram with Postmasters Highlighted

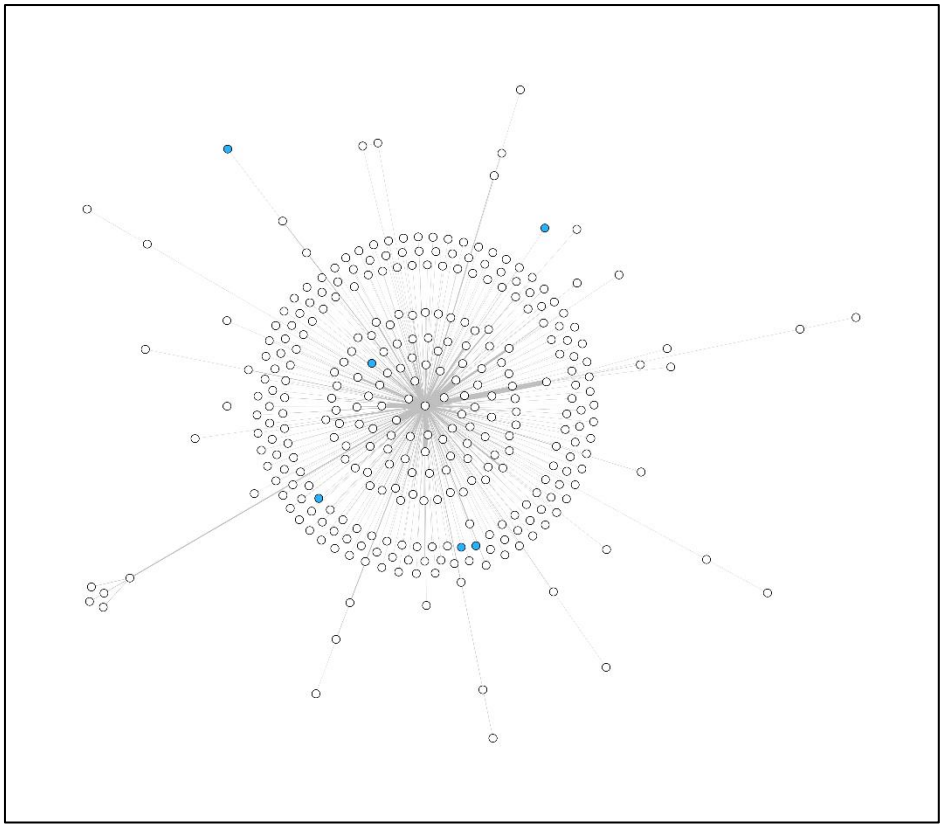


Figure 48. 1562–1565 Network Diagram with Captains Highlighted

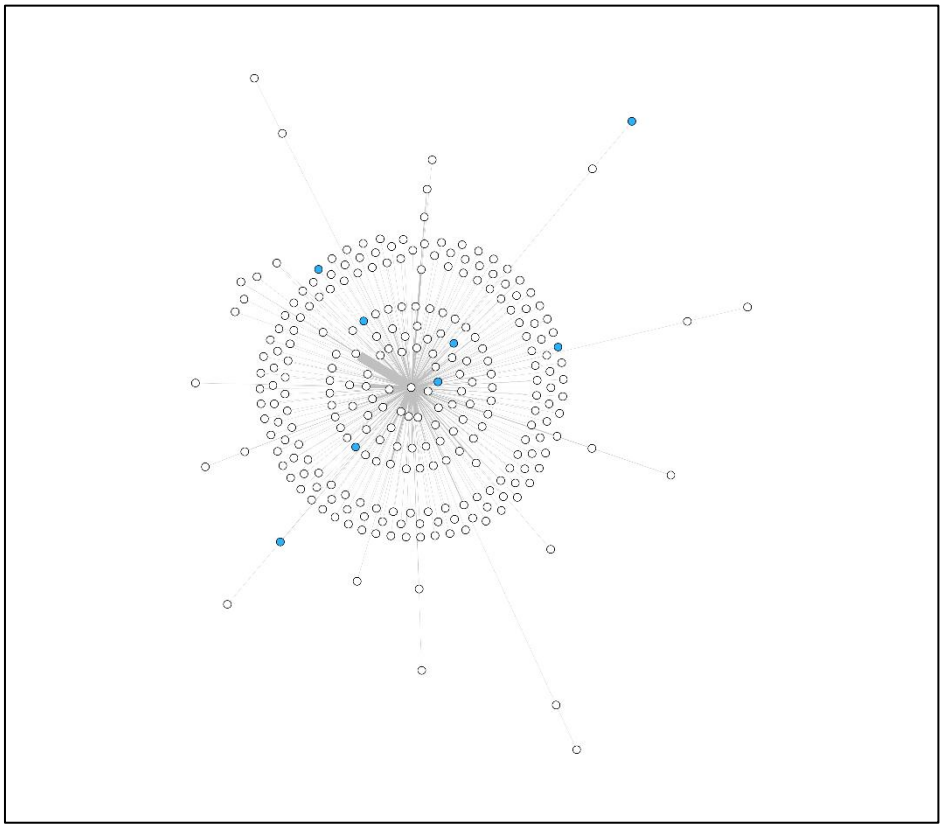


Figure 49. 1569–1572 Network Diagram with Captains Highlighted

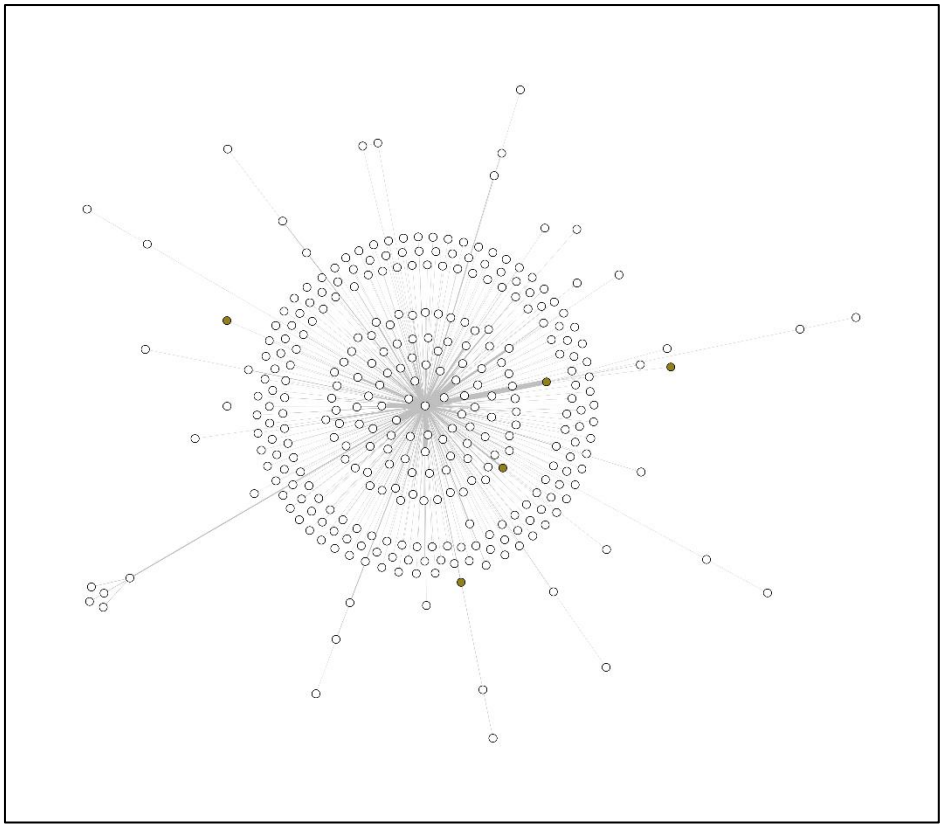


Figure 50. 1562–1565 Network Diagram with Informers Highlighted

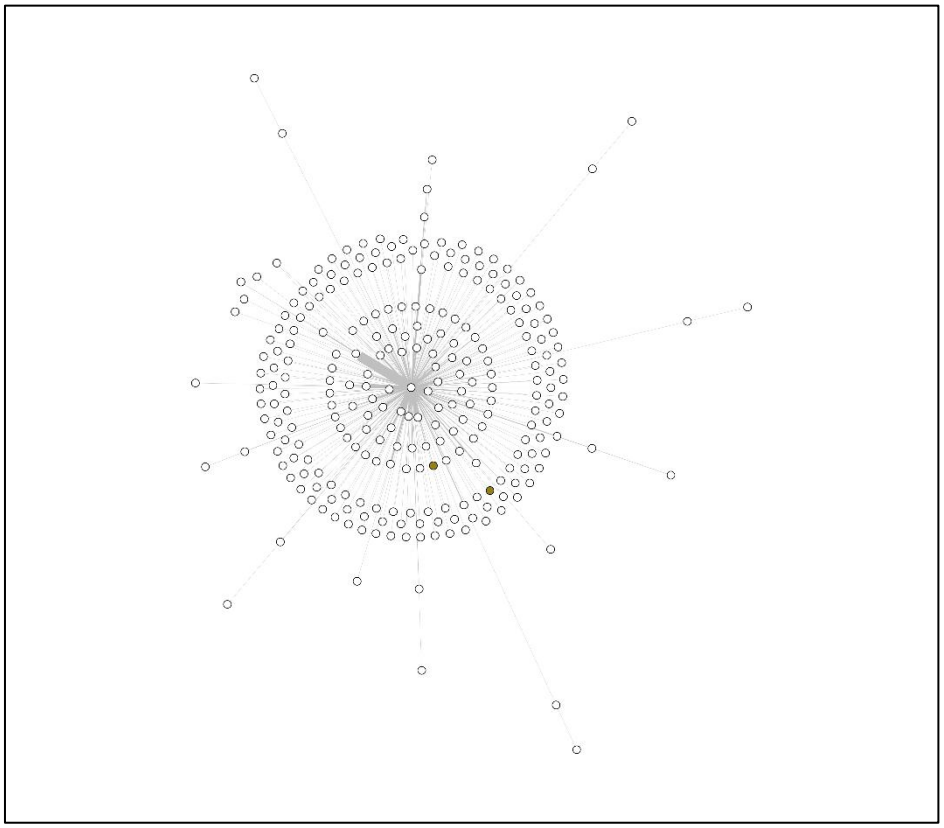


Figure 51. 1569–1572 Network Diagram with Informers Highlighted

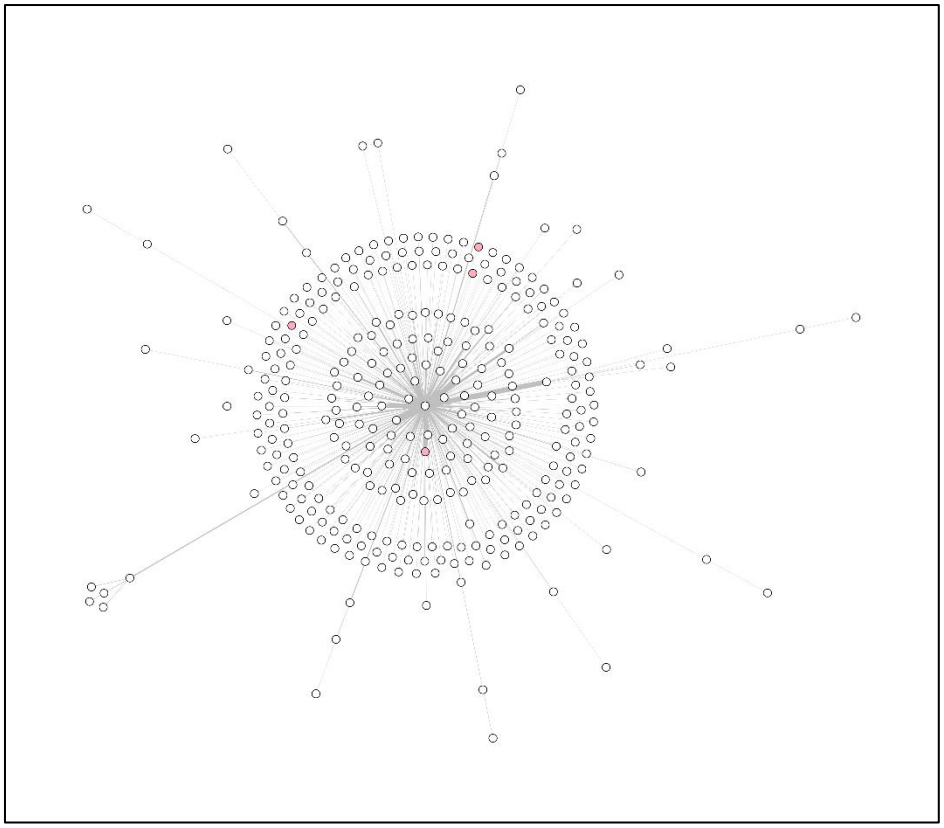


Figure 52. 1562–1565 Network Diagram with Jewellers Highlighted

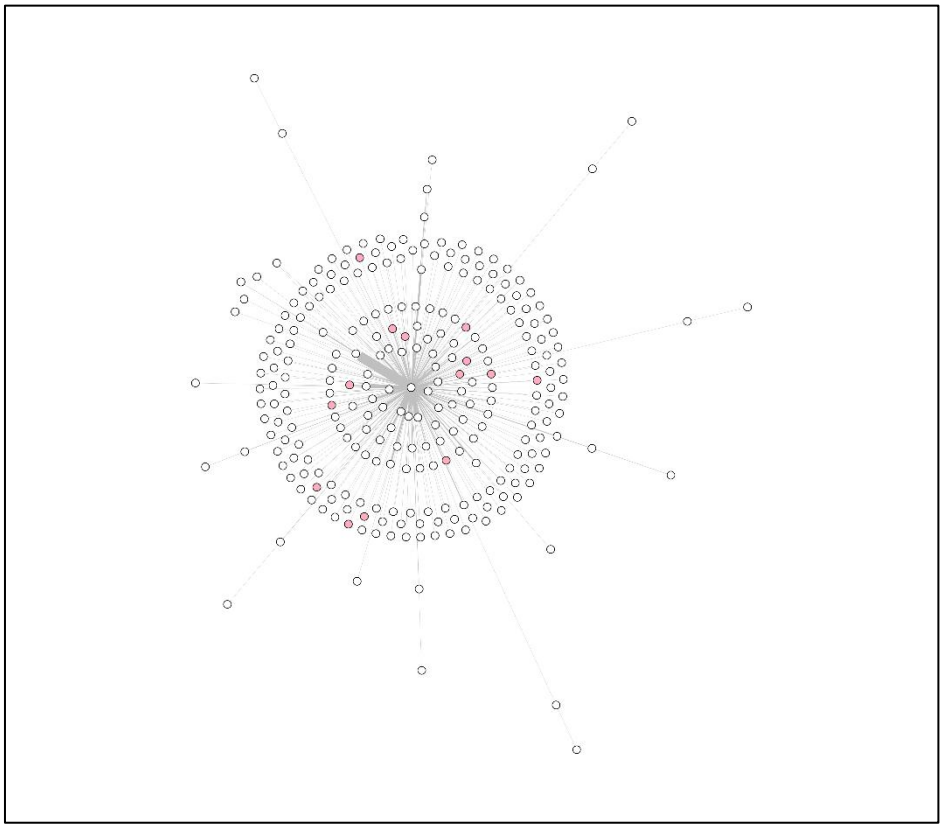


Figure 53. 1569–1572 Network Diagram with Jewellers Highlighted

5.3 The Manuscript Newsletters sent by Bartoli: Structure, Evolution and Authorship

The other sizable collection of documents that Cosimo Bartoli sent to Florence consists of manuscript newsletters. He sent a newsletter out every week along with the dispatch. However, the two documents were separated and bound in different volumes before 1690, as it is deduced from the report written that year by Fabrizio Cecini concerning the archive housed in Palazzo Vecchio's attics, and so they have remained to this day.[724] The practice of attaching newsletters to letters was not unique to Bartoli or the Medici's resident diplomats. The nuncios systematically sent the secretariat of the Holy See news sheets containing the news circulating in the public sphere in addition to the regular letters. The earliest records are from the 1560s, but the first complete series of newsletters received regularly, week after week, dates back to the late sixteenth century.[725]

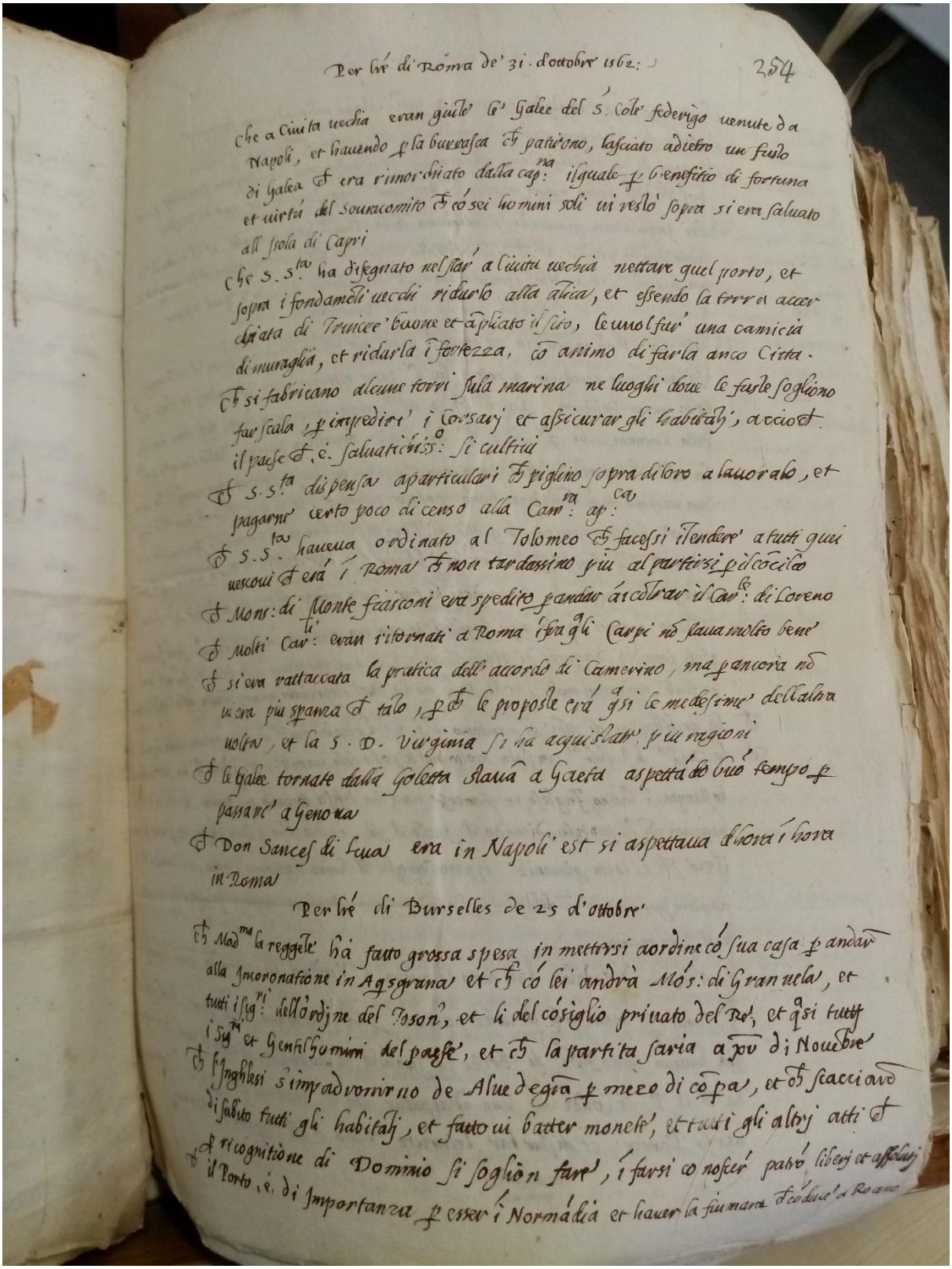
The Bartoli newsletter corpus totals 500 documents (APPENDIX TWO). Most can be found in volumes 3079, 3080, and 3081 of the Mediceo del Principato collection, while a few newsletters are scattered throughout the letter volumes where they were inadvertently bound. Bartoli's newsletters follow the standard structure of manuscript newsletters, which had already become standardised by the middle of the sixteenth century.[726] The news items are grouped according to where the news sheet or letters reporting the news originated. Each group of news items is preceded by a header that serves as the title, which is nearly always in the form "Per lettere di" (From letters from) followed by the hub and the date. Each news item is introduced with the conjunction "Che" and constitutes a paragraph. In order to make it easy to identify visually where pieces of information begin, the first line of each news item is typically indented to the left. The first newsletter sent by Bartoli has an ambiguous format, suggesting he was still learning how to compose those news sheets. The first header is unclear with the indication "From the letters of the 13th of June from Rome, from the

[724] Archivio di Stato di Firenze, *Archivio Mediceo del Principato. Inventario Sommario*, V–XIV.
[725] Petitjean, *L'intelligence des choses*, 234–36.
[726] Barbarics-Hermanik, "Handwritten Newsletters as Interregional Information Sources in Central and Southeastern Europe," 162–64; Petitjean, "Mots et pratiques de l'information. Ce que aviser veut dire (xvie-xviie siècles)"; Petitjean, *L'intelligence des choses*, 114–17.

avisi from Spain." The header introducing the news from France displays only one date, while dates of other letters are mentioned within the paragraphs. The headers of the news from Istanbul and Piedmont lack the date. Some paragraphs are not introduced by "Che"; while others seem to be directly copied from the letters without being rephrased for conciseness. In addition, he wrote a personal comment on a news item within the same paragraph.[727] Within a few weeks, however, Bartoli refined the structure of his newsletters and they stayed that way for the following ten years (Figure 54 and Figure 55).

Formally, the only deviation from the newsletters written by anonymous newswriters is that Bartoli often added his signature on the last page and sometimes some personal notes. This may be a manicule pointing out a news item or a comment on who reported the news and its reliability or partisanship. In one instance, for example, he used a pointing hand to indicate to which paragraph the comment he wrote on the following page referred: "the paragraph marked there is only in the postmaster of Poland, who is very well informed, although many here do not believe him" (Figure 56 and Figure 57).[728] In other cases, when he wanted to indicate that the entire *avviso* came from a particular source, he drew a vertical line in the outer margin spanning the entire length of the *avviso*, followed by his annotation. This can be seen in the news from Paris, which was read in letters of Albizo del Bene (Figure 58). Bartoli frequently used the marginal line to indicate the information provided by Medoro Nucci. In these cases, he not only identified Nucci as the source but often added critical comments about Nucci's Huguenot sympathies and lack of credibility (Figure 59). Section 5.5 will examine the sources of the news that he copied or wrote in his newsletters. However, it is already evident that he did more than just copy the public newsletters circulating in Venice. He knew the original sources and provided notes and comments for the Grand Duke or his secretaries so that they could understand both the content and the context.

[727] ASF, Mediceo del Principato 3079, fol. 206r-207v: "Per le lettere de 13 di Giugno di Roma di avisi di Spagna […]"
[728] ASF, Mediceo del Principato 3079, fol. 784v-785r: "Il di là contrasegnato capitolo è qui solo nel maestro delle poste di Pollonia il quale suol esser molto ben avvisato. Ancorchè qui molti non li prestino fede."



Per lre di Roma de' 31. d'ottobre 1562. 254

Che a Ciuita uecchia eran giunte 6 Galee del S. Colr Federigo uenute da Napoli, et hauendo ꝑ la burrasca ꝯ patirono, lasciato adietro un fusto di Galea ꝯ era rimorchiato dalla capna ilqual ꝑ beneficio di fortuna et uirtù del Souracomito ꝯ có sei homini soli ui restò sopra si era saluato all Isola di Capri

Che S.S.ta ha disegnato nel star a Ciuita uecchia nettare quel porto, et sopra i fondamenti uecchi ridurlo alla antica, et essendo la torre ben acconciata di Trunce' buone et ꝑ piato il sito, le uuol far una camicia di muraglia, et ridurla i fortezza, cõ animo di far la anco Citta. ꝯ si fabricano alcune torri sula marina ne luoghi dou le furle sogliono far scala, ꝑ impedir i Corsarj et assicurar gli habitatj, accio ꝯ il paese ꝯ è. saluatichiss: si cultiui

ꝯ S.S.ta dispensa a particulari ꝯ pigliino sopra di loro a lauorato, et pagarne certo poco di censo alla Cam.ra ap.ca

ꝯ S.S.ta haueua ordinato al Tolomeo ꝯ facessi intendere a tutti quei uescoui ꝯ era i Roma ꝯ non tardassino piu al partirsi ꝑ il concilio

ꝯ Mons: di Monte fiascoui era spedito ꝑ andar a condurr il Cardle di Loreno

ꝯ Molti Card.li eran ritornati a Roma ꝑ fra gli Carpi nõ stata molto bene

ꝯ si era attaccata la pratica dell accordo di Camerino, ma ꝑ ancora nõ ui era piu speranza ꝯ tale, ꝑ ꝯ le proposte era q.si le medesime dell altra uolta, et la S. D. Virginia si ha acquistato piu ragioni

ꝯ le Galee tornate dalla Goletta stauã a Gaeta aspettãdo buõ tempo ꝑ passar a Genoua

ꝯ Don Sancez di Cuua era in Napoli' est si aspettaua d'hora i hora in Roma

Per lre di Burselles de 25 d'ottobre

ꝯ Mad.ma la reggente ha fatto grossa spesa in mettersi a ordine cõ sua casa ꝑ andar alla Incoronatione in Agsgrana et ꝯ cõ lei andrà Mõs: di Granuela, et tutti i sig.ri dell'ordine del Toson, et li del cõsiglio priuato del Re, et q.si tutti i Sig.ri et Gentilhomini del paese, et ꝯ la partita saria a xv di Nouebre

ꝯ Inghlesi s'imp.adoniranno de Alue degra ꝑ meco di cõpa, et ꝯ scacciando di subito tutti gli habitatj, et fatto ui batter monete, et tutti gli altrj atti ꝯ ricognitione di Dominio si soglion far, i farsi co nostri' paesi liberj et assoluj il Porto, è, di Importanza ꝑ esser i Normandia et hauer la fiumara fin dentro a Roano

Figure 54. Newsletter Written by Cosimo Bartoli, ASF, Mediceo del Principato 3079, fol. 254r

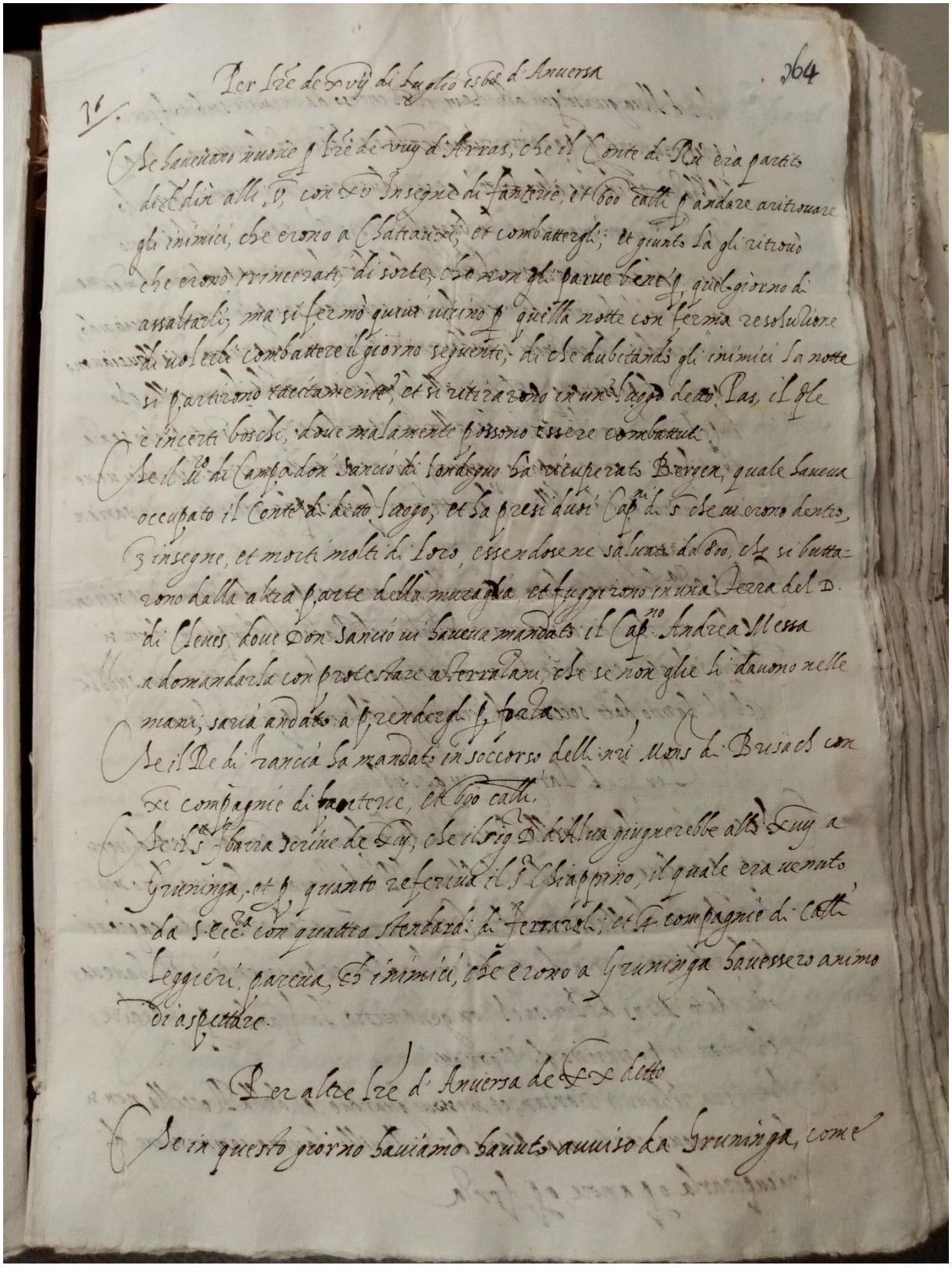


Figure 55. Newsletter Written by Curzio Bartoli, ASF, Mediceo del Principato 3080, fol. 364r

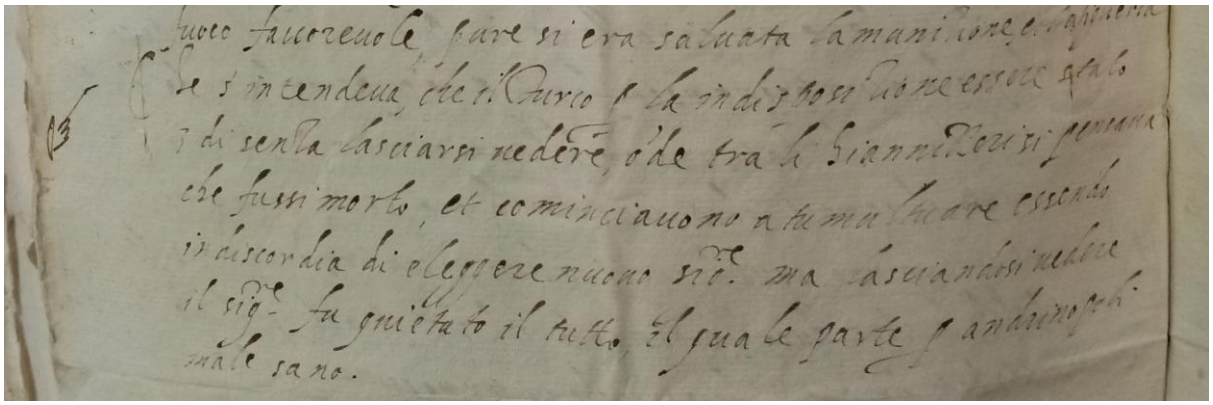


Figure 56. Manicule Pointing to a Paragraph, ASF, Mediceo del Principato 3079, fol. 784v

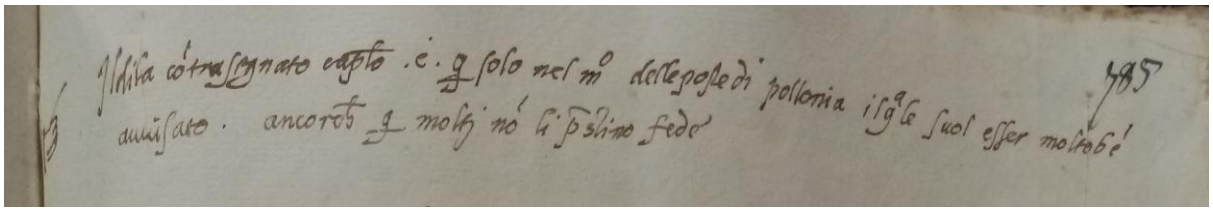


Figure 57. Comment by Cosimo Bartoli Referring to the Manicule on the Previous Page, ASF, Mediceo del Principato 3079, fol. 785r

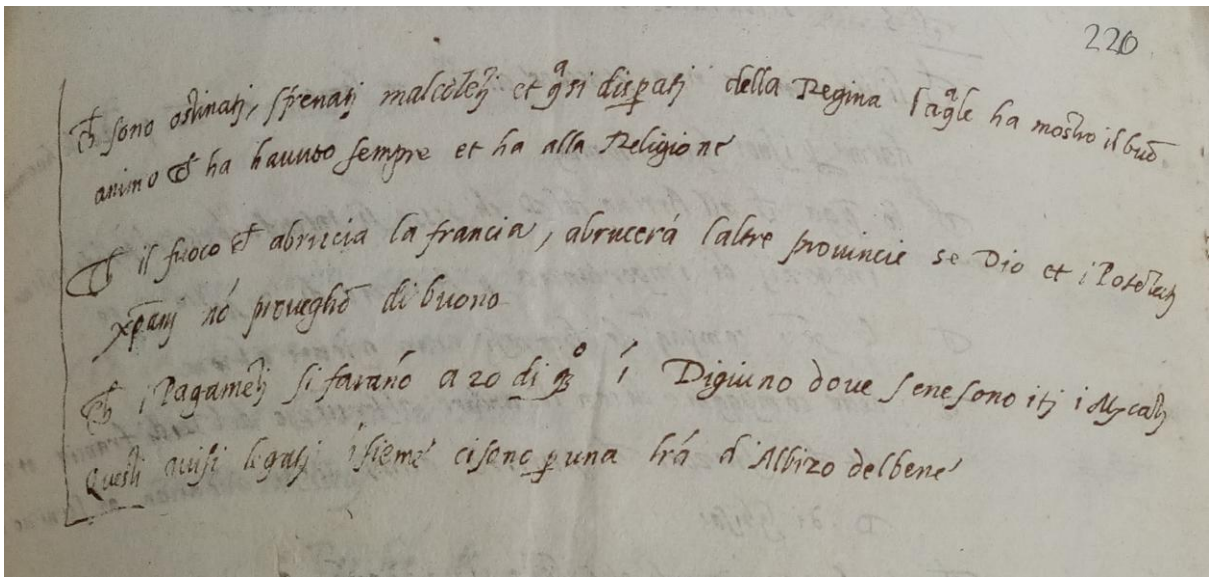


Figure 58. Marginal Line Notation and Note on the Source of the News, ASF, Mediceo del Principato 3079, fol. 220r

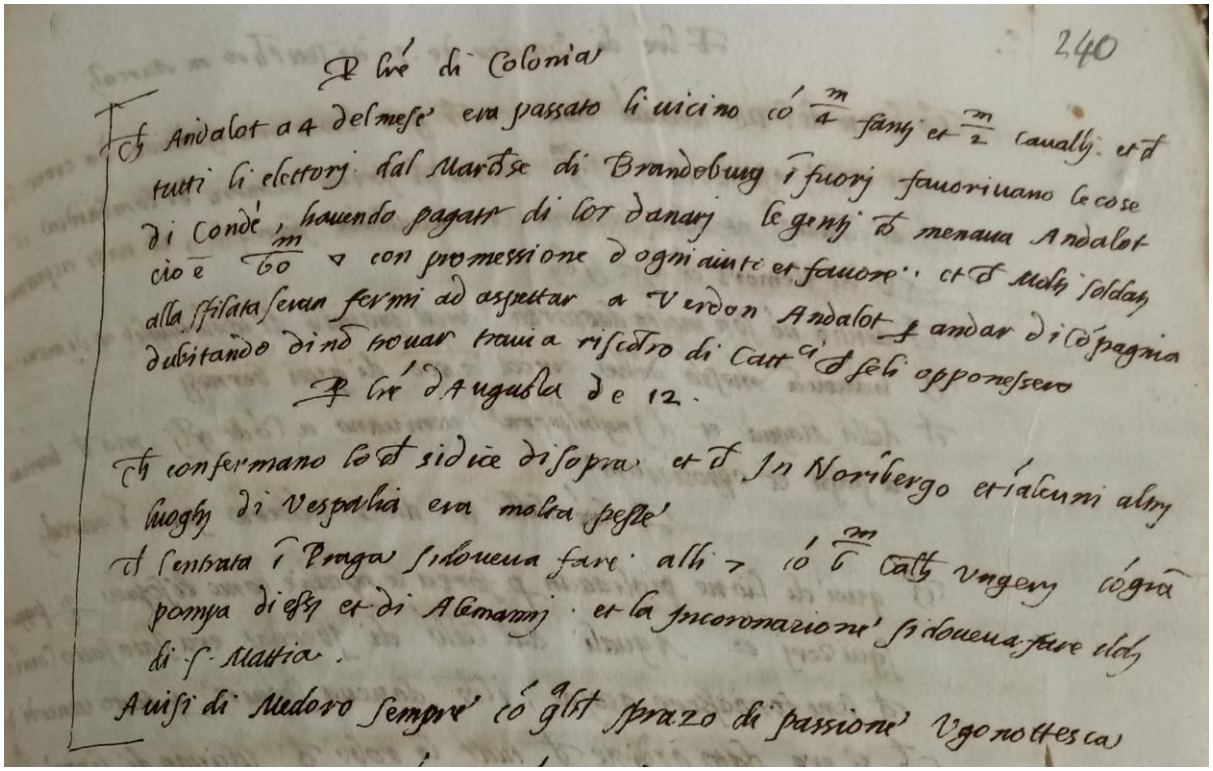


Figure 59. Marginal Line Notation and Comment on Medoro Nucci, ASF, Mediceo del Principato 3079, fol. 240r

Not all newsletters are in Cosimo Bartoli's own hand. Figure 60 shows the distribution of newsletters by writer. Cosimo Bartoli wrote 34% of the newsletters, most of which are concentrated during the first years of his stay in Venice, from 1562 to 1565. From 1566 until autumn 1571, the majority were penned by his nephew Curzio. The percentage of newsletters in Curzio's hand amounts to 57%. Finally, after Curzio's departure from Venice in the autumn of 1571, the newsletter writing task fell on a servant of Cosimo Bartoli, probably Giovanni Gavazzo.[729] Three newsletters were penned by Paolo Geri, sculptor and informer. Geri, who had previously been at the service of or in contact with Pietro Gelido, continued sending information to Florence during the Florentine agent's absence and maintained the habit of sending newsletters to the Medici even after Bartoli's arrival, in parallel and in competition with Bartoli. However, in this case, which occurred from late November to early December 1565,

[729] Lamal, *Italian Communication on the Revolt in the Low Countries (1566-1648)*, 31, n. 19 writes that Curzio continued the service of sending newsletters after 1572. In reality, there is no evidence that he returned to Venice after his departure in autumn 1571 and Cosimo Bartoli's death in 1572.

Geri wrote the three newsletters, but Cosimo Bartoli signed and sent them. Perhaps Bartoli had to rely on the newsletters written by Geri because of his indisposition, as mentioned in a letter of November 24, 1565.[730]

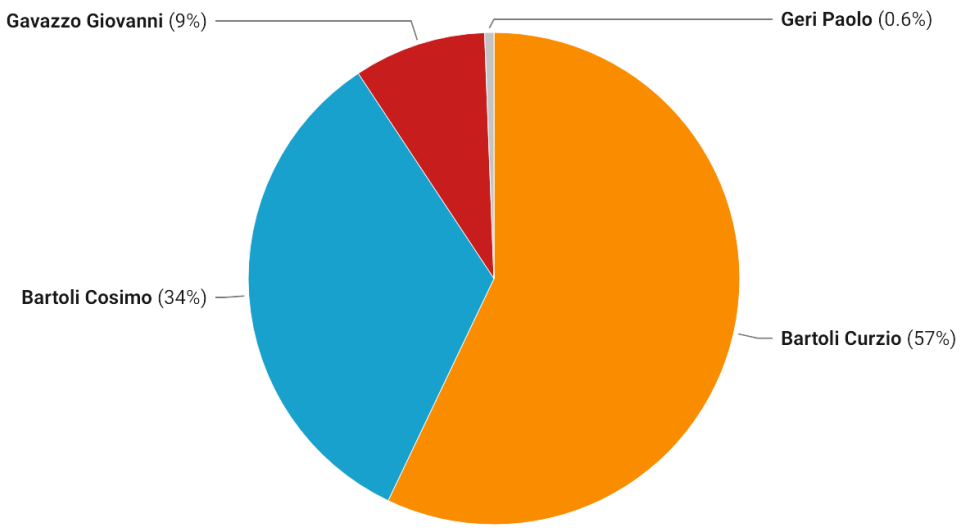


Figure 60. Distribution of the Newsletters by Writer

However, the newsletters in the corpus are not all the same. Analysing their length, the newsletters written by Curzio Bartoli are 1.5 times longer than those of Cosimo and Giovanni Gavazzo (Table 16). This component, along with a comparison of the most common terms in Cosimo's and Curzio's newsletters, leads to the conclusion that Cosimo reworked the content of the received letters more than Curzio, who largely copied them verbatim. The words "hieri" (yesterday), "qua" (here), and "scritto" (written) are the most significant to illustrate this conclusion: "hieri" (yesterday) occurs 222 times in Curzio's newsletters against 27 times in Cosimo's. Curzio's newsletters contain sentences like these: "That the diet ended yesterday [...] That Archduke Ferdinand was expected yesterday [...]." They make it clear that the "yesterday" mentioned is not the day before Curzio copied the document in Venice,

[730] ASF, Mediceo del Principato 2976, fol. 344r, 24 November 1565, Cosimo Bartoli to Cosimo I de' Medici.

but rather the day before the day the letter was written in the location of the events.[731] The same reasoning can be made for "qua" (here), which appears 407 times in Curzio's newsletters and 47 times in Cosimo's: "qua" is an adverb used to indicate an area close to the speaker or, in this case, the writer. For example, in the same newsletter, the following information appears: under the header of Rome, "That Monsignor di Nantador, French, son-in-law of the former Grand Constable of France, who, having come from Bagni di Lucca, came all the way here just to see this City", and under the header of Groningen, "That after my last [letters], no battle of much consideration occurred here [...]".[732] The former "here" refers to Rome, the latter "here" refers to Groningen. In this case, Curzio did not even try to make the text impersonal and left "my last [letters]", where the personal adjective obviously refers to the informant in Groningen, not to Curzio. The word "scritto" (written) occurs 179 times in Curzio's newsletters and 50 times in Cosimo's. In Cosimo's, "scritto" is always in an active verb form—e.g. "That the Cardinal of Naples wrote [...]"[733] or "That the said Duke had written to the Count [...]."[734] It is different in Curzio's newsletters, where "scritto" is more often in the passive form "che viene scritto da" (that it has been written from) to indicate information coming from the event's place to the hub where the letter was composed. These examples and the longer length of Curzio's newsletters lead to the conclusion that he simply copied the documents containing news. Since it is logical to assume that the letters that Curzio copied were comparable to those that Cosimo used as a basis for his newsletters, it can be concluded that Cosimo synthesised rather than copied the news sources. He condensed the text and removed all mentions of the

[731] ASF, Mediceo del Principato 3079, fol. 819r-v, Newsletters from Vienna (19-11-1566), written by Curzio Bartoli: "Che la dietà finì hieri [...] Che lo Arciduca Ferdinando s'aspettava hieri […]."

[732] ASF, Mediceo del Principato 3080, fol. 360r-363v, Newsletters from Rome (17-07-1568), Groningen (30-07-1568), Antwerp (05-07-1568), written by Curzio Bartoli: "Per lettere di Roma de xvii di Luglio 1568 […] Che è arrivato qua Monsignor di Nantador Franzese genero del già gran Contestabile di Francia, il quale essendo venute da Bagni di Lucca, si è disteso poi fino qua solamente per vedere questa Città. […] Per lettere di Gruminghen de xxx di Luglio. Che doppo le ultime mie non è occorso qua battaglia di molto considerabile considerazione [...]."

[733] ASF, Mediceo del Principato 3079, fol. 200v, Newsletter with news from Rome (19-09-1562), written by Cosimo Bartoli: "Che il Cardinale di Napoli ha scritto […]."

[734] ASF, Mediceo del Principato 3079, fol. 232r, Newsletter with news from Krakow (28-08-1562), written by Cosimo Bartoli: "Che detto Duca haveva scritto al Conte […]."

person who had originally written the letter in the hub city, making these news reports as impersonal as possible.

In many newsletters penned by Curzio Bartoli and Giovanni Gavazzo, Cosimo's autograph signature appears at the bottom, along with occasional additions and corrections in his own hand. There are cases where the news from the last hub was written by Bartoli, probably because it arrived late and the copyist was unavailable, or because Bartoli had intercepted it just as he was on his way to the courier for dispatch. For instance, in one letter, Bartoli apologised for the haste in his writing caused by the extraordinary courier leaving shortly, a fact that forced him to write the letter in a workshop in Rialto, where he was at that moment.[735] In other cases, Bartoli struck through and corrected the text of Curzio's and Gavazzo's newsletter. For example, the duke of "Suffale" was corrected to "Sufolch" (Figure 61).[736] This indicates that even when others penned the newsletters, Cosimo carefully reviewed them and made last-minute corrections and necessary additions, a practice adopted by other agents, too, such as Don Giovanni de' Medici, who corrected the newsletters copied by his faithful amanuensis Cosimo Baroncelli.[737]

Table 16. Distribution, Mean Word Length and Median Word Length of the Newsletters, Divided by Writer

Writer	Newsletter number	Percentage	Newsletter mean word length	Newsletter median word length
Bartoli Cosimo	167	34%	1,110	1,043
Bartoli Curzio	282	57%	1,606	1,598
Gavazzo Giovanni	43	9%	1,011	971
Geri Paolo	3	0.6%	1,065	1,162

[735] ASF, Mediceo del Principato 2977, fol. 28r, 7 September 1564, Cosimo Bartoli to Cosimo I or Francesco de' Medici.
[736] ASF, Mediceo del Principato 3080, fol. 35r, Newsletter with news from Brussels (15-02-1568), written by Curzio Bartoli.
[737] Dooley, "Art and Information Brokerage in the Career of Don Giovanni de' Medici," 94.

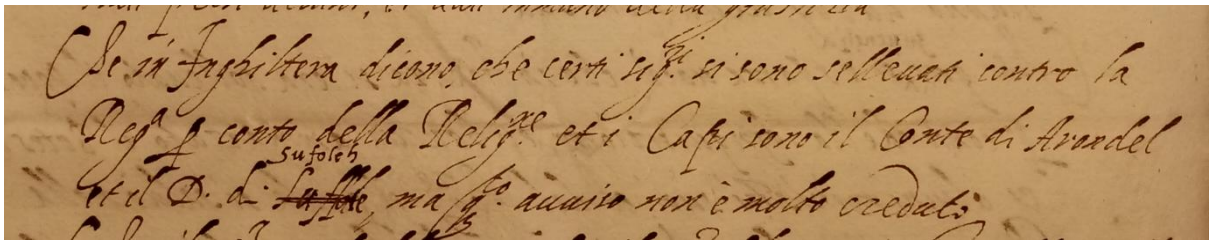


Figure 61. News Item Written by Curzio Bartoli, with Correction by Cosimo Bartoli, ASF, Mediceo del Principato 3080, fol. 35r

5.4 Mapping the Hubs: Central Nodes and Peripheral News in Bartoli's Newsletters

The analysis of the vast corpus of manuscript newsletters sent by Cosimo Bartoli reveals the frequency of their emission and allows to map the hubs where the news originated. This study is for now limited to the centres of news production—i.e. the places and dates mentioned in the headers of the newsletters. In future research, a more finely-grained mapping of the news diffusion and its temporality could be achieved by including the individual news items and the places in which particular events occurred. Every newsletter sent by Bartoli contains news from several hubs: in this section, each hub has been considered on its own, and the link between hubs belonging to the same document has not been taken into account.

Figure 62 shows the distribution of the news hubs over time. The flow of news over the ten years is quite irregular, with a maximum of 55 hubs in September 1562 and a minimum of three hubs in December 1565. By looking at the months, however, a general pattern can be observed: the winter months of November, December, January, February and March show a 35% decrease in the number of news items compared to the summer months of June, July, August and September (Table 17). This was primarily due to two factors: first, the decline in war-related news as military operations slowed down in the winter,[738] and second, the difficulties couriers had in

[738] Mario Infelise, "The War, the News and the Curious. Military Gazettes in Italy," in *The Politics of Information in Early Modern Europe*, ed. Sabrina Alcorn Baron and Brendan Dooley (London: Routledge, 2001), 221.

getting to their destinations and delivering the news during the cold and inclement weather. The latter aspect is confirmed by the different delivery times, shorter in the summer and longer in the winter, guaranteed by the Tassis family of couriers.[739]

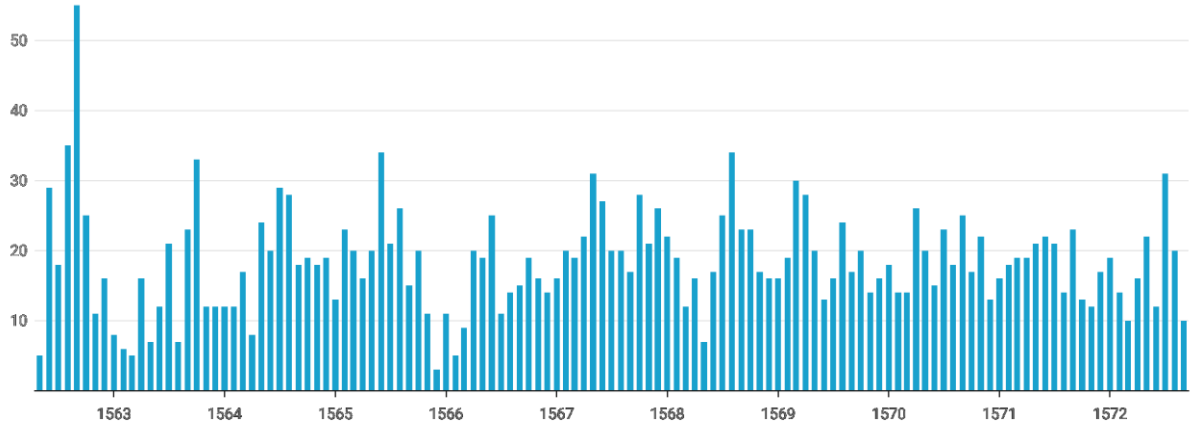


Figure 62. Newsletters Grouped by Month and Year

Table 17. Number of Hubs for Each Month

January	151		August	240
February	150		September	241
March	155		October	217
April	190		November	156
May	196		December	152
June	226		Unknown	25
July	236			

[739] Cristina Borreguero Beltrán, "Philip of Spain: The Spider's Web of News and Information," in *The Dissemination of News and the Emergence of Contemporaneity in Early Modern Europe*, ed. Brendan Dooley (Farnham: Ashgate, 2010), 26–27; Wolfgang Behringer, "Communications Revolutions: A Historiographical Concept," *German History* 24, no. 3 (2006): 344, https://doi.org/10.1191/0266355406gh378oa.

The map in Figure 63 shows the hubs' geographical distribution. A total of 170 places serving as hubs is present. The most frequent hubs are Rome (20.77%), Vienna (13.75%), Antwerp (6.51%), Brussels (6.08%), Lyon (5.95%), Istanbul (3.25%), Genoa (2.96%), Paris (2.53%), and Prague (2.36%). In particular, the first four hubs, together with Venice, were the most important centres of information in the sixteenth century,[740] as well as being crucial nodes in the European postal system.[741] Their presence is not surprising in the Bartoli corpus; rather, it confirms that Bartoli relied on a stable European network of informers that allowed him to receive, read, or hear a constant flow of news from the major political and commercial centres. On the other hand, the map is dotted with many hubs from which news only occasionally came. The hubs that are only mentioned once or twice constitute 69% of all of the hub locations, but only account for 6.19% of the news. In these cases, either the information was received through a single letter that Bartoli or one of his acquaintances received from that particular place, or a significant event occurred there, as in the case of the news received from the fleet in Lepanto in October 1571.

In contrast to the news centres that are constantly present in Bartoli's newsletters and the places that appear only once, other hubs are present several times but not continuously. The newsletters from these places are clustered in some specific years. For example, out of 28 newsletters from Speyer, 23 are dated 1570; most of the newsletters from Milan are clustered in 1562 and 1564, those from Messina and Malta in 1565, those from London in 1567-1568, those from Turin in 1567, and those from Corfu in 1570 and 1572. Some places are exclusively present in one or two years because of a particular event that occurred there: for instance, Trento, whose 26 newsletters are dated 1562 and 1563, in correspondence with the last phase of the Council.

[740] Burke, "Early Modern Venice as a Center of Information and Communication"; Infelise, *Prima dei giornali*, 110–12; Mario Infelise, "Roman Avvisi: Information and Politics in the Seventeenth Century," in *Court and Politics in Papal Rome, 1492–1700*, ed. Gianvittorio Signorotto and Maria Antonietta Visceglia (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002), 212–28, https://doi.org/10.1017/CBO9780511496929.010; De Vivo, *Information and Communication in Venice*, 4–8; Paul Arblaster, "Antwerp and Brussels as Inter-European Spaces in News Exchange," in *The Dissemination of News and the Emergence of Contemporaneity in Early Modern Europe* (Farnham: Ashgate, 2010), 193–205.
[741] Schobesberger et al., "European Postal Networks," 62.

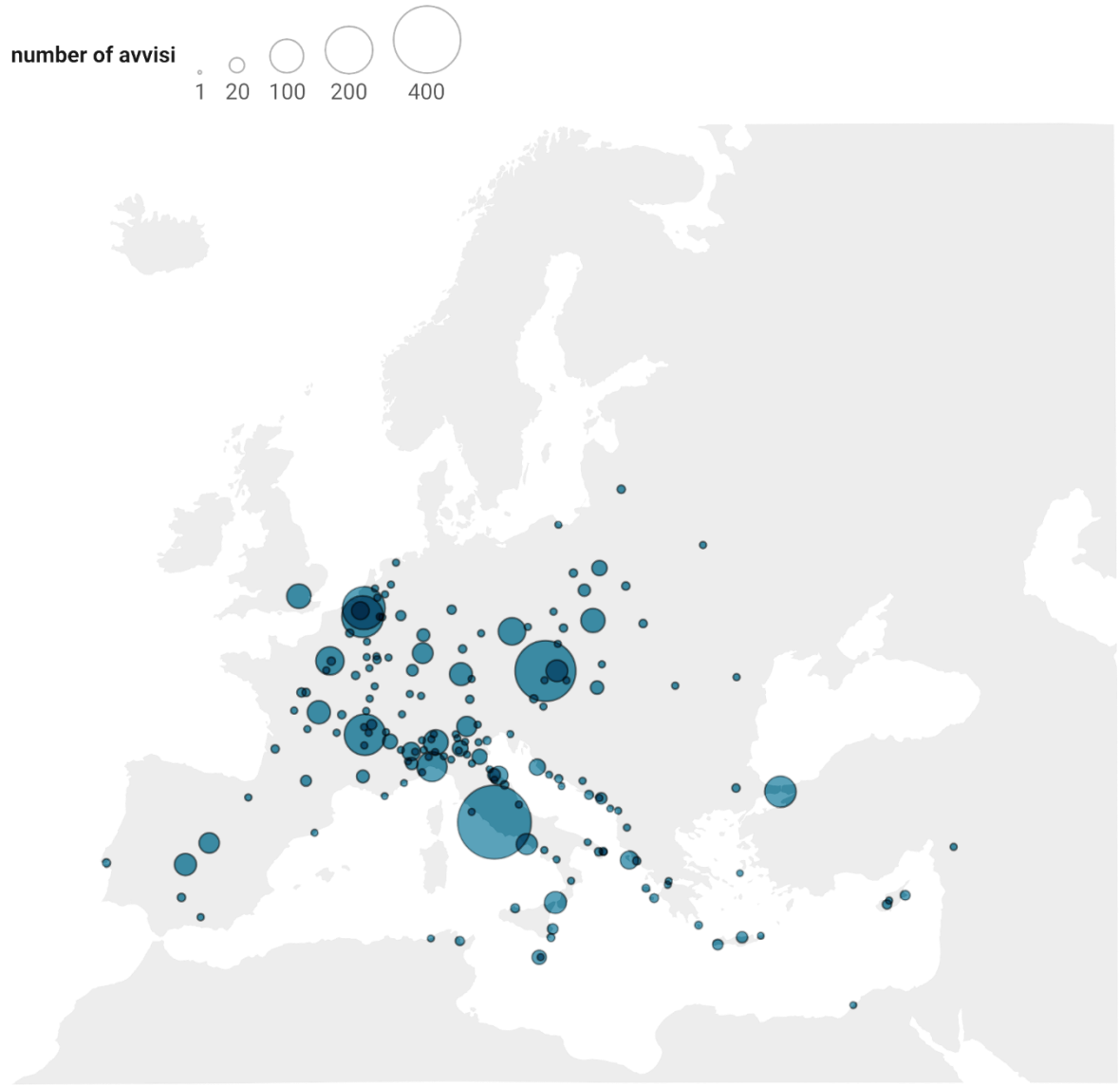


Figure 63. Map of All of the Hubs in Bartoli's Newsletters from 1562 to 1572

Information spreading from various centres of various importance may be compared to a system of rivers. The important news centres such as Rome and Vienna are constantly present in the Bartoli corpus and are like the main rivers, flowing without interruption and providing a regular flow of information. Bartoli would have had stable informers there or close connections with someone who received constant news from there, because he constantly wrote news from these centres, just as a river always carries water downstream. Moreover, there are hubs present in the newsletters between 10 and 50 times, most of which are concentrated within a few years. These

are the seasonal tributaries: they flow robustly during significant events and then dry up in quieter times. Bartoli received first- or second-hand accounts from there, but there was no regular exchange. Those hubs that occur only once or twice can be imagined as torrents that fill up due to flash floods but are otherwise dry. News from these sporadic hubs reached Bartoli only because one significant event occurred there but vanished immediately after the event had passed. Information came from individuals who were in that specific place and took part in the event narrated in the newsletter: for example, newsletters from the camp of Archduke Charles at Zabar in October 1566,[742] the Catholic camp at Maastricht in September 1568,[743] the French Court at Verdun,[744] the fleet of the Holy League at Patras,[745] or various locations from where merchants sent their letters.[746] Schobesberger identified the same three-level structure of news reporting in the Fuggerzeitungen, a corpus of 16,000 manuscript newsletters assembled by the merchants and brothers Octavian Secundus and Philipp Eduard Fugger, ranging from 1568 to 1605. The first level refers to the weekly newsletters from the major European information centres and the regular and basic reporting from other big cities, covering political and military events. The second level consists of reports on major events contained in newsletters dispatched from the locations where the events occurred, while the third level includes reports on minor single events which were relevant for a very short time, such as battles and natural phenomena.[747]

Figure 63 permits a comparison with similar research conducted on other newsletter collections. Molino compares the newsletters written in the year 1578 from

[742] ASF, Mediceo del Principato 3079, fol. 783r, Newsletter with news from Hungary (01-10-1566), written by Curzio Bartoli: "Dal campo dello Arciduca Carlo a Zaber del primo di Ottobre."
[743] ASF, Mediceo del Principato 3080, fol. 540r, Newsletter with news from Maastricht (24-09-1568), written by Curzio Bartoli: "Dal Campo Cattolico presso Mastrich una lega de xxiiii di Settembre."
[744] ASF, Mediceo del Principato 3080, fol. 437r, Newsletter with news from Verdun (20-04-1569), written by Cosimo Bartoli: "Per lettere di Corte di Francia da Verdun de 20 d'aprile."
[745] ASF, Mediceo del Principato 3081, fol. 188v, Newsletter with news from Patras (09-10-1571), written by Curzio Bartoli: "Della Armata alli 9 di ottobre di Canal delle Peschiere inanzi a Patras."
[746] ASF, Mediceo del Principato 3079, fol. 240r-v, Newsletter with news from Montluel (07-09-1562), France (05-09-1562), Saint Rambert d'Albon (08-09-1562), written by Cosimo Bartoli: "Per lettere di Monluello de 7 in Mercanti […] Per lettere di Savier de 5 di Settembre ne Mercanti […] Per lettere delli 8 da San Romberto pure in mercanti […]"
[747] Nikolaus Schobesberger, "Mapping the Fuggerzeitungen: The Geographical Issues of an Information Network," in *News Networks in Early Modern Europe*, ed. Joad Raymond and Noah Moxham (Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2016), 236–38.

three different collections: Medici, Urbinati and Fuggerzeitungen.[748] Although just a few years separate them from the Bartoli corpus, differences are already noticeable. While Rome and Antwerp remain at the top of the hub list, Vienna is not as present as in Bartoli's newsletters, and Brussels disappears completely (Figure 64). The decline of Brussels may be due to the fact that the city was ruled by a Calvinist republic until 1585; thus, the flow of information towards Catholic states was more likely to start from Antwerp. Regarding Vienna, Bartoli was in a unique position: on the one hand, he had a close relationship with the Imperial ambassador in Venice; on the other hand, he served as an intermediary in forwarding the correspondence from the Florentine ambassador at the Imperial Court to Florence and vice versa. These two circumstances certainly offered him more opportunities to receive news from Vienna, which explains its prominence in the Bartoli corpus. For Venice, no conclusions can be drawn from the comparison as news from there was reported by Bartoli directly in the letters and not in the newsletters.

The diminishing importance of Vienna and Brussels is also detected when comparing the hubs in Bartoli's newsletters with Schobesberger's research, which maps the distribution of places of dispatch in all of the over 35 years of newsletters in the Fuggerzeitungen (Figure 65).[749] Even in the decades after Bartoli, Rome and Antwerp continued to play a significant role. The novelty lies in the emergence of Cologne as a news centre, which occurs only four times in the Bartoli corpus. This is explained by the fact that it was not until the post office opened in Cologne in 1577 that the city developed into a significant information centre.[750] Finally, the most significant difference is the considerably higher presence of smaller hubs in Bartoli's newsletters, particularly concentrated in Central Europe and along the Mediterranean coasts. This provides an important clue to understanding the composition of Bartoli's newsletters. It demonstrates that they did not come exclusively from the traditional newsletter channels. Had that been the case, news from peripheral locations would have reached Bartoli via major news centres like Rome, where newsletters were

[748] Paola Molino, "Connected News: German Zeitungen and Italian Avvisi in the Fugger Collection (1568–1604)," *Media History* 22, no. 3–4 (2016): 267–95, https://doi.org/10.1080/13688804.2016.1235484.
[749] Schobesberger, "Mapping the Fuggerzeitungen," 222–27.
[750] Schobesberger, 233.

typically produced. Instead, to compose the newsletters, Bartoli also relied on letters written by diplomats, merchants, captains and private individuals that had been shared with or intercepted by him.

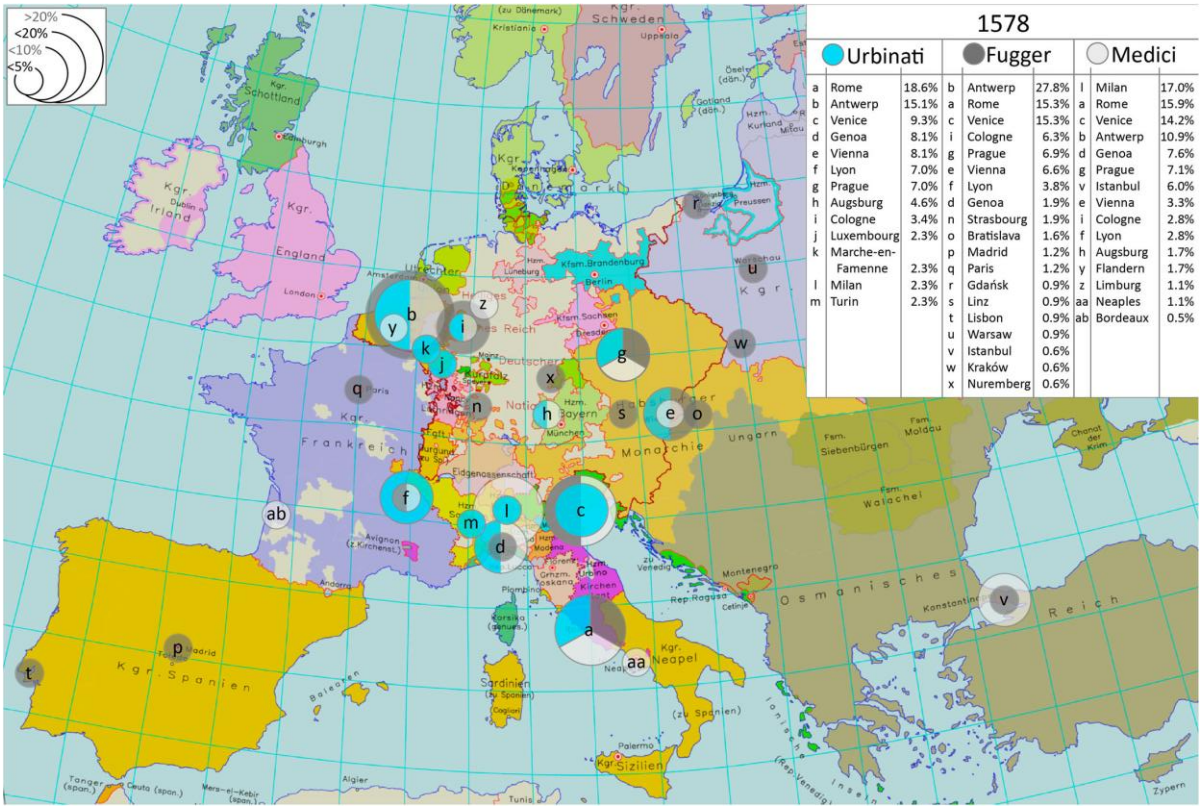


Figure 64. Places of Origin of Handwritten Newsletters in the Collections of the Urbinati Latini, Fuggerzeitungen and Medici in the Year 1578. Source: Reproduced from Paola Molino, "Connected News: German Zeitungen and Italian Avvisi in the Fugger Collection (1568–1604)," Media History 22, no. 3–4 (2016), 277

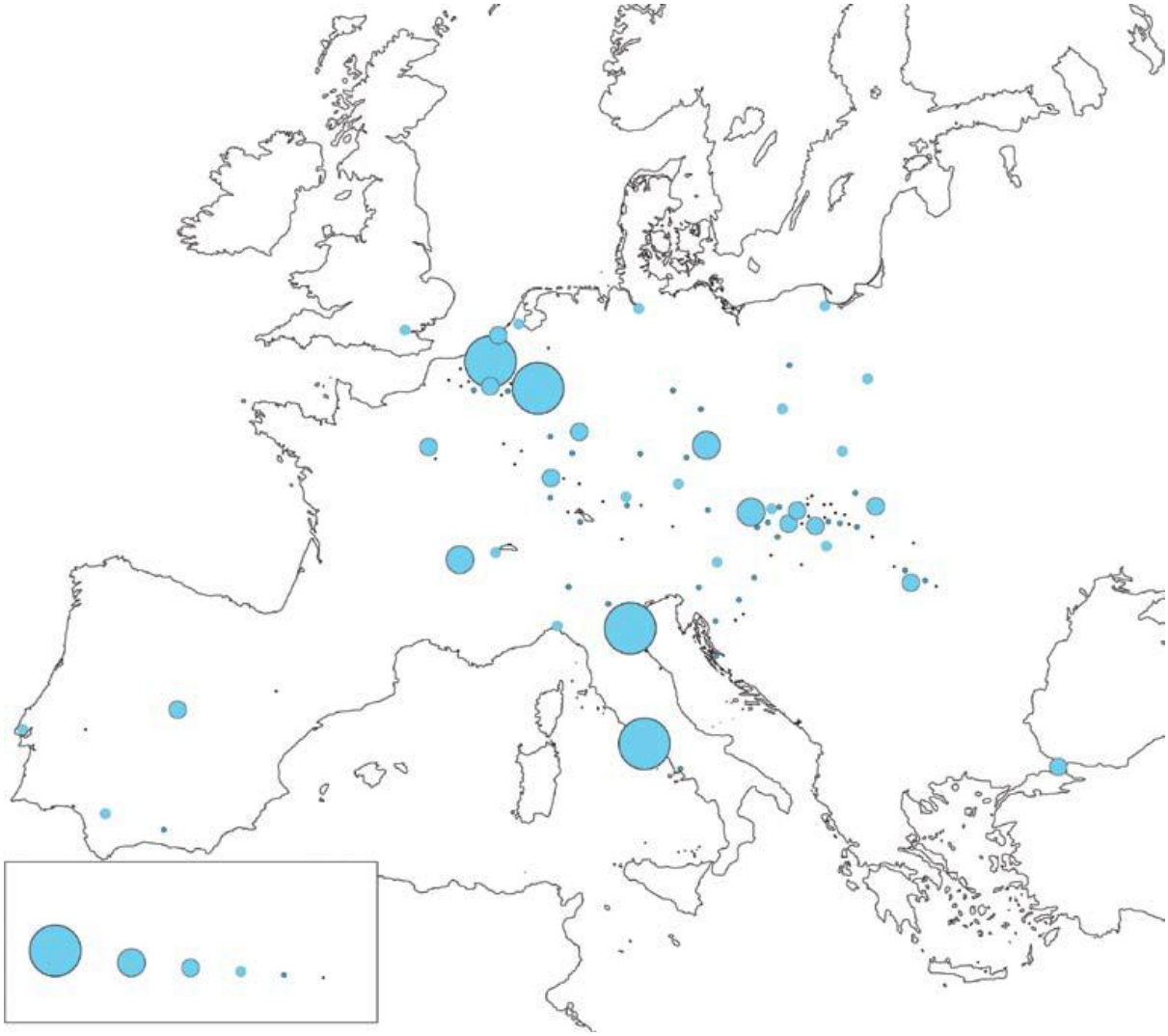


Figure 65. Distribution Map of Places of Dispatch of the Fuggerzeitungen (1568–1605). Source: Reproduced from Nikolaus Schobesberger, "Mapping the Fuggerzeitungen: The Geographical Issues of an Information Network," in News Networks in Early Modern Europe, ed. Joad Raymond and Noah Moxham (Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2016), 223

Changes in the distribution of newsletter hubs from year to year further illustrate Bartoli's practice. Figure 66 shows the unique hubs over the years, while Figure 67 shows their distribution on the map. The first year, 1562, contains the highest number of hubs despite the fact that Bartoli's residency had only started at the end of June that year and therefore the newsletters were only sent in the second half of the year. This demonstrates how much Bartoli, at the beginning of his activity, still had to get to grips with the new task of reporting news and discovering which sources he must rely on the most and what pieces of news were important to report.

For instance, in what appears to be an excess of zeal, Bartoli reported news from Salò dated August 18, 1562, about the birth of various monsters and sightings of rays and flames in the sky.[751] Although such fantastic news is rare in the rest of the corpus, and Bartoli himself labelled such stories as "laughable," he still chose to include them in order to obey the precept to report everything and please the Medici. The two years with the lowest number of unique hubs are 1565 and 1572. The decrease in 1572 may be due to Cosimo Bartoli's infirmity: as he no longer walked around Venice, he became more dependent on information gathered by his servant or received from those who visited him at home. Consequently, he had to rely more heavily on the standard information channels from major cities, while access to information through his personal contacts, such as diplomats, informers, captains and merchants, diminished. By observing the change of hubs over the years (Figure 67), it is also possible to deduce which events were most covered in the newsletters and interested the newsletter's reader. In 1565, for instance, Birgu on the island of Malta, Capo Passero and Syracuse in Sicily appeared as hubs because of the siege of Malta by the Ottoman Empire, which generated a flow of news from the area. Similarly, the period between 1570 and 1572 saw a proliferation of hubs along the Adriatic coast, in various Greek islands, and in Cyprus, reflecting the vital need for news about the war of Venice and the Holy League against the Ottoman Empire.

Yearly changes in the distribution of the major hubs point to changes in the geopolitical situation and the evolution of Bartoli's reporting practice (Figure 68). With the exception of Rome and, much of the time, Vienna, other cities did not have constant coverage over the years, but news from there intensified because of particular events occurring there such as wars, revolts, diets, etc. This was the case for Lyon, for example, whose news became more constant from 1567 onwards due to the resumption of the war of religion between Catholics and Huguenots in France. However, the absences in the data often prove more revealing than the presences. In the case of Rome, the first two years show months without Roman news or with just a single newsletter with Rome in the header. The flow of information became stable

[751] ASF, Mediceo del Principato 3079, fol. 224v, Newsletter with news from Salò (18-08-1562), written by Cosimo Bartoli.

from 1564 onwards, suggesting that Bartoli had established a permanent connection with an informant in Rome. This source may have been Abbot Andrea Lippomano, who received weekly letters from Rome containing good quality and up-to-date news which would otherwise have taken two weeks to reach Venice through official channels.[752] Alternatively, the source could have been Carlo Stuerdo, who, as Bartoli revealed in 1572, was sending weekly letters with Roman news to both Bartoli and the Florentine ambassador in Vienna.[753]

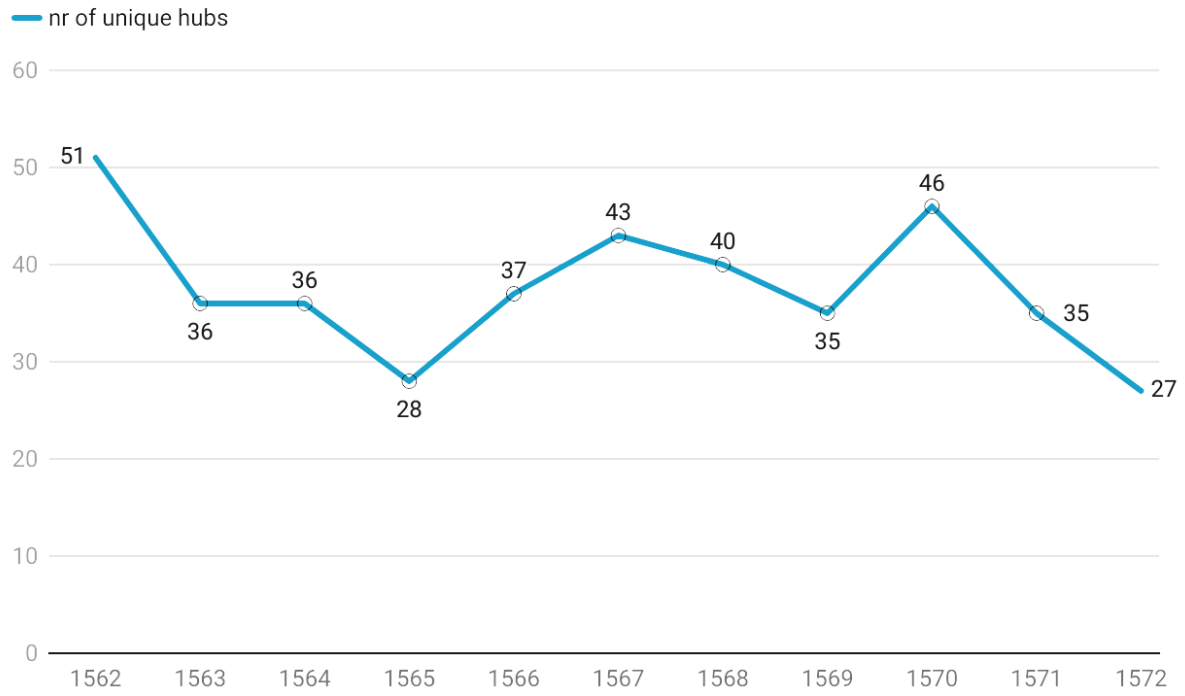
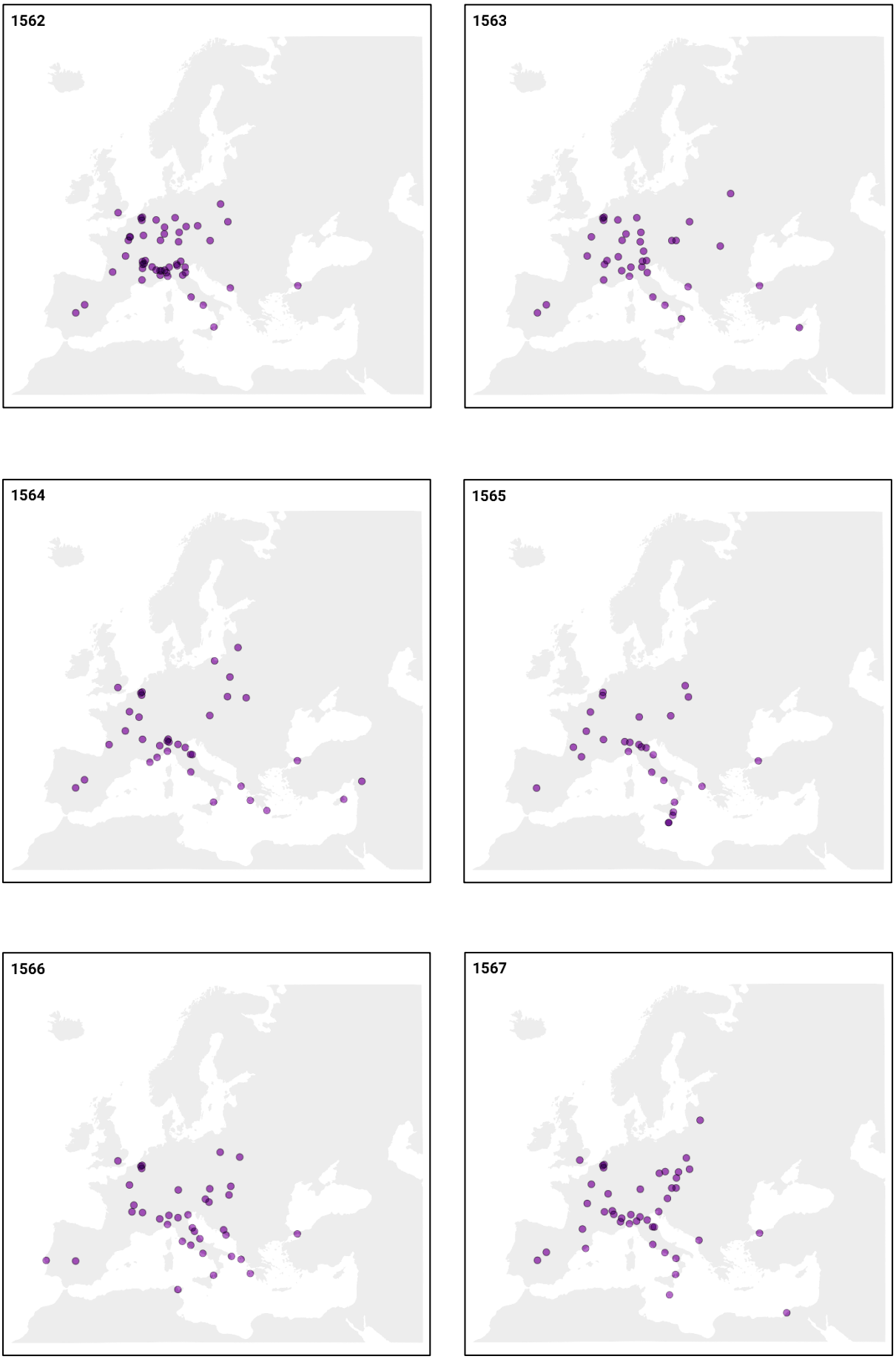


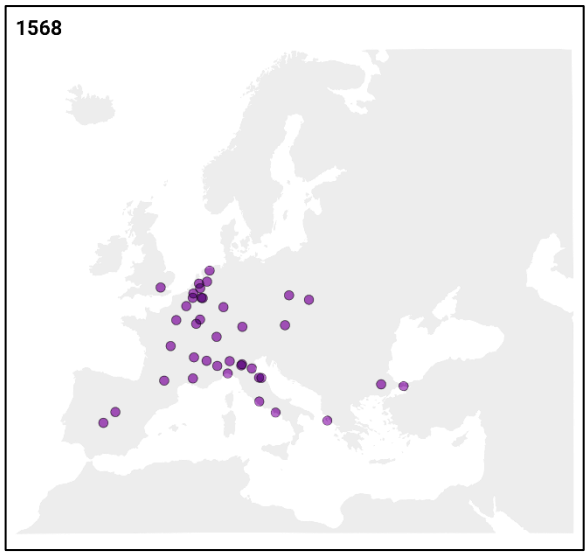
Figure 66. Unique Hubs in Bartoli's Newsletters over the Years

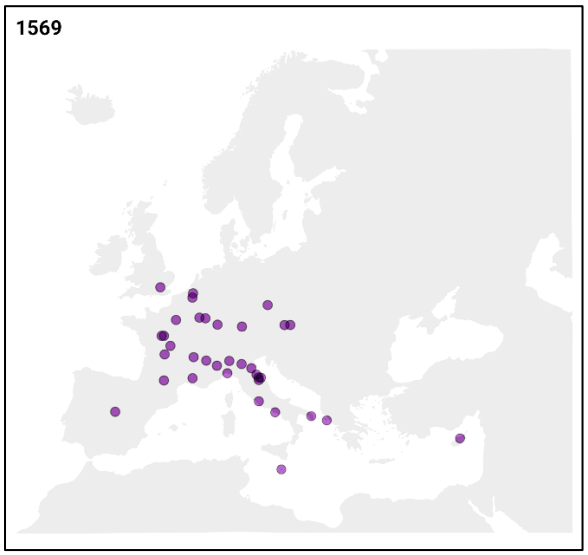
[752] ASF, Mediceo del Principato 2977, fol. 144r, 2 June 1565, Cosimo Bartoli to Cosimo I or Francesco de' Medici; ASF, Mediceo del Principato 2977, fol. 150r, 16 June 1565, Cosimo Bartoli to Francesco de' Medici.

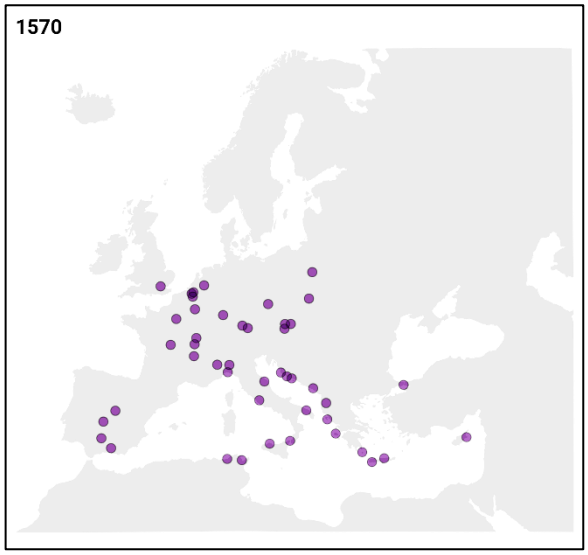
[753] ASF, Mediceo del Principato 2981, fol. 185v, 28 June 1572, Cosimo Bartoli to Cosimo I de' Medici.

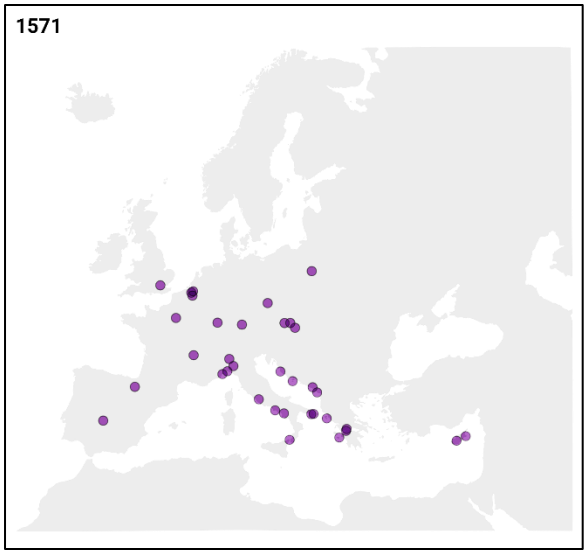
Figure 67. Maps of the Hubs in Bartoli's Newsletters by Year




1568


1569


1570


1571

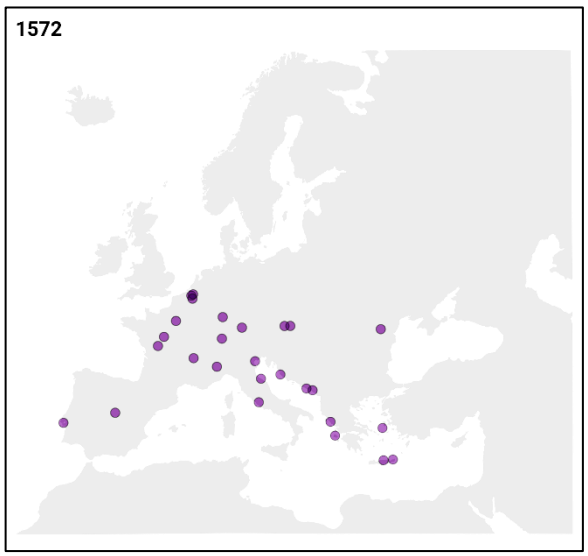
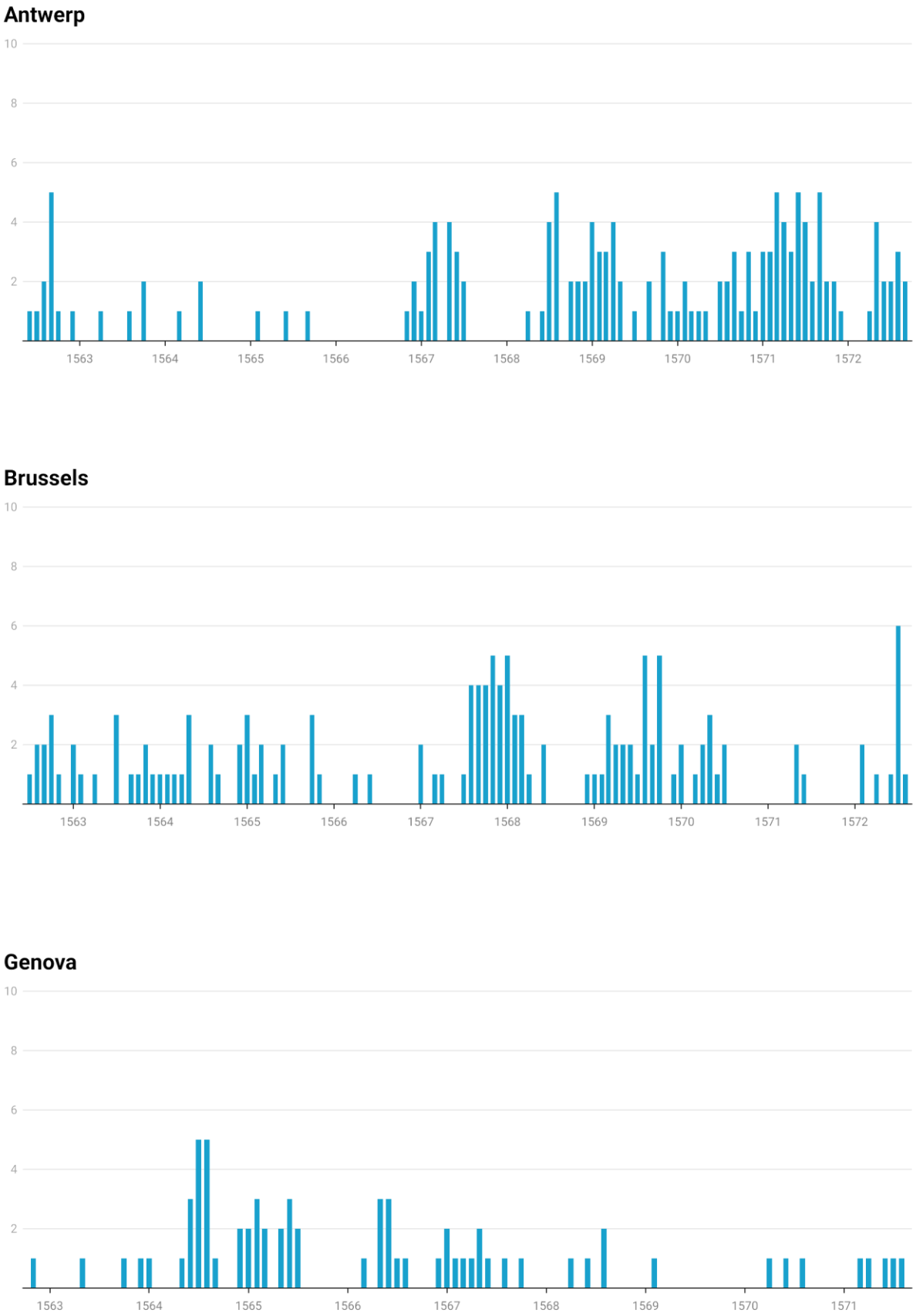
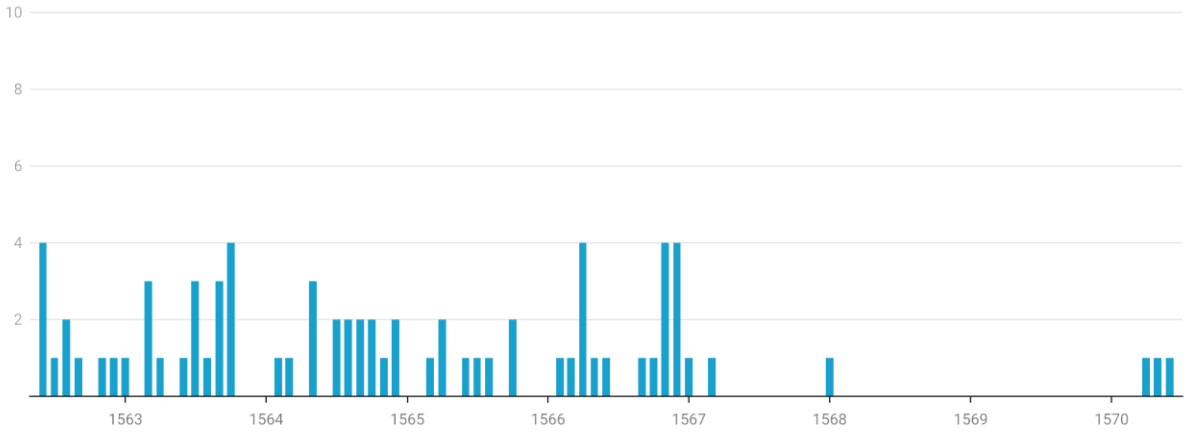

1572

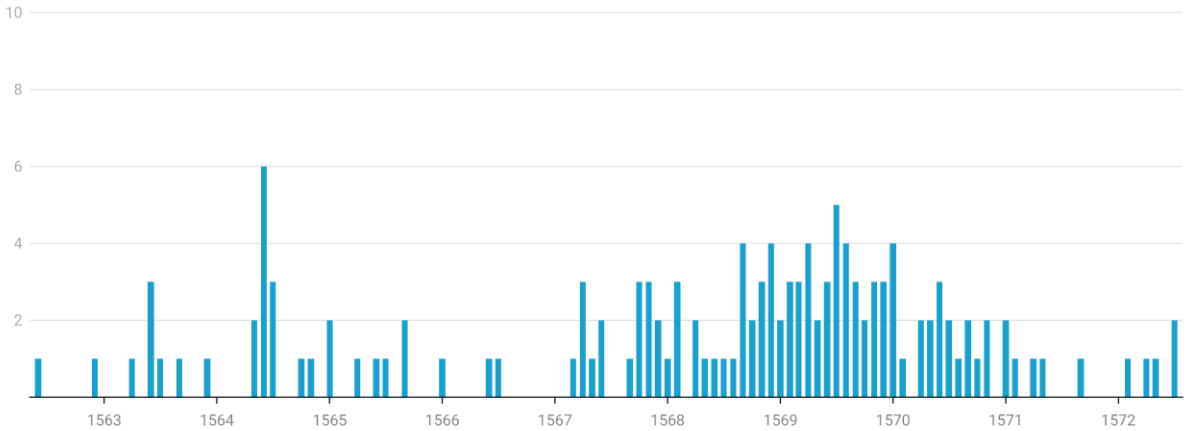
Figure 68. Distribution of the Newsletters from Each of the Main Hubs over Time



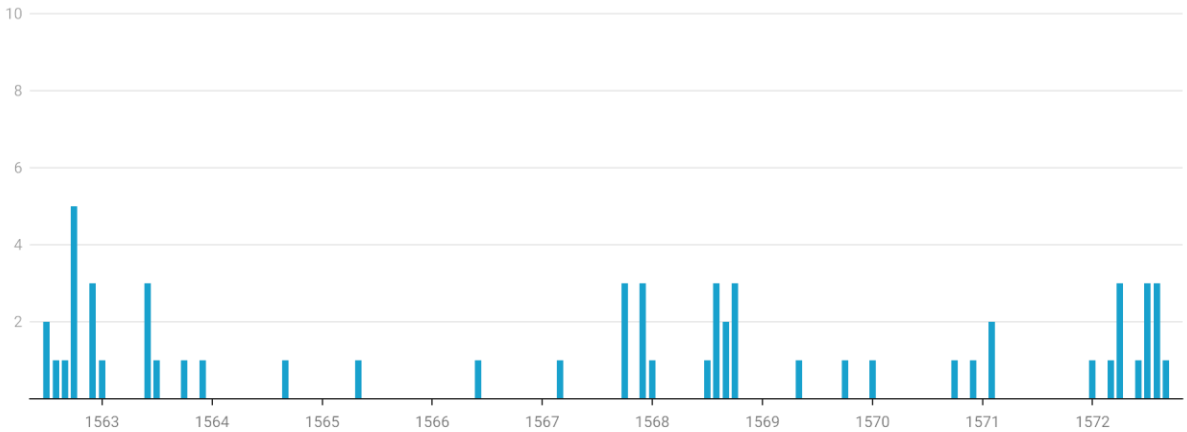
Istanbul



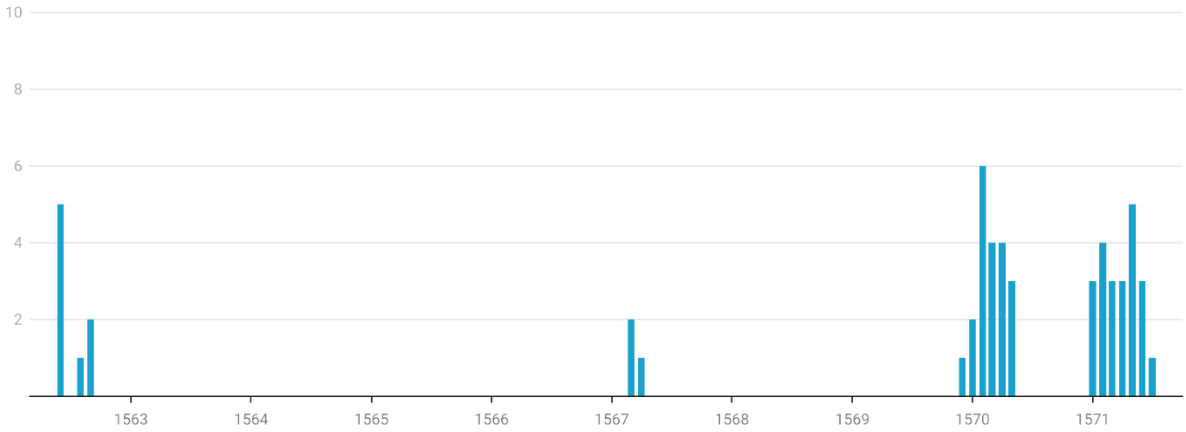
Lyon



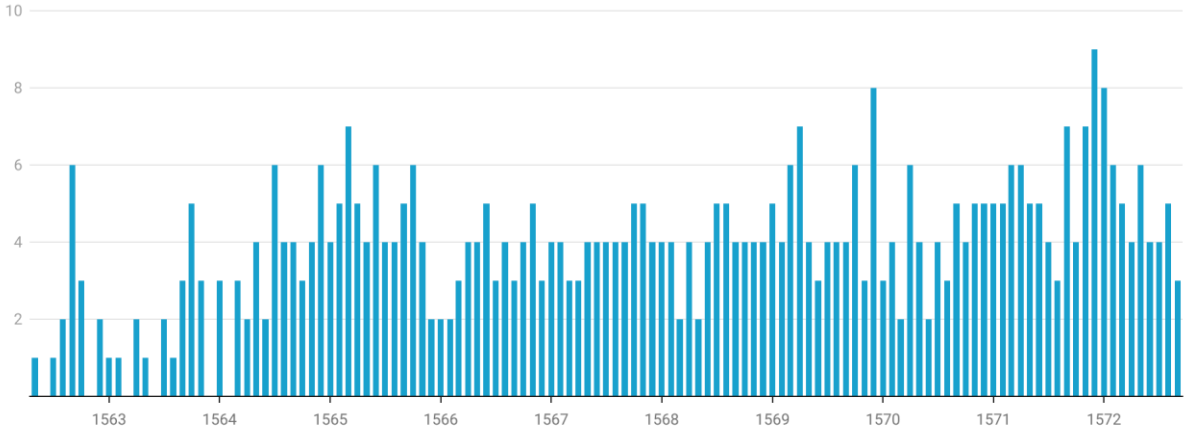
Paris



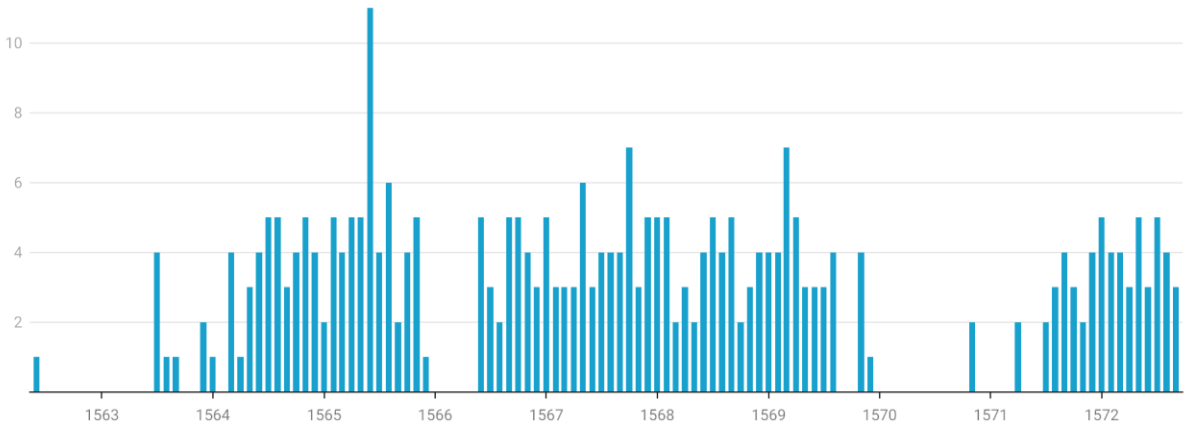
Prague



Rome



Vienna



5.5 The Sources of the News in Bartoli's Newsletters

Bartoli's news-gathering process is in part revealed in his letters to Florence, in which he used certain terms to refer to the accompanying documents. He concluded his letters with a formula such as "referring for the rest to the summaries that will be with this [letter]" or "of the other things I refer to the summaries that will be with this [letter]."[754] In his first months in Venice, Bartoli referred to the attached newsletter using various terms: "avvisi", "fogli" (sheets), "foglio di avvisi" (sheet of *avvisi*). In November 1562, the term "sommarii" (summaries) made its first appearance in Bartoli's letters,[755] and from January 1563, it became the standard name Bartoli used for the newsletters. In the last three years, he also occasionally specified that the attached newsletters were "sommarii delle cose di fuori" (summaries of foreign affairs), "sommarii ordinarii" (ordinary summaries) or "sommarii delle cose che fuora via passano" (summaries of things that happen abroad), almost as if he wanted to emphasise that these documents did not contain news about Venice but about events taking place elsewhere. All those terms were commonly used in early modern Italy to describe sheets gathering multiple news items.

"Summary of *avvisi*" and "summary of news" had been used since the late fifteenth century to describe sheets containing excerpts from merchants' private letters or political dispatches.[756] The first mention of "sommari" or "summari" (summaries) in the MIA platform is contained in a letter written by one ducal secretary, Lorenzo Pagni, to another, Pier Francesco Riccio, in 1548. While in Siena, Pagni forwarded to Riccio in Florence the letters he had received, asking him to write a synopsis of the news in them to be attached to the letter for the Viceroy of Naples and to those for other recipients.[757] This practice was common in all of the Italian chancelleries and consisted of summarising the dispatches by compiling a list of the

[754] "rimettendomi nel resto a sommarii che saranno con questa;" "delle altre cose mi rimetto ai sommarii che saranno con questa."
[755] ASF, Mediceo del Principato 2976, fol. 69r-70r, 18 November 1562, Cosimo Bartoli to Cosimo I de' Medici.
[756] Bellocchi, *Storia del giornalismo italiano*, I:123–31; Paul Arblaster et al., "The Lexicons of Early Modern News," in *News Networks in Early Modern Europe*, ed. Noah Moxham and Joad Raymond (Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2016), 66–67.
[757] ASF, Mediceo del Principato 1174, fol. 107r, 3 March 1548, Lorenzo di Andrea Pagni to Pier Francesco Riccio, mapDocId 18358.

main news items contained in the letters from the same ambassador or from the same place. In the summaries, called *sommari*, the news items were organised like an index.[758] Each piece of information was introduced by "Che" in exactly the same way as in the newsletters. The summaries' function was to facilitate reporting of the most critical information to the sovereign, to respond quickly and to locate easily the news to share with other correspondents, such as one's own diplomats residing in other courts.[759] Venice adopted a similar practice of creating summaries, also called "ristretti di avvisi" (compendium of news). These documents summarised the content of the letters written by various correspondents of the Republic, including the Venetian diplomats. The summaries' focus was on political and military events, omitting administrative details. The practice of composing these summaries in Venice started in the late fifteenth century. Petitjean proposes that the Turkish War, particularly the events of 1499, urged the development of this new approach to managing incoming information and news.[760] Given the striking similarities between the summaries produced by the Republic's chancellery and the newsletters, in both form and content, Petitjean suggests that the earliest newsletters may have been produced directly from these summaries. This could have occurred through leaked information or through copies made by various officials, possibly the secretaries of the Savi or the embassy secretaries or the ambassadors themselves, who received those summaries from Venice to be kept up to date.[761] These summaries, then, represent a crucial link in the development of the newsletters from diplomatic letters. Bartoli's frequent use of the term suggests he viewed his work as similar to that of chancellery secretaries, consisting of gathering the most important news from letters and synthesising it into the newsletters.

[758] Senatore, *Uno mundo de carta*, 108; Bruno Figliuolo and Francesco Senatore, "Per un ritratto del buon ambasciatore: regole di comportamento e profilo dell'inviato negli scritti di Diomede Carafa, Niccolò Machiavelli e Francesco Guicciardini," in *De l'ambassadeur: Les écrits relatifs à l'ambassadeur et à l'art de négocier du Moyen Âge au début du xixe siècle*, ed. Stefano Andretta, Stéphane Péquignot, and Jean-Claude Waquet (Rome: Publications de l'École française de Rome, 2016), n. 2, https://doi.org/10.4000/books.efr.2906.
[759] Francesco Senatore, "Ai confini del 'mundo de carta'. Origine e diffusione della lettera cancelleresca italiana (XIII-XVI secolo)," ed. Isabella Lazzarini, *Reti Medievali Rivista*, I Confini della Lettera. Pratiche Epistolari e Reti di Comunicazione nell'Italia Tardomedievale, X (2009): 48–50.
[760] Petitjean, *L'intelligence des choses*, 183–89.
[761] Petitjean, 194.

The use of the term *sommari* evokes a connection to the original letters from which the news was sourced, but this link is also evident in the newsletter headers, which include the place and the date whence the news originated. Of the headers, 83% start with a reference to the original source letters, with expressions such as "Per lettere di…" or "Per lettera de…" (From letters from…). 4% are "Per altre lettere di ..." (From other letters from) and report news that arrived later and was therefore added at a later point in the drafting of the newsletters. The remaining 13% of the headers adopt other forms, the most frequent of which consists of "Di" or "Da" (From) followed by the hub and the date, such as "Di Vienna di 28 Maggio 72" (From Vienna on the 28th of May 1572). When the genre was standardised, this latter became the most popular header used by Italian newsletters. In the Bartoli corpus, it was used rarely by Cosimo and Curzio, while it was almost the only header form adopted by Giovanni Gavazzo.

By the late sixteenth century, newsletters had reached a standardised form where the hubs were organised in chronological order, based on when the courier bringing the news arrived in the city, and the order remained consistent from week to week.[762] In the time of Bartoli, however, the newsletter system had not yet achieved this level of maturity, and no standardised sequence of hubs had been identified. The only pattern that can be seen is Rome as the most frequent first hub of the newsletters, appearing in 64.8% of the newsletters, followed at a great distance by Vienna (5%) and Antwerp (4.4%). Even considering only the newsletters beginning with Rome, the second hub varied considerably: Vienna appears more frequently in second position after Rome, but only in 21.6% of cases (Table 18). This leads to the conclusion that Bartoli wrote the news when he received it without following any particular order. His reporting depended on when the mail arrived and when he met his informants. This explains why sometimes the same hub appears twice in a single newsletter, the second mention typically introduced by the header "From other letters from," because he had received or learned of new letters after having already written the first hub. Moreover, the difficulties in the postal system are visible in the newsletters' composition. In one case, a newsletter contained news from only two hubs, Rome and

[762] Petitjean, "Mots et pratiques de l'information. Ce que aviser veut dire (xvie-xviie siècles)."

Istanbul, because “no letters have arrived from anywhere else yet,” as Bartoli comments at the end.[763]

Table 18. List of Places That Appear More Often as Second Hub After Rome

Second hub after Rome	Number of newsletters	Percentage of newsletters with Rome as the first hub
Vienna	70	21.60
Antwerp	29	8.95
Lyon	24	7.41
Brussels	23	7.10
Genoa	23	7.10
Rome	15	4.63
Messina	10	3.09
Prague	9	2.78
Madrid	8	2.47
Napoli	8	2.47
Pesaro	7	2.16
Istanbul	6	1.85
Corfu	5	1.54
Malta	5	1.54

Numerous questions remain regarding Bartoli’s information practices. Given that the letters were the primary source for the newsletters, how did Bartoli obtain the missives? Did he receive them himself? Did he see them in the hands of someone else,

[763] ASF, Mediceo del Principato 2976, fol. 229r-v, 332r-v, Newsletter with news Rome (20-11-1563) and Istanbul (20-11-1563, 21-11-1563), written by Cosimo Bartoli: “Da altra banda nessuna non ci sono per ancor lettere.”

such as the original recipient? Or did he hear about them orally? His documents offer some answers.

Examining the letters offers a first clue as to the origins of Bartoli's information. While his letters and newsletters both contained news, they differ in how they presented the sources. In his letters, Bartoli was explicit about identifying his sources. In contrast, the newsletters as a genre were deliberately more impersonal because their purpose was to report events and to make the letters' content speak, hiding the author's voice and opinions.[764] In his letters, Bartoli often reported news that was relayed to him by ambassadors who had themselves received it through letters or directly from the Senate of the Republic of Venice.[765] The Senate was, in fact, another frequent source of news, particularly regarding Istanbul and the Levant.[766] The Senate was a gateway to correspondence with Istanbul: letters from there, even the private ones, had to be inspected by the Republic before being delivered.[767] How Bartoli obtained news from Istanbul remains unclear. Was it officially communicated, or did it derive from a leak of information from secretaries or patricians? The Venetian Republic's approach towards Turkish news fluctuated between trying to control and not disclose such information (but without much success because the rumours spread anyway)[768] and more direct communication, visible when Bartoli noted that "these *Signori* have communicated the *avvisi* of the 17th from Constantinople and say that [...]".[769] Information also came to Venice and to Bartoli through many other channels: it arrived from the sea with ships;[770] it circulated as rumour in Piazza San

[764] Petitjean, *L'intelligence des choses*, 157.
[765] ASF, Mediceo del Principato 2976, fol. 140v, 5 May 1563, Cosimo Bartoli to Cosimo I de' Medici.
[766] ASF, Mediceo del Principato 2976, fol. 1v, 7 January 1563 (1562 in Florentine style), Cosimo Bartoli to Cosimo I de' Medici; ASF, Mediceo del Principato 2976, fol. 19r, 4 February 1563 (1562 in Florentine style), Cosimo Bartoli to Cosimo I de' Medici; ASF, Mediceo del Principato 2976, fol. 21r, 10 February 1563 (1562 in Florentine style), Cosimo Bartoli to Cosimo I de' Medici; ASF, Mediceo del Principato 2976, fol. 37r, 22 March 1563 (1562 in Florentine style), Cosimo Bartoli to Cosimo I de' Medici.
[767] ASF, Mediceo del Principato 2976, fol. 103r, 23 February 1564 (1563 in Florentine style), Cosimo Bartoli to Cosimo I de' Medici; ASF, Mediceo del Principato 2976, fol. 116r, 7 April 1563, Cosimo Bartoli to Cosimo I de' Medici.
[768] ASF, Mediceo del Principato 2976, fol. 236r, 9 December 1563, Cosimo Bartoli to Cosimo I or Francesco de' Medici.
[769] ASF, Mediceo del Principato 2977, fol. 96r, 24 March 1565 (1564 in Florentine style), Cosimo Bartoli to Francesco de' Medici: "questi Signori han comunicati gli avvisi de 17 di Constantinopoli, et dicono che […]."
[770] ASF, Carte Strozziane, Serie Prima, 120, unnumbered, 27 October 1571, Cosimo Bartoli to Franscesco I de' Medici; ASF, Mediceo del Principato 2976, fol. 53v, 11 October 1562, Cosimo Bartoli

Marco;[771] it was read by private individuals who received a letter;[772] or it was told to Bartoli by one of his trusted contacts or friends whose anonymity he maintained.[773] Couriers and postmasters also served as important sources of news: in addition to carrying mail, their travels gave them the opportunity to interact with a wide range of people and learn news from them [774] This overview leads to the conclusion that each node in the network analysed in section 5.2 served as a potential source of information and news.

The letters Bartoli summarised in the newsletters came from various sources. He received some personally: this is certainly the case with news from the most frequent hubs, such as Rome. In 1572, it turned out that Bartoli not only received weekly letters with news from Rome but was also engaged in a mutual exchange of information with his Roman correspondent. On March 13, 1572, Francesco de' Medici warned Bartoli that due to the Pope's clampdown on newswriters and the subsequent investigations, letters written by Bartoli to a friend in Rome had been found and it was discovered that Bartoli and his friend were informing each other of the news going around the world.[775] On March 26, 1572, Bartoli replied to Francesco de' Medici and revealed that his correspondent in Rome was Carlo Stuerdo, who was the agent of Ottavio Farnese, Duke of Parma and Piacenza, in Rome.[776] Stuerdo wrote weekly

to Cosimo I de' Medici; ASF, Mediceo del Principato 2976, fol. 64r, 31 October 1562, Cosimo Bartoli to Cosimo I de' Medici; ASF, Mediceo del Principato 2976, fol. 71r, 25 November 1562, Cosimo Bartoli to Cosimo I de' Medici; ASF, Mediceo del Principato 2976, fol. 72r, 2 December 1562, Cosimo Bartoli to Cosimo I de' Medici; ASF, Mediceo del Principato 2976, fol. 160r, 3 July 1563, Cosimo Bartoli to Cosimo I de' Medici.

[771] ASF, Mediceo del Principato 2976, fol. 64v, 31 October 1562, Cosimo Bartoli to Cosimo I de' Medici.

[772] ASF, Mediceo del Principato 2976, fol. 30v, 10 March 1563 (1562 in Florentine style), Cosimo Bartoli to Cosimo I de' Medici.

[773] ASF, Mediceo del Principato 2976, fol. 103v, 23 February 1564 (1563 in Florentine style), Cosimo Bartoli to Cosimo I de' Medici; ASF, Mediceo del Principato 2976, fol. 239r, 22 December 1563, Cosimo Bartoli to Francesco de' Medici.

[774] ASF, Mediceo del Principato 2976, fol. 9v, 21 January 1563 (1562 in Florentine style), Cosimo Bartoli to Cosimo I de' Medici; ASF, Mediceo del Principato 2976, fol. 49r, 30 July 1562, Cosimo Bartoli to Bartolomeo Concino; ASF, Mediceo del Principato 2977, fol. 136v, 26 May 1565, Cosimo Bartoli to Francesco de' Medici; ASF, Mediceo del Principato 2979, fol. 270r, 11 January 1570 (1569 in Florentine style), Cosimo Bartoli to Francesco de' Medici.

[775] ASF, Mediceo del Principato 239, fol. 63r-63v: 13 March 1572, Francesco de' Medici to Cosimo Bartoli.

[776] Alfred Cauchie and Leon Van der Essen, "Les sources de l'histoire nationale conservées à l'étranger dans les archives privées," *Bulletin de la Commission royale d'Histoire* 78 (1909): 81, https://doi.org/10.3406/bcrh.1909.2108; Lamal, *Italian Communication on the Revolt in the Low Countries (1566-1648)*, 21.

letters to Lodovico Antinori, Florentine ambassador to the Imperial Court, and Desiderio L'Abbe, secretary to the nuncio at the Imperial Court and writer of newsletters. According to Bartoli, Stuerdo also sent him news from Rome, seemingly as a gesture of gratitude for the favour, and Bartoli then forwarded it to Florence in the form of newsletters. Bartoli admitted to having provided Stuerdo with his own news in return but tried to downplay his involvement by saying, "in replying to Messer Carlo, I reciprocated a little, without writing him everything, but only those pieces of news that have circulated widely."[777] This case is significant because it demonstrates that Bartoli was deeply involved in the news world, both as a receiver and as a producer of news. It is unknown if his correspondence with Stuerdo took the form of private letters or summaries of news. What is noteworthy is that the news Bartoli gathered and wrote went beyond simply updating his master and became a valuable commodity he could exchange for news from other sources.

In addition to letters he received regularly, such as those sent from Rome by Stuerdo, Bartoli used letters addressed to other recipients to compose the newsletters. Sometimes he noted in the newsletters' headers from whom he had received the news included in that hub. Several pieces of news came from the diplomatic network provided by the nuncio,[778] the French ambassador,[779] the

[777] ASF, Mediceo del Principato 2981, fol. 93r, 26 March 1572, Cosimo Bartoli to Francesco de' Medici: "Messer Carlo sopra detto pensando di farmi favore o servitio con questa occasione mi scriveva delle nuove delle quali io non mi curavo più che tanto, se non per darne conto alla Serenità Vostra come ho fatto et nel rispondere a messer Carlo li rendevo qualche poco di pariglia non li scrivendo però ogni cosa. Ma quelle solo che correvano alla larga."

[778] ASF, Mediceo del Principato 3079, fol. 202r, Newsletter with news from Prague (06-mm-1562), written by Cosimo Bartoli: "Per lettere de 6 di Praga nel Legato;" ASF, Mediceo del Principato 3079, fol. 218v-219r, Newsletter with news from France (19-07-1562), written by Cosimo Bartoli: "I sopradetti avisi son venuti qui al legato dal Cardinale Buonromeo;" ASF, Mediceo del Principato 3079, fol. 770r, Newsletter with news from Vienna (06-09-1566), written by Curzio Bartoli: "Dicemi il Nuntio di Sua Santità haver aviso come quei di Iulia si levavano da Tal assedio et andavano a soccorrere Strigonia della quale il Turco Temeva non poco."

[779] ASF, Mediceo del Principato 3079, fol. 206v, Newsletter with news from France (10-06-1562), written by Cosimo Bartoli: "dal secretario dell'imbasciator di Francia;" ASF, Mediceo del Principato 3079, fol. 258v, Newsletter with news from French Court (30-11-1562), written by Cosimo Bartoli: "Per aviso di uno Gentilhomo dell'Imbasciador franzese partito dalla Corte di Francia alli 30 di Novembre;" ASF, Mediceo del Principato 3079, fol. 361r, Newsletter with news from French Court (20-12-1563), written by Cosimo Bartoli: "Queste nuove in sin qui escono dello Imbasciator di francia il qual pende da Ciattiglioni et quando le cose vanno bene per i Ciattiglioni li pare vadino bena per tutta Francia. Però io presto molta più fede a quelle che seguon che vengon da persona fidata."

ambassador of the Duke of Savoy[780] and the secretary of the King of Spain.[781] When reporting news from Istanbul, he often added the note "in questi signori" (in these lords), suggesting he drew it from letters received by the Republic, likely from the Venetian *bailo* in Istanbul.[782] In one instance, he specified that the letters from Istanbul had been shown to him by the secretaries of the Republic, hinting that he obtained them through unofficial channels.[783] In addition to these sources, he gathered news from the informant Medoro Nucci,[784] from letters in the hands of merchants,[785] from private persons[786] and from couriers.[787] Only twice did he mention having received news from the "novellisti" (newswriters). In both cases, the news was from Rome and Bartoli included it in the newsletter. He did not provide the newswriters' names, but he could also have referred to Carlo Stuerdo with this term.[788] In conclusion, the sources he used for his letters and his newsletters overlapped completely. News items from the same informant might appear once in a letter and once in a newsletter, and whether information ended up in either one of these likely depended on several factors: the subject matter, its importance, and whether Bartoli had access to the original letters to draft the summary. In some cases, the recipient showed him the letters and gave him the time to copy them, but on other occasions, the letters were

[780] ASF, Mediceo del Principato 3079, fol. 232r, Newsletter with news from Fossano (06-09-1562), written by Cosimo Bartoli: "Per lettere de 6 di Fossano allo Imbasciator qui di Savoia."
[781] ASF, Mediceo del Principato 3079, fol. 212v-213r, Newsletter with news from Prague (15-06-1562), written by Cosimo Bartoli: "vedi tal aviso in una lettera che veniva al Secretario qui del Re Cattolico."
[782] ASF, Mediceo del Principato 3079, fol. 239r, Newsletter with news from Istanbul (18-08-1562), written by Cosimo Bartoli: "Per lettere de 18 d'Agosto di Costantinopoli in questi Signori."
[783] ASF, Mediceo del Principato 3079, fol. 217r, Newsletter with news from Istanbul (16-06-1562), written by Cosimo Bartoli: "Quel che mi hanno mostro i Secretarii di questi Signori per le lettere de 16."
[784] ASF, Mediceo del Principato 3079, fol. 201v, Newsletter with news from Germany (dd-09-1562), written by Cosimo Bartoli: "Avisi di Medoro."
[785] ASF, Mediceo del Principato 3079, fol. 206r, Newsletter with news from France (06-06-1562), written by Cosimo Bartoli: "Per lettere de 6 in mercanti ho visto che […]."
[786] ASF, Mediceo del Principato 3079, fol. 813r-v, Newsletter with news from Istanbul (03-11-1566), written by Curzio Bartoli: "Per lettere de particolari s'intende […]."
[787] ASF, Mediceo del Principato 3079, fol. 208v, Newsletter with news from Lyon (13-06-1562), written by Cosimo Bartoli: "il Corriere a bocca dice che […];" ASF, Mediceo del Principato 3079, fol. 256r, Newsletter with news from Lyon (dd-12-1562), written by Cosimo Bartoli: "Per il corriere ordinario che arrivò in Venetia alli 22 di Lione."
[788] ASF, Mediceo del Principato 2979, fol. 524r, 6 December 1570, Cosimo Bartoli to Francesco de' Medici; ASF, Mediceo del Principato 2979, fol. 15r, 21 February 1571 (1570 in Florentine style), Cosimo Bartoli to Francesco de' Medici.

only read aloud to him or reported second-hand, thus being reported more easily in a letter.[789]

Rather than simply copying the news from the letters he had access to, Bartoli had an editorial role in compiling the newsletter from various sources. Before sending them to Florence, he shaped the structure and content. Evidence for this is that, in the newsletters from all of the ten years of Bartoli's residence, it is common that a single section summarises letters from the same place but on different dates or even from different places. This happens in almost 7% of the headers. Headers such as "From letters from Antwerp of the 13th of the present month and from other places in Flanders of the 14th, 15th and 16th";[790] "From letters of the 2nd, 4th, 6th, 8th and 13th of October from Paris";[791] and "From various letters from Milan, Ferrara and Trento"[792] are evidence that Bartoli gathered news from various letters and combined them together in a single hub. He did the same mix and match in the newsletter in Figure 56 and Figure 57. In the header "From the Caesarean field of the last of September, and the first of October 1566," Bartoli marked the last news item as coming from the Polish courier, thus confirming that the news items belong to different sources.[793] As the combining of news from several letters was done consistently throughout Bartoli's time in Venice, he probably handled this task himself, only asking Curzio and his secretary to copy the passages he had marked as important.

Concerning the actual writing of the news items, there are notable differences between Bartoli's and Curzio's approaches. Curzio's frequent use of the first-person

[789] ASF, Mediceo del Principato 2979, fol. 512r, 22 November 1570, Cosimo Bartoli to Francesco de' Medici.
[790] ASF, Mediceo del Principato 3079, fol. 213r, Newsletter with news from Antwerp (13-06-1562) and Flanders (14-06-1562, 15-06-1562 and 16-06-1562), written by Cosimo Bartoli: "Per lettere di Anversa de 13 del presente et d'altri luoghi di Fiandra de 14, 15 et 16."
[791] ASF, Mediceo del Principato 3079, fol. 252r, Newsletter with news from Paris (02-10-1562, 03-10-1562, 06-10-1562, 08-10-1562, and 13-10-1562), written by Cosimo Bartoli: "Per lettere de 2, 4, 6, 8, et 13 di Ottobre di Parigi."
[792] ASF, Mediceo del Principato 3079, fol. 237v, Newsletter with news from Milan (dd-09-1562), Ferrara (dd-09-1562), and Trento (dd-09-1562), written by Cosimo Bartoli: "Per varie lettere di Milano, Ferrara et Trento."
[793] ASF, Mediceo del Principato 3079, fol. 784v-785r, Newsletter with news from Hungary (30-09-1566 and 01-10-1566), written by Curzio and Cosimo Bartoli: "Dal campo Cesareo del ultimo di Settembre, et primo di Ottobre 1566 […] Il di là contrasegnato capitolo è qui solo nel maestro delle poste di Pollonia il quale suol esser molto ben avvisato. Ancorchè qui molti non li prestino fede."

and references to the place and time of writing, as shown in section 5.3, leads to the conclusion that he mostly copied the letters. His only changes were removing the greetings and adding "Che" in front of each paragraph without making much effort to make the narrative impersonal, as the newsletter genre requires. Cosimo Bartoli, in contrast, synthesised the content of the letters more than Curzio, as evidenced by the fact that his newsletters are typically over 500 words shorter than Curzio's (Table 16). The level of synthesis depends very much on the content of the letter being summarised. Sometimes, Bartoli reported just a single piece of news for one hub.[794] In other instances, he chose to include more extensive details from the original letter, as he explained once: "As for the rest, I refer to the summaries that will be included with this, and if those from Poland seem lengthy to Your Excellency, I ask for forgiveness, as I have extracted them from a long letter with as much brevity as possible. Since they seemed to me to be almost a compendium of matters over there, I thought it best to send them a bit long, as they may serve as a historical summary."[795] There are newsletters written by Cosimo Bartoli in which the sources on which he based the composition surface more. For example, he once left the expression in the first-person plural of the original letter, "e così ogni notte ci tormentano" ("and so every night they torment us"), without making it impersonal,[796] but this happens much more rarely than in the newsletters written by Curzio.

According to this evidence, it can be concluded that Bartoli extracted the news to compile his newsletter directly from the original letters, and he was not copying newsletters produced by professional newswriters in their workshops. He witnessed the early stages of the newsletters emerging as a separate and new genre. This idea is supported by the reciprocal exchange of news between Carlo Stuerdo and Cosimo

[794] ASF, Mediceo del Principato 3079, fol. 251v, Newsletter with news from Speyer (22-10-1562), Flanders (18-10-1562), written by Cosimo Bartoli.
[795] ASF, Mediceo del Principato 2976, fol. 97r, 26 January 1564 (1563 in Florentine style), Cosimo Bartoli to Cosimo I de' Medici: "Nel resto mi rimetto a sommarii che saranno con questa ne quali se quelli di Pollonia paressino lunghi a Vostra Eccellenza quella ne perdoni che li ho cavati di una lunga lettera con più brevità che ho possuto, et perchè mi son parsi quasi che uno epitome delle cose di là mi è parso mandarli così lunghetti, come che servino per compendio di historia."
[796] ASF, Mediceo del Principato 2976, fol. 247r-v, Newsletter with news from Pesaro (03-04-1564), written by Cosimo Bartoli: "Che il dì di poi presero 3 navilii grossi che andavano in Abruzi et due barche di Pescatori da Burano, et questa notte han fatto dar allarme a Fano. Et così ogni notte ci tormentano, et il dì si ritirano in mare al largo che non si veghono."

Bartoli and by Bartoli's two mentions of "novellisti," whose news from Rome was included by Bartoli in his newsletters.

5.6 Complementary Channels: the Interplay between Bartoli's Letters and Newsletters

Letters and newsletters are two distinct document types, nowadays kept in separate volumes in the Florentine State Archives. However, they were originally sent together. It is therefore crucial to reconstruct their original connection to understand why, although both are informative forms of communication, some news items were reported in the letters and others in the newsletters. A resident such as Bartoli gathered information from a variety of sources, through conversations with other diplomats, from informants, by receiving correspondence or by reading newsletters. This accumulated knowledge then served as the basis for his dispatch writing, although the resident had to be careful to cite the sources of each individual piece of information so that his master could properly evaluate their reliability.[797] The news item could be rewritten by the resident within the dispatch or sent in a separate sheet.[798] The latter approach, which could be explicitly requested in the diplomatic instructions, allowed the sovereign, according to Volpini, to distinguish more easily the reported facts from the resident's own comments and in order to better assess the quality and reliability of what was written.[799]

The link between dispatches and newsletters has not been widely studied, with the exception of Don Giovanni de' Medici. While Don Giovanni was in Flanders in 1604, during the siege of Ostend, as a member of Archduke Albert's entourage, he developed a network of friends and acquaintances from whom he gathered information. The news was then compiled into anonymous newsletters and sent to the Grand Duke Ferdinando I de' Medici. In the same way as Bartoli, Don Giovanni attached these

[797] Volpini, *Ambasciatori nella prima età moderna tra corti italiane ed europee*, 104–5.
[798] Infelise, *Prima dei giornali*, 11; Infelise, "From Merchants' Letters to Handwritten Political Avvisi: Notes on the Origins of Public Information," 43–44.
[799] Volpini, *Ambasciatori nella prima età moderna tra corti italiane ed europee*, 104–5.

anonymous newsletters to his dispatches. As Dooley demonstrates, however, the news in Don Giovanni's letters was a mere paraphrase of what had already been written in the newsletter. Occasionally, he made more general comments about the events in the dispatches, leaving all the minute details to the newsletters.[800]

To investigate the relationship between the newsletters' content and Bartoli's letters, I wrote a script to match the two document types automatically. The matching process was based on the dates in the letters and the dates in the newsletters' headers from Rome and Vienna, because these two cities are the most frequent hubs in the Bartoli corpus. Some of the letters refer directly to the content of the attached newsletter, offering insights into the average timeframe between when the news was written in Rome or Vienna and when Bartoli wrote his corresponding letter. For instance, in a letter dated May 25, 1566, Bartoli mentions that the newsletter contains a report of the Nave Colomba coming from Istanbul.[801] In addition to the report, the enclosed newsletter contains news from letters from Rome dated May 18.[802] Given that, in normal times in the sixteenth century, letters from Rome typically took four days to arrive in Venice,[803] I concluded that Bartoli summarised the news that left Rome on Saturday in the newsletter he sent to Florence seven days later, the following Saturday. During the winter months, from November to March, the courier service Bartoli used changed the departure day from Saturday to Wednesday.[804] In addition to this shift, the travel time from Rome to Venice increased from four to five days in winter. A 1626 report by the *gastaldo* of the Venetian couriers states that the ordinary courier left Rome on Saturday, arriving in Venice on Wednesday in summer and on

[800] Brendan Dooley, "Sources and Methods in Information History," in *Politics in Early Modern Europe, 1500-1800*, ed. Joop W. Koopmans (Groeningen: Peeters, 2005), 29–46; Dooley, "Art and Information Brokerage in the Career of Don Giovanni de' Medici"; Dooley, "Making It Present," 109–10.
[801] ASF, Mediceo del Principato 2978, fol. 60r-61r, 25 May 1566, Cosimo Bartoli to Francesco de' Medici.
[802] ASF, Mediceo del Principato 3079, fol. 712r-714v, Newsletter with news Rome (18-05-1566), Istanbul (30-04-1566), Messina (03-05-1566), Capo d'Otranto (06-05-1566), Genoa (10-05-1566), written by Curzio Bartoli.
[803] Bruno Caizzi, *Dalla posta dei re alla posta di tutti: territorio e comunicazioni in Italia dal XVI secolo all'Unità* (Milano: Franco Angeli, 1993), 132–33; Antonio Serra, "Corrieri e postieri sull'itinerario Venezia-Roma nel Cinquecento e dopo," *Archivio per la storia postale* 7–9 (2001): 6–7.
[804] ASF, Mediceo del Principato 2979, fol. 253r, 26 November 1569, Cosimo Bartoli to Francesco I de' Medici; ASF, Mediceo del Principato 2979, fol. 511v, 22 November 1570, Cosimo Bartoli to Francesco de' Medici; ASF, Mediceo del Principato 2980, fol. 67r, 21 April 1571, Cosimo Bartoli to Francesco de' Medici; ASF, Mediceo del Principato 2980, fol. 337r, 10 November 1571, Cosimo Bartoli to Francesco de' Medici.

Thursday in winter.[805] In the winter months, therefore, when the letters from Rome arrived on Thursdays, Bartoli had to wait until the Wednesday of the following week to send them to Florence, meaning that 11 days elapsed from when the news had left Rome. The travel time between Venice and Vienna was comparable to the time from Rome to Venice. For instance, Bartoli reported information from a letter sent from Vienna seven days earlier, on September 14, 1566, in a letter dated September 21, 1566.[806] The script used the following matching rules:

- For letters dated from April to October, the newsletter is matched to the letter sent four to seven days after the Rome/Vienna header date.
- For letters dated from November to March, the newsletter is matched to the letter sent five to 11 days after the Rome/Vienna header date.

The Rome header is used as the first reference date in the script to match the letters and newsletters; if there is no news from Rome, the Vienna header is used. The match is not performed if neither Vienna nor Rome appears in the newsletter.

The match between letters and newsletters demonstrates how Bartoli's practice differs from Don Giovanni de' Medici's. Firstly, the news that Bartoli reported in the letters is not the same as is written in the newsletters. For instance, as shown in ANNEX THREE, while the letter reports news received in letters from Genoa, Dubrovnik, Zadar, Corfu, Messina, Pesaro and *avvisi* from Rome, the attached newsletter includes only news from Rome and Pesaro. The news from Pesaro is only hinted at in the letter and Bartoli refers to the newsletter for the full read. The news from Rome, on the other hand, does not have the same origin; in fact, the letter's news about the Pope's health does not agree with the news contained in the newsletter. Bartoli expected the Duke or the secretaries to read both the documents he sent. He conceived the newsletter as a complement to the letter; the newsletter did not expand on the same news of the letters but provided additional information. This approach is evident in the way he referenced the newsletters in his letters: "For the rest, I refer to

[805] Serra, "Corrieri e postieri sull'itinerario Venezia-Roma nel Cinquecento e dopo," 27–28.
[806] ASF, Mediceo del Principato 3079, fol. 776r, 21 September 1566, Cosimo Bartoli to Francesco de' Medici.

the summaries that will be included with this;"[807] "I saw a letter from the eighth of this month that gives the news contained in the sheet of *avvisi*;"[808] "Having nothing further to add, I refer to the summaries that will be included with this, where the details of the letters from the 30th from Constantinople are found;"[809] "Along with this will be a drawing of the said siege, and the details will be in the summaries."[810] It is evident that the letters' content is not a repetition of the newsletters but rather presents distinct information.

In every letter that had a newsletter attached, Bartoli made reference to it. He occasionally added a few words either to summarise the most significant news of the newsletter[811] or to offer commentary on how the events described in the newsletter were received in Venice, what was being said, or whether he obtained any further information. In one case, for example, Bartoli warned Francesco de' Medici that the news from Prague reported in the newsletter was not believed to be true.[812] In another case, while he covered in the newsletter the English-Spanish skirmishes reported in letters from Antwerp,[813] he discussed in the letter Venice's reaction to these pieces of news and the rumours that began to circulate following the receipt of the letters from Antwerp, rumours implying that Spain may be preparing to start a war with England rather than a campaign in North Africa.[814]

[807] ASF, Mediceo del Principato 2977, fol. 121r, 21 April 1565, Cosimo Bartoli to Francesco de' Medici: "rimettendomi nel resto a sommarii che saranno con questa."
[808] ASF, Mediceo del Principato 2976, fol. 9v, 21 January 1563 (1562 in Florentine style), Cosimo Bartoli to Cosimo I de' Medici: "ho visto una lettera delli otto di questo, che dà le nuove che sono nel foglio delli avisi."
[809] ASF, Mediceo del Principato 2977, fol. 125v, 29 April 1565, Cosimo Bartoli to Francesco de' Medici: "Ne mi occorrendo altro rimettendomi a sommarii che saran con questa dove son i particulari delle lettere de 30 di Constantinopoli."
[810] ASF, Mediceo del Principato 2979, fol. 438r, 8 July 1570, Cosimo Bartoli to Francesco de' Medici: "sarà con questa un disegno di detta presa, et il particulare ne sommari."
[811] ASF, Mediceo del Principato 2979, fol. 372r-374r, 27 May 1570, Cosimo Bartoli to Francesco de' Medici; Mediceo del Principato 3080, fol. 749r-752r, Newsletter with news from Rome (20-05-1570), Antwerp (05-05-1570), Spanish Court (17-04-1570), Cordoba (25-04-1570), Prague (10-05-1570), Kotor (17-05-1570), Krakow (13-05-1570), written by Curzio and Cosimo Bartoli.
[812] ASF, Mediceo del Principato 2980, fol. 44r, 4 April 1571, Cosimo Bartoli to Francesco de' Medici.
[813] ASF, Mediceo del Principato 3079, fol. 405r, Newsletters with news from Antwerp (18-06-1564), written by Cosimo Bartoli.
[814] ASF, Mediceo del Principato 2977, fol. 5r, 1 July 1564, Cosimo Bartoli to Cosimo I or Francesco de' Medici.

Letters were the source of most of the news that Bartoli reported, both in the dispatches and in the newsletters. This raises the question of why Bartoli reported certain news in the letters and some other news in the newsletters. What distinguishes the news written in these two document types? One might initially suppose that the letters contain information Bartoli obtained first-hand and through official channels, such as the Republic of Venice or diplomats passing on the news they received, while the newsletters contain information from unofficial sources, such as informants or newswriters. However, this hypothesis has to be rejected because 23 newsletters' headers indicate that the news was obtained from official channels, such as diplomats and the Senate, whereas Bartoli only mentions that the news came from newswriters in two instances, both of which involved news from Rome. In conclusion, the news in the newsletters came either from public or private correspondence, and this distinction is therefore not the reason why some news was reported in the letters and some in the newsletters.

The distribution of information between letters and newsletters in Bartoli's practice appears to have a more pragmatic explanation rather than being connected to the content or source of the news. Bartoli usually noted when letters containing news from important places arrived in Venice. However, his knowledge of their contents varied. Sometimes, he only knew that a letter had arrived in Venice; other times, he learned about parts of its content through conversations; in other cases, someone read him the letter[815] or showed it to him.[816]

> From Constantinople, there are letters from the 18th of last month, but nothing more is learned except the arrival of the new Bailo, nor is there any mention of any significant preparations for armament there.[817]

[815] ASF, Mediceo del Principato 2979, fol. 512r, 22 November 1570, Cosimo Bartoli to Francesco de' Medici.
[816] ASF, Mediceo del Principato 2979, fol. 380r-383v, 20 May 1570, Cosimo Bartoli to Francesco de' Medici; 2979; ASF, Mediceo del Principato 3080, fol. 745r-748v, Newsletter with news from Rome (13-05-1570), Lyon (04-05-1570), Brussels (01-05-1570), Prague (03-05-1570), written by Curzio Bartoli.
[817] ASF, Mediceo del Principato 2977, fol. 9r, 15 July 1564, Cosimo Bartoli to Cosimo I or Francesco de' Medici: "Di Constantinopoli ci son lettere de 18 del passato ma non si intende altro se non l'arrivo del nuovo Bailo, né si dice cosa alcuna che di là si sia per armare che rilevi."

> From the Court of France, there are letters dated the 2nd of this month, which contain no new information except that the Queen of Spain had informed the Queen Mother that she could not travel to Bayonne before the end of April or the beginning of May.[818]
>
> Although I do not place much faith in a certain letter that arrived from Bologna, having seen it, I do not wish to fail in reporting it to Your Serenity. The Bolognese people complain about the fortification of Castelfranco, which, they write, is being worked on with many men, and they are extremely displeased about it. They also fear that a major war may soon arise in Italy, to the detriment of Your Serenity, brought by the Imperial forces, who wish to reclaim Siena and are unhappy with the new honour granted to you by the Pope [...]. I told the one who read the letter to me not to worry, as there is no such discord between Your Serenity and the Imperial forces that it should come to this, and I made light of it.[819]

In these three cases, the news was not reported in Bartoli's newsletters because he did not see the original source letters. Most of the letters Bartoli mentioned in his letters did not end up in the newsletters because either he just heard about their content and was unable to get a copy or, if he saw them, he had insufficient time to copy them or take notes. When the news appears in the newsletters, on the other hand, it means that Bartoli managed to obtain the letter text, either the original or a copy. For example, Bartoli clarified that the news brought by a ship from Candia ended up in the newsletter when he was able to get the letters: "This past Saturday, late in the day, a frigate arrived from the port of Suda in Candia, but that evening no information could be gathered, neither by myself nor by others. It was then grasped what Your Serenity

[818] ASF, Mediceo del Principato 2977, fol. 87v, 24 March 1565 (1564 in Florentine style), Cosimo Bartoli to Francesco de' Medici: "Dalla Corte di Francia ci sono lettere de 2 del presente per le quali non si ha cosa alcuna di nuovo salvo che la Regina di Spagna, haveva fatto intendere alla Regna Madre che non si poteva transferire a Baiona prima che alla fine di Aprile o, al principio di Maggio."

[819] ASF, Mediceo del Principato 2979, fol. 512r, 22 November 1570, Cosimo Bartoli to Francesco de' Medici: "Ancorché io non presti fede a certa lettera venuta da Bologna pur havendola vista non vo mancar di darne conto alla Serenità Vostra. Dolgonsi i bolognesi della fortificatione di Castelfranco alla quale scrivono che si attende con molti huomini et dispiace loro infinitamente et dubitano a tempo nuovo di una grossa guerra in Italia che venga a danni di Vostre Serenità dalli Imperiali i quali rivogliono Siena: et a quali non piace la nuova dignità concessavi dal Papa […] Io dissi a chi me la lesse che non dubitassero, che non era tal disunione di animi tra la Serenità Vostra et li Imperiali che si havessi a venir a questo. Et me ne burlai."

will see in the summaries from the letters of the eighth of September, to which, in this regard, I defer."[820]

On another occasion, the nuncio showed some *avvisi* from Speyer to Bartoli, who then included this information in the newsletter. Given the close relationship between Bartoli and the nuncio, as demonstrated by the network analysis, I assume that the nuncio either let Bartoli keep the *avvisi* temporarily or allowed him enough time to make a copy or take notes. Furthermore, evidence that Cosimo and Curzio Bartoli composed the newsletters with the text of the letters in front of them lies in the occasional slips of first-person phrases belonging to the original source, which they copied instead of removing to maintain the impersonal tone of the newsletters.

In conclusion, in the case of Cosimo Bartoli, the choice to report some news in the letters and other news in the newsletters was not based on the importance of the news or the reliability of the sources; rather, it was governed by practical concerns. When Bartoli could obtain the letters or make copies of them, he would include this information in the newsletters. However, if he had only heard about letters second-hand, or had seen them but had not had sufficient time to copy their contents, he would include this information in his regular dispatches.

5.7 Bartoli's Criteria for Source Reliability and News Credibility

Dealing with the flood of news arriving in Venice, the centre of European information in the sixteenth century, was not an easy task. Even more complicated was to ascertain its reliability, which news was true and which false. Already in 1509, the patrician Girolamo Priuli described in his diary how seeking the truth was challenging in Venice: "So many rumours, so many words, and so many false and baseless news stories were being spoken in the squares, in the loggias, in Rialto, in the churches, and in the barbershops of this city that it was impossible to discern the

[820] ASF, Mediceo del Principato 2979, fol. 496r, 21 October 1570, Cosimo Bartoli to Francesco de' Medici: "Sabato passato al tardi comparse una fregata dal Porto di Suda di Candia, né per quella sera si possette intender cosa alcuna né per me né per altri: essi di poi penetrato quel che la Serenità Vostra vedrà ne sommarii per le lettere delli otto di Settembre a quali in questa parte mi rimetto."

truth. Everyone felt free to say whatever they pleased, inventing a new story during the night and spreading it publicly in the morning."[821] Bartoli's experience as a foreigner in Venice who had to deal with the news because informing was at the heart of his work confirms Priuli's description. He complained many times that Venice was a city where speech was too free,[822] and he perceived Venetian freedom of speech as the main cause of the proliferation of lies, rumours and chatter:

> It is difficult to defend oneself from the tattle of shirkers and malicious people who, even when the wars are over, always have something to say, especially in this land where everyone's tongue is free.[823]

> I got a false piece of news from malignant persons who are never lacking in this land.[824]

> I have always said that I am not surprised that in a free city like this, where everyone can say what they please, such great and bold lies are told.[825]

The presence of false news was not only a problem in oral communication but also in the spread of written news and newsletters. In February 1572, for instance, the Council of Ten issued a strict ban on newswriters, threatening galley service or exile for anyone writing and distributing news, only ambassadors, official agents and secretaries being

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[821] Girolamo Priuli, *I diarii di Girolamo Priuli, aa. 1494-1512*, ed. Roberto Cessi, vol. 4, Rerum Italicarum scriptores: Raccolta degli storici italiani dal Cinquecento al Millecinquecento 24, part 3 (Bologna: Nicola Zanichelli, 1938), 108: "Tante zanze et tante parole et tante nove busarde et senza fondamento se dicevanno per le piaze et per le loze et per Rialto et ecclesie et botege de barbieri in la citade predicta, che non se poteva intendere una veritade, et a tutti hera licito dire quello li piaceva et pensarssi la nocte una nova et la matina publicarla"; this excerpt is also mentioned in Horodowich, "The Gossiping Tongue," 36.

[822] ASF, Mediceo del Principato 2976, fol. 73r, 9 December 1562, Cosimo Bartoli to Cosimo I de' Medici: "Venetia, città troppo libera nel parlare."

[823] ASF, Mediceo del Principato 2976, fol. 50r, 15 August 1562, Cosimo Bartoli to Bartolomeo Concino: "Si ha affanno in difendersi dalle cicalerie delli scioperoni et de maligni, le quali quanto alla guerra son finite, ma non restano però sempre di dir qualche cosa, et maximo in questa terra libera della lingua per ciascuno."

[824] ASF, Mediceo del Principato 2976, fol. 314v, 6 December 1564, Cosimo Bartoli to Cosimo I de' Medici: "Sovviemmi una novellaccia trovata da Maligni, che in questa terra non mancano mai."

[825] ASF, Mediceo del Principato 2979, fol. 232r, 1 October 1569, Cosimo Bartoli to Francesco de' Medici: "Io ho sempre detto che non mi maraviglio che in una città libera come questa, nella quale ciascun può dir ciò che li piace, si dichino sì grandi et sì fatte bugie."

exempted.[826] While the ban's text does not itself refer to false news as its motivation, both Bartoli and Paolo Geri interpreted the ban as an effort to control and restrain the spread of false news because many newswriters were writing opinions and rumours rather than facts.[827]

Bartoli's behaviour in regard to false news aligns with current practice. François de Callières, diplomat and writer, in his treatise *De la manière de négocier*, gives some instructions on how a skilful ambassador should evaluate the information and communicate it to his prince. The ambassador must not believe uncritically every piece of news he reads or hears. Instead, he must carefully evaluate multiple factors: the circumstances surrounding the news transmission; the person who provided the news; their possible partisanship and through which channels they obtained it; its consistency with existing knowledge on current affairs; and its overall plausibility. Moreover, when reporting to the prince, the ambassador must not only relay the news itself but also provide all of the details, in particular from whom and how he received it. This enables the prince to assess the news in conjunction with other sources and form a more comprehensive understanding.[828]

Given this context, it is evident that weighing the truthfulness and accuracy of the news received was one of the biggest challenges faced by an informant like Bartoli. At times, Bartoli even apologised to the Medici for potentially passing on false information because Venice was so flooded with unreliable news that distinguishing truth from fiction became extremely difficult. It, therefore, becomes interesting to investigate how Bartoli assessed the reliability of sources, which was a factor that determined whether or not a news item was reliable.

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[826] Romanin, *Storia documentata di Venezia*, VI:129; Infelise, *Prima dei giornali*, 10.

[827] ASF, Mediceo del Principato 2981, fol. 56r, 13 February 1572, Cosimo Bartoli to Francesco de' Medici: "Hieri fu mandato bando molto rigido contro a novellisti da parte de Cavi de X: cosa insolita. Credo perché molti che vivevano dello scriver nuove che qui si chiamavano la Gazetta, scrivevano cose secondo il parer loro, con non poco biasimo di questa Repubblica perchè ben spero erano tante lontane dal vero quando il levante dal ponente;" ASF, Mediceo del Principato 2981, fol. 52r, 13 February 1572, Paolo Geri to Francesco de' Medici: "Da questi signori nell'Eccellentissimo Consiglio delli Signori Dieci fu venerdì sera deliberato et stabilito che per l'advenire non fussi più lecito a nessuno, sia di che grado, stato o conditione si voglia, lo scrivere più fuori le nuove, si di questa città, come d'ogni altro loco; eccettuandone però li ambasciatori, segretarii et agenti de Principi per obviare come io credo ad un mondo di falsità che venivano scritte da molti."

[828] Petitjean, "Mots et pratiques de l'information. Ce que aviser veut dire (xvie-xviie siècles)."

In his correspondence with the Duke, Bartoli reported trustworthy news without much comment, preferring to devote more attention to discussing uncertain news. Firstly, a piece of news was not entirely believable when it was reported only in rumours and not found in letters. To cite one example among many, in August 1564, a rumour circulated in Piazza San Marco that a treaty, allegedly being negotiated by the King of Spain through a slave, had been discovered in Algiers, but Bartoli could not find evidence of this news item.[829] Moreover, when reporting news transmitted only orally, it was crucial to assess its circulation within Venice. In a letter of December 1563, for instance, Bartoli discussed a rumour about the Pope's election of new cardinals and Cosimo I de' Medici's support for two candidates. Bartoli noted that "this rumour is not only among merchants in Rialto but also in Piazza San Marco and everywhere," suggesting that the news gained more credibility and significance as it spread beyond the commercial district of Rialto to Piazza San Marco, the heart of political power.[830]

A news item was considered not very convincing if reported by only one person or source. Indeed, verification consisted of comparing news from an uncertain source with other letters and newsletters, or consulting a well-informed and reliable person.[831] A similar practice occurs in today's newspaper offices, which should wait for more than one source before publishing a news item and employ fact-checkers to verify reporters' articles.[832] Bartoli's precaution of waiting for a second news item confirming the first was applied not only to spoken news but also to written news, leading to the conclusion that the written medium did not offer more credibility than the oral. For written news, verification required not only receiving it from several sources but also checking if it came from places close to where the events had occurred and if it was confirmed in the following days and weeks. For instance, the

[829] ASF, Mediceo del Principato 2977, fol. 20v, 13 August 1564, Cosimo Bartoli to Francesco de' Medici.
[830] ASF, Mediceo del Principato 2976, fol. 240r, 22 December 1563, Cosimo Bartoli to Francesco de' Medici: "questa voce non è solo fra mercanti in Rialto; ma anche in Piazza San Marco e dovunque."
[831] ASF, Mediceo del Principato 2978, fol. 157v, 15 Janaury 1567 (1566 in Florentine style), Cosimo Bartoli to Francesco de' Medici: "Stamani si è detto per San Marco che il Canaletto proveditor del Golfo haveva prese due fuste di corsali, ma per ancora non si presta fede se non comparisce la seconda nuova."
[832] Alvin I. Goldman, "The Social Epistemology of Blogging," in *Information Technology and Moral Philosophy*, ed. Jeroen van den Hoven and John Weckert (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008), 117, https://doi.org/10.1017/CBO9780511498725.007.

news of Charles IX's victory against the Huguenots that arrived in a letter of March 12, 1568, from Vienna was not believed to be true because no letters reporting it had arrived from closer and more plausible places, such as France and Savoy.[833]

Bartoli would compare news items written from the same place or reports of the same events and notify when an event was present only in one letter and not in others.[834] However, it was not enough that several sources reported the same news.[835] A second key factor was the origin of the source—i.e. who reported it, their position, their credibility and their relationship with Bartoli.

Information obtained through official channels, such as other diplomats or representatives of the Republic of Venice, was more reliable than that reported only in "lettere di particulari" (letters of a private nature).[836] If the news was only in the merchants' letters, "there being no such *avviso* in any ambassador or agent of princes, no faith is lent it."[837] It was very common that Bartoli spoke directly to foreign diplomats or Venetian patricians to assess the reliability of a news item that had come to his attention. Diplomats, apart from being sources of information per se, were approached by Bartoli for confirmation of rumours that were circulating on the assumption that they would receive first-hand news from their country of origin.[838] In some cases, even the letters received by the Florentine ambassador at the Imperial Court served as a comparison with those circulating in Venice.[839] On one occasion, Bartoli went directly to request confirmation from Marino Cavalli, a Procurator of Saint

[833] ASF, Mediceo del Principato 2978, fol. 317r, 20 March 1568 (1567 in Florentine style), Cosimo Bartoli to Francesco de' Medici: "Scrivemi poi il Labbe per una sua de 12 queste parole: In questo punto è comparsa nuova che il Re Cristianissimo ha ottenuto vittoria contro a suoi rebelli. Ma per non ci esser questa nuova per altra via che di Vienna non se le presta fede perché per via di Francia o di Savoia ce ne doveriano essere più corrieri."
[834] ASF, Mediceo del Principato 2979, fol. 347r, 15 April 1570, Cosimo Bartoli to Francesco de' Medici.
[835] ASF, Mediceo del Principato 2976, fol. 135r, 30 April 1563, Cosimo Bartoli to Cosimo I de' Medici.
[836] ASF, Mediceo del Principato 2976, fol. 210v, 30 October 1563, Cosimo Bartoli to Francesco de' Medici.
[837] ASF, Mediceo del Principato 2981, fol. 223v, 23 October 1572, Cosimo Bartoli to Francesco de' Medici.
[838] ASF, Mediceo del Principato 2976, fol. 168v, 24 June 1563, Cosimo Bartoli to Cosimo I de' Medici; ASF, Mediceo del Principato 2977, fol. 103v, 28 March 1565, Cosimo Bartoli to Francesco de' Medici; ASF, Mediceo del Principato 2980, fol. 96r, 12 May 1571, Cosimo Bartoli to Francesco de' Medici.
[839] ASF, Mediceo del Principato 2976, fol. 298v, 3 June 1564, Cosimo Bartoli to Cosimo I or Francesco de' Medici.

Mark,[840] the second most prestigious official position after the Doge.[841] At the beginning of April 1569, while gathering information about the French Religious Wars, he saw a letter from Lyon by the master of couriers of France, but he did not give it full credence until he found confirmation in other letters. The rumour that the Republic had received information from Savoy about the death of the King of Navarre and the appointment of the Duke of Anjou, brother of the King of France, as the new King of Navarre was "universally spread throughout the city." To verify the truthfulness of the news, which, if true, could have had significant implications for the victory of the Catholic forces against the Huguenots, Bartoli waited in Piazza San Marco for the Collegio to end and then approached Marino Cavalli to ask him for confirmation of the rumours. Cavalli replied that "there was no other piece of news except the one brought by the master of the couriers of France, to which they did not lend absolute faith, because if this news item had been in Lyon, there should have been more letters concerning it."[842]

If information received through official or diplomatic channels had greater credibility, Bartoli used his entire network of contacts to seek the truth. In July 1568, for instance, letters from Milan reported that the Duke of Savoy had discovered the treason of one of his lieutenants and had executed him. The news was confirmed by letters from Rome, but neither the Republic nor the Savoy's ambassador in Venice received that piece of information. In this uncertainty, to obtain some breaking news, Bartoli turned to the famous architect Andrea Palladio, a "friend of mine and trusted person," who had just returned from a trip in Piedmont.[843] Palladio confirmed the

[840] Achille Olivieri, "CAVALLI, Marino," in *Dizionario Biografico degli Italiani*, 1979.
[841] Frederic C. Lane, *Venice: A Maritime Republic* (Baltimore and London: The John Hopkins University Press, 1973), 98.
[842] ASF, Mediceo del Principato 2979, fol. 141r-v, 6 April 1569, Cosimo Bartoli to Francesco de' Medici: "Del che volendo io certificarmi aspettai stamani che il Collegio uscisse, et accostatomi al Clarissimo messer Marin Cavalli mi disse che non ci era altra nuova che quella che haveva il sopradetto maestro de Corrieri di Francia, alla quale non prestavano interissima fede, parendo loro ragionevole che se tal nuova fusse stata in Lione che a questa hore ce ne dovessino essere più lettere, o di quivi o per via di Savoia, sì come hebbono la nuova del fatto d'arme."
[843] Antonio Secondo Tessari, "Sul soggiorno di Andrea Palladio a Torino per le questioni militari di Emanuele Filiberto," *Studi Piemontesi* 22, no. 1 (1993): 9–20; Guido Beltramini, "PALLADIO, Andrea," in *Dizionario Biografico degli Italiani*, 2014.

event, stating that in Turin, before his leaving, the treason and execution had already been a "public matter."[844]

Beyond flagging unverified news, Bartoli also cautioned the Medici about information coming from biased sources. For example, regarding some news about the transfer of the Council of Trent to Constance or somewhere in Germany, Bartoli claimed that the letters reporting this were from suspicious persons or might even have been invented in some Italian writers' workshops.[845] There are several instances where he advised caution in believing the narration of specific events when reported by *appassionati* (passionate people), a term used to describe Huguenots or Huguenot sympathisers.[846] These warnings were especially common when Bartoli reported *avvisi* obtained from Medoro Nucci. Bartoli wrote: "Medoro's news always [comes] with a hint of Huguenot passion"[847] and "Along with these two sheets, there will be one sent to me by Medoro, in whom I place no trust, as it is clear in all his actions that he is a Huguenot and is passionate. But, as a two-faced person, he strikes one blow to the cask and another to the hoop."[848] These are two examples of Bartoli's hard judgement of Medoro. However, the intentions behind those disclaimers remain

[844] ASF, Mediceo del Principato 2979, fol. 37v, 3 July 1568, Cosimo Bartoli to Francesco de' Medici: "Qui son lettere di Milano de 23 del passato per le quali si intende che il Signor Duca di Savoia haveva scoperto un trattato che faceva un suo luogotenente del Castellano di Niza di voler dare quella fortezza al Re d'Algieri, et che di già lo haveva fatto giustiziare. Ma questi Signori non hanno nuova nè tampoco lo ambasciator di Savoia. Pur si va verificando per lettere di Roma che il detto Duca haveva non solo fatto giustiziare detto delinquente ma seco 26 altri complici. Da Turino è qui venuto il Palladio Architettore amico mio et personaggio di fede, che mi ha detto che avanti sua partita di Turino il Duca era andato a Nizza per questo conto et che la per tutto era la cosa publica, et si haveva avanti che esso partissi ordinato che il ministro della giustizia si transferissi a Nizza et si dice che il trattato lo ha scoperto il Governatore di Marsilia."

[845] ASF, Mediceo del Principato 2976, fol. 139r, 29 May 1563, Cosimo Bartoli to Cosimo I de' Medici: "Ci sono lettere in alcuni che dicono che il Concilio si trasferirà in Gostanza o, in alcuna altra terra di Germania, ma per quanto io ritraggo sono lettere o di persone sospette, o forse finte in qualche scrittoio di Italia."

[846] ASF, Mediceo del Principato 3079, fol. 263v, Newsletter with news from Paris (03-12-1562), written by Cosimo Bartoli: "Che si diceva Monsignor di Guisa era stato ferito nella scaramuccia. Che si diceva che il Re et la Regina volendo ritirarsi in Bles eran stati presi. A questo aviso che qui è comparso in lingua todesca non si dà troppa fede perché esce da persone appassionate pur l'ho voluto mandare per supplemento;" ASF, Mediceo del Principato 3079, fol. 201r, Newsletter with news from Savoy (dd-09-1562), written by Cosimo Bartoli: "A questo aviso dell'Imbasciador di questi Signori non do molta fede perché lo ho da persona appassionata."

[847] ASF, Mediceo del Principato 3079, fol. 240r, Newslettrer with news from Augsburg (12-09-1562), written by Cosimo Bartoli: "Avisi di Medoro sempre con qualche sprazo di passione Ugonottesca."

[848] ASF, Mediceo del Principato 3079, fol. 240r, Newslettrer written by Cosimo Bartoli: "Sarà insieme con questi due fogli uno che mi ha mandato Medoro al quale io non presto fede perchè si vede in tutte le azzioni sue che è Ugonotto et ci ha passione ma come persona doppia dà un colpo alla botte et l altra al cerchio."

unclear: he might have been trying to provide the Medici with a more complete context, or he might have been motivated by religious differences, or it might have been an attempt to discredit Medoro, whom he viewed as a rival since Medoro had temporarily replaced Gelido during the vacancy.

In conclusion, verifying news in sixteenth-century Venice was a complex and demanding job that required considerable expertise. A good informer had to possess multiple skills: keeping their ears and eyes always open to listen to rumours and read or spy correspondence carefully, cross-referencing various sources, knowing what factors to take into account when evaluating the credibility of a report and, above all, maintaining a reliable network of contacts. However, Bartoli's focus on recognising false news was so strong that, at least in one case, a true news item was believed to be false because it seemed too implausible. In some letters of April 24, 1568, from London, Bartoli read that on April 14, Mary, the Queen of Scots, had tried to escape, dressed as a laundress, from Lochleven, the lake-moated castle where she had been imprisoned. When the boatmen asked to see her face uncovered, she refused and killed some of them; after being recognised, she was brought back to the castle by the remaining boatmen, who promised not to say anything to the castellan who had her in custody. Bartoli commented on this piece of news, writing "I don't know how anyone can believe this news, but I wrote it so Your Highness would know what is reported here."[849] Although he presented it as a false news story, the abortive attempt to escape does indeed have some degree of truth and, with some different details, has been recounted in many popular biographies of Queen Mary.[850] Also, a letter sent by Sir William Drury from Berwick-upon-Tweed to Sir William Cecil on April 3, 1568, confirms

[849] ASF, Mediceo del Principato 2979, fol. 11r, 15 May 1568, Cosimo Bartoli to Francesco de' Medici: "Per lettere ancora di Londra de 24 d'aprile […] Affermano che alli 14 di questo la detta Regina vestitasi delle vesti di una sua lavandara, et lasciata lei con le sua nelle sue stanze, se ne era uscita di castello, et inbarcatasi in una barca con animo di fuggirsene. Ma li barcaruoli la volsero vedere a faccia scoperta, et riconoscerla se ben ella ne havea fatta difesa di sua mano con grande animo ammazandone alcuni, comandando a pena della vita agli altri che la conducessero alla altra riva dove era aspettata da 2 huomini con duoi cavalli. Il che li barcaroli non volsero fare, anzi la ritornaron in castello promettendole che non lo direbbon al castellano. Io non so come a questi avisi si possa prestar fede, ma li ho voluti mandare acciò Vostra Altezza sappi tutto quel che di qua passa."

[850] Antonia Fraser, *Mary Queen of Scots* (New York: Delta, 1993), 355; John Guy, *Queen of Scots: The True Life of Mary Stuart* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 2005), 355; Retha M. Warnicke, *Mary Queen of Scots* (London: Routledge, 2006): mentioned the successful escape of Queen Mary, not the first attempt, on May 2, 1568; Stefan Zweig, *Mary Stuart* (London: Pushkin Press, 2018).

the attempted escape.[851] Likely, the narrative was distorted and exaggerated in the transmission from Scotland to London and then to Venice to such an extent that Bartoli did not assess it as true.

5.8 The Medici's Relationship with News

The spider-king image, originally associated with Philip II of Spain, applies to Cosimo I de' Medici as well. He had indeed built a web of secretaries and diplomats, inside and outside the state, to control the stream of information and strengthen his power and position at home and abroad. The tangible result of this web is the thousands of letters and documents preserved today in the Mediceo del Principato collection, described by Contini as a documentary arsenal.[852] This raises a central question: how did Cosimo I and his secretaries cope with the overload of information arriving daily? After all, Bartoli's letters and newsletters constitute only a fraction of the intelligence the Duke received from his various correspondents. His contemporary Benedetto Varchi wrote on this subject: "Duke Cosimo [...] received so many letters, so many *avvisi*, so many extracts every day, that I wonder how he had time, I do not say to consider them, and answer them, but at least to read them."[853] To gain a more comprehensive understanding of the news reported by Bartoli in letters and newsletters, it is also crucial to look into how they were utilised and managed within the Florentine secretariat, at least during the time period covered by this research.

Firstly, the minutes of the replies sent by Duke Cosimo to the Florentine diplomats abroad confirm that the newsletters were read by him, or at least by one of his secretaries. Almost always the response included a comment pertaining to the reception of the newsletters and how glad he was to read the news contained in them:

[851] Robert Keith, *The History of the Affairs of Church and State in Scotland, from the Beginning of the Reformation to the Year 1568*, vol. 2 (Edinburgh: Printed for the Spottiswoode Society, 1844), 789–93.
[852] Contini, "Dinastia, patriziato e politica estera: ambasciatori e segretari medicei nel Cinquecento," 77.
[853] Varchi, *Storia fiorentina di Benedetto Varchi con aggiunte e correzioni tratte dagli autografi e corredata di note per cura e opera di Lelio Arbib*, 1844, III:337: "Duca Cosimo [...] gli venivano ogni giorno tante lettere, tanti avvisi, tanti estratti, che io per me mi fo maraviglia come avesse tempo, non dico di considerarle e far risponder loro, ma di leggerle."

"The *avvisi* are dear to us;"[854] "The other news and copies have brought us pleasure, and we commend you for them;"[855] "We have received your letter together with the newsletter, which was very copious and delighted us greatly."[856] Although these references may be standard diplomatic rhetoric, they demonstrate that the news was read, proving the Duke's genuine and keen interest in staying informed. There were also occasions where he complained about the quality of the *avvisi*. Writing to his agent in Milan, he defined the pieces of news received from France and Barcelona as *molesti* (annoying).[857] In another case, in a letter to his ambassador in Ferrara, he regretted the news items given by the Duke of Ferrara because they were too excessive and of poor quality.[858] These complaints reveal that he cared about the quality and content of the intelligence he received, not just about being informed.

Cosimo I probably did not personally read all of the letters and newsletters, however. Lamal found evidence that the ducal secretary Bartolomeo Concino selected the most significant news items from the letters and newsletters received and compiled them into a summary.[859] In the summary, he left a blank space after each news item so that the Duke could write down his replies or comments. There is a volume containing summaries of letters made by the secretaries Bartolomeo Concino and Antonio Serguidi, which includes Cosimo Bartoli's. It demonstrates that Bartoli's letters and newsletters underwent this processing system at least occasionally.[860] A specific example from July 30, 1572, shows Concino's working method: he took only three news items from a three-page letter written by Cosimo Bartoli and included them in his summary, along with information from other letters. Rather than copying

[854] ASF, Mediceo del Principato 217, fol. 91v, 8 April 1562, Cosimo I de' Medici to Giovanni di Carlo Strozzi: "li avvisi ci son cari."
[855] ASF, Mediceo del Principato 217, fol. 8r, 20 December 1561, Cosimo I de' Medici to Fabrizio Ferrari: "Li altri avisi et le copie ci hanno portato piacere, et ve ne commendiamo."
[856] ASF, Mediceo del Principato 216, fol. 88v, 26 June 1562, Cosimo I de' Medici to Cosimo Bartoli: "Si è ricevuto la lettera vostra insieme con la nota degli avvisi, la quale come molto copiosa ci ha dilettato grandemente."
[857] ASF, Mediceo del Principato 217, fol. 126v, 26 May 1562, Cosimo I de' Medici to Fabrizio Ferrari: "Li avvisi di Francia et di Barzelona ci sono stati molesti."
[858] ASF, Mediceo del Principato 217, fol. 116v, 15 May 1562, Cosimo I de' Medici to Sallustio Piccolomini: "Gl'avisi che Sua Eccellenza vi ha dati di Francia ci hanno portato dispiacere, sendocene pur troppi et di mala qualità."
[859] Lamal, *Italian Communication on the Revolt in the Low Countries (1566-1648)*, 41–46.
[860] ASF, Carte Strozziane, Serie I, XXXIX: see Archivio di Stato di Firenze, *Le Carte Strozziane del R. Archivio di Stato in Firenze. Inventario. Serie Prima*, ed. Cesare Guasti, vol. I (Firenze: Tipografia Galileiana, 1884), 197–202.

Bartoli's text verbatim, Concino paraphrased and condensed the most important information into three brief paragraphs (ANNEX FOUR).[861] The documents themselves provide proof of how Bartoli's documents were processed in Florence. In one case, either Cosimo I or Francesco de' Medici read Bartoli's letter and wrote some notes for the secretaries at the bottom of the page.[862] When a letter was rich in significant news, Concino did not write a summary but sent it entirely to Cosimo.[863] A marking system for the newsletter was also used sporadically: some paragraphs were indicated with the letter "y" or with a dash, which was presumably done to draw attention to passages that the secretaries wished the Duke to read (Figure 69).[864]

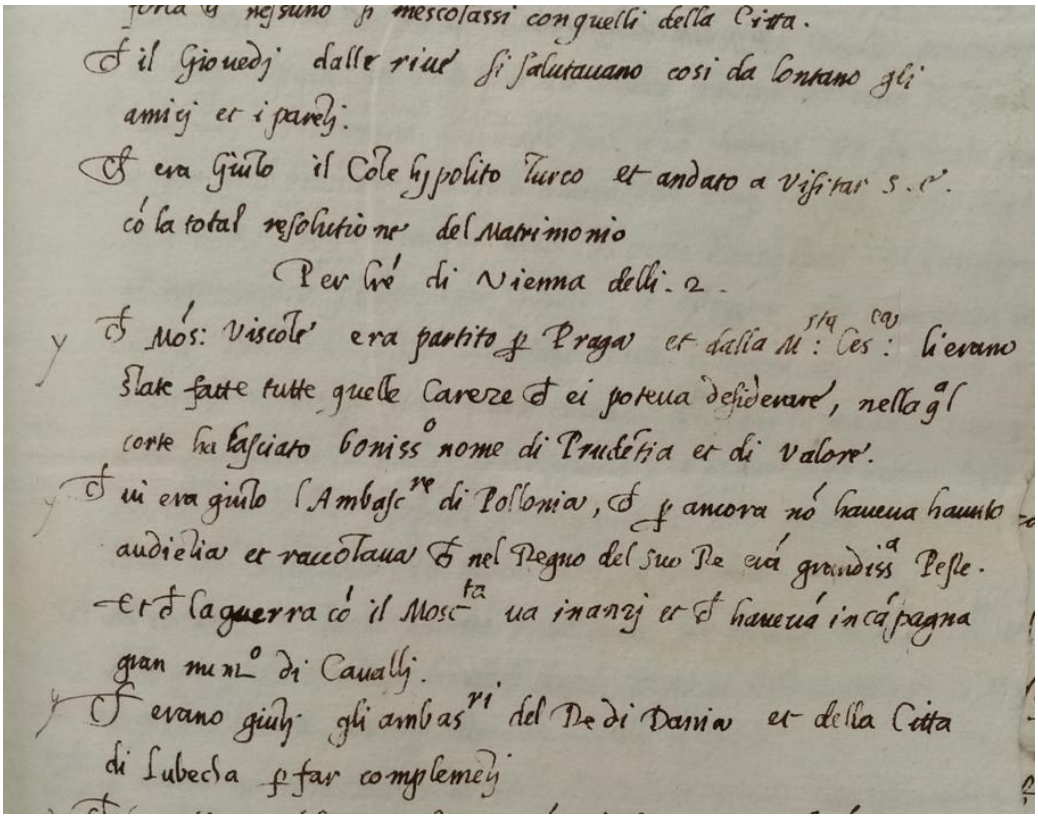


Figure 69. Some News Items in a Newsletter Are Marked with the Letter "y". ASF, Mdp 3079, fol. 529r

[861] ASF, Carte Strozziane, Serie I, XXXIX, fol. 83r, 30 July 1572, Concino Bartolomeo to Cosimo I de' Medici.
[862] ASF, Mediceo del Principato 2979, fol. 436v, 1 July 1570, Cosimo Bartoli to Francesco de' Medici.
[863] ASF, Carte Strozziane, Serie I, XXXIX, fol. 19v, 7 July 1570, Concino Bartolomeo to Cosimo I de' Medici: "Quel che ci sia di Venetia lo vederà Vostra Altezza nell'istessa lettera del Bartholi parendomi da mandarla per esser copiosa."
[864] ASF, Mediceo del Principato 3079, fol. 460r-v, Newsletters with news from Rome (04-11-1564), written by Cosimo Bartoli; ASF, Mediceo del Principato 3079, fol. 529r, Newsletters with news from Vienna, written by Cosimo Bartoli.

The motivations behind the desire of some early modern rulers to collect manuscript newsletters were varied. The Holy See's secretariat viewed the newsletters sent by their diplomats abroad as a complement to the official diplomatic dispatches; newsletters were particularly significant for learning about events happening in non-Catholic areas where no nuncios resided. For small states such as Urbino and Florence, unable to maintain an army comparable to that of powerful kingdoms, receiving timely news became vital to assess potential threats beforehand and, in case of risk, make informed decisions that would ensure the state's survival. However, Francesco Maria II della Rovere, the last Duke of Urbino, also gathered newsletters because of his curiosity about what was going on in the world. On the other hand, newsletters could be used to monitor news circulation and opinions, as the Venetian Inquisitors did in Venice.[865]

The approach of Cosimo I to news gathering was complex and driven by several purposes. Firstly, receiving accurate and timely information acted as an invisible defence mechanism during wars, the formation of alliances, papal conclaves or even plague outbreaks. In several letters, for instance, Bartoli warned the Duke about rumours of plague cases, even if those reports did not always turn out to be true.[866] In a newsletter, he even provided a list of all of the plague-suspected places.[867] Early modern states' best defence against plague was receiving prompt and specific information about outbreaks and suspicious deaths from their representatives abroad. This intelligence enabled them to implement measures quickly to stop the epidemic from spreading through their territories and to safeguard public health.[868]

As well as being a defence tool, news could also serve to demonstrate the influence and centrality of a state at the European level, and this was especially true

[865] Petitjean, "Mots et pratiques de l'information. Ce que aviser veut dire (xvie-xviie siècles)."
[866] ASF, Mediceo del Principato 2977, fol. 4r, 24 June 1564, Cosimo Bartoli to Cosimo I or Francesco de' Medici; ASF, Mediceo del Principato 2978, fol. 201r, 17 May 1567, Cosimo Bartoli to Francesco de' Medici; ASF, Mediceo del Principato 2978, fol. 207r, 1 July 1570, Cosimo Bartoli to Francesco de' Medici.r
[867] ASF, Mediceo del Principato 3079, fol. 257v, Newsletter written by Cosimo Bartoli: "Nota di luoghi sospetti di Peste."
[868] Duane J. Osheim, "Plague and Foreign Threats to Public Health in Early Modern Venice," *Mediterranean Historical Review* 26, no. 1 (2011): 69–70, https://doi.org/10.1080/09518967.2010.536668.

for small states competing to maintain a role and influence in the Italian scene. In 1562, for instance, Cosimo I wrote to his ambassador in Ferrara that the *avvisi* from Venice regarding the death of Carlos, Prince of Asturias and Philipp II's son, were false because he had received a letter directly from the King assuring the Prince's health, as well as information from his son, Francesco, who had recently arrived in Spain for a visit to that court.[869] He urged his ambassador to inform the Duke of Ferrara about it, who was a rival of the Medici for precedence in most of the European courts, because he wanted to flaunt his direct connections to the Spanish Court and prove his ability to spot false information thanks to his extensive network of informers.

The Medici often received newsletters reporting the same events from different agents and informers. Comparing them was essential for establishing the truthfulness of the accounts, as well as assessing the reliability of the source and the work of the informers. In 1562, Cosimo I wrote to his agent in Milan that the news item concerning the War of Religion in France was true because he had received the same information from various places.[870] In a letter to the ambassador in Ferrara, he underlined the value of old news: "The *avvisi*, which you sent to us, have pleased us, and even if you receive news from there with a delay, we want you to write to us everything that comes to your attention, since although it is old, it is at least useful to us as a confirmation of what we have from other places."[871] In addition to proving that comparing news from various sources was a common practice in the Florentine secretariat, this demonstrates how Cosimo I valued the most recent news just as much as the older: it was essential not only to receive the news quickly, but also to be able to assess its truthfulness independently.

[869] ASF, Mediceo del Principato 217, fol. 74r, 11 June 1562, Cosimo I de' Medici to Sallustio Piccolomini: "A fin che restiate certo de falsi avisi venuti di Venetia secondo che ci dite con la vostra delli VIII vi mandiamo la salute del Signor Principe di Spagna della quale Sua Maestà Cattolica ci ha scritto tre di fa largamente et hora per avisi più freschi ce ne assicura il Principe nostro figliolo quale era arrivato in Roses alli IIII; Darete conto di tutto a Sua Eccellenza presentandogli la lettera credentiale in voi."
[870] ASF, Mediceo del Principato 217, fol. 138v, 2 August 1562, Cosimo I de' Medici to Fabrizio Ferrari: "L'avviso che è venuto costa dall'Ambasciatore Veneto residente in Savoia sopra le cose di Francia sarà vero perchè noi intendiamo il medesimo da più bande."
[871] ASF, Mediceo del Principato 216, fol. 4v-5r, 26 June 1561, Cosimo I de' Medici to Sallustio Piccolomini: "Li avvisi, che ci havete inviati ci son piaciuti, et se ben dalle bande di là non scrivono se non tardi non vogliamo però, che lasciate di scriverci tutto quel che vi viene in notitia, atteso che seben son vechi ci servono almeno per riscontro di quei che teniamo d'altre bandi."

Cosimo I also used news as goods in exchange. The exchange of information was not one-way. The Duke received newsletters from his agents and informers, but he also became a news distributor by forwarding them to his distinguished correspondents. For instance, the letters' minutes reveal that there was an exchange of newsletters between Cosimo I and the viceroy of Naples, Pedro Afàn de Ribera. The latter sent newsletters and reports from the Levant to Florence, while Cosimo I returned the favour by reciprocating with newsletters. Unfortunately, the Duke's letters only mention the "attached summaries" and it is not clear whether he sent a summary drafted in the Florentine secretariat, such as those written by Bartolomeo Concino, or if he was forwarding copies of the newsletters received by his agents, such as those from Bartoli. Unspecified news summaries were also sent to Garzia Alvarez de Toledo, viceroy of Catalonia and brother-in-law of Cosimo I. Cosimo I's letter concludes: "What more I can tell you from here is written in the enclosed summaries,"[872] using the same formula that Bartoli and other Florentine agents used to refer to the attached newsletters.

Finally, newsletters could also serve as a source of entertainment at court, particularly when they reported false stories or gossip. In 1561, Cosimo expressed this in a letter to Bartoli's predecessor, Piero Gelido: "Gossip is dear to us because among so many occupations it is good to be distracted and entertained by some funny stories, such as the one about 44,000 exiles that you reported in your last letter."[873] In one instance, Bartoli himself described a newsletter from Salò, a town on Lake Garda, as "da ridere" (a laughing matter).[874] This definition resulted from the content, which, even in the sixteenth century, was hard for a learned man to believe. The funny newsletter included accounts of various monstrous births: a creature with a dog's head and a calf's body, another with four legs, and one with devil-like horns and a tail.

[872] ASF, Mediceo del Principato 219, fol. 150v, 13 July 1563, Cosimo I de' Medici to Garcia Alvarez de Toledo y Osorio: "Quel che di qua potrei dirle di più sarà notato nelli allegati summari."
[873] ASF, Mediceo del Principato 216, fol. 5v, 26 June 1561, Cosimo I de' Medici to Pietro Gelido: "Le ciancie ci son care perché infra tante occupazioni è bene recrearse con qualche favola da ridere si come è quella de 44mila fuoriusciti che scrivete con l'ultima de XXI."
[874] ASF, Mediceo del Principato 3079, fol. 224v, Newsletter with news from Salò (18-08-1562), written by Cosimo Bartoli: "Per lettere de xviii di Salò da ridere."

In addition to all these elements prompting the Medici to search for news, Bartoli's letters reveal that the Medici were also very interested in their reputation abroad and in monitoring all news about them, whether true or false. In 1562, after the death of Giovanni de' Medici, Bartoli reported the rumour, circulated both through the French ambassador's brother and in a letter from Rome, that Giovanni had been killed by his brother, Don Garzia de' Medici, during a fight.[875] In another instance, in March 1564, Bartoli wrote that Maximillian II, King of the Romans, was spreading word in Vienna that Cosimo I intended to become a cardinal.[876] Several months later, in December 1564, the news resurfaced in an exaggerated version: supposedly, Cosimo I planned to appoint 15 or 20 cardinals loyal to him, then be elected pope in the next conclave, and finally nominate his son Francesco as king of Tuscany.[877]

Bartoli's letters show his discomfort in reporting such news. He consistently tried to downplay these stories by saying that they were just "cose da ridere" (things to laugh about), "cicalerie" (rumours) or "inventioni dei maligni" (inventions of malicious persons). He also hastened to describe how he had answered and refuted particular slanderous assertions. However, it appears that the Medici themselves actually requested these reports about current rumours. Cosimo I explained their value to Bartoli in a letter: "We have received your letter together with the note of the newsletter, which, being very long, has delighted us greatly; keep on writing to us, on every occasion, all that you can understand because, even if lies are often told, they cannot harm us, since we receive evidence from different places and since lies are many times a clue to the current moods."[878] Thus, false news, whether appearing in newsletters or circulating in public squares, served as a valuable gauge of public

[875] ASF, Mediceo del Principato 2976, fol. 73r, 9 December 1562, Cosimo Bartoli to Cosimo I de' Medici; ASF, Mediceo del Principato 2976, fol. 84r, 16 December 1562, Cosimo Bartoli to Cosimo I de' Medici.
[876] ASF, Mediceo del Principato 2976, fol. 109r, 15 March 1564 (1563 in Florentine style), Cosimo Bartoli to Cosimo I de' Medici.
[877] ASF, Mediceo del Principato 2976, fol. 293v, 20 May 1564, Cosimo Bartoli to Cosimo I de' Medici.
[878] ASF, Mediceo del Principato 216, fol. 88v, 27 June 1562, Cosimo I de' Medici to Cosimo Bartoli: "Si è ricevuto la lettera vostra insieme con la nota degli avvisi, la quale come molto copiosa ci ha dilettato grandemente; seguitate di scriverci per ogni occasione tutto quello, che potrete intendere, perchè se bene vengano dette spesso delle bugie non possano però nuocerci havendo il riscontro del tutto da diverse bande, et cavandosi da essi molte volte inditio degli humori che girano."

opinion and how current events were perceived.[879] Cosimo I collected news about the Medici family for the same reasons.

Two instances of rumours about the Medici also reveal the limitations of Bartoli's position as a Florentine agent. In several letters, he reported the rumour, spread among the Genoese and echoed in letters from Rome, that Cosimo I was helping Sampiero Corso, a famous soldier who fought to free Corsica from Genoa, by sending him money, ammunition and supplies. Bartoli dismissed these claims as "ciarleria" (quackery) and tried to defuse them by emphasising Cosimo I's commitment to peace.[880] He was unaware that Cosimo I was indeed supporting Sampiero Corso.[881] Another similar situation occurred in April 1570, when "infinite lettere" (endless letters) arrived in Venice from Florence, Rome and Bologna reporting that Cosimo I had married the daughter of Antonio Martelli.[882] The following week, Bartoli warned that the news item, spread by the newswriter Alfonso del Sale, risked circulating not only in Venice but also in France, Spain, Flanders, England and Germany.[883] As in the previous case, the news of the marriage was actually true, but Bartoli did not know it. This posed a significant problem for his diplomatic duties, because successful diplomats needed in-depth knowledge of their home state's affairs to use the reliable news from home as a bargaining chip to get more information from other diplomats.[884] Yet, the Medici apparently shared little information about Tuscan affairs with Bartoli, depriving him of this crucial diplomatic asset.

[879] Barker, "'Secret and Uncertain': A History of Avvisi at the Court of the Medici Grand Dukes," 733.
[880] ASF, Mediceo del Principato 2976, fol. 317v, 13 December 1564, Cosimo Bartoli to Francesco de' Medici; ASF, Mediceo del Principato 2977, fol. 31r, 9 September 1564, Cosimo Bartoli to Cosimo I or Francesco de' Medici; ASF, Mediceo del Principato 2977, fol. 71v, 17 January 1565 (1564 in Florentine style), Cosimo Bartoli to Cosimo or Francesco I de' Medici.
[881] Giovanni Livi, *La Corsica e Cosimo I de' Medici: Studio storico* (Firenze: Bencini, 1885), 154.
[882] ASF, Mediceo del Principato 2979, fol. 346v, 15 April 1570, Cosimo Bartoli to Francesco de' Medici.
[883] ASF, Mediceo del Principato 2979, fol. 352r, 22 April 1570, Copy of a letter written by Cosimo Bartoli to Alessandro di Ottaviano de' Medici.
[884] Machiavelli, "Memoriale a Raffaello Girolami quando ai 23 d'ottobre partì per Spagna all'Imperatore," 226–27; Petitjean, "Mots et pratiques de l'information. Ce que aviser veut dire (xvie-xviie siècles)."

ANNEX THREE

Comparison between the Content of a Letter Sent by Cosimo Bartoli and the Content of the Newsletter Attached to It

Letter: ASF, Mediceo del Principato 2981, fol. 124r-125v, 26 April 1572, Cosimo Bartoli to Prince Francesco de' Medici.

Most Serene Prince, My Observant Lord and Patron, Last Saturday, I wrote about what I needed and sent Girolamo Morando, as you will have seen, and I believe he will prove to be a man who knows more how to act than to speak, as he is regarded here by those who know him. Subsequently, I received a letter from Concino acknowledging receipt of mine to Your Serenity. Letters arrived from Genoa dated the 28th of March from Spain, bringing news that the Duke of Sessa had departed for Italy and is said to be the lieutenant of Lord Don Giovanni, with Lord Antonio Doria and Don Ferrante Lofredo, Marquis of Trevico, serving as his counselors. Furthermore, Giorgio Manriches is said to	Serenissimo Principe Signor et Patron mio osservantissimo, Scrissi sabato passato quanto mi occorreva et mandai Girolamo Morando come quella harà veduto, et credo riuscirà homo che saprà più fare che dire, che tale è tenuto qui da chi lo conosce. Di poi ho una lettera del Concino che accusa la ricevuta delle mie a Vostra Serenità. Furonci lettere di Genova per de 28 di marzo di Spagna che danno nuova che il Duca di Sessa era partito per Italia et dicono che sarà luogotenente del Signor Don Giovanni et che il Signor Antonio Doria et Don Ferrante Lofredo Marchese di Trevico saranno suoi Consiglieri. Et che Giorgio Manriches sarà Comessario Maggior della Armata. Et che la gente

be the Major Commissioner of the army. Spanish troops are reportedly boarding ships for Messina. From Ragusa, a boat brought letters dated the 14th reporting that a man sent by Monsignor of Aix had arrived there, bringing news that he reached Constantinople on the 13th of the past month and was met by 2,000 horsemen and a pasha. He was expected to have an audience on the 15th. The Turk had left Adrianople and reached Constantinople to be present for the ambassador's arrival. The escort of so many horsemen, as I gather here, was meant to assure him that no harm would come to him from the people. Moreover, there were rumours that he came as an ambassador of all Christians to request peace from the Turk. Those people were suspicious, thinking the Turk was giving too much importance to this ambassador, who was said to have secured the release of three slaves, two Romans, and one Neapolitan. It was also reported that the ambassador had been presented with four gold robes by the Lord and that the Turk had calmed the Janissaries, who had risen up saying they did not want to take up arms against Christians, considering the war unjust, by giving them ten sequins each. These Lords have made a new Procurator of San Marco for money: Messer Girolamo	spagnola sera imbarcata sopra le Navi per a Messina. Di Raugia per una barca et furon lettere de 14 che ivi era giunto uno homo di Monsignor di Ax che dava nuova che egli era arrivato alla Porta alli 13 del passato et era stato incontrato da 2 mila Cavalli et un bascia, et doveva haver l'audienza alli 15 per il che il Turco era partito di Andrinopoli et arrivato in Constantinopoli per trovarvisi allo arrivo di detto Ambasciatore et lo esser incontrato da tanti cavalli era stato per quanto io qui ritragho per assicurarlo che da popoli non li fussi fatto oltraggio, et inoltre havevano sparsa fama che veniva là per ambasciador di tutti i Cristiani a chieder al Turco la pace, essendo quei popoli insospettiti parendo loro che il Turco tenessi troppo gran conto di detto Ambasciatore il quale si dice che haveva ottenuto la liberatione di 3 stiavi, 2 Romani et un Napolitano. Soggiugnesi che detto Ambasciatore era stato presentato dal Signor di 4 veste d'oro, et che il Turco haveva aquietato il romor de Giannizeri sollevatissi con dir che non volevano pigliar le armi contro a Christiani essendo guerra ingiusta, con haver donato x Zechini per uno. Questi Signori fecero un nuovo Proccurator di San Marco per danari che fu messer Girolamo Contarini dalle Palate per 19 mila scudi, et

Contarini from the Palate for 19,000 scudi. Some others who wanted to propose themselves refrained, certain they would lose against him. Therefore, they will wait for a better opportunity.	alcuni altri che si volevano far proporre non volsono tenendo per certo che sarieno scaduti da lui. Però aspetteranno miglior occasione.
These Lords want Lord Sciarra Martiningo to command, as I have written before, certain colonels who would rather return the money than obey. Among them is Count Baldassar Buschetto. The Legate and the Catholic Ambassador returned to the Collegio to plead for the cause of Lord Martio Colloreto, but no resolution has yet been seen.	Vogliono questi Signori che il Signor Sciarra Martiningo comandi come per altre ho scritto ad alcuni Colonelli i quali voglion più presto restituire i danari che obbedirli et infra essi è il Conte Baldassar Buschetto. Tornarono il Legato et lo Ambasciator Cattolico in Collegio a pregare per la causa del Signor Martio Colloreto et per ancora non se ne vede resoluzione.
It was rumoured that last ~~Tuesday~~ Saturday letters from Constantinople had arrived in 17 days through Ragusa, but this has not been verified or uncovered further.	Essi cicalato che ~~Martedi~~ Sabato ci fussero lettere di nuovo di Costantinopoli venute in 17 giorni per via di Raugia ma non si è verificato né penetrato altro.
Through Verona, it is understood that Cardinal Commendone writes to his people that he intends to be here by mid-May. From Rome, there is news that the Pope had been seen walking at the Belvedere, even though these Lords had sent the physician of Padua, Capo di Vacca, to him at His Holiness's request.	Per via di Verona si intende che il Cardinale Commendone scrive a suoi che vuole esser qui a mezo maggio. E di Roma vennon avisi che il Papa si era visto caminare per belvedere. Ancorché questi Signori li habbino mandato di Padova il Medico Capo di Vacca chiesto loro da Sua Beatitudine.
From Zara, letters from Captain Ciuran report that there was no agreement with Messer Aluigi Grimanni, who refuses to do anything except as advised by the	Di Zara per lettere del Capitano Ciuran si intende che non era punto daccordo con messer Aluigi Grimanni. il quale non vole far cosa alcuna se non quanto vien consigliato dal Vescovo di Nona et da altri

Bishop of Nona and his other adherents. On their advice, he sent Count Paulo Emilio Scotto, Vice-Governor of that place, with 500 infantry and 150 cavalries to the undertaking of Castel Semenigo, which belonged to the Veniera family. He set up two ambushes with cavalry and sent 40 men against the Turks, keeping the arquebusiers nearby to support them. However, realizing this, the Turks split into three groups, surrounding the 40 cavalrymen of Lord Paulo and putting them in a bad way, killing almost all of them for failing to retreat toward the support of their ambushes. Thus, the Christians suffered both in honour and in the lives of those 40 cavalrymen. From Corfu, letters dated the 6th report the arrival there of a frigate from Crete, which notified that Soranzo had arrived safely and that upon hearing that Occhiali, with 30 galleys, was in the Archipelago towing three ships to carry supplies and garrisons to more suitable locations, Marco Quirini was sent with 12 galleys to gather intelligence. A boat of pilgrims arrived here, claiming to have encountered a fusta near Primara so loaded with loot that they left it untouched, unable to take on more goods or people.	suoi aderenti per consiglio de quali mandò alla impresa del Castel Semenigo che era di Casa Veniera il Conte Paulo Emilio Scotto Vice governator di quel luogo con 500 fanti et 150 cavalli, il quale fece due imboscate di Cavalli et da 40 ne mandò contro a Turchi et fece star li archibusieri poco lontani per soccorrerli: ma accortisi di ciò li Turchi fecero ancor tre parti de loro cavalli et colti in mezo li 40 Cavalli del Signor Paulo li messon per mala via, talché vi furon quasi che ammazati tutti per non si esser ritirati verso i soccorsi delle loro imboscate. Onde i Christiani patiron et nello honore et nelle vite di detti 40 Cavalli. Da Corfù ci furon lettere de 6 che dà nuova ivi esser arrivata una fregata di Candia che avisava il Soranzo esservi arrivato a Salvamento et che havendo inteso che Occhiali con 30 galee era per lo Arcipelago et rimorchiava 3 maone, per portare munitioni et presidii a luoghi più opportuni, haveva mandato Marco Quirini con 12 galee a pigliarne lingua. Qui giunse una barca di Pellegrini che accusa haver trovata una fusta presso a Primara tanto carica di prede che l'haveva lasciata in salva non potendo caricarsi di più robe o persone.

Rumors spread around San Marco that Ambassador Tiepolo from Rome writes that although the Pope is alive, there is no certainty of his life for long, as his illness is incurable.	Essi sparsa voce per San Marco che l'imbasciatore Tiepolo di Roma scrive che sebene il Papa vive, non ci è sicurtà di sua vita se non per breve tempo essendo il suo male incurabile.
These Lords, contrary to custom, have made a man from the Ciuran family Proveditore in Budua, who resists going there, as he is not a noble magistrate.	Hanno questi Signori fuori del usanza fatto uno di Casa Ciuran Proveditore a Budua il quale ricalcitra di non vi voler andare non essendo magistrato da Nobili.
On Thursday, new letters arrived from Messina dated the 11th, reporting the arrival there of 18 ships loaded with Spaniards. Lord Don Giovanni, who had come from Palermo, was hastening the fleet and had accepted a gift sent to him by the wife of Ali Pasha.	Giovedì arrivaron nuove lettere di Messina delli xi per le quali si intende ivi esser giunte 18 Navi Cariche di Spagnoli et che il Signor Don Giovanni venutovi di Palermo sollecitava la armata et haveva accettato il presente mandatoli dalla Moglie di Ali bascia.
The health officials have been informed of several places banned due to the plague. Messer Marchion Michieli, Procurator of San Marco and former general of these Lords, has passed away with a good reputation, having always sought the league and performed every good office against the opinions of those who opposed it.	Alli ufficiali di Sanità si è dato conto di più luoghi banditi per conto della peste. Messer Marchion Michieli Proccurator di San Marco et già Generale di questi Signori è passato a miglior vita con buona fama havendo sempre proccurata la lega, et fattone ogni buono offitio contro la oppinione di quelli che non la volevano.
From Pesaro, as Your Serenity will see in the summaries, there is bad news about certain boats seized by Turkish fustas, causing the captains or commanders of the Venetian fustas to face no small danger of being severely punished by	Di Pesero come vedrà Vostra Serenità su li sommarii ci è nuova non buona per certe barche prese dalle fuste Turchesche onde i Capitani o sopracomiti delle fuste Venitiane portano non poco pericolo di esser severamente Castigati da questi

these Lords, who seem to have sent orders to apprehend them. There are no letters from the Imperial Court because they must pass through places suspected of plague. To that court, I have today sent letters received from there. Having nothing else to add, I kiss Your Serenity's hands, praying to God for your supreme happiness. From Venice, April 26, 1572. Your Serenity's most affectionate and prompt servant, Cosimo Bartoli	Signori che pare che habbino mandato a pigliarli. Non ci sono lettere dalla Corte Cesarea perché devon passare da luoghi sospetti di peste. Alla qual Corte si sono hoggi mandate le lettere che di costà mi son venute. Né mi sovenendo per questa altro baciando le mani a Vostra Serenità le prego da Dio somma felicità di Venetia il dì 26 di Aprile 1572. Della Serenità Vostra Afezionatissimo et prontissimo Servitore, Cosimo Bartoli

Newsletter: ASF, Mediceo del Principato 3081, fol. 269r-270r, Newsletter with news from Rome (17-04-1572) and Pesaro (19-04-1572), written by Giovanni Gavazzo.

From Rome, the 17th of April 1572 The Pope remains unwell and does not wish to be attended to by anyone except the Most Illustrious Cardinals Alessandrino and Rusticucci, after the physicians and those who govern him. It is said that he has resolved to elect five or	Di Roma, di 17 Aprile 1572 Che il Papa sta tuttavia male, et non vuole esser visitato se non dallo Illustrissimo Cardinale Alessandrino et Rusticucci, doppo li Medici, et quelli che lo governano, et si dice che ha deliberato far elettione di 5 o 6 Cardinali, per dar loro da spedir de molti negotii.

six Cardinals to assign them many matters to handle. Lord Marcantonio Colonna continues to be active, and unless the Pope's illness hinders him, he will soon depart. He has already sent Lady Donna Gierolama to Naples. It is said that Lord Antonio Doria was to be Lieutenant of Lord Don Giovanni, but then it was understood differently because letters from Spain report that the Duke of Sessa had departed for Italy. It is said that he will be the General Lieutenant of Lord Don Giovanni with a monthly provision of 1,000 scudi. The Marquis of Trevico, Lord Antonio Doria, and the Duke of Angera, coming from Spain, will be the supreme counsellors of His Highness. Lord Don Giorgio Marriches will be the General Commissioner of the army. Commander Romegasso is recovering from his illness, and there is no longer any danger of death, which was previously feared. Letters from Naples report that the Marquis Santacroce says he will have 30 galleys and 16 fustas ready for war whenever Lord Don Giovanni calls him to action.	Che il Signor Marcantonio Colonna tuttavia si sollecita, et se la infermità del Papa non lo impediscie, partirà presto, et ha già mandato la Signora Donna Gierolama a Napoli. Che si dice che il Signor Antonio Doria dovea esser Luocotenente del Signor Don Giovanni ma poi si è inteso in altro modo perché di Spagna scrivono che il Duca di Sessa era partito per Italia. Et si dice che sarà Luocotenente Generale del Signor Don Giovanni con scudi 1000 al mese di provigione; Che il Marchese di Trevico, il Signor Antonio Doria, et il Signor Duca d'Angera, che vien di Spagna saranno Consiglieri supremi di Sua Altezza; Et che il Signor Don Giogio Marriches sarà Comissario General dell'Esercito. Che il Comendator Romegasso sta meglio della sua infirmità, et ne non è più pericolo che muora, che prima si dubitava. Che di Napoli scrivono che il Signor Marchese Santacroce dice che harà in ordine 30 galee, et 16 fuste per la guerra sempre che il Signor Don Giovanni lo chiamerà a quella.

From Pesaro, the 19th	Da Pesaro di 19 detto
The Governor of Romagna, in Ravenna, having learned that Turkish fustas were causing great harm to pilgrims and that there were two Venetian fustas in Rimini, sent word to that governor to ask the fustas to act against the Turks. At four o'clock at night, the governor made the request with great urgency, offering every kind of assistance he could. The masters of the fustas responded that they would need four large armed boats. The governor, agreeing, selected four of the best from that port and sounded the alarm bell to gather men to arm them. Suddenly, half the city appeared in arms, and among them the best citizens. However, when the governor wanted to place ten arquebusiers on each boat and, instead of them, put 20 honourable soldiers, all noblemen, on each fusta to ensure that the fustas and boats would not abandon one another, the masters of the fustas were not very pleased. Yet in the end, consenting, they made arrangements to depart in the morning. But during the night, disrupting the plan, they left silently, heading toward Ancona, where they encountered eight boats of pilgrims. The pilgrims greeted the fustas and asked if the route was safe. They were told yes and that they would also encounter two Venetian galleys that were	Che il Governatore di Romagna in Ravenna havendo inteso che le fuste Turchesche faceano di molti danni a Pellegrini, et che in Rimini erano due fuste Veneziane mandò a dire a quel Governatore che pregasse dette fuste a proveder contra essi Turchi. Onde alle 4 hore di notte detto Governatore fece la ambasciata con grande istantia, offerendogli ogni sorte d'aiuto che potesse, li Padroni risposero che bisognarebbero loro 4 barche grosse armate, il Governatore contentandosi ne fece elleggier in quel Porto 4 delle migliori, et fece sonar campana a martello per haver gente da armarle, et in un tratto comparve li mezza quella Città in arme, et de migliori, ma volendo il Governatore mettere x Scappoli di Fuste per ogni barcha, et in luoco di quelli mette sopra ogni fusta 20 honorati soldati tutti Gentil'huomini acciò che le fuste, et le barche non si abbandonassero, li Padroni delle fuste non si contentavano molto, pure al fine assentendo, misero ordine per la mattina di andar via, ma la notte guastando l'ordine andaron via senza far motto alla volta d'Ancona dove scontrarono 8 barche di Pellegrini li quali salutate le fuste, domandarono se la via era sicura, li fu risposto che sì, et che incontrarebbon anco 2 galee venetiane

supposed to follow to guard the sea. However, when the boats passed the Punta di Primara, expecting to meet the galleys, they found two Turkish fustas with a vessel loaded with oil. The fustas captured all the pilgrims without resistance but, unable to take them all aboard as their vessels were overloaded with loot, they left 20 of the least useful pilgrims on the captured vessel. They placed five Turks on the vessel and told the master that if he had the courage to sail it to Vallona, they would free him along with his vessel, leaving behind the loot. The master accepted the deal, and the fustas departed. However, the five Turks on board began shouting at the fustas to return because they feared the Christians, who outnumbered them. When the fustas returned, the Turks told them that they had seen the Christians plotting to kill them and escape. The fustas then decided either to kill the Christians or to free them. Drawing lots, it was decided that the Christians would be freed. The fustas took four of the better Christians and sent them to the mast, cutting the main sail of the vessel. They then decided to distance themselves to prevent the Christians from immediately going ashore to report them and later let them go. Thus, the vessel arrived at Chioggia with 26 people aboard.	che li doveano venir dietro per guardare il mare; ma quando dette barche passarono la ponta di Primara, credendo scontrar le galee, trovarono due fuste Turchesche con un navilio carico di olio, le quali presero tutti essi Pellegrini a man salva; ma non potendoli levar tutti su le fuste, che erano troppo cariche di preda. ne misero 20 de più inutili sopra detto Navilio, et mettendovi anco 5 Turchi, dissero al Padrone di quello, che se gli bastava l'animo di condur quel navilio alla Vallona, lo liberavano col suo navilio, lasciando la preda, il Padrone accettò il partito, et le fuste si partirono, ma quei 5 Turchi vi erano sopra cominciarono a gridare alle fuste che tornassero indrieto, perché dubitavano delli Christiani che erano più di loro, et tornate le fuste li Turchi dissero loro che haveano visto che li Christiani trattavano d'ammazzarli, et liberarsi, onde dette fuste deliberarono o ammazzarli, o liberarli, et buttata la sorte, toccò che li Christiani fussero liberi, et le fuste ne preson 4 altri de migliori, che mandarono sopra l'albero, et tagliarono la maggiori vela di detto navilio, et volsero prima allontanarsi da loro acciò che non andassero subito in terra a dar nuova di loro, et poi li lasciarono partire, et così detto navilio è venuto carico a Chioggia con 26 persone.

Your Serenity's Most Affectionate and Prompt Servant, Cosimo Bartoli	Della Serenità Vostra Afezionatissimo et prontissimo Servitore, Cosimo Bartoli

ANNEX FOUR

Comparison between Cosimo Bartoli's Letter and the Summary of Its Content Done by Bartolomeo Concino. The same colours are used to colour the paragraphs that report the same news in the letter and the summary.

Cosimo Bartoli's letter: ASF, Mediceo del Principato 2981, fol. 206r-207r, 26 July 1572, Cosimo Bartoli to Prince Francesco de' Medici.

Most Serene Prince, My Observant Lord and Patron,	Serenissimo Principe Signor et Patron mio osservantissimo,
Since these gentlemen have confirmed receiving from Don Giovanni 22 galleys, 5 ships, 5,000 Italians, and 1,000 Spaniards for the Levantine enterprise, they have somewhat quieted down. They have also received news that Lord Marcantonio and Soranzo arrived at the Gomenize in Corfu on the 14th, which has greatly calmed their spirits, hoping that good progress might be made both in the Levant and in Africa. Lord Marcantonio will have 150 galleys, both large and small, and 50 galiots, along with ships later. This gives hope here for some good progress, as these gentlemen have great confidence in	Poiché questi Signori si sono accertati di haver havuto da Don Giovanni 22 galee, 5 navi, 5 mila Italiani et mille Spagnuoli per la impresa di Levante si son pur alquanto quietati. Et hanno nuova che il Signor Marcantonio et il Soranzo arrivarono alle Gomenize in Corfù alli 14, il che li ha assai quietati di animo, sperando che et in Levante et in Africa si possa fare qualche buon progresso. Harà il Signor Marcantonio 150 galee fra grosse et sottili et 50 galeotte et di poi le navi, il che dà qui speranza di qualche buon progresso confidando questi Signori

the virtue and governance of Lord Marcantonio.	assai nella virtù et governo del Signor Marcantonio.
The Catholic ambassador has told me that during the skirmish at Monsignor, Lord Federigo Toledo received seven wounds, and his horse was killed under him. If he had not been rescued by his men, he would likely have been killed or taken prisoner. Lord Chiappino Vitelli, after being hit by an arquebus shot in the leg, fought bravely, so much so that it was judged he had not suffered too serious an injury.	Lo ambasciatore Cattolico mi ha detto che nella scaramuccia seguita a Monsignor il Signor Federigo Tolledo ricevé 7 ferite et li fu morto il Cavallo sotto et se non era soccorso da suoi facilmente rimaneva o morto o prigione et che il Signor Chiappino Vitelli doppo l'archibusata che hebbe nella gamba combatté gran pezo, talché si giudicava non havessi troppo male.
These gentlemen say that Lord Sforza will leave for Zara on Monday if the Mozeniga galley is ready, which is currently being prepared.	Dicono questi Signori che il Signor Sforza partirà per Zara lunedì se la Galea Mozeniga sarà allo ordine che tuttavia si apprescia.
It is said that Lord Don Giovanni sent four galleys captured in the recent Turkish victory, laden with men, Turkish flags, and clothing, toward Alexandria. They returned to Messina, having made and brought back spoils of 200 slaves, 20 of whom they captured in Famagusta when they landed, and the rest they took near Alexandria.	Dicesi che il Signor Don Giovanni haveva mandate 4 galee delle prese nella passata Vittoria Turchesche con huomini et insegne et vestiri Turcheschi verso Alessandria et che erano tornate in Messina. Et hanno fatto et portata preda di 200 schiavi, 20 de quali feciono in Famagosta dove diedero in terra, et il resto presero verso Alessandria.
The plague in the region of Parma has caused damage, and no one leaves here without a certificate from the health officers.	La peste nel Parmigiano faceva danno, né di qui escie più alcuno che non vogli la sua fede da questi Signori della Sanità.
	Per lettere di Zara si ha che il Generale Veniero era a Rovigno con 5 galee, et

From letters from Zara, it is known that General Veniero was in Rovigno with five galleys and had learned that twelve Turkish fustas were in the Gulf. He was preparing to go after them, awaiting help from certain galiots he had summoned. From letters from Genoa on the 18th, it is understood that in Corsica, the Turkish fustas were causing damage in the surrounding areas. In the fleet, it is said that Lord Galeotto Pagano, lieutenant of Don Cesare Caraffa, has died. Franceschini has been granted leave. Messer Giovambattista Borghini has asked me to write to Your Serenity on his behalf, requesting a safe-conduct from Your Serenity so that he might come to Florence without being constrained by his creditors. Since leaving here, he has had no means of livelihood nor resources to pay his debts, having consumed all he had. He hopes for assistance from his relatives there, if not for anything else, at least to live out of pity and compassion. Therefore, I beg Your Serenity to consider this a work of piety and mercy. I have learned that Your Serenities have appointed Cavalier Urbano as my successor, and that he will arrive soon, for which I thank you as much as I can. Be	haveva inteso che in Golfo erano xii fuste Turchesche et si metteva in ordine per andarle a trovare aspettando però in suo aiuto certe Galeotte che haveva chiamate. Per lettere di Genova de 18 si intende che in Corsica le fuste Turchesche facevano quivi allo intorno de danni. In armata si dice esser morto il Signor Galeotto Pagano luogotenente di Don Cesare Caraffa. Al Franceschini si è dato licentia. Messer Giovambattista Borghini mi ha pregato che io scriva alla Serenità Vostra in sua raccomandazione che desidera un salvo condotto da quella di poter venire a star a Firenze, et di non esser astretto da suoi creditori, perché da che manco di qua non ha più da vivere né di che pagare, havendo consumato ogni suo resto et di costà spera aiuto da suoi parenti se non di altro, di modo da vivere per pietà et compassione che haranno di lui, pregone adunque la Serenità Vostra che sarà una opera di pietà et misericordia. Ho inteso che le Serenità Vostre hanno eletto il Cavalier Urbano per mio successore et che sarà presto di qua, del che le ringratio quanto più so et posso. Et rendinsi certe che io scrivo la presente in letto et che io non posso più, sendo dì et notte tormentato da continovi dolori nella

assured that I am writing this letter from bed, unable to do more, being tormented day and night by continuous pain in the joint of my heel, which afflicts me harshly. I hope that the paternal air and the skills of the doctors there will restore my health, which I desire more to continue serving Your Serenities in whatever they judge me suitable than for any personal interest. I will await the said Cavalier and introduce him to these matters and these gentlemen, whom I visited on Thursday morning to thank them in Your Serenity's name for the patent obtained, and then to inform them of the grace granted me by Your Serenities and the new successor. I added some substantial words about the excellent goodwill Your Serenities hold toward these gentlemen regarding their tranquillity, exaltation, and victories, which they desire. It also seemed appropriate to apologize if, in the ten years and two months I have been here, I had done anything displeasing to them, asking them not to attribute it to malice but to the ardent desire I have always had to serve Your Serenities well. I added that in fifteen or twenty days the young, virtuous, and noble Cavalier would arrive, whom I would introduce, and after paying my respects to these gentlemen, I would take my leave.	congentura del tallone che aspramente mi afflighono. Ho speranza che la aria paterna et il saper de medici di costà mi habbino a ridurre in sanità, il che io desidero più per servir sempre le Serenità Vostre in quel che elle mi giudicheranno atto, che per alcuno altro mio interesse. Aspetterò detto Cavalier et lo introdurrò in questi negozii et a questi Signori da quali fui Giovedì mattina prima a ringratiarli in nome di Vostra Serenità per conto della Patente ottenuta, et di poi a dar lor conto della gratia fattami dalle Serenità Vostre et del nuovo successore, soggiugnendo alcune sustantiose parole del ottima volontà che le tengono verso questi Signori della tranquillità, esaltatione, et vittorie che le desiderano. Parvemi ancora non fuor di proposito scusarmi se in x anni et 2 mesi che io sono stato qui havessi operato cosa alcuna, il che io non sapevo, che fussi loro dispiaciuta, che li pregavo non me lo imputassino a malignità, ma ad ardente desiderio che ho havuto sempre di ben servire le Serenità Vostre soggiugnendo che fra xv o xx dì saria qui il Cavalier Giovane virtuoso, et nobile et che io lo entrodurrei, et fatta reverentia a questi Signori mi licentierei. Mostrò il Doge di haver dispiacere se si era indugiato forse più che non haria voluto al far la espedizione della patente, pregandomi che io li scusassi apresso

The Doge showed regret that perhaps more time was taken to process the patent than he would have liked, asking me to excuse him to Your Serenities for the affairs they had in recent days. He also expressed displeasure at my departure but wished me health and stated that as for Cavalier Urbano, they would always gladly receive him as Your Serenities' minister. Your Serenity wrote to me that he will not stop thinking of my needs, and I wrote in response to the previous letter, reiterating here that my current need is for some assistance from there so that I might leave here and pay, if not all, at least part of my debts, which are secured on drafts. Regarding the amount of help I seek, I defer to Your Serenities' kindness, to whom I wholeheartedly recommend myself, praying to God to grant them all they most desire. Letters from there were sent to the Imperial Court. I leave the rest to summaries that will accompany this letter. From Venice, the 26th of July 1572. Your Serenity's Most Affectionate Servant, Cosimo Bartoli The weapon of the Duke of Saxony is not found anywhere here, so I have written to Ambassadors Antinori and Concino, who	alle Serenità Vostre per li negotii che hanno ci havuti a dì passati. Mostrò ancora di haver dispiacere della mia partita, purché desiderava la salute mia et che quanto al Signor Cavalier Urbano lo riceveranno sempre volentieri come ministro delle Serenità Vostre. Quella mi scrive che non lascerà per questo di pensare a bisogni miei et io le scrissi per l'altra, et replico per questa, che il presente bisogno saria che le mi aiutassero di un poco di aiuto di costà acciò mi potessi levar di qui, et pagar se non tutti parte de miei debiti, de quali sono su cambi et della quantità dello aiuto che desidero me ne rimetto alla benignità di quelle, alle quali con tutto il core mi raccomando pregando Dio che le conceda quel che più desiderano. Alla Corte Cesarea si son mandate le lettere che di costà mi vennero. Nel resto mi rimetto a sommari che saranno con questa. Di Venetia alli 26 di luglio 1572 Della Serenità Vostra Affezionatissimo Servitore, Cosimo Bartoli L'arma del Duca di Saxonia qui non si truova in luogo alcuno talché ne ho scritto alli Ambasciatori Antinori et Concino che

will more easily find it there. Their letters are enclosed with this one.	di là più facilmente la haranno. Et con questa saranno le loro lettere.

Bartolomeo Concino's summary: ASF, Carte Strozziane, Serie I, XXXIX, fol. 83r, 30 July 1572, Concino Bartolomeo to Cosimo I de' Medici.

Most Serene Lord, My Sole Patron, The letters from Venice dated the 26th say that those gentlemen had somewhat quieted down after receiving from Lord Don Giovanni 22 galleys, 5 ships, 5,000 Italians, and 1,000 Spaniards. However, they should now be much more at ease, having learned of the latest commission for the entire fleet to gather together, although much greater progress could still be made in the West as well. Lord Marcantonio had arrived at Gomize in Corfu on the 14th with 150 galleys, both large and small, 50 galiots, and additional ships. Lord Sforza Palavicino was set to depart for Zara within two days, with the Mozeniga galley being constantly expedited.	Serenissimo Signor Padrone mio unico, Le lettere di Venetia de 26 dicono che quei Signori s'erano alquanto quietati, dopo l'havere havuto dal Signor Don Giovanni 22 galere, 5 navi, v mila Italiani, et mille Spagnoli. Ma dovevano ora molto più quietarsi da che havevano inteso l'ultima commessione del giontarsi tutta l'Armata benché potevasi fare molto maggior progresso per Ponente ancora, poiché il Signor Marcantonio era attivato alle Gomize in Corfù alli 14 con 150 galere fra grosse et sottili, con 50 galeotte, et di più navi. Il Signor Sforza Palavicino partiva per Zara infra 2 giorni, sollecitandosi sempre la galera Mozeniga. Dicono che Don Giovanni haveva mandato verso Alessandria 4 galere Turchesche delle acquistate nella passata

It is said that Don Giovanni had sent toward Alexandria 4 Turkish galleys taken in the recent victory, manned with men dressed in Turkish attire and carrying similar banners. These galleys had returned to Messina with 200 slaves, 20 of whom they captured in Famagusta, where they disembarked. From Ferrara, Canigiani writes that the Duchess was wearing out, and he says nothing about the Imperial ambassadors in Rome, which certainly surprises me. Last night, Taddeo Zati passed away. Altopascio was yesterday without fever. Cavaliere Gaddi is doing better. Masino del Osero has relapsed, and Zanobi Carnesecchi is hovering between hope and fear. Many children are dying from smallpox and flux; nonetheless, Their Highnesses and the Most Serene young ladies are in excellent health, thanks be to God. The same desire has my Lord Prince to hear of Your Highness's well-being, whose hand he kisses. Humbly bowing, I pray to God for your utmost happiness. From Florence, the 30th of July 1572. Your Highness's most Obliged and Obedient Servant, Bartolomeo Concino	vittoria, et con homini vestiti alla Turchesca, et con insegne simili: le quali erano tornate in Messina con 200 schiavi, 20 de quali fecero in Famagosta dove dettono in terra. Di Ferrara scrive il Canigiani che la Duchessa s'andava consumando, et delli Ambasciatori Cesarei per Roma non parla niente, che certo mi meraviglio. Questa notte è morto Taddeo Zati, l'Altopascio fu hier senza febre, il Cavaliere Gaddi sta meglio, Masino del Osero è ricaduto, et Zanobi Carnesecchi sta fra la speranza e'l timore. Murionsi assai fanciulli di vaiolo, et di flusso; nondimeno lor Altezze con le Serenissime figlioline stanno benissimo Dio Laudato. Il medesimo desidera il Principe mio Signor d'intendere di Vostra Altezza alla quale bacia la mano. Dio humilmente me l'inchino, pregandole somma felicità. Di Fiorenza il 30 di Luglio 1572. Di Vostra Altezza Obbligatissimo et obbedientissimo Servo, Bartolomeo Concino

CHAPTER SIX

CONCLUSION

This thesis has examined Cosimo Bartoli's role as a resident agent and informant of the Medici in Venice between 1562 and 1572. Although Bartoli's life and intellectual production have been studied in detail before, little was known about his relationship with the news networks in early modern Venice. Drawing on recent scholarship about news circulation in the early modern period, I analysed Bartoli's letters and newsletters from a new angle to understand how and from whom he gathered the news that he subsequently reported to the Grand Duke of Tuscany. I also investigated Cosimo Bartoli's role in the composition of the newsletters, why some news was included in the newsletters while other news was in the letters, and how these two written forms of communication relate to one another. I also explored the content of the news items to understand how Bartoli ascertained their reliability and truthfulness, as well as how they were perceived by the commissioners and consumers of his reports: Gran Duke Cosimo I, Prince Francesco and their secretaries. I employed digital methods for both the transcription and publication of Bartoli's documents, as well as for the analysis of the Bartoli corpus and building and visualising his network, thus demonstrating their potential in historical research.

Everyone could be a source of news for Cosimo Bartoli. He reported both official communications released by the Republic of Venice and rumours overheard under the loggias of Piazza San Marco or in Rialto. Generally, he relied heavily on information from three main groups, as demonstrated by his network in Chapter 5: foreign diplomats residing in Venice, in particular the apostolic nuncio and the Imperial ambassador; institutions of the Republic of Venice, specifically the Collegio, the Senate and the Doge; and Venetian patricians. This aligns with what De Vivo states in his book *Information and Communication in Venice* regarding the importance of

ambassadors as sources of information and the regular exchanges between diplomats and patricians despite being forbidden by Venetian law.[885] News is also occasionally received from merchants, couriers and postmasters. What was missing, or what Bartoli omitted to say, was the encounters with newswriters, who, as the Council of Ten's ban in 1572 demonstrated, were already swarming the streets close to Piazza San Marco, along with people of lower status who often served as sources of news and rumours, such as barbers. This absence likely results not from a lack of interaction with those people, which would have been impossible over the course of a decade, but from Bartoli's strategy of self-presentation. By highlighting his elite sources, he aimed to show the Medici that he had access to exclusive and high-quality information. The phrase "si dice" (it is said) was likely reserved for lower-status informants, while he reported only the names of the most prestigious interlocutors. In addition, surprisingly few members of Bartoli's network came from his intellectual and artistic circles. He was in contact with and even hosted his friend Giorgio Vasari in Venice; he once mentioned the painter Tiziano Vecellio and the architect Andrea Palladio;[886] he hinted at having obtained a printed book before its publication from someone within a printing house.[887] Those mentions, however, are less frequent than one might anticipate, given his lifelong intellectual passions described in Chapter 2 and the fact that he published a few books while in Venice. Clearly he maintained a

[885] De Vivo, *Information and Communication in Venice*, 70–74.

[886] ASF, Mediceo del Principato 2976, fol. 185r, 4 September 1563, Cosimo Bartoli to Cosimo I de' Medici: "Con messer Titiano feci quanto Vostra Eccellenza mi impose il quale bacia le mani di Vostra Eccellenza et si duole d'esser stato affrontato dal Rosto. Et mostra di esser desideroso di farli qualche servitio;" ASF, Mediceo del Principato 2979, fol. 37v, 3 July 1568, Cosimo Bartoli to Francesco de' Medici: "Da Turino è qui venuto il Palladio Architettore amico mio et personaggio di fede, che mi ha detto che avanti sua partita di Turino il Duca era andato a Nizza per questo conto et che la per tutto era la cosa publica, et si haveva avanti che esso partissi ordinato che il ministro della giustizia si transferissi a Nizza et si dice che il trattato lo ha scoperto il Governatore di Marsilia."

[887] ASF, Mediceo del Principato 2981, fol. 227r, 30 August 1572, Cosimo Bartoli to Francesco de' Medici: "Scrissi ultimamente de Conte Federigo Scotto Vicentino ma hebbi della Sua Patria cattivo aviso, perché è Piacentino. Ha questo dottore composti duoi tomi di suoi consigli, et di già qui li stampa et è finito il primo tomo, et incominciato il secondo, et nella fine del primo tomo fa una lunga diceria sopra la precedentia del Gran Duca et il Duca di Ferrara, ma per quanto ho potuto scorrer in una meza hora, molto scioccamente et senza fondamenti equivatenti al bisogno. Ho durato gran fatica ad haver detti fogli stampati et li mando alla Serenità Vostra. Ma perché chi mi ha servito li ha havuti condizionati per renderli quanto prima, desidero che la Serenità Vostra se se ne vuol servire li facci subito copiare. Et per il primo me li rimandi acciò si salvi lo honore a chi me li ha buscati. Et perché fra 20 dì si potrà haver il volume intero supplico Vostra Serenità a far usar tal diligentia di farli subito copiar et rimandarmeli." The edition Bartoli is referring to is: Federico Scotti, *Responsorum Ad Elegantiam Sermonis, Encyclopediamque Tralatorum Libri Sex*, 2 vols. (Venezia: apud Vincenzo Valgrisi, 1572) (USTC No. 855649).

strict separation between his official diplomatic responsibilities and his personal intellectual interests.

Letters were the primary sources of the news that Bartoli wrote. These included both private letters, such as those from Carlo Stuerdo, the Duke of Parma and Piacenza's agent in Rome, and letters received by others, such as ambassadors and the Venetian Republic, which he was able to hear, read or obtain a copy of. Although newsletters were already circulating at that time, Bartoli did not use them but relied solely on letters. This practice is demonstrated by the headers of the newsletters ("Per lettere di…" [From letters from…]), the occasional slips of first-person phrases from the original letter, and the news hubs in his newsletters, which were not restricted to the primary nodes of the news network but rather extended to numerous other peripheral locations across Europe and the Mediterranean coast. A comparison of Bartoli's and Curzio's newsletters, moreover, showed the different degrees of synthesis they used. Rather than simply copying newsletters already assembled by others, they revised the content of the source letters, Bartoli with a more concise style, Curzio with fewer modifications. The variations in length and style between Bartoli's and Curzio's newsletters demonstrated that Curzio did not transcribe newsletters already drafted by Bartoli; on the contrary, both were working on the original letters or copies. Bartoli's editorial intervention came only at the final stage, when he re-read, possibly corrected and made additions to the existing text composed and penned by Curzio.

Bartoli's approach to compiling newsletters aligned with Petitjean's description of the practice of contemporary newsletter compilers: gathering important news from public or private correspondence, selecting and summarising the facts to report, and then combining them together to create the newsletters.[888] While, in the same years, the secretary of the Spanish ambassador Guzman de Silva was known to write and distribute anonymous newsletters with news he received from letters from the Low Countries,[889] there is no evidence that Bartoli engaged in a similar activity or that he sent the same newsletters he sent to Florence to other people. A further expansion of this research could be investigating whether Bartoli's newsletters or their copies were

[888] Petitjean, *L'intelligence des choses*, 156–57.
[889] Lamal, *Italian Communication on the Revolt in the Low Countries (1566-1648)*, 28.

sent to other courts, agents or interested people, and whether they exist today in other archives. The State Archives of Parma, which houses the archives of the Duchy of Parma and Piacenza, might be a good starting point given the interactions between Stuerdo, the Duke of Parma and Piacenza's agent, and Bartoli. However, having read Francesco de' Medici's response when he discovered Bartoli's letters in Rome, where he only asked him to be cautious and did not reprimand him, I am more inclined to believe that Bartoli did not set up a parallel newsletter service and that he only shared with Stuerdo the news most widely circulating in Venice.

Previous studies on early modern diplomats focused on the correspondence of resident diplomats as the main primary source, overlooking the newsletters. This thesis has revealed that the newsletters and the letters were complementary: Bartoli expected that the Medici or their secretaries would read both with equal attention, which was indeed the case. The distribution of the news items between the letters and the newsletters was not influenced either by the significance of the news, its reliability or the source's proximity: it was instead determined by practical considerations. If Bartoli had managed to obtain the actual letter or a copy of it, the news was summarised in the newsletter; if he had only heard about it or had read it himself but it was not possessed by him, he reported it in the letter. This finding invites further future investigations. A comparative analysis of Bartoli with other Medici diplomats of the same period and with other agents and ambassadors from other courts could help determine if Bartoli's practice of separating news into newsletters and letters was unique to him or representative of a broader diplomatic practice.

While this analysis has been limited to the newsletters sent by Bartoli to the Medici court in Florence, numerous promising new research paths emerge. The Bartoli corpus could be compared with other newsletters from the same period preserved in the Mediceo del Principato, or in other collections, such as the Fuggerzeitungen and the Urbinati Latini, to identify similarities and text reuse between newsletters and map the news transmission from the original report to the newsletters, following the methodology developed by Colavizza for printed newsletters and by Kreuze for

handwritten ones.[890] On the other hand, analysing the variations in news reports about the same events across newsletters may reveal how different actors saw and narrated events. In conclusion, many research opportunities can start from the digital transcriptions of Bartoli's newsletters.

The digital component of this thesis has been the creation of a semi-automated edition of Bartoli's letters and newsletter. This accomplished three objectives: firstly, obtaining the corpus and data that I used for my analysis; secondly, providing a scholarly edition for the benefit of other scholars; and thirdly, exploring new approaches to the transcription and publication of archival primary sources.

While crowdsourcing is already a well-established practice in libraries, archives and academic research, the application of Handwritten Text Recognition is a recent technological breakthrough: training and applying HTR models has only become technically feasible in the last seven to eight years and only in the last five have non-technicians been able to use it. This study showed the feasibility of using HTR to transcribe early modern Italian archival documents with remarkable accuracy, over 96%, without the need for any coding skills and even using photos taken with smartphones in the archive's reading room. HTR is thus accessible to researchers with little technical expertise.

As I have detailed in Chapter 4, the process of training an accurate model takes time, from deciding the transcription criteria to adopt to producing the Ground Truth transcriptions to training and finetuning the model. Looking retrospectively at this phase, one thing I would have done differently is how I handled abbreviations. Initially, I decided to keep all the abbreviations because I wanted the edition to be as rigorous as possible philologically and because the experts at Transkribus advised that it was preferable to reproduce the text accurately as written in the document in order to achieve better training results. Over time, however, I realised that the goal of my edition

[890] Giovanni Colavizza, Mario Infelise, and Frédéric Kaplan, "Mapping the Early Modern News Flow: An Enquiry by Robust Text Reuse Detection," in *Social Informatics*, ed. Luca Maria Aiello and Daniel McFarland, vol. 8852 (Cham: Spinger, 2015), 244–53, https://link.springer.com/10.1007/978-3-319-15168-7_31; Wouter Kreuze, "Things in Time: A Digital Synchronic Analysis of Manuscript Newsletters (1575-76)" (Doctoral Thesis, University College Cork, 2023), https://hdl.handle.net/10468/15509.

was to make the text readable and searchable, not to provide a diplomatic transcription. In addition, the experience of other Transkribus users demonstrated the potential of smart models, i.e. models capable of expanding abbreviations and normalising accents and punctuation. Although I was still able to replace the abbreviations with their expansions during postprocessing, I wish I had known about smart models earlier in my project so I could have trained one of them. A smart model would have facilitated correction during the crowdsourcing phase, where I instead required participants to correct the abbreviation tags and expansions.

One aspect that I did not have the chance to explore when I dealt with the training of Handwritten Text Recognition models, but which deserves at least some reflection is the environmental issue of AI. Even if not visibly evident, AI has environmental costs, from the extraction of minerals to build the GPUs, the common hardware component of AI systems, to the energy to train the models and run the queries, to the associated release of greenhouse gases if non-renewable energy sources are used. It has been estimated that a query on ChatGPT consumes between six to ten times more energy than a search in a traditional web search engine.[891] Google's most recent environmental report, published in July 2024, revealed that the company's carbon emissions increased by 48% in the past five years, mainly due to AI and data centres,[892] which already consume 2 to 3% of all the electricity used in the United States.[893] Besides being an energy-intensive technology, the servers generate heat while running calculations and need constant cooling to avoid overheating. Cooling is accomplished with air conditioning systems, which increase energy consumption even more, or with water systems.[894] Water usage is extremely high: for example, Google used 20 billion litres of water to cool its own data centres in 2022,[895]

[891] Sasha Luccioni, Bruno Trevelin, and Margaret Mitchell, "The Environmental Impacts of AI - Primer," Hugging Face, September 3, 2024, https://perma.cc/SR55-7X27.
[892] Dan Milmo, Alex Hern, and Jillian Ambrose, "Can the Climate Survive the Insatiable Energy Demands of the AI Arms Race?," *The Guardian*, July 4, 2024, https://perma.cc/N6JR-L36J.
[893] Luccioni, Trevelin, and Mitchell, "The Environmental Impacts of AI - Primer."
[894] Pranshu Verma and Shelly Tan, "A Bottle of Water per Email: The Hidden Environmental Costs of Using AI Chatbots," Washington Post, September 18, 2024, https://web.archive.org/web/20240921041717/https://www.washingtonpost.com/technology/2024/09/18/energy-ai-use-electricity-water-data-centers/.
[895] Pengfei Li et al., "Making AI Less 'Thirsty': Uncovering and Addressing the Secret Water Footprint of AI Models" (arXiv, October 29, 2023), https://doi.org/10.48550/arXiv.2304.03271.

while it takes a half-litre bottle of water to ask Chat-GPT to use GPT-4 to draft a 100-word email.[896] In my research, I conducted 13 trainings in Transkribus to optimise my Handwritten Text Recognition model without considering the environmental implications of these computational processes. I could not find any data on the environmental impact of HTR models, such as those used in Transkribus, which are certainly less energy-intensive than generative AI like ChatGPT. However, as the use of AI grows, I believe that its environmental costs should also be taken into account, while the technology providers should educate users about the carbon footprint associated with AI.

The participatory phase was a personally enriching and motivating experience. Going back, though, I would conceive it less as a solo effort and look for partnerships with organisations, such as the archive holding Bartoli's documents, to find more volunteers from outside the academic community. I would also simplify the tasks for the participants, for example, asking them only to correct the automatic transcription and not to add or edit tags, and use a more user-friendly interface, if available. I believe in the great potential of crowdsourcing projects for cultural heritage, both to improve source accessibility and to make a broader audience, including students, interact meaningfully with the heritage preserved in libraries, archives and museums. However, I think a crowdsourcing project could be more engaging and generate more interest if it were conducted on more approachable and recent handwritten sources, such as twentieth-century documents.

As far as the digital edition is concerned, I am satisfied with the outcome even if I acknowledge its limitations, such as the slow search function that accepts only single-word queries.[897] Despite this, I remain convinced that Jekyll and the Ed theme (see Chapter 4) are the right choice: I prioritised the long-term sustainability of the digital edition and its minimal maintenance over a fancy design to prevent it from becoming inaccessible in a few months or years.

[896] Verma and Tan, "A Bottle of Water per Email."
[897] Sara Mansutti, "Cosimo Bartoli and Renaissance News: A Semi-Automated Edition of Letters and Newsletters from Venice," December 26, 2024, https://smansutti.github.io/cosimobartoli.

In conclusion, this research and its output, the corpus of Bartoli's letters and newsletters, make contributions in multiple fields. On the one hand, in early modern media history, it has shed light on the period of transition from letters to newsletters and clarified the link between letters and newsletters. For historians of early diplomacy, it has confirmed the significance of news gathering as the primary responsibility of the resident diplomat and has demonstrated what this meant in an agent's daily life and how personal circumstances, such as the agent's health, could impact the quality of information. Beyond these specific contributions, early modern historians of Venice and Europe in general may benefit from the digital edition and the downloadable Bartoli corpus.

Finally, this thesis has provided a comprehensive guide for archivists, historians and cultural heritage institutions interested in using AI for the automatic transcription of handwritten sources. I critically reviewed the software available at the time of writing, examined their strengths and limitations, and detailed the process to train an effective Handwritten Text Recognition model in Transkribus. I hope that my project's experience will demystify automatic transcription in historical research and help many humanities researchers, archives and libraries not to view the advent of AI as a threat but to realise that it can be a collaborative ally in facilitating the exploration and accessibility of historical archives and in posing and answering new research questions.

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APPENDIX ONE

List of the letters sent to Florence during Cosimo Bartoli's residence in Venice as a Medici agent, from June 1562 to September 1572, in chronological order.

Shelfmark	Sender	Recipient	Sender's Place	Date	Day	Digital Edition ID
MdP 493A, fol. 923r-v	Bartoli Cosimo	Cosimo I de' Medici	Ferrara	15-06-1562	Monday	Carteggio_Universale_001
MdP 493A, fol. 968r-v, fol. 969r-v	Bartoli Cosimo	Cosimo I de' Medici	Venezia	20-06-1562	Saturday	Carteggio_Universale_002
MdP 2976, fol. 42r-v, 45r-v	Bartoli Cosimo	Orlandi Francesco	Venezia	27-06-1562	Saturday	2976_019
MdP 2976, fol. 43r-v, 44r-v	Bartoli Cosimo	[Cosimo I de' Medici]	Venezia	27-06-1562	Saturday	2976_020
MdP 5095A, fol. unnumbered	Bartoli Cosimo	Giovanni de' Medici	Venezia	dd-07-1562		5095A_008
MdP 5095A, fol. unnumbered	Bartoli Cosimo	Giovanni de' Medici	Venezia	01-07-1562	Wednesday	5095A_001
MdP 494, fol. 39r-v	Bartoli Cosimo	Cosimo I de' Medici	Venezia	04-07-1562	Saturday	Carteggio_Universale_003
MdP 5095A, fol. unnumbered	Bartoli Cosimo	Giovanni de' Medici	Venezia	04-07-1562	Saturday	5095A_005
MdP 494, fol. 125r-v, fol. 126r-v	Bartoli Cosimo	Cosimo I de' Medici	Venezia	08-07-1562	Wednesday	Carteggio_Universale_004
MdP 494, fol. 128r-v	Bartoli Cosimo	Cosimo I de' Medici	Venezia	08-07-1562	Wednesday	Carteggio_Universale_005
MdP 494, fol. 264r-v	Bartoli Cosimo	Cosimo I de' Medici	Venezia	08-07-1562	Wednesday	Carteggio_Universale_007
MdP 5095A, fol. unnumbered	Bartoli Cosimo	[Giovanni de' Medici]	Venezia	08-07-1562	Wednesday	5095A_002

MdP 494, fol. 254r-v, fol. 255r-v	Bartoli Cosimo	Cosimo I de' Medici	Venezia	18-07-1562	Saturday	Carteggio_Universale_006
MdP 5095A, fol. unnumbered	Bartoli Cosimo	Giovanni de' Medici	Venezia	18-07-1562	Saturday	5095A_006
MdP 494, fol. 392r-v, fol. 393r-v	Bartoli Cosimo	Cosimo I de' Medici	Venezia	25-07-1562	Saturday	Carteggio_Universale_008
MdP 5095A, fol. unnumbered	Bartoli Cosimo	Giovanni de' Medici	Venezia	25-07-1562	Saturday	5095A_009
MdP 2976, fol. 49r-v, 62r-v	Bartoli Cosimo	Concino Bartolomeo	Venezia	30-07-1562	Thursday	2976_021
MdP 494, fol. 482r-v, 483r-v	Bartoli Cosimo	Cosimo I de' Medici	Venezia	31-07-1562	Friday	Carteggio_Universale_009
MdP 5095A, fol. unnumbered	Bartoli Cosimo	Giovanni de' Medici	Venezia	31-07-1562	Friday	5095A_003
MdP 494, fol. 629r-v	Bartoli Cosimo	Cosimo I de' Medici	Venezia	08-08-1562	Saturday	Carteggio_Universale_010
MdP 494, fol. 689r-v, fol. 690r-v	Bartoli Cosimo	Cosimo I de' Medici	Venezia	12-08-1562	Wednesday	Carteggio_Universale_011
MdP 494, fol. 692r-v	Bartoli Cosimo	Cosimo I de' Medici	Venezia	15-08-1562	Saturday	Carteggio_Universale_012
MdP 2976, fol. 50r-v, 61r-v	Bartoli Cosimo	Concino Bartolomeo	Venezia	15-08-1562	Saturday	2976_022
MdP 494A, fol. 909r-v, fol. 910r-v	Bartoli Cosimo	Cosimo I de' Medici	Venezia	22-08-1562	Saturday	Carteggio_Universale_013
MdP 494A, fol. 1001r-v, fol. 1002r-v	Bartoli Cosimo	Cosimo I de' Medici	Venezia	29-08-1562	Saturday	Carteggio_Universale_014
MdP 494A, fol. 1094r-v	Bartoli Cosimo	Cosimo I de' Medici	Venezia	05-09-1562	Saturday	Carteggio_Universale_015
MdP 494A, fol. 1108r-v	Bartoli Cosimo	Cosimo I de' Medici	Venezia	05-09-1562	Saturday	Carteggio_Universale_016
MdP 494A, fol. 1189r-v, fol. 1190r-v, fol. 1191r-v	Bartoli Cosimo	Cosimo I de' Medici	Venezia	12-09-1562	Saturday	Carteggio_Universale_017
MdP 494A, fol. 1303r-v, fol. 1304r-v	Bartoli Cosimo	Cosimo I de' Medici	Venezia	19-09-1562	Saturday	Carteggio_Universale_019

MdP 494A, fol. 1422r-v, fol. 1423r-v	Bartoli Cosimo	Cosimo I de' Medici	Venezia	26-09-1562	Saturday	Carteggio_Universale_020
MdP 495, fol. 19r-v	Bartoli Cosimo	Cosimo I de' Medici	Venezia	03-10-1562	Saturday	Carteggio_Universale_021
MdP 2976, fol. 51r-v, 60r-v	Bartoli Cosimo	Concino Bartolomeo	Venezia	03-10-1562	Saturday	2976_023
MdP 495, fol. 42r-v	Bartoli Cosimo	Cosimo I de' Medici	Venezia	05-10-1562	Monday	Carteggio_Universale_022
MdP 2976, fol. 53r-v, 54r-v, 57r-v, 58r-v	Bartoli Cosimo	Cosimo I de' Medici	Venezia	11-10-1562	Sunday	2976_025
MdP 495, fol. 221r-v	Bartoli Cosimo	Cosimo I de' Medici	Venezia	15-10-1562	Thursday	Carteggio_Universale_023
MdP 495, fol. 290r-v, fol. 291r-v	Bartoli Cosimo	Cosimo I de' Medici	Venezia	17-10-1562	Saturday	Carteggio_Universale_024
MdP 2976, fol. 55r-v, 56r-v	Bartoli Cosimo	[Cosimo I de' Medici]	Venezia	24-10-1562	Saturday	2976_026
MdP 2976, fol. 63r-v, 82r-v	Bartoli Cosimo	Cosimo I de' Medici	Venezia	27-10-1562	Tuesday	2976_027
MdP 2976, fol. 64r-v, 81r-v	Bartoli Cosimo	Cosimo I de' Medici	Venezia	31-10-1562	Saturday	2976_028
MdP 2976, fol. 65r-v, 80r-v	Bartoli Cosimo	Cosimo I de' Medici	Venezia	01-11-1562	Sunday	2976_029
MdP 2976, fol. 68r-v, 77r-v	Bartoli Cosimo	Cosimo I de' Medici	Venezia	11-11-1562	Wednesday	2976_031
MdP 2976, fol. 69r-v, 70r-v	Bartoli Cosimo	[Cosimo I de' Medici]	Venezia	18-11-1562	Wednesday	2976_032
MdP 2976, fol. 71r-v, 76r-v	Bartoli Cosimo	Cosimo I de' Medici	Venezia	25-11-1562	Wednesday	2976_033
MdP 2976, fol. 72r-v, 75r-v	Bartoli Cosimo	Cosimo I de' Medici	Venezia	02-12-1562	Wednesday	2976_034
MdP 2976, fol. 73r-v, 74r-v	Bartoli Cosimo	[Cosimo I de' Medici]	Venezia	09-12-1562	Wednesday	2976_035
MdP 496, fol. 420r-v	Bartoli Cosimo	Lelio Torelli	Venezia	16-12-1562	Wednesday	Carteggio_Universale_026
MdP 2976, fol. 84r-v, 85r-v	Bartoli Cosimo	[Cosimo I de' Medici]	Venezia	16-12-1562	Wednesday	2976_037
MdP 2976, fol. 86r-v, 93r-v	Bartoli Cosimo	Cosimo I de' Medici	Venezia	23-12-1562	Wednesday	2976_038
MdP 496, fol. 33r-v	Bartoli Cosimo	Cosimo I de' Medici	Venezia	30-12-1562	Wednesday	Carteggio_Universale_025
MdP 2976, fol. 1r-v, 2r-v	Bartoli Cosimo	Cosimo I de' Medici	Venezia	07-01-1563	Thursday	2976_001

MdP 2976, fol. 3r-v, 4r-v	Bartoli Cosimo	Cosimo I de' Medici	Venezia	13-01-1563	Wednesday	2976_002
MdP 2976, fol. 8r-v, 11r-v	Bartoli Cosimo	Concino Bartolomeo	Venezia	20-01-1563	Wednesday	2976_004
MdP 2976, fol. 9r-v, 10r-v	Bartoli Cosimo	[Cosimo I de' Medici]	Venezia	21-01-1563	Thursday	2976_005
MdP 2976, fol. 15r-v, 16r-v	Bartoli Cosimo	[Cosimo I de' Medici]	Venezia	27-01-1563	Wednesday	2976_006
MdP 2976, fol. 17r-v, 20r-v	Bartoli Cosimo	Concino Bartolomeo	Venezia	27-01-1563	Wednesday	2976_007
MdP 2976, fol. 18r-v, 19r-v	Bartoli Cosimo	[Cosimo I de' Medici]	Venezia	04-02-1563	Thursday	2976_008
MdP 2976, fol. 21r-v, 36r-v	Bartoli Cosimo	Cosimo I de' Medici	Venezia	10-02-1563	Wednesday	2976_009
MdP 2976, fol. 22r-v, 23r-v	Bartoli Cosimo	[Cosimo I de' Medici]	Venezia	16-02-1563	Tuesday	2976_010
MdP 2976, fol. 24r-v, 25r-v	Bartoli Cosimo	[Cosimo I de' Medici]	Venezia	27-02-1563	Saturday	2976_011
MdP 2976, fol. 26r-v, 27r-v	Bartoli Cosimo	[Cosimo I de' Medici]	Venezia	03-03-1563	Wednesday	2976_012
MdP 2976, fol. 28r-v, 35r-v	Bartoli Cosimo	[Cosimo I de' Medici]	Venezia	06-03-1563	Saturday	2976_013
MdP 2976, fol. 29r-v, 30r-v, 33r-v, 34r-v	Bartoli Cosimo	Cosimo I de' Medici	Venezia	10-03-1563	Wednesday	2976_014
MdP 2976, fol. 31r-v, 32r-v	Bartoli Cosimo	[Cosimo I de' Medici]	Venezia	14-03-1563	Sunday	2976_015
MdP 2976, fol. 38r-v, 47r-v	Bartoli Cosimo	Cosimo I de' Medici	Venezia	20-03-1563	Saturday	2976_017
MdP 2976, fol. 37r-v, 48r-v	Bartoli Cosimo	Cosimo I de' Medici	Venezia	22-03-1563	Monday	2976_016
MdP 2976, fol. 39r-v, 40r-v, 41r-v, 46r-v	Bartoli Cosimo	Cosimo I de' Medici	Venezia	24-03-1563	Wednesday	2976_018
MdP 2976, fol. 112r-v, 117r-v	Bartoli Cosimo	Cosimo I de' Medici	Venezia	31-03-1563	Wednesday	2976_052
MdP 2976, fol. 114r-v, 115r-v, 116r-v, 113r-v	Bartoli Cosimo	Cosimo I de' Medici	Venezia	07-04-1563	Wednesday	2976_053
MdP 2976, fol. 127r-v, 128r-v, 129r-v, 130r-v	Bartoli Cosimo	[Cosimo I de' Medici]	Venezia	17-04-1563	Saturday	2976_054
MdP 2976, fol. 131r-v, 132r-v, 133r-v, 152r-v	Bartoli Cosimo	Cosimo I de' Medici	Venezia	24-04-1563	Saturday	2976_055
MdP 2976, fol. 134r-v, 135r-v	Bartoli Cosimo	[Cosimo I de' Medici]	Venezia	31-04-1563 (sic)		2976_056
MdP 2976, fol. 136r-v, 151r-v	Bartoli Cosimo	Cosimo I de' Medici	[Venezia]	09-05-1563	Sunday	2976_057

MdP 2976, fol. 137r-v, 150r-v	Bartoli Cosimo	[Cosimo I de' Medici]	Venezia	15-05-1563	Saturday	2976_058
MdP 2976, fol. 138r-v, 139r-v, 148r-v, 149r-v	Bartoli Cosimo	Cosimo I de' Medici	Venezia	29-05-1563	Saturday	2976_059
MdP 2976, fol. 140r-v, 147r-v	Bartoli Cosimo	Cosimo I de' Medici	Venezia	05-06-1563	Saturday	2976_060
MdP 2976, fol. 141r-v, 146r-v	Bartoli Cosimo	Cosimo I de' Medici	Venezia	10-06-1563	Thursday	2976_061
MdP 2976, fol. 142r-v, 145r-v	Bartoli Cosimo	Cosimo I de' Medici	Venezia	12-06-1563	Saturday	2976_062
MdP 2976, fol. 143r-v, 144r-v	Bartoli Cosimo	[Cosimo I de' Medici]	Venezia	19-06-1563	Saturday	2976_063
MdP 2976, fol. 154r-v, 155r-v, 156r-v, 153r-v	Bartoli Cosimo	[Cosimo I de' Medici]	Venezia	26-06-1563	Saturday	2976_064
MdP 2976, fol. 157r-v, 161r-v	Bartoli Cosimo	Cosimo I de' Medici	Venezia	26-06-1563	Saturday	2976_065
MdP 2976, fol. 159r-v, 160r-v	Bartoli Cosimo	[Cosimo I de' Medici]	Venezia	03-07-1563	Saturday	2976_067
MdP 2976, fol. 172r-v, 173r-v	Bartoli Cosimo	[Cosimo I de' Medici]	Venezia	17-07-1563	Saturday	2976_071
MdP 2976, fol. 166r-v, 167r-v, 168r-v, 169r-v	Bartoli Cosimo	[Cosimo I de' Medici]	Venezia	24-07-1563	Saturday	2976_070
MdP 2976, fol. 174r-v, 181r-v	Bartoli Cosimo	Concino Bartolomeo	Venezia	07-08-1563	Saturday	2976_072
MdP 2976, fol. 175r-v, 177r-v, 178r-v, 179r-v, 176r-v, 180r-v	Bartoli Cosimo	Cosimo I de' Medici	Venezia	07-08-1563	Saturday	2976_073
MdP 2976, fol. 182r-v, 183r-v	Bartoli Cosimo	[Cosimo I de' Medici]	Venezia	28-08-1563	Saturday	2976_074
MdP 2976, fol. 184r-v, 185r-v	Bartoli Cosimo	[Cosimo I de' Medici]	Venezia	04-09-1563	Saturday	2976_075
MdP 2976, fol. 186r-v, 196r-v	Bartoli Cosimo	Concino Bartolomeo	Venezia	11-09-1563	Saturday	2976_076
MdP 2976, fol. 187r-v, 188r-v, 189r-v, 195r-v	Bartoli Cosimo	Cosimo I de' Medici	Venezia	11-09-1563	Saturday	2976_077
MdP 2976, fol. 190r-v, 194r-v	Bartoli Cosimo	Cosimo I de' Medici	Venezia	13-09-1563	Monday	2976_078
MdP 2976, fol. 199r-v, 200r-v, 220r-v, 221r-v	Bartoli Cosimo	Cosimo I de' Medici	Venezia	25-09-1563	Saturday	2976_081
MdP 2976, fol. 201r-v, 202r-v, 218r-v, 219r-v	Bartoli Cosimo	Cosimo I de' Medici	Venezia	03-10-1563	Sunday	2976_082
MdP 2976, fol. 203r-v, 217r-v	Bartoli Cosimo	Cosimo I de' Medici	Venezia	09-10-1563	Saturday	2976_083

MdP 2976, fol. 204r-v, 216r-v	Bartoli Cosimo	Cosimo I de' Medici	Venezia	16-10-1563	Saturday	2976_084
MdP 2976, fol. 205r-v, 215r-v	Bartoli Cosimo	Cosimo I de' Medici	Venezia	23-10-1563	Saturday	2976_085
MdP 2976, fol. 206r-v, 214r-v	Bartoli Cosimo	Cosimo I de' Medici	Venezia	23-10-1563	Saturday	2976_086
MdP 2976, fol. 210r-v, 211r-v	Bartoli Cosimo	Francesco de' Medici	Venezia	30-10-1563	Saturday	2976_089
MdP 2976, fol. 66r-v, 67r-v, 78r-v, 79r-v	Bartoli Cosimo	Francesco de' Medici	Venezia	06-11-1563	Saturday	2976_030
MdP 2976, fol. 224r-v, 225r-v	Bartoli Cosimo	Francesco de' Medici	Venezia	13-11-1563	Saturday	2976_090
MdP 2976, fol. 226r-v, 227r-v, 234r-v, 235r-v	Bartoli Cosimo	Francesco de' Medici	Venezia	24-11-1563	Wednesday	2976_091
MdP 2976, fol. 228r-v, 233r-v	Bartoli Cosimo	Francesco de' Medici	Venezia	01-12-1563	Wednesday	2976_092
MdP 2976, fol. 236r-v, 237r-v	Bartoli Cosimo	[Cosimo I or Francesco de' Medici]	Venezia	09-12-1563	Thursday	2976_095
MdP 2976, fol. 238r-v, 261r-v	Bartoli Cosimo	[Cosimo I or Francesco de' Medici]	Venezia	15-12-1563	Wednesday	2976_096
MdP 2976, fol. 239r-v, 240r-v, 259r-v, 260r-v	Bartoli Cosimo	Francesco de' Medici	Venezia	22-12-1563	Wednesday	2976_097
MdP 2976, fol. 241r-v, 242r-v, 257r-v, 258r-v	Bartoli Cosimo	Francesco de' Medici	Venezia	29-12-1563	Wednesday	2976_098
MdP 2976, fol. 87r-v, 88r-v, 91r-v, 92r-v	Bartoli Cosimo	Cosimo I de' Medici	Venezia	05-01-1564	Wednesday	2976_039
MdP 2976, fol. 95r-v, 126r-v	Bartoli Cosimo	Cosimo I de' Medici	Venezia	12-01-1564	Wednesday	2976_041
MdP 2976, fol. 5r-v, 7r-v, 12r-v, 14r-v, 6r-v, 13r-v	Bartoli Cosimo	Cosimo I de' Medici	Venezia	19-01-1564	Wednesday	2976_003
MdP 2976, fol. 96r-v, 97r-v	Bartoli Cosimo	[Cosimo I de' Medici]	Venezia	26-01-1564	Wednesday	2976_042
MdP 2976, fol. 98r-v, 125r-v	Bartoli Cosimo	[Cosimo I de' Medici]	Venezia	04-02-1564	Friday	2976_043
MdP 2976, fol. 99r-v, 124r-v	Bartoli Cosimo	[Cosimo I de' Medici]	Venezia	09-02-1564	Wednesday	2976_044
MdP 2976, fol. 100r-v, 101r-v	Bartoli Cosimo	[Cosimo I de' Medici]	Venezia	17-02-1564	Thursday	2976_045
MdP 2976, fol. 102r-v, 123r-v	Bartoli Cosimo	Cosimo I de' Medici	Venezia	17-02-1564	Thursday	2976_046
MdP 2976, fol. 103r-v, 104r-v	Bartoli Cosimo	[Cosimo I de' Medici]	Venezia	23-02-1564	Wednesday	2976_047

MdP 2976, fol. 105r-v, 106r-v	Bartoli Cosimo	[Cosimo I de' Medici]	Venezia	02-03-1564	Thursday	2976_048
MdP 2976, fol. 107r-v, 108r-v, 121r-v, 122r-v	Bartoli Cosimo	Cosimo I de' Medici	Venezia	07-03-1564	Tuesday	2976_049
MdP 2976, fol. 109r-v, 120r-v	Bartoli Cosimo	Cosimo I de' Medici	Venezia	15-03-1564	Wednesday	2976_050
MdP 2976, fol. 110r-v, 111r-v, 118r-v, 119r-v	Bartoli Cosimo	Cosimo I de' Medici	Venezia	22-03-1564	Wednesday	2976_051
MdP 2976, fol. 245r-v, 254r-v	Bartoli Cosimo	Cosimo I de' Medici	Venezia	29-03-1564	Wednesday	2976_101
MdP 2979, fol. 170r-v, 171r-v	Bartoli Cosimo	[Cosimo I or Francesco de' Medici]	Venezia	31-03-1564	Friday	2979_077
MdP 2979, fol. 172r-v, 176r-v	Bartoli Cosimo	Cosimo I de' Medici	Venezia	31-03-1564	Friday	2979_078
MdP 2976, fol. 248r-v, 249r-v, 250r-v, 251r-v	Bartoli Cosimo	Cosimo I de' Medici	Venezia	08-04-1564	Saturday	2976_103
MdP 2976, fol. 262r-v, 263r-v, 264r-v, 279r-v	Bartoli Cosimo	Cosimo I de' Medici	Venezia	22-04-1564	Saturday	2976_104
MdP 2976, fol. 270r-v, 271r-v, 272r-v, 273r-v	Bartoli Cosimo	Cosimo I de' Medici	Venezia	06-05-1564	Saturday	2976_109
MdP 2976, fol. 281r-v, 288r-v	Bartoli Cosimo	Cosimo I de' Medici	Venezia	13-05-1564	Saturday	2976_111
MdP 2976, fol. 282r-v, 287r-v	Bartoli Cosimo	Concino Bartolomeo	Venezia	13-05-1564	Saturday	2976_112
MdP 2976, fol. 283r-v, 284r-v, 285r-v, 286r-v	Bartoli Cosimo	Francesco de' Medici	Venezia	13-05-1564	Saturday	2976_113
MdP 2976, fol. 293r-v, 294r-v	Bartoli Cosimo	Cosimo I de' Medici	Venezia	20-05-1564	Saturday	2976_116
MdP 2976, fol. 295r-v, 307r-v	Bartoli Cosimo	Cosimo I de' Medici	Venezia	27-05-1564	Saturday	2976_117
MdP 2976, fol. 296r-v, 306r-v, 297r-v, 305r-v	Bartoli Cosimo	Francesco de' Medici	Venezia	27-05-1564	Saturday	2976_118
MdP 2976, fol. 298r-v, 299r-v	Bartoli Cosimo	[Cosimo I or Francesco de' Medici]	Venezia	03-06-1564	Saturday	2976_119
MdP 2977, fol. 1r-v, 2r-v	Bartoli Cosimo	[Cosimo I or Francesco de' Medici]	Venezia	10-06-1564	Saturday	2977_001

MdP 2977, fol. 3r-v	Bartoli Cosimo	[Cosimo I or Francesco de' Medici]	Venezia	17-06-1564	Saturday	2977_002
MdP 2977, fol. 4r-v	Bartoli Cosimo	[Cosimo I or Francesco de' Medici]	Venezia	24-06-1564	Saturday	2977_003
MdP 2977, fol. 5r-v, 6r-v	Bartoli Cosimo	[Cosimo I or Francesco de' Medici]	Venezia	01-07-1564	Saturday	2977_004
MdP 2977, fol. 7r-v	Bartoli Cosimo	[Cosimo I or Francesco de' Medici]	Venezia	08-07-1564	Saturday	2977_005
MdP 2977, fol. 8r-v, 9r-v	Bartoli Cosimo	[Cosimo I or Francesco de' Medici]	Venezia	15-07-1564	Saturday	2977_006
MdP 2977, fol. 10r-v, 11r-v, 12r-v, 13r-v	Bartoli Cosimo	Francesco de' Medici	Venezia	22-07-1564	Saturday	2977_007
MdP 507, fol. 47r-v	Bartoli Cosimo	Francesco de' Medici	Venezia	25-07-1564	Tuesday	Carteggio_Universale_029
MdP 2977, fol. 14r-v	Bartoli Cosimo	[Cosimo I or Francesco de' Medici]	Venezia	29-07-1564	Saturday	2977_008
MdP 2977, fol. 15r-v	Bartoli Cosimo	[Cosimo I or Francesco de' Medici]	Venezia	04-08-1564	Friday	2977_009
MdP 2977, fol. 16r-v, 19r-v, 17r-v, 18r-v	Bartoli Cosimo	Francesco de' Medici	Venezia	05-08-1564	Saturday	2977_010
MdP 2977, fol. 20r-v, 21r-v, 24r-v, 25r-v	Bartoli Cosimo	Francesco de' Medici	Venezia	13-08-1564	Sunday	2977_011
MdP 2977, fol. 22r-v, 23r-v	Bartoli Cosimo	Francesco de' Medici	Venezia	19-08-1564	Saturday	2977_012
MdP 2977, fol. 26r-v, 27r-v	Bartoli Cosimo	[Cosimo I or Francesco de' Medici]	Venezia	26-08-1564	Saturday	2977_013
MdP 2977, fol. 29r-v, 30r-v	Bartoli Cosimo	[Cosimo I or Francesco de' Medici]	Venezia	02-09-1564	Saturday	2977_015
MdP 2977, fol. 28r-v	Bartoli Cosimo	[Cosimo I or Francesco de' Medici]	Venezia	07-09-1564	Thursday	2977_014

MdP 2977, fol. 31r-v, 32r-v	Bartoli Cosimo	[Cosimo I or Francesco de' Medici]	Venezia	09-09-1564	Saturday	2977_016
MdP 510, fol. 254r-v	Bartoli Cosimo		Venezia	16-09-1564	Saturday	Carteggio_Universale_031
MdP 2977, fol. 33r-v	Bartoli Cosimo	[Cosimo I or Francesco de' Medici]	[Venezia]	16-09-1564	Saturday	2977_017
MdP 2977, fol. 34r-v	Bartoli Cosimo	[Cosimo I or Francesco de' Medici]	Venezia	23-09-1564	Saturday	2977_018
MdP 510, fol. 362r-v	Bartoli Cosimo	Concino Bartolomeo	Venezia	30-09-1564	Saturday	Carteggio_Universale_032
MdP 2976, fol. 301r-v, 304r-v	Bartoli Cosimo	Cosimo I de' Medici	Venezia	30-09-1564	Saturday	2976_121
MdP 2977, fol. 35r-v, 36r-v	Bartoli Cosimo	[Cosimo I or Francesco de' Medici]	Venezia	30-09-1564	Saturday	2977_019
MdP 2977, fol. 42r-v, 43r-v, 48r-v, 49r-v	Bartoli Cosimo	Francesco de' Medici	Venezia	08-10-1564	Sunday	2977_023
MdP 2976, fol. 302r-v, 303r-v	Bartoli Cosimo	[Cosimo I or Francesco de' Medici]	Venezia	14-10-1564	Saturday	2976_122
MdP 2977, fol. 44r-v, 47r-v	Bartoli Cosimo	Francesco de' Medici	Venezia	14-10-1564	Saturday	2977_024
MdP 2977, fol. 38r-v, 39r-v	Bartoli Cosimo	Francesco de' Medici	Venezia	21-10-1564	Saturday	2977_021
MdP 2977, fol. 37r-v	Bartoli Cosimo	[Cosimo I or Francesco de' Medici]	Venezia	28-10-1564	Saturday	2977_020
MdP 510A, fol. 748r-v	Bartoli Cosimo	Cosimo I de' Medici	Venezia	15-11-1564	Wednesday	Carteggio_Universale_033
MdP 2977, fol. 46r-v	Bartoli Cosimo	[Cosimo I or Francesco de' Medici]	Venezia	15-11-1564	Wednesday	2977_026
MdP 2977, fol. 40r-v, 41r-v, 50r-v, 51r-v	Bartoli Cosimo	Francesco de' Medici	Venezia	22-11-1564	Wednesday	2977_022
MdP 2976, fol. 311r-v, 316r-v	Bartoli Cosimo	Cosimo I de' Medici	Venezia	29-11-1564	Wednesday	2976_123

MdP 2977, fol. 45r-v	Bartoli Cosimo	[Cosimo I or Francesco de' Medici]	Venezia	29-11-1564	Wednesday	2977_025
MdP 2977, fol. 64r-v	Bartoli Cosimo	[Cosimo I or Francesco de' Medici]	Venezia	29-11-1564	Wednesday	2977_034
MdP 2976, fol. 312r-v, 315r-v	Bartoli Cosimo	Cosimo I de' Medici	Venezia	04-12-1564	Monday	2976_124
MdP 2976, fol. 313r-v, 314r-v	Bartoli Cosimo	Francesco de' Medici	Venezia	06-12-1564	Wednesday	2976_125
MdP 2977, fol. 52r-v, 53r-v	Bartoli Cosimo	[Cosimo I de' Medici]	Venezia	06-12-1564	Wednesday	2977_027
MdP 2976, fol. 317r-v, 318r-v	Bartoli Cosimo	Francesco de' Medici	[Venezia]	13-12-1564	Wednesday	2976_126
MdP 2977, fol. 54r-v, 59r-v	Bartoli Cosimo	Francesco de' Medici	Venezia	13-12-1564	Wednesday	2977_028
MdP 509, fol. 184r-v	Bartoli Cosimo	Cosimo I de' Medici	Venezia	20-12-1564	Wednesday	Carteggio_Universale_030
MdP 2977, fol. 62r-v, 63r-v	Bartoli Cosimo	Francesco de' Medici	Venezia	20-12-1564	Wednesday	2977_033
MdP 2977, fol. 61r-v	Bartoli Cosimo	[Cosimo I or Francesco de' Medici]	Venezia	22-12-1564	Friday	2977_032
MdP 2977, fol. 60r-v	Bartoli Cosimo	[Cosimo I or Francesco de' Medici]	Venezia	29-12-1564	Friday	2977_031
MdP 2976, fol. 243r-v, 256r-v	Bartoli Cosimo	Cosimo I de' Medici	Venezia	03-01-1565	Wednesday	2976_099
MdP 2977, fol. 55r-v, 58r-v	Bartoli Cosimo	Francesco de' Medici	Venezia	03-01-1565	Wednesday	2977_029
MdP 2977, fol. 65r-v, 68r-v	Bartoli Cosimo	Francesco de' Medici	Venezia	06-01-1565	Saturday	2977_035
MdP 2977, fol. 66r-v, 67r-v	Bartoli Cosimo	[Cosimo I or Francesco de' Medici]	Venezia	10-01-1565	Wednesday	2977_036
MdP 2977, fol. 71r-v, 72r-v, 73r-v	Bartoli Cosimo	[Cosimo I or Francesco de' Medici]	Venezia	17-01-1565	Wednesday	2977_039
MdP 2977, fol. 69r-v	Bartoli Cosimo	[Cosimo I or Francesco de' Medici]	Venezia	20-01-1565	Saturday	2977_037
MdP 2977, fol. 70r-v, 74r-v	Bartoli Cosimo	Francesco de' Medici	Venezia	24-01-1565	Wednesday	2977_038
MdP 2977, fol. 75r-v	Bartoli Cosimo	[Cosimo I or Francesco de' Medici]	Venezia	31-01-1565	Wednesday	2977_040

MdP 2977, fol. 76r-v	Bartoli Cosimo	[Cosimo I or Francesco de' Medici]	Venezia	07-02-1565	Wednesday	2977_041
MdP 2977, fol. 76bisr-v, 77r-v, 79r-v, 80r-v	Bartoli Cosimo	Francesco de' Medici	Venezia	14-02-1565	Wednesday	2977_042
MdP 2977, fol. 84r-v, 81r-v	Bartoli Cosimo	Francesco de' Medici	[Venezia]	21-02-1565	Wednesday	2977_045
MdP 3079, fol. 381r-v, 386r-v	Bartoli Cosimo	Venezia	21-02-1565	Wednesday	3079_065	
MdP 2977, fol. 78r-v	Bartoli Cosimo	[Cosimo I or Francesco de' Medici]	Venezia	24-02-1565	Saturday	2977_043
MdP 520, fol. 128r-v	Bartoli Cosimo	Cosimo I de' Medici	Venezia	28-02-1565	Wednesday	Carteggio_Universale_039
MdP 2977, fol. 83r-v, 82r-v	Bartoli Cosimo	Francesco de' Medici	Venezia	28-02-1565	Wednesday	2977_044
MdP 2977, fol. 87r-v, 88r-v	Bartoli Cosimo	Francesco de' Medici	Venezia	03-03-1565	Saturday	2977_048
MdP 2977, fol. 89r-v, 90r-v	Bartoli Cosimo	[Cosimo I or Francesco de' Medici]	Venezia	08-03-1565	Thursday	2977_049
MdP 2977, fol. 85r-v	Bartoli Cosimo	[Cosimo I or Francesco de' Medici]	Venezia	10-03-1565	Saturday	2977_046
MdP 2977, fol. 86r-v	Bartoli Cosimo	[Cosimo I or Francesco de' Medici]	[Venezia]	12-03-1565	Monday	2977_047
MdP 2977, fol. 91r-v, 92r-v	Bartoli Cosimo	[Cosimo I or Francesco de' Medici]	Venezia	14-03-1565	Wednesday	2977_050
MdP 2977, fol. 93r-v, 102r-v	Bartoli Cosimo	Francesco de' Medici	Venezia	17-03-1565	Saturday	2977_051
MdP 2976, fol. 244r-v, 255r-v	Bartoli Cosimo	Cosimo I de' Medici	Venezia	21-03-1565	Wednesday	2976_100
MdP 2977, fol. 94r-v, 95r-v, 100r-v, 101r-v	Bartoli Cosimo	Francesco de' Medici	Venezia	21-03-1565	Wednesday	2977_052
MdP 2977, fol. 96r-v, 97r-v, 98r-v, 99r-v	Bartoli Cosimo	Francesco de' Medici	Venezia	24-03-1565	Saturday	2977_053
MdP 2977, fol. 103r-v, 104r-v, 107r-v, 108r-v	Bartoli Cosimo	Francesco de' Medici	Venezia	28-03-1565	Wednesday	2977_054
MdP 2977, fol. 105r-v, 106r-v	Bartoli Cosimo	Concino Bartolomeo	Venezia	31-03-1565	Saturday	2977_055

MdP 2977, fol. 109r-v, 110r-v, 111r-v, 112r-v	Bartoli Cosimo	Francesco de' Medici	Venezia	07-04-1565	Saturday	2977_056
MdP 2977, fol. 113r-v, 114r-v, 115r-v, 116r-v	Bartoli Cosimo	Francesco de' Medici	Venezia	14-04-1565	Saturday	2977_057
MdP 2977, fol. 117r-v, 118r-v, 119r-v, 120r-v	Bartoli Cosimo	Francesco de' Medici	Venezia	14-04-1565	Saturday	2977_058
MdP 2977, fol. 121r-v, 122r-v	Bartoli Cosimo	Francesco de' Medici	Venezia	21-04-1565	Saturday	2977_059
MdP 2977, fol. 123r-v, 124r-v	Bartoli Cosimo	[Cosimo I or Francesco de' Medici]	Venezia	29-04-1565	Sunday	2977_060
MdP 2977, fol. 125r-v, 126r-v	Bartoli Cosimo	Francesco de' Medici	Venezia	29-04-1565	Sunday	2977_061
MdP 2977, fol. 129r-v, 130r-v, 131r-v	Bartoli Cosimo	Francesco de' Medici	Venezia	05-05-1565	Saturday	2977_062
MdP 2977, fol. 132r-v, 133r-v	Bartoli Cosimo	Francesco de' Medici	Venezia	09-05-1565	Wednesday	2977_063
MdP 2977, fol. 134r-v, 135r-v	Bartoli Cosimo	[Cosimo I or Francesco de' Medici]	Venezia	12-05-1565	Saturday	2977_064
MdP 2977, fol. 140r-v, 141r-v	Bartoli Cosimo	[Cosimo I or Francesco de' Medici]	Venezia	19-05-1565	Saturday	2977_066
MdP 2977, fol. 136r-v, 137r-v, 138r-v, 139r-v	Bartoli Cosimo	Francesco de' Medici	Venezia	26-05-1565	Saturday	2977_065
MdP 2977, fol. 144r-v, 145r-v	Bartoli Cosimo	[Cosimo I or Francesco de' Medici]	Venezia	02-06-1565	Saturday	2977_067
MdP 2977, fol. 146r-v, 147r-v, 148r-v, 149r-v	Bartoli Cosimo	Francesco de' Medici	Venezia	09-06-1565	Saturday	2977_068
MdP 2977, fol. 150r-v, 151r-v	Bartoli Cosimo	Francesco de' Medici	Venezia	16-06-1565	Saturday	2977_069
MdP 2977, fol. 152r-v, 153r-v	Bartoli Cosimo	Francesco de' Medici	Venezia	23-06-1565	Saturday	2977_070
MdP 516A, fol. 544r-v	Bartoli Cosimo	Francesco de' Medici	Venezia	30-06-1565	Saturday	Carteggio_Universale_034
Carte Strozziane, Serie Prima, vol. 147, fol. 155r-v, 158r-v	Bartoli Cosimo	Cosimo I de' Medici	Venezia	30-06-1565	Saturday	CarteStrozziane_SI_147_001

MdP 522, fol. 65r-v	Bartoli Cosimo	Concino Bartolomeo	Venezia	06-07-1565	Friday	Carteggio_Universale_040
MdP 2977, fol. 154r-v, 155r-v, 156r-v	Bartoli Cosimo	Francesco de' Medici	Venezia	07-07-1565	Saturday	2977_071
MdP 2977, fol. 157r-v, 158r-v, 159r-v	Bartoli Cosimo	Francesco de' Medici	Venezia	14-07-1565	Saturday	2977_072
MdP 516A, fol. 833r-v	Bartoli Cosimo	Francesco de' Medici	Venezia	21-07-1565	Saturday	Carteggio_Universale_035
MdP 517, fol. 764r-v	Bartoli Cosimo	Concino Bartolomeo	Venezia	22-07-1565	Sunday	Carteggio_Universale_037
MdP 2977, fol. 160r-v, 161r-v	Bartoli Cosimo	Francesco de' Medici	Venezia	28-07-1565	Saturday	2977_073
MdP 517, fol. 71r-v	Bartoli Cosimo	Cosimo I de' Medici	Venezia	04-08-1565	Saturday	Carteggio_Universale_036
MdP 2977, fol. 162r-v, 163r-v	Bartoli Cosimo	Francesco de' Medici	Venezia	04-08-1565	Saturday	2977_074
MdP 2977, fol. 164r-v, 165r-v, 166r-v	Bartoli Cosimo	Francesco de' Medici	Venezia	11-08-1565	Saturday	2977_075
MdP 2977, fol. 167r-v, 168r-v, 169r-v	Bartoli Cosimo	Francesco de' Medici	Venezia	18-08-1565	Saturday	2977_076
MdP 2977, fol. 170r-v, 171r-v	Bartoli Cosimo	Francesco de' Medici	Venezia	25-08-1565	Saturday	2977_077
MdP 2977, fol. 172r-v, 173r-v	Bartoli Cosimo	Francesco de' Medici	Venezia	01-09-1565	Saturday	2977_078
MdP 2977, fol. 176r-v, 177r-v	Bartoli Cosimo	Francesco de' Medici	Venezia	08-09-1565	Saturday	2977_080
MdP 2977, fol. 178r-v, 179r-v	Bartoli Cosimo	Concino Bartolomeo	Venezia	08-09-1565	Saturday	2977_081
MdP 2977, fol. 174r-v, 175r-v	Bartoli Cosimo	Francesco de' Medici	Venezia	15-09-1565	Saturday	2977_079
MdP 2976, fol. 323r-v, 332r-v	Bartoli Cosimo	Cosimo I de' Medici	Venezia	22-09-1565	Saturday	2976_129
MdP 2977, fol. 180r-v, 181r-v	Bartoli Cosimo	Francesco de' Medici	Venezia	22-09-1565	Saturday	2977_082
MdP 2977, fol. 182r-v, 183r-v	Bartoli Cosimo	[Cosimo I or Francesco de' Medici]	Venezia	29-09-1565	Saturday	2977_083
MdP 2977, fol. 184r-v, 185r-v, 186r-v, 187r-v	Bartoli Cosimo	Francesco de' Medici	Venezia	06-10-1565	Saturday	2977_084

MdP 2977, fol. 188r-v, 189r-v	Bartoli Cosimo	Cosimo I de' Medici	Venezia	06-10-1565	Saturday	2977_085
MdP 2976, fol. 326r-v, 329r-v	Bartoli Cosimo	Cosimo I de' Medici	Venezia	13-10-1565	Saturday	2976_131
MdP 2977, fol. 192r-v, 193r-v	Bartoli Cosimo	Francesco de' Medici	Venezia	13-10-1565	Saturday	2977_087
MdP 2976, fol. 333r-v, 357r-v	Bartoli Cosimo	Cosimo I de' Medici	Venezia	20-10-1565	Saturday	2976_133
MdP 2977, fol. 190r-v, 191r-v	Bartoli Cosimo	Francesco de' Medici	Venezia	20-10-1565	Saturday	2977_086
MdP 2976, fol. 340r-v, 341r-v	Bartoli Cosimo	[Cosimo I de' Medici]	Venezia	27-10-1565	Saturday	2976_137
MdP 2976, fol. 342r-v, 355r-v	Bartoli Cosimo	Cosimo I de' Medici	Venezia	03-11-1565	Saturday	2976_138
MdP 2977, fol. 194r-v, 195r-v	Bartoli Cosimo	Francesco de' Medici	Venezia	03-11-1565	Saturday	2977_088
MdP 2976, fol. 343r-v, 350r-v	Bartoli Cosimo	Cosimo I de' Medici	Venezia	10-11-1565	Saturday	2976_139
MdP 2977, fol. 196r-v, 197r-v	Bartoli Cosimo	Cosimo I de' Medici	Venezia	17-11-1565	Saturday	2977_089
MdP 2977, fol. 198r-v, 199r-v	Bartoli Cosimo	Cosimo I de' Medici	Venezia	21-11-1565	Wednesday	2977_090
MdP 2976, fol. 344r-v, 349r-v	Bartoli Cosimo	Cosimo I de' Medici	Venezia	24-11-1565	Saturday	2976_140
MdP 2977, fol. 200r-v, 201r-v	Bartoli Cosimo	Cosimo I de' Medici	Venezia	28-11-1565	Wednesday	2977_091
MdP 518, fol. 612r-v	Bartoli Cosimo	Concino Bartolomeo	Venezia	01-12-1565	Saturday	Carteggio_Universale_038
MdP 3079, fol. 619r-v, 636r-v	Bartoli Cosimo	Cosimo I de' Medici	Venezia	01-12-1565	Saturday	3079_146
MdP 3079, fol. 620r-v, 635r-v	Bartoli Cosimo	Francesco de' Medici	Venezia	01-12-1565	Saturday	3079_147
MdP 3079, fol. 621r-v, 634r-v	Bartoli Cosimo	Francesco de' Medici	Venezia	05-12-1565	Wednesday	3079_148
MdP 2976, fol. 351r-v, 354r-v	Bartoli Cosimo	Francesco de' Medici	Venezia	07-12-1565	Friday	2976_143
MdP 3079, fol. 623r-v, 632r-v	Bartoli Cosimo	Francesco de' Medici	Venezia	12-12-1565	Wednesday	3079_150
MdP 3079, fol. 624r-v, 631r-v	Bartoli Cosimo	Francesco de' Medici	Venezia	19-12-1565	Wednesday	3079_151
MdP 3079, fol. 625r-v, 630r-v	Bartoli Cosimo	Francesco de' Medici	Venezia	25-12-1565	Tuesday	3079_152
MdP 2978, fol. 1r-v, 2r-v, 3r-v, 4r-v	Bartoli Cosimo	Francesco de' Medici	Venezia	02-01-1566	Wednesday	2978_001
MdP 2978, fol. 5r-v, 14r-v	Bartoli Cosimo	Francesco de' Medici	Venezia	05-01-1566	Saturday	2978_002
MdP 2978, fol. 6r-v, 7r-v, 12r-v, 13r-v	Bartoli Cosimo	Francesco de' Medici	Venezia	09-01-1566	Wednesday	2978_003
MdP 2978, fol. 8r-v, 11r-v	Bartoli Cosimo	Cosimo I de' Medici	Venezia	09-01-1566	Wednesday	2978_004

MdP 2978, fol. 9r-v, 10r-v	Bartoli Cosimo	[Cosimo I or Francesco de' Medici]	Venezia	16-01-1566	Wednesday	2978_005
MdP 2978, fol. 15r-v, 18r-v	Bartoli Cosimo	Francesco de' Medici	Venezia	18-01-1566	Friday	2978_006
MdP 2978, fol. 16r-v, 17r-v	Bartoli Cosimo	[Cosimo I or Francesco de' Medici]	Venezia	23-01-1566	Wednesday	2978_007
MdP 2978, fol. 19r-v, 20r-v	Bartoli Cosimo	[Cosimo I or Francesco de' Medici]	Venezia	30-01-1566	Wednesday	2978_008
MdP 2978, fol. 21r-v, 32r-v	Bartoli Cosimo	Francesco de' Medici	Venezia	06-02-1566	Wednesday	2978_009
MdP 2978, fol. 22r-v, 31r-v	Bartoli Cosimo	Francesco de' Medici	Venezia	15-02-1566	Friday	2978_010
MdP 2978, fol. 23r-v, 30r-v	Bartoli Cosimo	[Cosimo I or Francesco de' Medici]	Venezia	16-02-1566	Saturday	2978_011
MdP 2978, fol. 24r-v, 29r-v	Bartoli Cosimo	Francesco de' Medici	Venezia	20-02-1566	Wednesday	2978_012
MdP 2978, fol. 25r-v, 28r-v	Bartoli Cosimo	Francesco de' Medici	Venezia	28-02-1566	Thursday	2978_013
MdP 2978, fol. 26r-v, 27r-v	Bartoli Cosimo	Francesco de' Medici	Venezia	28-02-1566	Thursday	2978_014
MdP 2978, fol. 33r-v, 40r-v	Bartoli Cosimo	Francesco de' Medici	Venezia	06-03-1566	Wednesday	2978_015
MdP 2978, fol. 34r-v, 39r-v	Bartoli Cosimo	Francesco de' Medici	Venezia	07-03-1566	Thursday	2978_016
MdP 2978, fol. 35r-v, 38r-v	Bartoli Cosimo	[Cosimo I or Francesco de' Medici]	Venezia	13-03-1566	Wednesday	2978_017
MdP 2978, fol. 36r-v, 37r-v	Bartoli Cosimo	[Cosimo I or Francesco de' Medici]	Venezia	20-03-1566	Wednesday	2978_018
MdP 2978, fol. 41r-v, 44r-v	Bartoli Cosimo	Francesco de' Medici	Venezia	23-03-1566	Saturday	2978_019
MdP 2978, fol. 42r-v, 43r-v	Bartoli Cosimo	[Cosimo I or Francesco de' Medici]	Venezia	27-03-1566	Wednesday	2978_020
MdP 2978, fol. 45r-v, 46r-v	Bartoli Cosimo	Francesco de' Medici	Venezia	03-04-1566	Wednesday	2978_021
MdP 2978, fol. 47r-v, 48r-v	Bartoli Cosimo	[Cosimo I or Francesco de' Medici]	Venezia	10-04-1566	Wednesday	2978_022
MdP 2978, fol. 49r-v, 50r-v	Bartoli Cosimo	[Cosimo I or Francesco de' Medici]	Venezia	20-04-1566	Saturday	2978_023
MdP 2978, fol. 51r-v, 52r-v	Bartoli Cosimo	Francesco de' Medici	Venezia	27-04-1566	Saturday	2978_024

MdP 2978, fol. 53r-v, 54r-v	Bartoli Cosimo	[Cosimo I or Francesco de' Medici]	Venezia	04-05-1566	Saturday	2978_025
MdP 2978, fol. 55r-v, 56r-v	Bartoli Cosimo	Francesco de' Medici	Venezia	11-05-1566	Saturday	2978_026
MdP 2978, fol. 57r-v, 58r-v, 59r-v	Bartoli Cosimo	Francesco de' Medici	Venezia	18-05-1566	Saturday	2978_027
MdP 2978, fol. 60r-v, 61r-v	Bartoli Cosimo	Francesco de' Medici	Venezia	25-05-1566	Saturday	2978_028
MdP 2978, fol. 62r-v, 63r-v	Bartoli Cosimo	Francesco de' Medici	Venezia	01-06-1566	Saturday	2978_029
MdP 2978, fol. 64r-v, 65r-v, 66r-v	Bartoli Cosimo	Francesco de' Medici	Venezia	08-06-1566	Saturday	2978_030
MdP 2978, fol. 69r-v, 70r-v	Bartoli Cosimo	Francesco de' Medici	Venezia	15-06-1566	Saturday	2978_031
MdP 2978, fol. 71r-v, 72r-v	Bartoli Cosimo	Francesco de' Medici	Venezia	19-06-1566	Wednesday	2978_032
MdP 2978, fol. 86r-v, 87r-v	Bartoli Cosimo	Francesco de' Medici	Venezia	29-06-1566	Saturday	2978_037
MdP 2978, fol. 75r-v, 76r-v	Bartoli Cosimo	Francesco de' Medici	Venezia	06-07-1566	Saturday	2978_033
MdP 2978, fol. 79r-v, 80r-v	Bartoli Curzio	Francesco de' Medici	Venezia	13-07-1566	Saturday	2978_034
MdP 2978, fol. 81r-v, 82r-v	Bartoli Curzio	Francesco de' Medici	Venezia	20-07-1566	Saturday	2978_035
MdP 2978, fol. 83r-v, 84r-v, 85r-v	Bartoli Cosimo	Francesco de' Medici	Venezia	27-07-1566	Saturday	2978_036
MdP 2978, fol. 88r-v, 89r-v, 91r-v, 92r-v	Bartoli Cosimo	Francesco de' Medici	Venezia	03-08-1566	Saturday	2978_038
MdP 2978, fol. 95r-v, 96r-v	Bartoli Cosimo	Francesco de' Medici	Venezia	10-08-1566	Saturday	2978_039
MdP 2978, fol. 97r-v, 98r-v	Bartoli Cosimo	Francesco de' Medici	Venezia	17-08-1566	Saturday	2978_040
MdP 2978, fol. 99r-v, 100r-v, 101r-v	Bartoli Cosimo	Francesco de' Medici	Venezia	24-08-1566	Saturday	2978_041
MdP 2978, fol. 102r-v, 103r-v	Bartoli Cosimo	[Cosimo I or Francesco de' Medici]	Venezia	31-08-1566	Saturday	2978_042
MdP 2978, fol. 104r-v, 105r-v	Bartoli Cosimo	Francesco de' Medici	Venezia	02-09-1566	Monday	2978_043
MdP 2978, fol. 108r-v, 109r-v	Bartoli Cosimo	Francesco de' Medici	Venezia	07-09-1566	Saturday	2978_044
MdP 2978, fol. 110r-v, 111r-v	Bartoli Cosimo	[Cosimo I or Francesco de' Medici]	Venezia	14-09-1566	Saturday	2978_045

MdP 2978, fol. 112r-v, 113r-v	Bartoli Cosimo	[Cosimo I or Francesco de' Medici]	Venezia	21-09-1566	Saturday	2978_046
MdP 3079, fol. 776r-v, 781r-v	Bartoli Cosimo	Francesco de' Medici	21-09-1566	Saturday		3079_188
MdP 2978, fol. 114r-v, 115r-v	Bartoli Cosimo	Francesco de' Medici	Venezia	28-09-1566	Saturday	2978_047
MdP 2978, fol. 116r-v, 117r-v	Bartoli Cosimo	Francesco de' Medici	Venezia	05-10-1566	Saturday	2978_048
MdP 2978, fol. 120r-v, 121r-v	Bartoli Cosimo	Francesco de' Medici	Venezia	12-10-1566	Saturday	2978_049
MdP 2978, fol. 122r-v, 123r-v	Bartoli Cosimo	Francesco de' Medici	Venezia	19-10-1566	Saturday	2978_050
MdP 2978, fol. 124r-v, 125r-v	Bartoli Cosimo	Francesco de' Medici	Venezia	24-10-1566	Thursday	2978_051
MdP 2978, fol. 126r-v, 127r-v	Bartoli Cosimo	Francesco de' Medici	Venezia	26-10-1566	Saturday	2978_052
MdP 2978, fol. 128r-v, 129r-v	Bartoli Cosimo	Francesco de' Medici	Venezia	02-11-1566	Saturday	2978_053
MdP 2978, fol. 132r-v, 133r-v, 134r-v	Bartoli Cosimo	Francesco de' Medici	Venezia	09-11-1566	Saturday	2978_054
MdP 2978, fol. 135r-v, 136r-v	Bartoli Cosimo	Francesco de' Medici	Venezia	13-11-1566	Wednesday	2978_055
MdP 2978, fol. 137r-v, 138r-v	Bartoli Cosimo	Francesco de' Medici	Venezia	20-11-1566	Wednesday	2978_056
MdP 2978, fol. 139r-v, 140r-v	Bartoli Cosimo	Francesco de' Medici	Venezia	27-11-1566	Wednesday	2978_057
MdP 2978, fol. 141r-v, 142r-v	Bartoli Cosimo	Francesco de' Medici	Venezia	04-12-1566	Wednesday	2978_058
MdP 2978, fol. 143r-v, 144r-v	Bartoli Cosimo	Francesco de' Medici	Venezia	07-12-1566	Saturday	2978_059
MdP 2978, fol. 145r-v, 146r-v	Bartoli Cosimo	Francesco de' Medici	Venezia	11-12-1566	Wednesday	2978_060
MdP 525, fol. 121r-v	Bartoli Cosimo	Cosimo I de' Medici	Venezia	18-12-1566	Wednesday	Carteggio_Universale_041
MdP 2978, fol. 147r-v, 148r-v	Bartoli Cosimo	Francesco de' Medici	Venezia	18-12-1566	Wednesday	2978_061
MdP 2978, fol. 149r-v, 150r-v	Bartoli Cosimo	Francesco de' Medici	Venezia	23-12-1566	Monday	2978_062
MdP 2978, fol. 153r-v, 154r-v	Bartoli Cosimo	Francesco de' Medici	Venezia	02-01-1567	Thursday	2978_063
MdP 2978, fol. 155r-v, 156r-v	Bartoli Cosimo	[Cosimo I or Francesco de' Medici]	Venezia	08-01-1567	Wednesday	2978_064
MdP 2978, fol. 157r-v, 158r-v	Bartoli Cosimo	[Cosimo I or Francesco de' Medici]	Venezia	15-01-1567	Wednesday	2978_065

MdP 2978, fol. 159r-v, 160r-v, 161r-v, 162r-v	Bartoli Cosimo	Francesco de' Medici	Venezia	22-01-1567	Wednesday	2978_066
MdP 2978, fol. 163r-v, 164r-v	Bartoli Cosimo	[Cosimo I or Francesco de' Medici]	Venezia	25-01-1567	Saturday	2978_067
MdP 2978, fol. 165r-v, 166r-v	Bartoli Cosimo	[Cosimo I or Francesco de' Medici]	Venezia	29-01-1567	Wednesday	2978_068
MdP 2978, fol. 167r-v, 168r-v	Bartoli Cosimo	[Cosimo I or Francesco de' Medici]	Venezia	05-02-1567	Wednesday	2978_069
MdP 2978, fol. 169r-v, 170r-v	Bartoli Cosimo	Francesco de' Medici	Venezia	08-02-1567	Saturday	2978_070
MdP 2978, fol. 171r-v, 172r-v	Bartoli Cosimo	Francesco de' Medici	Venezia	13-02-1567	Thursday	2978_071
MdP 2978, fol. 173r-v, 174r-v	Bartoli Cosimo	Francesco de' Medici	Venezia	19-02-1567	Wednesday	2978_072
MdP 2978, fol. 175r-v, 176r-v	Bartoli Cosimo	Francesco de' Medici	Venezia	26-02-1567	Wednesday	2978_073
MdP 2978, fol. 177r-v, 178r-v, 179r-v, 180r-v	Bartoli Cosimo	Francesco de' Medici	Venezia	06-03-1567	Thursday	2978_074
MdP 2978, fol. 181r-v, 182r-v	Bartoli Cosimo	Francesco de' Medici	Venezia	12-03-1567	Wednesday	2978_075
MdP 2978, fol. 183r-v, 184r-v	Bartoli Cosimo	Francesco de' Medici	Venezia	19-03-1567	Wednesday	2978_076
MdP 2978, fol. 185r-v, 186r-v	Bartoli Cosimo	Francesco de' Medici	Venezia	26-03-1567	Wednesday	2978_077
MdP 527, fol. 9r-v	Bartoli Cosimo	Cosimo I de' Medici	Venezia	05-04-1567	Saturday	Carteggio_Universale_042
MdP 2978, fol. 187r-v, 188r-v	Bartoli Cosimo	Francesco de' Medici	Venezia	05-04-1567	Saturday	2978_078
MdP 3080, fol. 53r-v, 60r-v	Bartoli Cosimo	Francesco de' Medici	Venezia	05-04-1567	Saturday	3080_013
MdP 2978, fol. 189r-v, 190r-v	Bartoli Cosimo	Francesco de' Medici	Venezia	12-04-1567	Saturday	2978_079
MdP 528, fol. 234r-v	Bartoli Cosimo	Concino Bartolomeo	Venezia	19-04-1567	Saturday	Carteggio_Universale_043
MdP 2978, fol. 191r-v, 192r-v	Bartoli Cosimo	Francesco de' Medici	Venezia	19-04-1567	Saturday	2978_080
MdP 2978, fol. 193r-v, 194r-v	Bartoli Cosimo	Francesco de' Medici	Venezia	26-04-1567	Saturday	2978_081
MdP 2978, fol. 195r-v, 196r-v	Bartoli Cosimo	Francesco de' Medici	Venezia	03-05-1567	Saturday	2978_082
MdP 2978, fol. 197r-v, 198r-v	Bartoli Cosimo	[Cosimo I or Francesco de' Medici]	Venezia	10-05-1567	Saturday	2978_083

MdP 2978, fol. 199r-v, 200r-v	Bartoli Cosimo	Francesco de' Medici	Venezia	10-05-1567	Saturday	2978_084
MdP 2978, fol. 201r-v, 202r-v	Bartoli Cosimo	Francesco de' Medici	Venezia	17-05-1567	Saturday	2978_085
MdP 2978, fol. 203r-v, 204r-v	Bartoli Cosimo	Francesco de' Medici	Venezia	24-05-1567	Saturday	2978_086
MdP 2978, fol. 205r-v, 206r-v	Bartoli Cosimo	Francesco de' Medici	Venezia	31-05-1567	Saturday	2978_087
MdP 2978, fol. 207r-v, 208r-v	Bartoli Cosimo	[Cosimo I or Francesco de' Medici]	Venezia	07-06-1567	Saturday	2978_088
MdP 2978, fol. 209r-v, 210r-v	Bartoli Cosimo	Francesco de' Medici	Venezia	14-06-1567	Saturday	2978_089
MdP 529, fol. 260r-v	Bartoli Cosimo	Francesco de' Medici	Venezia	18-06-1567	Wednesday	Carteggio_Universale_044
MdP 2978, fol. 211r-v, 212r-v	Bartoli Cosimo	Ferdinando de' Medici	Venezia	18-06-1567	Wednesday	2978_090
MdP 2978, fol. 213r-v, 214r-v	Bartoli Cosimo	Francesco de' Medici	Venezia	21-06-1567	Saturday	2978_091
MdP 2978, fol. 215r-v, 216r-v	Bartoli Cosimo	Francesco de' Medici	Venezia	21-06-1567	Saturday	2978_092
MdP 2978, fol. 217r-v, 218r-v	Bartoli Cosimo	Francesco de' Medici	Venezia	28-06-1567	Saturday	2978_093
MdP 2978, fol. 219r-v, 220r-v	Bartoli Cosimo	Francesco de' Medici	Venezia	05-07-1567	Saturday	2978_094
MdP 2978, fol. 221r-v, 222r-v	Bartoli Cosimo	[Cosimo I or Francesco de' Medici]	Venezia	19-07-1567	Saturday	2978_095
MdP 2978, fol. 224r-v, 226bisr-v	Bartoli Cosimo	Francesco de' Medici	Venezia	26-07-1567	Saturday	2978_096
MdP 2978, fol. 225r-v, 226r-v	Bartoli Cosimo	Francesco de' Medici	Venezia	26-07-1567	Saturday	2978_098
MdP 2978, fol. 227r-v, 228r-v	Bartoli Cosimo	Francesco de' Medici	Venezia	02-08-1567	Saturday	2978_099
MdP 2978, fol. 229r-v, 230r-v	Bartoli Cosimo	[Cosimo I or Francesco de' Medici]	Venezia	09-08-1567	Saturday	2978_100
MdP 2978, fol. 231r-v, 232r-v	Bartoli Cosimo	[Cosimo I or Francesco de' Medici]	Venezia	16-08-1567	Saturday	2978_101
MdP 2978, fol. 233r-v, 234r-v	Bartoli Cosimo	Francesco de' Medici	Venezia	21-08-1567	Thursday	2978_102
MdP 2978, fol. 235r-v, 236r-v	Bartoli Cosimo	Francesco de' Medici	Venezia	23-08-1567	Saturday	2978_103
MdP 2978, fol. 237r-v, 238r-v	Bartoli Cosimo	Francesco de' Medici	Venezia	30-08-1567	Saturday	2978_104

MdP 530A, fol. 933r-v	Bartoli Cosimo	Francesco de' Medici	Venezia	dd-09-1567		Carteggio_Universale_047
MdP 2978, fol. 239r-v, 240r-v, 241r-v, 242r-v	Bartoli Cosimo	Francesco de' Medici	Venezia	06-09-1567	Saturday	2978_105
MdP 2978, fol. 243r-v, 244r-v	Bartoli Cosimo	[Cosimo I or Francesco de' Medici]	Venezia	13-09-1567	Saturday	2978_106
MdP 530A, fol. 833r-v	Bartoli Cosimo	Concino Bartolomeo	Venezia	20-09-1567	Saturday	Carteggio_Universale_046
MdP 2978, fol. 245r-v, 246r-v	Bartoli Cosimo	[Cosimo I or Francesco de' Medici]	Venezia	20-09-1567	Saturday	2978_107
MdP 2978, fol. 247r-v, 248r-v	Bartoli Cosimo	Francesco de' Medici	Venezia	27-09-1567	Saturday	2978_108
MdP 2978, fol. 249r-v, 250r-v	Bartoli Cosimo	Francesco de' Medici	Venezia	04-10-1567	Saturday	2978_109
MdP 532, fol. 164r-v	Bartoli Cosimo	Concino Bartolomeo	Venezia	11-10-1567	Saturday	Carteggio_Universale_048
MdP 2978, fol. 251r-v, 252r-v	Bartoli Cosimo	[Cosimo I or Francesco de' Medici]	Venezia	11-10-1567	Saturday	2978_110
MdP 2978, fol. 253r-v, 254r-v	Bartoli Cosimo	Francesco de' Medici	Venezia	11-10-1567	Saturday	2978_111
MdP 2978, fol. 255r-v, 256r-v	Bartoli Cosimo	[Cosimo I or Francesco de' Medici]	Venezia	18-10-1567	Saturday	2978_112
MdP 532, fol. 304r-v	Bartoli Cosimo	Concino Bartolomeo	Venezia	22-10-1567	Wednesday	Carteggio_Universale_049
MdP 2978, fol. 257r-v, 258r-v	Bartoli Cosimo	[Cosimo I or Francesco de' Medici]	Venezia	22-10-1567	Wednesday	2978_113
MdP 2978, fol. 259r-v, 260r-v	Bartoli Cosimo	Francesco de' Medici	Venezia	25-10-1567	Saturday	2978_114
MdP 2978, fol. 261r-v, 262r-v	Bartoli Cosimo	Francesco de' Medici	Venezia	29-10-1567	Wednesday	2978_115
MdP 2978, fol. 265r-v, 266r-v	Bartoli Cosimo	Francesco de' Medici	Venezia	05-11-1567	Wednesday	2978_117
MdP 532A, fol. 543r-v	Bartoli Cosimo	Concino Bartolomeo	Venezia	12-11-1567	Wednesday	Carteggio_Universale_050
MdP 2978, fol. 263r-v, 264r-v	Bartoli Cosimo	Francesco de' Medici	Venezia	12-11-1567	Wednesday	2978_116

MdP 2978, fol. 267r-v, 268r-v	Bartoli Cosimo	Francesco de' Medici	Venezia	19-11-1567	Wednesday	2978_118
MdP 2978, fol. 269r-v, 270r-v	Bartoli Cosimo	[Cosimo I or Francesco de' Medici]	[Venezia]	26-11-1567	Wednesday	2978_119
MdP 2978, fol. 271r-v, 272r-v	Bartoli Cosimo	Francesco de' Medici	Venezia	26-11-1567	Wednesday	2978_120
MdP 2978, fol. 273r-v, 274r-v	Bartoli Cosimo	[Francesco de' Medici]	Venezia	03-12-1567	Wednesday	2978_121
MdP 2978, fol. 275r-v, 276r-v	Bartoli Cosimo	Francesco de' Medici	Venezia	10-12-1567	Wednesday	2978_122
MdP 2978, fol. 277r-v, 278r-v	Bartoli Cosimo	Francesco de' Medici	Venezia	17-12-1567	Wednesday	2978_123
MdP 2978, fol. 279r-v, 280r-v	Bartoli Cosimo	Francesco de' Medici	Venezia	24-12-1567	Wednesday	2978_124
MdP 2978, fol. 281r-v, 282r-v	Bartoli Cosimo	Francesco de' Medici	Venezia	31-12-1567	Wednesday	2978_125
MdP 2978, fol. 285r-v, 286r-v	Bartoli Cosimo	Francesco de' Medici	Venezia	07-01-1568	Wednesday	2978_126
MdP 2978, fol. 287r-v, 288r-v	Bartoli Cosimo	Francesco de' Medici	Venezia	07-01-1568	Wednesday	2978_127
MdP 2978, fol. 291r-v, 292r-v	Bartoli Cosimo	Francesco de' Medici	Venezia	14-01-1568	Wednesday	2978_129
MdP 2978, fol. 289r-v, 290r-v	Bartoli Curzio	[Cosimo I or Francesco de' Medici]	Venezia	21-01-1568	Wednesday	2978_128
MdP 2978, fol. 293r-v, 294r-v	Bartoli Cosimo	Francesco de' Medici	Venezia	28-01-1568	Wednesday	2978_130
MdP 2978, fol. 295r-v, 296r-v	Bartoli Cosimo	Francesco de' Medici	Venezia	04-02-1568	Wednesday	2978_131
MdP 2978, fol. 297r-v, 298r-v	Bartoli Cosimo	Francesco de' Medici	Venezia	11-02-1568	Wednesday	2978_132
MdP 2978, fol. 299r-v, 300r-v	Bartoli Cosimo	Francesco de' Medici	Venezia	11-02-1568	Wednesday	2978_133
MdP 2978, fol. 301r-v, 302r-v	Bartoli Cosimo	Francesco de' Medici	Venezia	14-02-1568	Saturday	2978_134
MdP 2978, fol. 303r-v, 304r-v	Bartoli Cosimo	Francesco de' Medici	Venezia	18-02-1568	Wednesday	2978_135
MdP 2978, fol. 305r-v, 306r-v	Bartoli Cosimo	Cosimo I de' Medici	Venezia	18-02-1568	Wednesday	2978_136
MdP 2978, fol. 307r-v, 308r-v	Bartoli Cosimo	Francesco de' Medici	Venezia	21-02-1568	Saturday	2978_137
MdP 2978, fol. 309r-v, 310r-v	Bartoli Cosimo	Francesco de' Medici	Venezia	25-02-1568	Wednesday	2978_138
MdP 2978, fol. 311r-v, 312r-v	Bartoli Cosimo	Francesco de' Medici	Venezia	03-03-1568	Wednesday	2978_139
MdP 2978, fol. 313r-v, 314r-v	Bartoli Cosimo	Francesco de' Medici	Venezia	10-03-1568	Wednesday	2978_140
MdP 2978, fol. 315r-v, 316r-v	Bartoli Cosimo	Francesco de' Medici	Venezia	17-03-1568	Wednesday	2978_141
MdP 2978, fol. 317r-v, 318r-v	Bartoli Cosimo	Francesco de' Medici	Venezia	20-03-1568	Saturday	2978_142
MdP 2978, fol. 319r-v, 320r-v	Bartoli Cosimo	Francesco de' Medici	Venezia	24-03-1568	Wednesday	2978_143

MdP 2978, fol. 321r-v, 322r-v	Bartoli Cosimo	[Cosimo I or Francesco de' Medici]	Venezia	27-03-1568	Saturday	2978_144
MdP 2978, fol. 323r-v, 324r-v	Bartoli Cosimo	Francesco de' Medici	Venezia	31-03-1568	Wednesday	2978_145
MdP 2978, fol. 325r-v, 326r-v	Bartoli Cosimo	Francesco de' Medici	Venezia	07-04-1568	Wednesday	2978_146
MdP 2978, fol. 327r-v, 328r-v	Bartoli Cosimo	Francesco de' Medici	Venezia	14-04-1568	Wednesday	2978_147
MdP 2978, fol. 329r-v, 330r-v	Bartoli Cosimo	Francesco de' Medici	Venezia	17-04-1568	Saturday	2978_148
MdP 2978, fol. 331r-v, 332r-v	Bartoli Cosimo	Francesco de' Medici	Venezia	24-04-1568	Saturday	2978_149
MdP 2979, fol. 1r-v, 4r-v	Bartoli Cosimo	Concino Bartolomeo	Venezia	01-05-1568	Saturday	2979_001
MdP 2979, fol. 5r-v, 10r-v	Bartoli Cosimo	Francesco de' Medici	Venezia	01-05-1568	Saturday	2979_003
MdP 2979, fol. 6r-v, 9r-v	Bartoli Cosimo	Francesco de' Medici	Venezia	08-05-1568	Saturday	2979_004
MdP 2979, fol. 11r-v, 14r-v	Bartoli Cosimo	Francesco de' Medici	Venezia	15-05-1568	Saturday	2979_006
MdP 2979, fol. 12r-v, 13r-v	Bartoli Cosimo	Francesco de' Medici	Venezia	15-05-1568	Saturday	2979_007
MdP 2979, fol. 15r-v, 16r-v	Bartoli Cosimo	Francesco de' Medici	Venezia	22-05-1568	Saturday	2979_008
MdP 2979, fol. 17r-v, 18r-v, 19r-v, 20r-v	Bartoli Cosimo	Francesco de' Medici	Venezia	29-05-1568	Saturday	2979_009
MdP 2979, fol. 21r-v, 22r-v	Bartoli Cosimo	[Cosimo I or Francesco de' Medici]	Venezia	05-06-1568	Saturday	2979_010
MdP 2979, fol. 23r-v, 24r-v	Bartoli Cosimo	Francesco de' Medici	Venezia	09-06-1568	Wednesday	2979_011
MdP 2979, fol. 25r-v, 26r-v	Bartoli Cosimo	Francesco de' Medici	Venezia	12-06-1568	Saturday	2979_012
MdP 2979, fol. 27r-v, 28r-v	Bartoli Cosimo	[Cosimo I or Francesco de' Medici]	Venezia	16-06-1568	Wednesday	2979_013
MdP 2979, fol. 29r-v, 34r-v	Bartoli Cosimo	Francesco de' Medici	Venezia	19-06-1568	Saturday	2979_014
MdP 2979, fol. 30r-v, 31r-v, 32r-v, 33r-v	Bartoli Cosimo	Francesco de' Medici	Venezia	26-06-1568	Saturday	2979_015
MdP 2979, fol. 35r-v, 36r-v	Bartoli Cosimo	Francesco de' Medici	Venezia	26-06-1568	Saturday	2979_016
MdP 2979, fol. 37r-v, 38r-v	Bartoli Cosimo	Francesco de' Medici	Venezia	03-07-1568	Saturday	2979_017
MdP 2979, fol. 39r-v, 40r-v, 41r-v	Bartoli Cosimo	Francesco de' Medici	Venezia	10-07-1568	Saturday	2979_018

MdP 2979, fol. 42r-v, 43r-v	Bartoli Cosimo	[Cosimo I or Francesco de' Medici]	Venezia	17-07-1568	Saturday	2979_019
MdP 2979, fol. 44r-v, 49r-v	Bartoli Cosimo	Francesco de' Medici	Venezia	24-07-1568	Saturday	2979_020
MdP 2979, fol. 46r-v, 47r-v	Bartoli Cosimo	Francesco de' Medici	Venezia	31-07-1568	Saturday	2979_022
MdP 2979, fol. 50r-v, 53r-v	Bartoli Cosimo	Francesco de' Medici	Venezia	31-07-1568	Saturday	2979_023
MdP 2979, fol. 51r-v, 52r-v	Bartoli Cosimo	[Cosimo I or Francesco de' Medici]	Venezia	07-08-1568	Saturday	2979_024
MdP 2979, fol. 54r-v, 57r-v	Bartoli Cosimo	Francesco de' Medici	Venezia	14-08-1568	Saturday	2979_025
MdP 2979, fol. 55r-v, 56r-v	Bartoli Cosimo	Francesco de' Medici	Venezia	21-08-1568	Saturday	2979_026
MdP 2979, fol. 58r-v, 59r-v	Bartoli Cosimo	[Cosimo I or Francesco de' Medici]	Venezia	25-08-1568	Wednesday	2979_027
MdP 2979, fol. 71r-v, 75r-v	Bartoli Cosimo	Francesco de' Medici	Venezia	28-08-1568	Saturday	2979_034
MdP 2979, fol. 72r-v, 73r-v, 74r-v	Bartoli Cosimo	Francesco de' Medici	Venezia	04-09-1568	Saturday	2979_035
MdP 2979, fol. 70r-v, 76r-v	Bartoli Cosimo	Francesco de' Medici	Venezia	08-09-1568	Wednesday	2979_033
MdP 2979, fol. 63r-v, 64r-v, 62r-v	Bartoli Cosimo	Francesco de' Medici	Venezia	11-09-1568	Saturday	2979_029
MdP 2979, fol. 65r-v, 66r-v, 67r-v	Bartoli Cosimo	Francesco de' Medici	Venezia	18-09-1568	Saturday	2979_030
MdP 2979, fol. 68r-v, 78r-v	Bartoli Cosimo	Francesco de' Medici	Venezia	25-09-1568	Saturday	2979_031
MdP 2979, fol. 69r-v, 77r-v	Bartoli Curzio	Francesco de' Medici	Venezia	09-10-1568	Saturday	2979_032
MdP 538A, fol. 912r-v	Bartoli Curzio	Concino Bartolomeo	Venezia	16-10-1568	Saturday	Carteggio_Universale_051
MdP 2979, fol. 60r-v, 61r-v	Bartoli Curzio	[Cosimo I or Francesco de' Medici]	Venezia	16-10-1568	Saturday	2979_028
MdP 2979, fol. 79r-v, 80r-v	Bartoli Curzio	Francesco de' Medici	Venezia	23-10-1568	Saturday	2979_036
MdP 2979, fol. 81r-v, 86r-v	Bartoli Curzio	Francesco de' Medici	Venezia	30-10-1568	Saturday	2979_037
MdP 2979, fol. 82r-v, 85r-v	Bartoli Curzio	Francesco de' Medici	Venezia	03-11-1568	Wednesday	2979_038
MdP 2979, fol. 87r-v, 88r-v	Bartoli Curzio	[Francesco de' Medici]	Venezia	06-11-1568	Saturday	2979_040

MdP 2979, fol. 89r-v, 103r-v	Bartoli Curzio	Francesco de' Medici	Venezia	13-11-1568	Saturday	2979_041
MdP 2979, fol. 90r-v, 102r-v	Bartoli Curzio	Francesco de' Medici	Venezia	20-11-1568	Saturday	2979_042
MdP 2979, fol. 94r-v, 99r-v	Bartoli Cosimo	Francesco de' Medici	Venezia	27-11-1568	Saturday	2979_046
MdP 2979, fol. 93r-v, 100r-v	Bartoli Cosimo	Francesco de' Medici	Venezia	04-12-1568	Saturday	2979_045
MdP 2979, fol. 91r-v, 101r-v	Bartoli Cosimo	Francesco de' Medici	Venezia	08-12-1568	Wednesday	2979_043
MdP 2979, fol. 96r-v, 97r-v	Bartoli Cosimo	[Cosimo I or Francesco de' Medici]	Venezia	15-12-1568	Wednesday	2979_048
MdP 2979, fol. 95r-v, 98r-v	Bartoli Cosimo	Francesco de' Medici	Venezia	22-12-1568	Wednesday	2979_047
MdP 2979, fol. 117r-v, 122r-v	Bartoli Cosimo	Francesco de' Medici	Venezia	29-12-1568	Wednesday	2979_055
MdP 2979, fol. 112r-v, 113r-v	Bartoli Cosimo	[Cosimo I or Francesco de' Medici]	Venezia	05-01-1569	Wednesday	2979_054
MdP 2979, fol. 111r-v, 114r-v	Bartoli Cosimo	Francesco de' Medici	Venezia	08-01-1569	Saturday	2979_053
MdP 2979, fol. 110r-v, 115r-v	Bartoli Cosimo	Francesco de' Medici	Venezia	12-01-1569	Wednesday	2979_052
MdP 2979, fol. 104r-v, 105r-v	Bartoli Cosimo	Concino Bartolomeo	Venezia	19-01-1569	Wednesday	2979_049
MdP 2979, fol. 108r-v, 109r-v	Bartoli Cosimo	Francesco de' Medici	Venezia	19-01-1569	Wednesday	2979_051
MdP 2979, fol. 106r-v, 107r-v	Bartoli Cosimo	Francesco de' Medici	Venezia	27-01-1569	Thursday	2979_050
MdP 2979, fol. 124r-v, 127r-v	Bartoli Cosimo	Francesco de' Medici	Venezia	02-02-1569	Wednesday	2979_059
MdP 2979, fol. 123r-v, 128r-v	Bartoli Cosimo	Francesco de' Medici	Venezia	09-02-1569	Wednesday	2979_058
MdP 2979, fol. 119r-v, 120r-v	Bartoli Cosimo	[Cosimo I or Francesco de' Medici]	Venezia	16-02-1569	Wednesday	2979_057
MdP 552, fol. 183r-v	Bartoli Cosimo	Concino Bartolomeo	Venezia	18-02-1569	Friday	Carteggio_Universale_054
MdP 2979, fol. 118r-v, 121r-v	Bartoli Cosimo	Francesco de' Medici	Venezia	23-02-1569	Wednesday	2979_056
MdP 2979, fol. 139r-v, 140r-v	Bartoli Cosimo	[Cosimo I or Francesco de' Medici]	Venezia	02-03-1569	Wednesday	2979_066
MdP 546, fol. 705r-v	Bartoli Cosimo	Concino Bartolomeo	Venezia	08-03-1569	Tuesday	Carteggio_Universale_053
MdP 2979, fol. 137r-v, 138r-v	Bartoli Cosimo	Francesco de' Medici	Venezia	09-03-1569	Wednesday	2979_065

MdP 2979, fol. 133r-v, 134r-v, 135r-v	Bartoli Cosimo	Francesco de' Medici	Venezia	16-03-1569	Wednesday	2979_063
MdP 2979, fol. 130r-v, 131r-v, 132r-v	Bartoli Cosimo	Francesco de' Medici	Venezia	23-03-1569	Wednesday	2979_062
MdP 2979, fol. 142r-v, 143r-v, 144r-v	Bartoli Cosimo	Francesco de' Medici	Venezia	30-03-1569	Wednesday	2979_068
MdP 2979, fol. 156r-v, 162r-v	Bartoli Cosimo	Francesco de' Medici	Venezia	30-03-1569	Wednesday	2979_072
MdP 2979, fol. 141r-v, 145r-v	Bartoli Cosimo	Francesco de' Medici	Venezia	06-04-1569	Wednesday	2979_067
MdP 2979, fol. 146r-v, 147r-v, 148r-v, 149r-v	Bartoli Cosimo	Francesco de' Medici	Venezia	16-04-1569	Saturday	2979_069
MdP 2979, fol. 150r-v, 151r-v, 152r-v, 153r-v	Bartoli Cosimo	Francesco de' Medici	Venezia	23-04-1569	Saturday	2979_070
MdP 2979, fol. 154r-v, 155r-v	Bartoli Cosimo	Francesco de' Medici	Venezia	07-05-1569	Saturday	2979_071
MdP 2979, fol. 158r-v, 159r-v, 160r-v	Bartoli Cosimo	Cosimo I de' Medici	Venezia	14-05-1569	Saturday	2979_074
MdP 2979, fol. 163r-v, 164r-v, 168r-v, 169r-v	Bartoli Cosimo	Francesco de' Medici	Venezia	14-05-1569	Saturday	2979_075
MdP 2979, fol. 165r-v, 166r-v, 167r-v	Bartoli Cosimo	Francesco de' Medici	Venezia	21-05-1569	Saturday	2979_076
MdP 2979, fol. 184r-v, 185r-v, 186r-v	Bartoli Cosimo	Francesco de' Medici	Venezia	28-05-1569	Saturday	2979_083
MdP 2979, fol. 182r-v, 183r-v	Bartoli Cosimo	Francesco de' Medici	Venezia	04-06-1569	Saturday	2979_082
MdP 2979, fol. 180r-v, 181r-v	Bartoli Cosimo	Francesco de' Medici	Venezia	11-06-1569	Saturday	2979_081
MdP 2979, fol. 177r-v, 178r-v, 179r-v	Bartoli Cosimo	Francesco de' Medici	Venezia	18-06-1569	Saturday	2979_080
MdP 542A, fol. 524r-v	Bartoli Cosimo	Concino Bartolomeo	Venezia	02-07-1569	Saturday	Carteggio_Universale_052
MdP 2979, fol. 187r-v, 188r-v, 189r-v	Bartoli Cosimo	Francesco de' Medici	Venezia	02-07-1569	Saturday	2979_084

MdP 2979, fol. 194r-v, 199r-v	Bartoli Cosimo	Francesco de' Medici	Venezia	09-07-1569	Saturday	2979_087
MdP 2979, fol. 195r-v, 196r-v, 197r-v, 198r-v	Bartoli Cosimo	Francesco de' Medici	Venezia	09-07-1569	Saturday	2979_088
MdP 2979, fol. 190r-v, 191r-v, 192r-v	Bartoli Cosimo	Francesco de' Medici	Venezia	16-07-1569	Saturday	2979_085
MdP 2979, fol. 201r-v, 202r-v, 203r-v, 208r-v	Bartoli Cosimo	Francesco de' Medici	Venezia	23-07-1569	Saturday	2979_089
MdP 2979, fol. 173r-v, 174r-v, 175r-v	Bartoli Cosimo	Francesco de' Medici	Venezia	25-07-1569	Monday	2979_079
MdP 2979, fol. 204r-v, 205r-v, 206r-v, 207r-v	Bartoli Cosimo	Francesco de' Medici	Venezia	30-07-1569	Saturday	2979_090
MdP 2979, fol. 209r-v, 210r-v, 211r-v	Bartoli Cosimo	Francesco de' Medici	Venezia	06-08-1569	Saturday	2979_091
MdP 2979, fol. 212r-v, 213r-v	Bartoli Cosimo	Francesco de' Medici	Venezia	13-08-1569	Saturday	2979_092
MdP 2979, fol. 218r-v, 231r-v	Bartoli Cosimo	Francesco de' Medici	Venezia	20-08-1569	Saturday	2979_094
MdP 2979, fol. 214r-v, 215r-v, 216r-v, 217r-v	Bartoli Cosimo	Francesco de' Medici	Venezia	27-08-1569	Saturday	2979_093
MdP 2979, fol. 219r-v, 230r-v	Bartoli Cosimo	Francesco de' Medici	Venezia	04-09-1569	Sunday	2979_095
MdP 2979, fol. 221r-v, 228r-v	Bartoli Cosimo	Francesco de' Medici	Venezia	11-09-1569	Sunday	2979_097
MdP 2979, fol. 222r-v, 227r-v	Bartoli Cosimo	Francesco de' Medici	Venezia	11-09-1569	Sunday	2979_098
MdP 2979, fol. 223r-v, 224r-v, 225r-v, 226r-v	Bartoli Cosimo	Francesco de' Medici	Venezia	17-09-1569	Saturday	2979_099
MdP 2979, fol. 220r-v, 229r-v	Bartoli Cosimo	Francesco de' Medici	Venezia	24-09-1569	Saturday	2979_096
MdP 2979, fol. 232r-v, 233r-v, 240r-v, 241r-v	Bartoli Cosimo	Francesco de' Medici	Venezia	01-10-1569	Saturday	2979_100
MdP 2979, fol. 234r-v, 239r-v	Bartoli Cosimo	Francesco de' Medici	Venezia	08-10-1569	Saturday	2979_101
MdP 2979, fol. 235r-v, 238r-v	Bartoli Cosimo	Francesco de' Medici	Venezia	15-10-1569	Saturday	2979_102
MdP 2979, fol. 236r-v, 237r-v	Bartoli Cosimo	Francesco de' Medici	Venezia	19-10-1569	Wednesday	2979_103
MdP 2979, fol. 283r-v, 284r-v	Bartoli Cosimo	Francesco de' Medici	Venezia	22-10-1569	Saturday	2979_123

MdP 2979, fol. 242r-v, 243r-v	Bartoli Cosimo	Francesco de' Medici	Venezia	29-10-1569	Saturday	2979_104
MdP 2979, fol. 244r-v, 245r-v	Bartoli Cosimo	Francesco de' Medici	Venezia	05-11-1569	Saturday	2979_105
MdP 2979, fol. 246r-v, 252r-v	Bartoli Cosimo	Francesco de' Medici	Venezia	12-11-1569	Saturday	2979_106
MdP 2979, fol. 247r-v, 251r-v	Bartoli Cosimo	Francesco de' Medici	Venezia	14-11-1569	Monday	2979_107
MdP 2979, fol. 248r-v, 249r-v, 250r-v	Bartoli Cosimo	Francesco de' Medici	Venezia	19-11-1569	Saturday	2979_108
MdP 2979, fol. 253r-v, 254r-v	Bartoli Cosimo	Francesco de' Medici	Venezia	26-11-1569	Saturday	2979_109
MdP 2979, fol. 256r-v, 257r-v	Bartoli Cosimo	Francesco de' Medici	Venezia	30-11-1569	Wednesday	2979_111
MdP 2979, fol. 255r-v, 258r-v	Bartoli Cosimo	Francesco de' Medici	Venezia	04-12-1569	Sunday	2979_110
MdP 2979, fol. 261r-v, 262r-v	Bartoli Cosimo	Francesco de' Medici	Venezia	07-12-1569	Wednesday	2979_114
MdP 2979, fol. 259r-v, 266r-v	Bartoli Cosimo	Francesco de' Medici	Venezia	14-12-1569	Wednesday	2979_112
MdP 2979, fol. 263r-v, 264r-v	Bartoli Cosimo	Cosimo I de' Medici	Venezia	14-12-1569	Wednesday	2979_115
MdP 2979, fol. 260r-v, 265r-v	Bartoli Cosimo	Francesco de' Medici	Venezia	17-12-1569	Saturday	2979_113
MdP 2979, fol. 278r-v, 281r-v	Bartoli Cosimo	Cosimo I de' Medici	Venezia	22-12-1569	Thursday	2979_120
MdP 2979, fol. 279r-v, 280r-v	Bartoli Cosimo	Francesco de' Medici	Venezia	22-12-1569	Thursday	2979_121
MdP 2979, fol. 275r-v, 276r-v	Bartoli Cosimo	Francesco de' Medici	Venezia	29-12-1569	Thursday	2979_119
MdP 2979, fol. 274r-v, 277r-v	Bartoli Cosimo	Francesco de' Medici	Venezia	04-01-1570	Wednesday	2979_118
MdP 2979, fol. 269r-v, 270r-v, 271r-v	Bartoli Cosimo	Francesco de' Medici	Venezia	11-01-1570	Wednesday	2979_117
MdP 2979, fol. 267r-v, 268r-v, 272r-v, 273r-v	Bartoli Cosimo	Francesco de' Medici	Venezia	18-01-1570	Wednesday	2979_116
MdP 2979, fol. 282r-v, 285r-v	Bartoli Cosimo	Francesco de' Medici	Venezia	21-01-1570	Saturday	2979_122
MdP 2979, fol. 286r-v, 287r-v, 288r-v, 289r-v	Bartoli Cosimo	Francesco de' Medici	Venezia	25-01-1570	Wednesday	2979_124
MdP 2979, fol. 290r-v, 291r-v, 292r-v, 293r-v	Bartoli Cosimo	Francesco de' Medici	Venezia	01-02-1570	Wednesday	2979_125
MdP 2979, fol. 294r-v, 295r-v, 296r-v	Bartoli Cosimo	Francesco de' Medici	Venezia	09-02-1570	Thursday	2979_126

MdP 2979, fol. 297r-v, 302r-v	Bartoli Cosimo	Francesco de' Medici	Venezia	15-02-1570	Wednesday	2979_127
MdP 2979, fol. 313r-v, 314r-v, 317r-v, 318r-v	Bartoli Cosimo	Cosimo I de' Medici	Venezia	18-02-1570	Saturday	2979_132
MdP 2979, fol. 305r-v, 306r-v, 309r-v, 310r-v	Bartoli Cosimo	Cosimo I de' Medici	Venezia	21-02-1570	Tuesday	2979_130
MdP 2979, fol. 298r-v, 299r-v, 300r-v, 301r-v	Bartoli Cosimo	Francesco de' Medici	Venezia	22-02-1570	Wednesday	2979_128
MdP 2979, fol. 333r-v, 342r-v	Bartoli Cosimo	Cosimo I de' Medici	Venezia	25-02-1570	Saturday	2979_138
MdP 2979, fol. 303r-v, 304r-v, 311r-v, 312r-v	Bartoli Cosimo	Francesco de' Medici	Venezia	01-03-1570	Wednesday	2979_129
MdP 2979, fol. 334r-v, 335r-v, 335bisr-v, 340r-v, 341r-v	Bartoli Cosimo	Cosimo I de' Medici	Venezia	01-03-1570	Wednesday	2979_139
MdP 2979, fol. 307r-v, 308r-v	Bartoli Cosimo	[Cosimo I or Francesco de' Medici]	Venezia	08-03-1570	Wednesday	2979_131
MdP 2979, fol. 315r-v, 316r-v	Bartoli Cosimo	[Cosimo I or Francesco de' Medici]	Venezia	08-03-1570	Wednesday	2979_133
MdP 2979, fol. 320r-v, 321r-v, 322r-v, 323r-v	Bartoli Cosimo	Francesco de' Medici	Venezia	15-03-1570	Wednesday	2979_134
MdP 2979, fol. 324r-v, 325r-v, 326r-v, 327r-v	Bartoli Cosimo	Francesco de' Medici	Venezia	22-03-1570	Wednesday	2979_135
MdP 2979, fol. 328r-v, 329r-v, 330r-v, 331r-v	Bartoli Cosimo	Francesco de' Medici	Venezia	01-04-1570	Saturday	2979_136
MdP 2979, fol. 344r-v, 349r-v	Bartoli Cosimo	Francesco de' Medici	Venezia	06-04-1570	Thursday	2979_141
MdP 2979, fol. 336r-v, 337r-v, 338r-v, 339r-v	Bartoli Cosimo	Francesco de' Medici	Venezia	08-04-1570	Saturday	2979_140
MdP 2979, fol. 364r-v, 367r-v	Bartoli Cosimo	Cosimo I de' Medici	Venezia	13-04-1570	Thursday	2979_148
MdP 2979, fol. 345r-v, 346r-v, 347r-v, 348r-v	Bartoli Cosimo	Francesco de' Medici	Venezia	15-04-1570	Saturday	2979_142
MdP 2979, fol. 353r-v, 354r-v	Bartoli Cosimo	Cosimo I de' Medici	Venezia	15-04-1570	Saturday	2979_145

MdP 2979, fol. 350r-v, 351r-v, 356r-v, 357r-v	Bartoli Cosimo	Francesco de' Medici	Venezia	22-04-1570	Saturday	2979_143
MdP 2979, fol. 360r-v, 361r-v, 362r-v, 363r-v	Bartoli Cosimo	Francesco de' Medici	Venezia	29-04-1570	Saturday	2979_147
MdP 2979, fol. 368r-v, 369r-v, 378r-v, 379r-v	Bartoli Cosimo	Francesco de' Medici	Venezia	06-05-1570	Saturday	2979_150
MdP 2979, fol. 370r-v, 377r-v	Bartoli Cosimo	Cosimo I de' Medici	Venezia	06-05-1570	Saturday	2979_151
MdP 2979, fol. 385r-v, 386r-v, 387r-v, 388r-v	Bartoli Cosimo	Francesco de' Medici	Venezia	13-05-1570	Saturday	2979_156
MdP 2979, fol. 380r-v, 381r-v, 382r-v, 383r-v	Bartoli Cosimo	Francesco de' Medici	Venezia	20-05-1570	Saturday	2979_154
MdP 2979, fol. 384r-v, 389r-v	Bartoli Cosimo	Serguidi Antonio (cavalier, segretario)	Venezia	20-05-1570	Saturday	2979_155
MdP 2979, fol. 394r-v, 407r-v	Bartoli Cosimo	Cosimo I de' Medici	Venezia	20-05-1570	Saturday	2979_159
MdP 2979, fol. 372r-v, 373r-v, 374r-v, 375r-v	Bartoli Cosimo	Francesco de' Medici	Venezia	27-05-1570	Saturday	2979_153
MdP 2979, fol. 396r-v, 397r-v	Bartoli Cosimo	[Cosimo I de' Medici]	Venezia	27-05-1570	Saturday	2979_161
MdP 2979, fol. 390r-v, 393r-v	Bartoli Cosimo	Cosimo I de' Medici	Venezia	04-06-1570	Sunday	2979_157
MdP 2979, fol. 402r-v, 403r-v, 404r-v, 405r-v	Bartoli Cosimo	Francesco de' Medici	Venezia	04-06-1570	Sunday	2979_163
MdP 2979, fol. 416r-v, 417r-v	Bartoli Cosimo	Francesco de' Medici	Venezia	07-06-1570	Wednesday	2979_168
MdP 2979, fol. 408r-v, 409r-v, 418r-v, 419r-v	Bartoli Cosimo	Francesco de' Medici	Venezia	10-06-1570	Saturday	2979_164
MdP 2979, fol. 411r-v, 414r-v	Bartoli Cosimo	Cosimo I de' Medici	Venezia	10-06-1570	Saturday	2979_166
MdP 2979, fol. 420r-v, 435r-v	Bartoli Cosimo	Concino Bartolomeo	Venezia	17-06-1570	Saturday	2979_169
MdP 2979, fol. 421r-v, 422r-v, 433r-v, 434r-v	Bartoli Cosimo	Francesco de' Medici	Venezia	17-06-1570	Saturday	2979_170
MdP 2979, fol. 423r-v, 424r-v, 431r-v, 432r-v	Bartoli Cosimo	Francesco de' Medici	Venezia	26-06-1570	Monday	2979_171

MdP 2979, fol. 427r-v, 428r-v, 436r-v, 440r-v	Bartoli Cosimo	Francesco de' Medici	Venezia	01-07-1570	Saturday	2979_174
MdP 2979, fol. 426r-v, 429r-v	Bartoli Cosimo	Francesco de' Medici	Venezia	03-07-1570	Monday	2979_173
MdP 2979, fol. 437r-v, 438r-v, 439r-v	Bartoli Cosimo	Francesco de' Medici	Venezia	08-07-1570	Saturday	2979_175
MdP 2979, fol. 441r-v, 442r-v	Bartoli Cosimo	Francesco de' Medici	Venezia	15-07-1570	Saturday	2979_176
MdP 2979, fol. 445r-v, 446r-v, 447r-v, 448r-v	Bartoli Cosimo	Francesco de' Medici	Venezia	22-07-1570	Saturday	2979_178
MdP 2979, fol. 444r-v, 449r-v	Bartoli Cosimo	Francesco de' Medici	Venezia	28-07-1570	Friday	2979_177
MdP 2979, fol. 450r-v, 459r-v	Bartoli Cosimo	Concino Bartolomeo	Venezia	29-07-1570	Saturday	2979_179
MdP 2979, fol. 451r-v, 452r-v, 457r-v, 458r-v	Bartoli Cosimo	Francesco de' Medici	Venezia	29-07-1570	Saturday	2979_180
MdP 2979, fol. 453r-v, 454r-v, 455r-v, 456r-v	Bartoli Cosimo	Francesco de' Medici	Venezia	05-08-1570	Saturday	2979_181
MdP 2979, fol. 460r-v, 465r-v	Bartoli Cosimo	Francesco de' Medici	Venezia	09-08-1570	Wednesday	2979_182
MdP 2979, fol. 425r-v, 430r-v	Bartoli Cosimo	Francesco de' Medici	Venezia	12-08-1570	Saturday	2979_172
MdP 2979, fol. 461r-v, 462r-v, 463r-v, 464r-v	Bartoli Cosimo	Francesco de' Medici	Venezia	19-08-1570	Saturday	2979_183
MdP 2979, fol. 479r-v, 480r-v, 481r-v, 482r-v, 483r-v	Bartoli Cosimo	Francesco de' Medici	Venezia	26-08-1570	Saturday	2979_188
MdP 2979, fol. 484r-v, 485r-v, 486r-v	Bartoli Cosimo	Francesco de' Medici	Venezia	02-09-1570	Saturday	2979_190
MdP 2979, fol. 472r-v, 473r-v, 474r-v	Bartoli Cosimo	Francesco de' Medici	Venezia	09-09-1570	Saturday	2979_187
MdP 2979, fol. 466r-v, 467r-v, 468r-v	Bartoli Cosimo	Francesco de' Medici	Venezia	15-09-1570	Friday	2979_184
MdP 2979, fol. 469r-v, 477r-v	Bartoli Cosimo	Cosimo I de' Medici	Venezia	23-09-1570	Saturday	2979_185
MdP 2979, fol. 470r-v, 471r-v, 475r-v, 476r-v	Bartoli Cosimo	Francesco de' Medici	Venezia	23-09-1570	Saturday	2979_186

MdP 2979, fol. 488r-v, 492r-v	Bartoli Cosimo	Francesco de' Medici	Venezia	28-09-1570	Thursday	2979_192
MdP 2979, fol. 487r-v, 493r-v, 494r-v	Bartoli Cosimo	Francesco de' Medici	Venezia	30-09-1570	Saturday	2979_191
MdP 2979, fol. 489r-v, 490r-v, 491r-v	Bartoli Cosimo	Francesco de' Medici	Venezia	07-10-1570	Saturday	2979_193
MdP 2979, fol. 495r-v, 498r-v, 499r-v	Bartoli Cosimo	Francesco de' Medici	Venezia	14-10-1570	Saturday	2979_194
MdP 2979, fol. 496r-v, 497r-v	Bartoli Cosimo	[Francesco de' Medici]	Venezia	21-10-1570	Saturday	2979_195
MdP 2979, fol. 509r-v, 510r-v, 514r-v, 515r-v	Bartoli Cosimo	Francesco de' Medici	Venezia	28-10-1570	Saturday	2979_199
MdP 2979, fol. 518r-v, 519r-v, 520r-v, 521r-v	Bartoli Cosimo	Francesco de' Medici	[Venezia]	dd-11-1570		2979_201
MdP 2979, fol. 507r-v, 508r-v, 516r-v, 517r-v	Bartoli Cosimo	Francesco de' Medici	Venezia	04-11-1570	Saturday	2979_198
MdP 2979, fol. 503r-v, 504r-v, 505r-v, 506r-v	Bartoli Cosimo	Francesco de' Medici	Venezia	11-11-1570	Saturday	2979_197
MdP 2979, fol. 511r-v, 512r-v, 513r-v	Bartoli Cosimo	Francesco de' Medici	Venezia	22-11-1570	Wednesday	2979_200
MdP 2979, fol. 523r-v, 524r-v, 531r-v, 532r-v	Bartoli Cosimo	Francesco de' Medici	Venezia	06-12-1570	Wednesday	2979_203
MdP 2979, fol. 542r-v, 549r-v	Bartoli Cosimo	Francesco de' Medici	Venezia	12-12-1570	Tuesday	2979_208
MdP 2979, fol. 525r-v, 526r-v, 529r-v, 530r-v	Bartoli Cosimo	Francesco de' Medici	Venezia	13-12-1570	Wednesday	2979_204
MdP 2979, fol. 527r-v, 528r-v	Bartoli Cosimo	Francesco de' Medici	Venezia	17-12-1570	Sunday	2979_205
MdP 2979, fol. 534r-v, 535r-v, 540r-v, 541r-v	Bartoli Cosimo	Francesco de' Medici	Venezia	20-12-1570	Wednesday	2979_206
MdP 2979, fol. 536r-v, 537r-v, 538r-v, 539r-v	Bartoli Cosimo	Francesco de' Medici	Venezia	27-12-1570	Wednesday	2979_207

MdP 2979, fol. 543r-v, 544r-v, 547r-v, 548r-v	Bartoli Cosimo	Francesco de' Medici	Venezia	03-01-1571	Wednesday	2979_209
MdP 2979, fol. 558r-v, 559r-v, 562r-v, 563r-v	Bartoli Cosimo	Francesco de' Medici	Venezia	10-01-1571	Wednesday	2979_214
MdP 2979, fol. 554r-v, 555r-v, 556r-v, 557r-v	Bartoli Cosimo	Francesco de' Medici	Venezia	17-01-1571	Wednesday	2979_213
MdP 2980, fol. 1r-v, 6r-v	Bartoli Cosimo	Concino Bartolomeo	Venezia	17-01-1571	Wednesday	2980_001
MdP 2979, fol. 551r-v, 552r-v	Bartoli Cosimo	Francesco de' Medici	Venezia	23-01-1571	Tuesday	2979_212
MdP 2979, fol. 550r-v, 553r-v	Bartoli Cosimo	Francesco de' Medici	Venezia	24-01-1571	Wednesday	2979_211
MdP 2980, fol. 2r-v, 3r-v, 4r-v, 5r-v	Bartoli Cosimo	Francesco de' Medici	Venezia	31-01-1571	Wednesday	2980_002
MdP 2980, fol. 7r-v, 8r-v, 13r-v, 14r-v	Bartoli Cosimo	Francesco de' Medici	Venezia	07-02-1571	Wednesday	2980_003
MdP 2980, fol. 9r-v, 10r-v, 11r-v, 12r-v	Bartoli Cosimo	Francesco de' Medici	Venezia	14-02-1571	Wednesday	2980_004
MdP 2980, fol. 15r-v, 16r-v, 21r-v, 22r-v	Bartoli Cosimo	Francesco de' Medici	Venezia	21-02-1571	Wednesday	2980_005
MdP 2980, fol. 17r-v, 18r-v, 19r-v, 20r-v	Bartoli Cosimo	Francesco de' Medici	Venezia	28-02-1571	Wednesday	2980_006
MdP 2980, fol. 23r-v, 24r-v, 25r-v, 26r-v	Bartoli Cosimo	Francesco de' Medici	Venezia	07-03-1571	Wednesday	2980_007
MdP 2980, fol. 27r-v, 28r-v, 41r-v, 42r-v	Bartoli Cosimo	Francesco de' Medici	Venezia	14-03-1571	Wednesday	2980_008
MdP 2980, fol. 29r-v, 40r-v	Bartoli Cosimo	Francesco de' Medici	Venezia	17-03-1571	Saturday	2980_009
MdP 2980, fol. 30r-v, 39r-v	Bartoli Cosimo	Francesco de' Medici	Venezia	21-03-1571	Wednesday	2980_010
MdP 2980, fol. 31r-v, 32r-v, 37r-v, 38r-v	Bartoli Cosimo	Francesco de' Medici	Venezia	28-03-1571	Wednesday	2980_011
MdP 2980, fol. 43r-v, 44r-v, 51r-v, 52r-v	Bartoli Cosimo	Francesco de' Medici	Venezia	04-04-1571	Wednesday	2980_012

MdP 2980, fol. 45r-v, 46r-v, 49r-v, 50r-v	Bartoli Cosimo	Francesco de' Medici	Venezia	11-04-1571	Wednesday	2980_013
MdP 2980, fol. 67r-v, 68r-v, 69r-v, 70r-v	Bartoli Cosimo	Francesco de' Medici	Venezia	21-04-1571	Saturday	2980_014
MdP 2980, fol. 71r-v, 74r-v	Bartoli Cosimo	Francesco de' Medici	Venezia	24-04-1571	Tuesday	2980_015
MdP 2980, fol. 81r-v, 82r-v, 91r-v, 92r-v	Bartoli Cosimo	Francesco de' Medici	Venezia	28-04-1571	Saturday	2980_017
MdP 2980, fol. 83r-v, 84r-v, 89r-v, 90r-v	Bartoli Cosimo	Francesco de' Medici	Venezia	05-05-1571	Saturday	2980_018
MdP 2980, fol. 93r-v, 100r-v	Bartoli Cosimo	Francesco de' Medici	[Venezia]	06-05-1571	Sunday	2980_019
MdP 2980, fol. 94r-v, 99r-v	Bartoli Cosimo	Francesco de' Medici	Venezia	07-05-1571	Monday	2980_020
MdP 2980, fol. 95r-v, 96r-v, 97r-v, 98r-v	Bartoli Cosimo	Francesco de' Medici	Venezia	12-05-1571	Saturday	2980_021
MdP 2980, fol. 105r-v, 106r-v, 114r-v, 115r-v	Bartoli Cosimo	Francesco de' Medici	Venezia	19-05-1571	Saturday	2980_022
MdP 2980, fol. 117r-v, 118r-v, 125r-v, 126r-v	Bartoli Cosimo	Francesco de' Medici	Venezia	26-05-1571	Saturday	2980_023
MdP 2980, fol. 127r-v, 128r-v, 139r-v, 140r-v	Bartoli Cosimo	Francesco de' Medici	Venezia	02-06-1571	Saturday	2980_024
MdP 2980, fol. 141r-v, 142r-v, 151r-v, 152r-v	Bartoli Cosimo	Francesco de' Medici	Venezia	09-06-1571	Saturday	2980_026
MdP 2980, fol. 143r-v, 144r-v, 150r-v, 151r-v	Bartoli Cosimo	Francesco de' Medici	Venezia	16-06-1571	Saturday	2980_027
MdP 2980, fol. 154r-v, 155r-v, 160r-v, 161r-v	Bartoli Cosimo	Francesco de' Medici	Venezia	24-06-1571	Sunday	2980_028
MdP 2980, fol. 168r-v, 173r-v	Bartoli Cosimo	Concino Bartolomeo	Venezia	24-06-1571	Sunday	2980_030
MdP 2980, fol. 175r-v, 176r-v, 185r-v, 186r-v	Bartoli Cosimo	Francesco de' Medici	Venezia	30-06-1571	Saturday	2980_031
MdP 2980, fol. 177r-v, 184r-v	Bartoli Cosimo	Francesco de' Medici	Venezia	04-07-1571	Wednesday	2980_032

MdP 2980, fol. 178r-v, 183r-v	Bartoli Cosimo	Francesco de' Medici	Venezia	07-07-1571	Saturday	2980_033
MdP 2980, fol. 189r-v, 190r-v	Bartoli Cosimo	Francesco de' Medici	Venezia	14-07-1571	Saturday	2980_034
MdP 2980, fol. 191r-v, 192r-v	Bartoli Cosimo	Francesco de' Medici	Venezia	14-07-1571	Saturday	2980_035
MdP 2980, fol. 203r-v, 206r-v, 204r-v, 205r-v	Bartoli Cosimo	Francesco de' Medici	Venezia	21-07-1571	Saturday	2980_036
MdP 2980, fol. 207r-v, 214r-v	Bartoli Cosimo	Cosimo I de' Medici	Venezia	21-07-1571	Saturday	2980_037
MdP 569, fol. 2r-v	Bartoli Cosimo	Cosimo I de' Medici	Venezia	28-07-1571	Saturday	Carteggio_Universale_058
MdP 2980, fol. 208r-v, 209r-v, 212r-v, 213r-v	Bartoli Cosimo	Francesco de' Medici	Venezia	28-07-1571	Saturday	2980_038
MdP 2980, fol. 218r-v, 219r-v, 224r-v, 225r-v	Bartoli Cosimo	Cosimo I de' Medici	Venezia	04-08-1571	Saturday	2980_039
MdP 2980, fol. 226r-v, 227r-v, 228r-v, 229r-v, 230r-v	Bartoli Cosimo	Francesco de' Medici	Venezia	11-08-1571	Saturday	2980_040
MdP 2980, fol. 235r-v, 236r-v, 245r-v, 146r-v	Bartoli Cosimo	Francesco de' Medici	Venezia	18-08-1571	Saturday	2980_041
MdP 2980, fol. 237r-v, 238r-v, 243r-v, 244r-v	Bartoli Cosimo	Francesco de' Medici	Venezia	25-08-1571	Saturday	2980_042
MdP 2980, fol. 247r-v, 248r-v, 257r-v, 258r-v	Bartoli Cosimo	Concino Bartolomeo	Venezia	01-09-1571	Saturday	2980_043
MdP 2980, fol. 249r-v, 250r-v, 255r-v, 256r-v	Bartoli Cosimo	Francesco de' Medici	Venezia	01-09-1571	Saturday	2980_044
MdP 2980, fol. 259r-v, 260r-v	Bartoli Cosimo	Francesco de' Medici	Venezia	08-09-1571	Saturday	2980_045
MdP 2980, fol. 264r-v, 267r-v	Bartoli Cosimo	Cosimo I de' Medici	Venezia	08-09-1571	Saturday	2980_048
MdP 2980, fol. 261r-v, 262r-v	Bartoli Cosimo	[Cosimo I or Francesco de' Medici]	Venezia	15-09-1571	Saturday	2980_046
MdP 2980, fol. 263r-v, 268r-v	Bartoli Cosimo	Serguidi Antonio	Venezia	15-09-1571	Saturday	2980_047
MdP 2980, fol. 269r-v, 270r-v, 275r-v, 276r-v	Bartoli Cosimo	Francesco de' Medici	Venezia	22-09-1571	Saturday	2980_049

MdP 2980, fol. 283r-v, 284r-v	Bartoli Cosimo	Francesco de' Medici	Venezia	29-09-1571	Saturday	2980_050
MdP 2980, fol. 285r-v, 286r-v, 295r-v, 296r-v	Bartoli Cosimo	Francesco de' Medici	Venezia	06-10-1571	Saturday	2980_051
MdP 2980, fol. 290r-v, 291r-v, 292r-v, 293r-v	Bartoli Cosimo	Francesco de' Medici	Venezia	13-10-1571	Saturday	2980_052
MdP 2980, fol. 315r-v, 322r-v	Bartoli Cosimo	Francesco de' Medici	Venezia	19-10-1571	Friday	2980_054
MdP 2980, fol. 316r-v, 317r-v, 318r-v, 319r-v, 320r-v, 321r-v	Bartoli Cosimo	Francesco de' Medici	Venezia	20-10-1571	Saturday	2980_055
Carte Strozziane, Serie Prima, vol. 120, fol. Unnumbered	Bartoli Cosimo	Francesco de' Medici	Venezia	27-10-1571	Saturday	CarteStrozziane_SI_120_003
MdP 2980, fol. 333r-v, 334r-v, 335r-v, 336r-v	Bartoli Cosimo	Francesco de' Medici	Venezia	03-11-1571	Saturday	2980_057
MdP 2980, fol. 337r-v, 344r-v	Bartoli Cosimo	Francesco de' Medici	Venezia	10-11-1571	Saturday	2980_058
MdP 2980, fol. 329r-v, 330r-v, 331r-v, 332r-v	Bartoli Cosimo	Francesco de' Medici	Venezia	14-11-1571	Wednesday	2980_056
MdP 2980, fol. 350r-v, 355r-v	Bartoli Cosimo	Francesco de' Medici	Venezia	14-11-1571	Wednesday	2980_060
MdP 2980, fol. 349r-v, 356r-v	Bartoli Cosimo	Cosimo I de' Medici	Venezia	16-11-1571	Friday	2980_059
MdP 2980, fol. 351r-v, 354r-v	Bartoli Cosimo	Francesco de' Medici	Venezia	16-11-1571	Friday	2980_061
MdP 2980, fol. 352r-v, 353r-v	Bartoli Cosimo	Francesco de' Medici	Venezia	21-11-1571	Wednesday	2980_062
MdP 567, fol. 191r-v	Bartoli Cosimo	Francesco de' Medici	Venezia	27-11-1571	Tuesday	Carteggio_Universale_055
MdP 567, fol. 192r-v	Bartoli Cosimo	Francesco de' Medici	Venezia	28-11-1571	Wednesday	Carteggio_Universale_056
MdP 2980, fol. 361r-v, 362r-v, 363r-v, 364r-v	Bartoli Cosimo	Francesco de' Medici	Venezia	28-11-1571	Wednesday	2980_063
MdP 2980, fol. 371r-v, 372r-v, 379r-v, 380r-v	Bartoli Cosimo	Francesco de' Medici	Venezia	05-12-1571	Wednesday	2980_064
MdP 568, fol. 101r-v	Bartoli Cosimo	Francesco de' Medici	Venezia	08-12-1571	Saturday	Carteggio_Universale_057

MdP 2980, fol. 373r-v, 378r-v	Bartoli Cosimo	Francesco de' Medici	Venezia	08-12-1571	Saturday	2980_065
MdP 2980, fol. 374r-v, 375r-v, 376r-v, 377r-v	Bartoli Cosimo	Francesco de' Medici	Venezia	12-12-1571	Wednesday	2980_066
MdP 2980, fol. 388r-v, 389r-v, 390r-v, 391r-v	Bartoli Cosimo	Francesco de' Medici	Venezia	19-12-1571	Wednesday	2980_067
MdP 2980, fol. 395r-v, 396r-v, 399r-v, 400r-v	Bartoli Cosimo	Francesco de' Medici	Venezia	27-12-1571	Thursday	2980_068
MdP 2981, fol. 9r-v, 10r-v, 11r-v, 12r-v	Bartoli Cosimo	Francesco de' Medici	Venezia	02-01-1572	Wednesday	2981_004
MdP 2981, fol. 15r-v, 16r-v	Giovanni Gavazzo	Francesco de' Medici	Venezia	09-01-1572	Wednesday	2981_005
MdP 2981, fol. 24r-v, 25r-v, 26r-v, 27r-v	Bartoli Cosimo	Francesco de' Medici	Venezia	16-01-1572	Wednesday	2981_006
MdP 2981, fol. 32r-v, 33r-v, 34r-v, 35r-v	Bartoli Cosimo	Francesco de' Medici	Venezia	23-01-1572	Wednesday	2981_007
MdP 2981, fol. 36r-v, 37r-v	Bartoli Cosimo	Francesco de' Medici	Venezia	29-01-1572	Tuesday	2981_008
MdP 2981, fol. 44r-v, 45r-v	Bartoli Cosimo	Francesco de' Medici	Venezia	30-01-1572	Wednesday	2981_009
MdP 2981, fol. 46r-v, 47r-v, 48r-v, 49r-v	Bartoli Cosimo	Francesco de' Medici	Venezia	06-02-1572	Wednesday	2981_010
MdP 2981, fol. 56r-v, 57r-v	Bartoli Cosimo	Francesco de' Medici	Venezia	13-02-1572	Wednesday	2981_011
MdP 2981, fol. 58r-v, 59r-v	Bartoli Cosimo	Francesco de' Medici	Venezia	20-02-1572	Wednesday	2981_012
MdP 2981, fol. 60r-v, 61r-v	Bartoli Cosimo	Concino Bartolomeo	Venezia	20-02-1572	Wednesday	2981_013
MdP 2981, fol. 72r-v, 73r-v, 74r-v, 75r-v	Bartoli Cosimo	Francesco de' Medici	Venezia	05-03-1572	Wednesday	2981_014
MdP 2981, fol. 78r-v, 79r-v, 80r-v, 81r-v	Bartoli Cosimo	Francesco de' Medici	Venezia	12-03-1572	Wednesday	2981_016
MdP 2981, fol. 86r-v, 87r-v, 88r-v, 89r-v	Bartoli Cosimo	Francesco de' Medici	Venezia	19-03-1572	Wednesday	2981_017
MdP 2981, fol. 92r-v, 97r-v	Bartoli Cosimo	Francesco de' Medici	Venezia	26-03-1572	Wednesday	2981_018

MdP 2981, fol. 93r-v, 94r-v, 95r-v, 96r-v	Bartoli Cosimo	Francesco de' Medici	Venezia	26-03-1572	Wednesday	2981_019
MdP 2981, fol. 98r-v, 99r-v, 100r-v, 101r-v	Bartoli Cosimo	Francesco de' Medici	Venezia	02-04-1572	Wednesday	2981_020
MdP 2981, fol. 102r-v, 109r-v	Bartoli Cosimo	Francesco de' Medici	Venezia	02-04-1572	Wednesday	2981_021
MdP 573, fol. 185r-v	Bartoli Cosimo	Concino Bartolomeo	Venezia	12-04-1572	Saturday	Carteggio_Universale_059
MdP 2981, fol. 105r-v, 106r-v, 107r-v, 108r-v	Bartoli Cosimo	Francesco de' Medici	Venezia	12-04-1572	Saturday	2981_023
MdP 2981, fol. 120r-v, 121r-v, 122r-v, 123r-v	Bartoli Cosimo	Francesco de' Medici	Venezia	19-04-1572	Saturday	2981_024
MdP 2981, fol. 124r-v, 125r-v, 126r-v, 127r-v	Bartoli Cosimo	Francesco de' Medici	Venezia	26-04-1572	Saturday	2981_025
MdP 2981, fol. 131r-v, 132r-v, 133r-v, 134r-v	Bartoli Cosimo	Francesco de' Medici	Venezia	03-05-1572	Saturday	2981_026
MdP 2981, fol. 139r-v, 140r-v, 141r-v, 142r-v	Bartoli Cosimo	Francesco de' Medici	Venezia	10-05-1572	Saturday	2981_027
MdP 2981, fol. 143r-v, 145r-v, 144r-v, 146r-v, 147r-v	Bartoli Cosimo	Francesco de' Medici	Venezia	17-05-1572	Saturday	2981_028
MdP 2981, fol. 154r-v, 155r-v, 159r-v, 160r-v	Bartoli Cosimo	Francesco de' Medici	Venezia	24-05-1572	Saturday	2981_029
MdP 2981, fol. 161r-v, 162r-v	Bartoli Cosimo	Concino Bartolomeo	Venezia	24-05-1572	Saturday	2981_031
MdP 2981, fol. 167r-v, 168r-v, 169r-v, 170r-v	Bartoli Cosimo	Francesco de' Medici	Venezia	31-05-1572	Saturday	2981_032
MdP 2981, fol. 171r-v, 172r-v, 173r-v, 174r-v, 175r-v	Bartoli Cosimo	Francesco de' Medici	Venezia	07-06-1572	Saturday	2981_033
MdP 2981, fol. 176r-v, 177r-v, 178r-v, 179r-v, 180r-v	Bartoli Cosimo	Francesco de' Medici	Venezia	14-06-1572	Saturday	2981_034

MdP 2981, fol. 181r-v, 182r-v, 183r-v, 184r-v	Bartoli Cosimo	Francesco de' Medici	Venezia	21-06-1572	Saturday	2981_035
MdP 2981, fol. 185r-v, 186r-v	Bartoli Cosimo	Cosimo I de' Medici	Venezia	28-06-1572	Saturday	2981_036
MdP 2981, fol. 187r-v, 188r-v, 189r-v, 190r-v	Bartoli Cosimo	Francesco de' Medici	Venezia	28-06-1572	Saturday	2981_037
MdP 2981, fol. 191r-v, 192r-v, 193r-v, 194r-v, 195r-v, 196r-v	Bartoli Cosimo	Francesco de' Medici	Venezia	05-07-1572	Saturday	2981_038
MdP 2981, fol. 197r-v, 198r-v, 199r-v, 200r-v	Bartoli Cosimo	Francesco de' Medici	Venezia	12-07-1572	Saturday	2981_039
MdP 2981, fol. 201r-v, 202r-v, 203r-v, 204r-v	Bartoli Cosimo	Francesco de' Medici	Venezia	19-07-1572	Saturday	2981_040
MdP 2981, fol. 205r-v, 208r-v	Bartoli Cosimo	Francesco de' Medici	Venezia	19-07-1572	Saturday	2981_041
MdP 583, fol. 5r-v	Bartoli Cosimo	Cosimo I de' Medici	Venezia	26-07-1572	Saturday	Carteggio_Universale_060
MdP 2981, fol. 206r-v, 207r-v	Bartoli Cosimo	Francesco de' Medici	Venezia	26-07-1572	Saturday	2981_042
MdP 2981, fol. 209r-v, 210r-v	Bartoli Cosimo	Francesco de' Medici	Venezia	02-08-1572	Saturday	2981_043
MdP 2981, fol. 211r-v, 212r-v, 213r-v, 214r-v	Bartoli Cosimo	Francesco de' Medici	Venezia	09-08-1572	Saturday	2981_044
MdP 2981, fol. 215r-v, 218r-v	Bartoli Cosimo	Francesco de' Medici	Venezia	16-08-1572	Saturday	2981_045
MdP 2981, fol. 219r-v, 220r-v, 221r-v, 222r-v	Bartoli Cosimo	Francesco de' Medici	Venezia	16-08-1572	Saturday	2981_047
MdP 2981, fol. 223r-v, 224r-v, 225r-v, 226r-v	Bartoli Cosimo	Francesco de' Medici	Venezia	23-08-1572	Saturday	2981_048
MdP 2981, fol. 227r-v, 228r-v, 229r-v, 230r-v	Bartoli Cosimo	Francesco de' Medici	Venezia	30-08-1572	Saturday	2981_049
MdP 2981, fol. 231r-v, 232r-v, 233r-v, 236r-v	Bartoli Cosimo	Francesco de' Medici	Venezia	03-09-1572	Wednesday	2981_050
MdP 583, fol. 118r-v	Bartoli Cosimo	Cosimo I de' Medici	Venezia	06-09-1572	Saturday	Carteggio_Universale_061

MdP 2981, fol. 234r-v, 235r-v	Bartoli Cosimo	Francesco de' Medici	Venezia	06-09-1572	Saturday	2981_051
MdP 2981, fol. 237r-v, 238r-v	Bartoli Cosimo	Francesco de' Medici	Venezia	16-09-1572	Tuesday	2981_052
MdP 2981, fol. 239r-v, 242r-v, 240r-v, 241r-v	Bartoli Cosimo	Francesco de' Medici	Venezia	20-09-1572	Saturday	2981_053
MdP 583, fol. 141r-v	Bartoli Cosimo	Cosimo I de' Medici	Venezia	24-09-1572	Wednesday	Carteggio_Universale_062
MdP 2981, fol. 243r-v, 246r-v	Bartoli Cosimo	Francesco de' Medici	Venezia	27-09-1572	Saturday	2981_054
MdP 2981, fol. 76r-v, 77r-v	Bartoli Cosimo	[Francesco de' Medici]	[Venezia]	dd-mm-1572		2981_015
MdP 2978, fol. 223r-v	Bartoli Cosimo	[Cosimo I or Francesco de' Medici]		dd-mm-yyyy		2978_097
MdP 2979, fol. 2r-v, 3r-v	Bartoli Cosimo	Cosimo I de' Medici	[Venezia]	dd-mm-yyyy		2979_002
MdP 2979, fol. 45r-v, 48r-v	Bartoli Cosimo	Francesco de' Medici	[Venezia]	dd-mm-yyyy		2979_021
MdP 2979, fol. 478r-v	Bartoli Cosimo	[Cosimo I or Francesco de' Medici]	[Venezia]	dd-mm-yyyy		2979_189
MdP 2976, fol. 52r-v, 59r-v	Bartoli Cosimo	Cosimo I de' Medici	Venezia	11-mm-yyyy		2976_024
MdP 2976, fol. 197r-v, 198r-v, 222r-v, 223r-v	Bartoli Cosimo	Cosimo I de' Medici	Venezia	18-mm-yyyy		2976_080

APPENDIX TWO

List of the newsletters sent to Florence during Cosimo Bartoli's residence in Venice as a Medici agent, from June 1562 to September 1572.

Shelfmark	**Hubs**	**Writer**	**Digital Edition ID**
Carte Strozziane, Serie Prima, vol. 120, fol. Unnumbered	Paris (22-12-1562)	Bartoli Cosimo	CarteStrozziane_SI_120_001
MdP 2976, fol. 83r-v, 94r-v	Trento (30-11-1562), Fossano (30-11-1562), Vincennes (18-11-1562), Augsburg (05-12-1562)	Bartoli Cosimo	2976_036
MdP 2976, fol. 162r-v, 163r-v, 164r-v, 171r-v	Ferrara (13-07-1563), Roma (10-07-1563), Wien (05-07-1563), Madrid (12-06-1563, 15-06-1563), Paris (22-06-1563, 23-06-1563, 24-06-1563), Lyon (03-06-1563, 04-06-1563), Bruxelles (04-07-1563), Trento (13-07-1563)	Bartoli Cosimo	2976_068
MdP 2976, fol. 191r-v, 192r-v, 193r-v	Roma (11-09-1563), Krakow (27-08-1563), Bratislava (01-09-1563, 07-09-1563, 08-09-1563), Bruxelles (08-09-1563), Flanders (04-09-1563, 07-09-1563), Calabria (05-09-1563)	Bartoli Cosimo	2976_079
MdP 2976, fol. 207r-v, 208r-v, 212r-v, 213r-v	Bratislava (27-10-1563), Bruxelles (24-10-1563), Bratislava (02-11-1563), Trento (10-11-1563), Roma (06-11-1563)	Bartoli Cosimo	2976_087
MdP 2976, fol. 229r-v, 332r-v	Roma (20-11-1563), Istanbul (20-11-1563, 21-11-1563)	Bartoli Cosimo	2976_093
MdP 2976, fol. 230r-v, 231r-v	Madrid (02-12-1563), Milano (22-12-1563), Milano (29-12-1563), Wien (15-12-1563)	not identified	2976_094

MdP 2976, fol. 246r-v, 247r-v, 252r-v, 253r-v	Roma (01-04-1564), Wien (29-03-1564), Wien (29-03-1564), Krakow (19-03-1564), Ferrara (28-03-1564), Sinigaglia (02-04-1564), Pesaro (03-04-1564), Istanbul (08-03-1564)	Bartoli Cosimo	2976_102
MdP 2976, fol. 265r-v, 266r-v, 277r-v, 278r-v	Bruxelles (23-04-1564), Wien (27-04-1564), Troyes (15-04-1564), Troyes (17-04-1564), Roma (29-04-1564)	Bartoli Cosimo	2976_105
MdP 2976, fol. 268r-v, 275r-v	Istanbul (04-05-1564), Istanbul (06-04-1564), Lyon (18-05-1564), Bruxelles (20-05-1564), Roma (27-05-1564)	Bartoli Cosimo	2976_107
MdP 2976, fol. 269r-v, 274r-v	Wien (05-05-1564)	not identified	2976_108
MdP 2976, fol. 280r-v, 289r-v	Roma (13-05-1564), Wien (11-05-1564), Legnano (dd-05-1564)	Bartoli Cosimo	2976_110
MdP 2976, fol. 290r-v, 310r-v	Roma (06-05-1564)	Bartoli Cosimo	2976_114
MdP 2976, fol. 291r-v, 292r-v, 308r-v, 309r-v	Roma (19-05-1564), Bruxelles (14-05-1564), Wien (18-05-1564), Bordeaux (09-05-1564), Genova (20-05-1564)	Bartoli Cosimo	2976_115
MdP 2976, fol. 319r-v, 320r-v	Roma (02-12-1564), Wien (30-11-1564), Krakow (22-11-1564), Kerkyra (25-11-1564)	Bartoli Cosimo	2976_127
MdP 2976, fol. 324r-v, 331r-v, 325r-v, 330r-v	Espana (26-09-1565), Espana (26-09-1565), Espana (07-10-1565), Espana (09-10-1564), Roma (03-11-1565)	Bartoli Cosimo	2976_130
MdP 2976, fol. 327r-v, 328r-v	Lyon (19-09-1565), Roma (06-10-1565), Napoli (04-10-1565), Ferrara (08-10-1565), Wien (06-10-1565)	Bartoli Cosimo	2976_132
MdP 2976, fol. 336r-v, 337r-v, 338r-v	Roma (13-10-1565), Wien (10-10-1565), Wien (12-10-1565), Bruxelles (07-10-1565)	Bartoli Cosimo	2976_135
MdP 2976, fol. 339r-v, 356r-v	Roma (20-10-1565), Wien (21-10-1565)	Bartoli Cosimo	2976_136
MdP 2976, fol. 345r-v, 348r-v	Wien (16-11-1565)	Bartoli Cosimo	2976_141
MdP 2976, fol. 346r-v, 347r-v	Roma (17-11-1565)	Geri Paolo	2976_142
MdP 2976, fol. 352r-v, 353r-v	Roma (01-12-1565)	Geri Paolo	2976_144
MdP 2979, fol. 7r-v, 8r-v	Antwerpen (24-04-1568), Lyon (21-04-1568)	Bartoli Cosimo	2979_005
MdP 2979, fol. 83r-v, 84r-v	Milano (27-10-1568), Savoie (24-10-1568)	Bartoli Curzio	2979_039
MdP 2979, fol. 136r-v	Wien (03-03-1569), Lyon (25-02-1569)	Bartoli Curzio	2979_064
MdP 2981, fol. 7r-v, 8r-v	Roma (23-08-1572), Antwerpen (09-08-1572), Wien (19-08-1572)	Gavazzo Giovanni	2981_003

MdP 3079, fol. 191r-v, 194r-v	Roma (06-01-1563), Fribourg (01-01-1563), Paris (29-12-1562), Bourg-en-Bresse (02-01-1563), Krakow (18-12-1562)	Bartoli Cosimo	3079_001
MdP 3079, fol. 192r-v, 193r-v	Roma (16-01-1563), Bruxelles (10-01-1563), Istanbul (24-12-1562), Milano (20-01-1563)	Bartoli Cosimo	3079_002
MdP 3079, fol. 200r-v, 201r-v	Savoie (15-09-1562), Milano (16-09-1562), Roma (19-09-1562), Krakow (10-09-1562), Napoli (19-09-1562), Savoie (22-09-1562), Savoie (dd-09-1562), London (05-09-1562), Praha (14-09-1562), Antwerpen (13-09-1562), Frankfurt am Mein (15-09-1562), Deutschland (dd-09-1562)	Bartoli Cosimo	3079_003
MdP 3079, fol. 202r-v	Savoie (dd-mm-1562), Praha (06-mm-1562), Roma (13-mm-1562), Milano (10-mm-1562), France (10-mm-1562), Bruxelles (13-mm-1562)	Bartoli Cosimo	3079_004
MdP 3079, fol. 206r-v, 207r-v	Espana (17-05-1562), France (25-05-1562), France (06-06-1562), France (10-06-1562), Istanbul (dd-mm-1562), Praha (01-06-1562), Augsburg (13-06-1562), Piemonte (dd-mm-1562), Milano (10-06-1562)	Bartoli Cosimo	3079_005
MdP 3079, fol. 208r-v, 209r-v	Praha (15-06-1562), Augsburg (27-06-1562), Krakow (20-06-1562), Nurnberg (19-05-1562), Fossano (23-11-1562), Lyon (13-06-1562), Boka Kotorska (25-06-1562), Alessandria (04-05-1562), Trento (dd-mm-1562)	Bartoli Cosimo	3079_006
MdP 3079, fol. 210r-v, 211r-v	Messina (09-06-1565), Napoli (11-06-1565), Roma (16-06-1565), Wien (14-06-1565), Wien (17-06-1565)	Bartoli Cosimo	3079_007
MdP 3079, fol. 212r-v, 213r-v	France (17-06-1562), Milano (16-06-1562), Praha (15-06-1562), Praha (dd-06-1562), Antwerpen (13-06-1562), Flanders (14-06-1562), Flanders (15-06-1562), Flanders (16-06-1562), Strasbourg (15-06-1562), Koln (16-06-1562), Speyer (16-06-1562)	Bartoli Cosimo	3079_008
MdP 3079, fol. 214r-v, 215r-v	Levant (dd-mm-1562), Roma (04-07-1562), Bologna (dd-mm-1562), Vincennes (27-06-1562), Wien (29-06-1562), Istanbul (07-06-1562), Madrid (04-06-1562), Praha (22-06-1562)	Bartoli Cosimo	3079_009
MdP 3079, fol. 216r-v, 217r-v	Milano (07-07-1562), Milano (08-08-1562), Istanbul (16-06-1562), Savoie (13-mm-1562), Istanbul (16-06-1562), Istanbul (16-06-1562), France (05-07-1562), France (08-07-1562)	Bartoli Cosimo	3079_010

MdP 3079, fol. 218r-v, 219r-v, 220r-v, 221r-v	Paris (13-07-1562), Avignon (15-07-1562), France (15-07-1562), France (19-07-1562), France (20-07-1562), Paris (21-07-1562), Milano (28-07-1562), Bourg-en-Bresse (21-07-1562), Antwerpen (26-07-1562), Bruxelles (27-07-1562), Polska (13-07-1562), Flanders (27-07-1562)	Bartoli Cosimo	3079_011
MdP 3079, fol. 222r-v, 227r-v	Milano (30-07-1562)	Bartoli Cosimo	3079_012
MdP 3079, fol. 223r-v, 224r-v, 225r-v, 226r-v	Paris (02-08-1562), France (03-08-1562), Roma (15-08-1562), Ferrara (17-08-1562), Istanbul (22-07-1562), Bruxelles (09-08-1562), Salò (18-08-1562), Bruxelles (02-08-1562), Milano (12-08-1562), Augsburg (dd-08-1562), Antwerpen (12-08-1562)	Bartoli Cosimo	3079_013
MdP 3079, fol. 228r-v, 229r-v, 230r-v, 231r-v	Susa (13-08-1562), Casale Monferrato (19-08-1562), Milano (14-08-1562), Paris (08-09-1562), Avignon (04-08-1562), Roma (22-08-1562), Avignon (07-08-1562), Krakow (15-08-1562), Praha (17-08-1562), Trento (18-08-1562), Antwerpen (15-08-1562)	Bartoli Cosimo	3079_014
MdP 3079, fol. 233r-v, 234r-v, 232r-v, 235r-v	Messina (17-08-1562), Krakow (28-08-1562), Napoli (03-09-1562), Fossano (06-09-1562), Bourg-en-Bresse (30-08-1562), France (26-08-1562), Savoie (12-08-1562), Savoie (15-08-1562), Roma (05-09-1562), Milano (02-09-1562), Napoli (dd-09-1562)	Bartoli Cosimo	3079_015
MdP 3079, fol. 236r-v	Unknown (21-08-1562), Unknown (25-09-1562), Fossano (29-08-1562), Napoli (01-09-1562), Deutschland (06-09-1562)	Bartoli Cosimo	3079_016
MdP 3079, fol. 237r-v, 238r-v, 239r-v, 240r-v	Milano (08-09-1562), Fossano (28-08-1562), Roma (12-09-1562), Milano (dd-09-1562), Ferrara (dd-09-1562), Trento (dd-09-1562), Espana (dd-08-1562), Roma (12-09-1562), French Court (26-08-1562), Avignon (26-08-1562), French Court (dd-09-1562), Roma (12-09-1562), Istanbul (18-08-1562), Ferrara (15-09-1562), Antwerpen (06-09-1562), Koln (dd-09-1562), Augsburg (12-09-1562), Montluel (07-09-1562), France (05-09-1562), Saint Rambert d'Albon (08-09-1562)	Bartoli Cosimo	3079_017
MdP 3079, fol. 241r-v, 242r-v, 243r-v, 244r-v	Hans (20-09-1562), Etampes (20-09-1562), Fossano (22-09-1562), Torino (18-09-1562), France (25-09-1562), Bruxelles (27-09-1562), Trento (06-10-1562), Augsburg (03-10-1562), Antwerpen (27-09-1562)	Bartoli Cosimo	3079_018

MdP 3079, fol. 245r-v, 248r-v	Istanbul (31-08-1562), Istanbul (01-09-1562), Praha (21-09-1562)	Bartoli Cosimo	3079_020
MdP 3079, fol. 245r-v, 246r-v, 247r-v	Istanbul (31-08-1562), Istanbul (01-09-1562), Praha (21-09-1562), Roma (31-09-1562), Krakow (dd-09-1562), Bruxelles (20-09-1562), Augsburg (20-09-1562), Antwerpen (19-09-1562), Antwerpen (20-09-1562), Koln (21-09-1562), Strasbourg (22-09-1562), Fossano (16-09-1562)	Bartoli Cosimo	3079_021
MdP 3079, fol. 249r-v, 250r-v	Roma (10-10-1562), Brescia (11-10-1562), Montmerle-sur-Saone (02-10-1562), Padova (16-10-1562), Spanish Court (13-09-1562)	Bartoli Cosimo	3079_022
MdP 3079, fol. 251r-v, 252r-v, 253r-v	Roma (24-10-1562), Trento (27-10-1562), Speyer (22-10-1562), Flanders (18-10-1562), Cheb (12-10-1562), Bruxelles (18-10-1562), Paris (02-10-1562), Paris (03-10-1562), Paris (06-10-1562), Paris (08-10-1562), Paris (13-10-1562), Antwerpen (18-10-1562), Strasbourg (21-10-1562)	Bartoli Cosimo	3079_023
MdP 3079, fol. 254r-v, 255r-v, 260r-v, 261r-v	Roma (31-10-1562), Bruxelles (25-10-1562), Bruxelles (25-10-1562), Frankfurt am Mein (01-11-1562), Frankfurt am Mein (12-11-1562), Krakow (16-10-1562), Frankfurt am Mein (15-11-1562)	Bartoli Cosimo	3079_024
MdP 3079, fol. 256r-v, 258r-v, 257r-v, 259r-v	Roma (13-12-1562), Lyon (dd-12-1562), Antwerpen (06-12-1562), Augsburg (12-12-1562), Frankfurt am Mein (29-11-1562), Frankfurt am Mein (dd-11-1562), Genova (28-11-1562), Torino (02-12-1562), Bruxelles (29-11-1562), French Court (30-10-1562), France (30-10-1562), Trento (08-12-1562)	Bartoli Cosimo	3079_025
MdP 3079, fol. 262r-v, 263r-v, 265r-v	Roma (19-12-1562), Frankfurt am Mein (05-12-1562), Trento (22-12-1562), Paris (04-12-1562), Istanbul (14-11-1562)	Bartoli Cosimo	3079_026
MdP 3079, fol. 266r-v, 267r-v, 268r-v, 279r-v	Roma (dd-mm-1563), Paris (28-01-1563), Istanbul (06-01-1563), Bruxelles (24-01-1563), Trento (01-02-1563), Trento (09-02-1563), Trento (11-02-1563)	Bartoli Cosimo	3079_028
MdP 3079, fol. 269r-v, 278r-v	Milano (03-02-1564), Spanish Court (10-01-1564), Genova (29-1-1564)	Bartoli Cosimo	3079_029
MdP 3079, fol. 270r-v, 271r-v, 276r-v, 277r-v	Warszawa (24-02-1564), Warszawa (02-03-1564), Warszawa (03-03-1564), Warszawa (02-03-1564), Warszawa (03-03-1564), Wien (15-03-1564), Wien (15-03-1564), Bruxelles (14-03-1564), Roma (18-03-1564)	Bartoli Cosimo	3079_030
MdP 3079, fol. 272r-v, 273r-v, 274r-v, 275r-v	Istanbul (29-03-1563), Roma (17-04-1563), Kipros (15-03-1563), Antwerpen (09-04-1563), Speyer (14-04-1563)	Bartoli Cosimo	3079_031

MdP 3079, fol. 280r-v, 297r-v	France (13-mm-yyyy), France (14-mm-yyyy), France (18-mm-yyyy), Praha (22-mm-yyyy), Unknown (dd-mm-yyyy)	Bartoli Cosimo	3079_032
MdP 3079, fol. 281r-v, 296r-v	Roma (08-01-1564), Wien (05-01-1564), Transilvania (dd-12-1563)	Bartoli Cosimo	3079_033
MdP 3079, fol. 282r-v, 283r-v, 294r-v, 295r-v	Bruxelles (16-01-1564), Milano (18-01-1564), Milano (25-01-1564), Milano (27-01-1564), Spanish Court (05-01-1564), Madrid (08-01-1564), Roma (29-01-1564)	Bartoli Cosimo	3079_034
MdP 3079, fol. 284r-v, 293r-v	Roma (20-02-1563), Bruxelles (14-02-1563), Augsburg (20-02-1563)	Bartoli Cosimo	3079_035
MdP 3079, fol. 285r-v, 286r-v, 291r-v, 292r-v	L`viv (08-02-1564), Gdansk (08-02-1564), Lietuva (10-02-1564), Warszawa (18-02-1564), L`viv (10-02-1564), Warszawa (18-02-1564), Krakow (26-02-1564), Roma (04-03-1564), Bruxelles (26-02-1564), Istanbul (11-02-1564)	Bartoli Cosimo	3079_036
MdP 3079, fol. 287r-v, 290r-v	Spanish Court (29-02-1564), Imperial Court (08-03-1564), Antwerpen (04-03-1564), Zakinthos (dd-mm-1564), Roma (11-03-1564)	Bartoli Cosimo	3079_037
MdP 3079, fol. 288r-v, 289r-v	Roma (10-04-1563), Deutschland (03-04-1563), Koln (03-04-1563), Speyer (03-04-1563), Strasbourg (03-04-1563), Augsburg (03-04-1563), Istanbul (04-03-1563), Istanbul (17-03-1563), Kipros (dd-mm-1563), Trento (13-04-1563), Flanders (04-04-1563), Milano (10-04-1563), Pietrykaŭ (30-03-1563)	Bartoli Cosimo	3079_038
MdP 3079, fol. 300r-v, 301r-v	Augsburg (10-02-1566), Moulins (28-01-1566)	Bartoli Curzio	3079_040
MdP 3079, fol. 302r-v, 303r-v, 304r-v, 307r-v	Roma (22-05-1563), Genova (20-05-1563), Istanbul (28-04-1563), Espana (26-04-1563), Innsbruck (24-05-1563), Bruxelles (16-05-1564), Trento (25-05-1563)	Bartoli Cosimo	3079_041
MdP 3079, fol. 315r-v, 320r-v	Lyon (18-06-1563), Avignon (18-06-1563), Spanish Court (16-05-1563)	Bartoli Cosimo	3079_046
MdP 3079, fol. 316r-v, 317r-v, 318r-v, 319r-v	Lyon (13-09-1563), Roma (18-09-1563), Napoli (12-09-1563), Bratislava (13-09-1563)	Bartoli Cosimo	3079_047
MdP 3079, fol. 322r-v, 323r-v, 324r-v, 325r-v	Istanbul (24-06-1563), Lyon (08-07-1563), Wien (12-07-1563), Wien (14-07-1563), Krakow (10-07-1563), Trento (18-07-1563), Roma (17-07-1563), Bruxelles (12-07-1563), Flanders (13-07-1563)	Bartoli Cosimo	3079_048
MdP 3079, fol. 327r-v, 328r-v, 336r-v, 337r-v	Paris (12-07-1563), Istanbul (05-07-1563), Istanbul (08-07-1563), Istanbul (09-07-1563), Trento (27-07-1563), Wien (20-07-1563), Augsburg (25-07-1563)	Bartoli Cosimo	3079_049

MdP 3079, fol. 327r-v, 328r-v, 336r-v, 337r-v	Trento (04-08-1563), Bruxelles (26-07-1563)	Bartoli Cosimo	3079_050
MdP 3079, fol. 329r-v, 330r-v, 334r-v, 335r-v	Roma (28-08-1563), Wien (24-08-1563), Trento (31-08-1563), Antwerpen (31-08-1563)	Bartoli Cosimo	3079_051
MdP 3079, fol. 331r-v, 332r-v, 333r-v	Istanbul (30-08-1563), Istanbul (01-09-1563), Trento (29-09-1563), Bratislava (22-09-1563), Roma (25-09-1563), Krakow (13-09-1563)	Bartoli Cosimo	3079_052
MdP 3079, fol. 339r-v, 340r-v, 341r-v, 342r-v	Roma (02-10-1563), Verona (01-10-1563), Bratislava (29-06-1563), Medan (22-09-1563), Milano (01-10-1563), Bratislava (28-09-1563), Spanish Court (17-09-1563), Genova (02-10-1563), Trento (06-10-1563)	Bartoli Cosimo	3079_053
MdP 3079, fol. 343r-v, 344r-v, 345r-v, 346r-v	Roma (09-10-1563), Istanbul (13-09-1563), Napoli (06-10-1563), Trento (13-10-1563), Augsburg (08-10-1563), Antwerpen (06-10-1563)	Bartoli Cosimo	3079_054
MdP 3079, fol. 347r-v, 348r-v, 349r-v, 350r-v	Roma (16-10-1563), Napoli (09-10-1563), Bratislava (10-10-1563), Bratislava (12-10-1563), Nurnberg (07-10-1563), Krakow (01-10-1563), Bratislava (13-10-1563), Trento (20-10-1563)	Bartoli Cosimo	3079_055
MdP 3079, fol. 352r-v, 352r-v, 355r-v, 356r-v	France (16-10-1563), France (17-10-1563), Istanbul (30-09-1563), Istanbul (01-10-1563)	Bartoli Cosimo	3079_056
MdP 3079, fol. 353r-v, 354r-v	Roma (30-10-1563), Trento (03-11-1563), Bratislava (19-10-1563), Bratislava (26-10-1563), Antwerpen (24-10-1563)	Bartoli Cosimo	3079_057
MdP 3079, fol. 357r-v, 358r-v, 359r-v, 360r-v	Roma (12-11-1563), Dubrovnik (23-10-1563), Istanbul (15-10-1563), Trento (14-11-1563), Trento (18-11-1563), Bratislava (09-11-1563), Bruxelles (07-11-1563), France (dd-11-1563)	Bartoli Cosimo	3079_058
MdP 3079, fol. 361r-v, 362r-v, 363r-v, 364r-v	Lyon (24-12-1563), French Court (20-12-1563), Paris (19-12-1563), Bruxelles (21-12-1563), Wien (23-12-1563), Roma (01-01-1564)	Bartoli Cosimo	3079_059
MdP 3079, fol. 365r-v, 378r-v	Roma (06-01-1565), Genova (29-12-1563), Flanders (dd-12-1563)	Bartoli Cosimo	3079_060
MdP 3079, fol. 366r-v, 367r-v, 376r-v, 377r-v	Roma (20-01-1565), Genova (12-01-1565), Lyon (07-01-1565), Bruxelles (14-01-1565), Spanish Court (30-12-1564)	Bartoli Cosimo	3079_061
MdP 3079, fol. 368r-v, 369r-v	Roma (27-01-1565), Roma (27-01-1565), Wien (25-01-1565), Bruxelles (21-01-1565), Bruxelles (20-01-1565)	Bartoli Cosimo	3079_062

MdP 3079, fol. 370r-v, 375r-v	Roma (03-02-1565), Genova (26-01-1565), Lyon (28-01-1565), Wien (01-02-1565)	Bartoli Cosimo	3079_063
MdP 3079, fol. 371r-v, 372r-v, 373r-v, 374r-v	Roma (10-02-1565), Roma (17-02-1565), Genova (09-02-1565), France (dd-02-1565), Wien (08-02-1565), Bruxelles (04-02-1565)	Bartoli Cosimo	3079_064
MdP 3079, fol. 379r-v, 380r-v	Wien (14-02-1565), Napoli (10-02-1565), Pesaro (19-02-1565), Toulouse (11-02-1565), Espana (dd-02-1565)	Bartoli Cosimo	3079_065
MdP 3079, fol. 382r-v, 385r-v	Wien (24-02-1565)	Bartoli Cosimo	3079_067
MdP 3079, fol. 387r-v, 388r-v	Roma (24-02-1565), Roma (24-02-1565), Genova (16-02-1565)	Bartoli Cosimo	3079_068
MdP 3079, fol. 389r-v, 404r-v	Roma (03-03-1565), Genova (23-02-1565), Napoli (dd-02-1565)	Bartoli Cosimo	3079_069
MdP 3079, fol. 390r-v, 403r-v	Wien (09-03-1565), Kerkyra (02-03-1565)	Bartoli Cosimo	3079_070
MdP 3079, fol. 391r-v, 402r-v	Roma (09-03-1565), Roma (10-03-1565), Antwerpen (24-02-1565), French Court (19-02-1565), Wien (28-02-1565)	Bartoli Cosimo	3079_071
MdP 3079, fol. 392r-v, 401r-v	Roma (14-03-1565), Wien (07-03-1565)	Bartoli Cosimo	3079_072
MdP 3079, fol. 393r-v, 400r-v	Roma (17-03-1565), Malta (18-02-1565)	Bartoli Cosimo	3079_073
MdP 3079, fol. 394r-v, 399r-v	Roma (24-03-1565), Bruxelles (04-03-1565)	Bartoli Cosimo	3079_074
MdP 3079, fol. 395r-v, 398r-v	Spanish Court (30-05-1564), Istanbul (27-05-1564), Wien (14-06-1564), Krakow (13-05-1564)	Bartoli Cosimo	3079_075
MdP 3079, fol. 396r-v, 397r-v	Roma (10-06-1564), Wien (07-06-1565), Antwerpen (04-06-1564), London (27-05-1564), Krakow (04-06-1564), Lyon (31-05-1564)	Bartoli Cosimo	3079_076
MdP 3079, fol. 405r-v, 410r-v	Antwerpen (18-06-1564), Lyon (13-06-1564), Lyon (21-06-1564), Wien (21-06-1564), Roma (24-06-1564), Genova (24-06-1564), Genova (26-06-1564)	Bartoli Cosimo	3079_077
MdP 3079, fol. 406r-v, 407r-v, 408r-v, 409r-v	Lyon (20-06-1564), Lyon (21-06-1564), Wien (06-07-1564), Roma (08-07-1564), Spanish Court (22-06-1564), Wien (05-07-1564)	Bartoli Cosimo	3079_078
MdP 3079, fol. 411r-v, 412r-v	Genova (23-06-1564), Roma (01-07-1564), Lyon (20-06-1564), Lyon (27-06-1564), Wien (28-06-1564), Wien (dd-06-1564), Krakow (25-06-1564)	Bartoli Cosimo	3079_079
MdP 3079, fol. 413r-v, 414r-v, 427r-v, 428r-v	Roma (15-07-1564), Roma (15-07-1564), Rimini (18-07-1564), Krakow (06-07-1564), Halab (25-05-1564), Ferrara (19-05-1564), Wien (12-07-1564)	Bartoli Cosimo	3079_080
MdP 3079, fol. 415r-v, 416r-v, 425r-v, 426r-v	London (17-07-1564), Roma (29-07-1564), Lyon (17-07-1564), Espana (07-07-1564), Genova (18-07-1564), Genova (21-07-1564), Wien (27-07-1564)	Bartoli Cosimo	3079_081

MdP 3079, fol. 417r-v, 418r-v, 423r-v, 424r-v	Roma (22-07-1564), Lyon (09-07-1564), Lyon (12-07-1564), Genova (14-07-1564), Genova (19-07-1564), Messina (10-07-1564), Wien (19-07-1564)	Bartoli Cosimo	3079_082
MdP 3079, fol. 419r-v, 420r-v, 421r-v, 422r-v	Wien (02-08-1564), Istanbul (12-07-1564), Krakow (22-07-1564), Roma (05-08-1564), Genova (28-07-1564), Genova (04-08-1564), Roma (05-08-1564), Wien (04-08-1564), Mantova (06-08-1564), French Court (28-07-1564)	Bartoli Cosimo	3079_083
MdP 3079, fol. 429r-v, 430r-v, 431r-v, 432r-v	Torino (10-08-1564), Roma (19-08-1564), France (dd-08-1564), Genova (18-08-1564), Krakow (12-08-1564), Wien (17-08-1564), Bruxelles (13-08-1564)	Bartoli Cosimo	3079_084
MdP 3079, fol. 433r-v, 434r-v, 435r-v, 436r-v	Roma (26-08-1564), Genova (18-08-1564), Wien (24-08-1564), Bruxelles (20-08-1564), Istanbul (29-07-1564), Milano (23-08-1564), Krakow (19-08-1564)	Bartoli Cosimo	3079_085
MdP 3079, fol. 437r-v, 438r-v, 439r-v, 440r-v, 441r-v, 442r-v	Roma (02-09-1564), Genova (26-08-1564), Messina (19-08-1564), Nice (30-08-1564), Krakow (26-08-1564), Istanbul (12-08-1564), Famagusta (07-07-1564), Wien (31-08-1564), France (21-08-1564)	Bartoli Cosimo	3079_086
MdP 3079, fol. 443r-v, 444r-v, 451r-v, 452r-v	Roma (09-09-1564), Genova (31-08-1564), Wien (06-09-1564), Istanbul (18-08-1564), Krakow (02-09-1564), Bruxelles (03-09-1564)	Bartoli Cosimo	3079_087
MdP 3079, fol. 445r-v, 446r-v, 449r-v, 450r-v	Roma (16-09-1564), Genova (08-09-1564), Wien (15-09-1564), Krakow (09-09-1564)	Bartoli Cosimo	3079_088
MdP 3079, fol. 447r-v, 448r-v	Roma (30-09-1564), Krakow (23-09-1564), Wien (30-09-1564), Spanish Court (04-09-1564), Flanders (dd-09-1564), Paris (16-09-1564)	Bartoli Cosimo	3079_089
MdP 3079, fol. 453r-v, 454r-v, 469r-v, 470r-v	Istanbul (25-09-1564), Krakow (17-10-1564), Wien (19-10-1564), Milano (19-10-1564), Roma (21-10-1564)	Bartoli Cosimo	3079_090
MdP 3079, fol. 455r-v, 456r-v, 467r-v, 468r-v	Roma (07-10-1564), Pesaro (08-10-1564), Krakow (01-10-1564), Wien (06-10-1564), French Court (26-09-1564), Istanbul (13-09-1564)	Bartoli Cosimo	3079_091
MdP 3079, fol. 457r-v, 466r-v	Istanbul (16-12-1564), Bruxelles (31-12-1564), Wien (10-01-1565)	Bartoli Cosimo	3079_092
MdP 3079, fol. 458r-v, 459r-v, 464r-v, 465r-v	Wien (26-10-1564), Wien (28-10-1564), Messina (dd-10-1564), London (dd-10-1564), Roma (28-10-1564)	Bartoli Cosimo	3079_093
MdP 3079, fol. 460r-v, 463r-v	Roma (04-11-1564)	Bartoli Cosimo	3079_094

MdP 3079, fol. 461r-v, 462r-v	Roma (11-11-1564), Milano (09-11-1564), Istanbul (11-10-1564), Wien (09-11-1564), Ferrara (14-11-1564), Lyon (24-10-1564), Hyeres (30-10-1564), Cerigo (27-10-1564), Milano (15-11-1564)	Bartoli Cosimo	3079_095
MdP 3079, fol. 471r-v	Roma (18-11-1564), Wien (16-11-1564)	Bartoli Cosimo	3079_096
MdP 3079, fol. 473r-v, 474r-v	Roma (25-11-1564), Wien (23-11-1564), Wien (dd-11-1564), Milano (30-11-1564), Lyon (20-11-1564), Istanbul (28-10-1564)	Bartoli Cosimo	3079_098
MdP 3079, fol. 475r-v, 476r-v, 485r-v, 486r-v	Wien (08-12-1564), Krakow (30-11-1564), Milano (06-12-1564), Istanbul (16-11-1564), Roma (09-12-1564)	Bartoli Cosimo	3079_099
MdP 3079, fol. 477r-v, 484r-v	Wien (14-12-1564), Wien (15-12-1564), Roma (16-12-1564)	Bartoli Cosimo	3079_100
MdP 3079, fol. 478r-v, 479r-v, 482r-v, 483r-v	Roma (23-12-1564), Roma (23-12-1564), Genova (20-12-1564), Bruxelles (10-12-1564)	Bartoli Cosimo	3079_101
MdP 3079, fol. 480r-v, 481r-v	Roma (30-12-1564), Genova (24-12-1564), Wien (29-12-1564), Madrid (26-12-1564), Istanbul (03-12-1564)	Bartoli Cosimo	3079_102
MdP 3079, fol. 487r-v, 506r-v	Lyon (05-01-1566), Augsburg (12-01-1566)	Bartoli Cosimo	3079_103
MdP 3079, fol. 488r-v, 489r-v, 504r-v, 504r-v	Roma (12-01-1566), Augsburg (05-01-1566), Mantova (05-01-1566)	Bartoli Cosimo	3079_104
MdP 3079, fol. 490r-v, 491r-v, 502r-v, 503r-v	Roma (26-01-1566), Augsburg (26-01-1566)	Bartoli Curzio	3079_105
MdP 3079, fol. 492r-v, 501r-v	Roma (02-03-1566)	Bartoli Cosimo	3079_106
MdP 3079, fol. 493r-v, 494r-v, 499r-v, 500r-v	Roma (31-03-1565), Bruxelles (26-03-1565), Krakow (24-03-1565), Wien (28-03-1565), Wien (31-03-1565), Espana (14-03-1565)	Bartoli Cosimo	3079_107
MdP 3079, fol. 495r-v, 496r-v, 497r-v, 498r-v	Roma (07-04-1565), Genova (30-03-1565), Genova (30-03-1565), Piotrkow Tribunalski (21-03-1565), Wien (05-04-1565), Milano (05-04-1565)	Bartoli Cosimo	3079_108
MdP 3079, fol. 507r-v, 508r-v	Roma (21-04-1565), Wien (18-04-1565), Pesaro (21-04-1565)	Bartoli Cosimo	3079_109
MdP 3079, fol. 509r-v, 510r-v	Roma (14-04-1565), Wien (12-04-1565), Wien (12-04-1565), Pesaro (15-04-1565), Roma (15-04-1565), Istanbul (30-03-1565)	Bartoli Cosimo	3079_110
MdP 3079, fol. 511r-v, 512r-v	Wien (23-09-1563), Lyon (26-04-1563), Bruxelles (25-04-1563), Torino (04-05-1563), Innsbruck (04-05-1563), Roma (01-05-1562)	not identified	3079_111

MdP 3079, fol. 513r-v, 514r-v	Roma (28-04-1565), Wien (26-04-1565), Istanbul (07-04-1565), Lyon (15-04-1565)	Bartoli Cosimo	3079_112
MdP 3079, fol. 515r-v, 516r-v, 527r-v, 528r-v	Roma (05-05-1565), Wien (04-05-1565)	Bartoli Cosimo	3079_113
MdP 3079, fol. 517r-v, 518r-v, 519r-v, 526r-v	Genova (11-05-1565), Vercelli (13-05-1565), Milano (16-05-1565), Roma (19-05-1565), Istanbul (24-04-1565), Wien (18-05-1565)	Bartoli Cosimo	3079_114
MdP 3079, fol. 520r-v, 521r-v, 524r-v, 525r-v	Roma (12-05-1565), Pesaro (14-05-1565), Wien (11-05-1565), Bruxelles (06-05-1565)	Bartoli Cosimo	3079_115
MdP 3079, fol. 522r-v, 523r-v	Paris (13-05-1565), Roma (16-06-1565), Genova (08-06-1565), Wien (16-06-1565), Bruxelles (09-06-1565)	Bartoli Cosimo	3079_116
MdP 3079, fol. 529r-v, 542r-v	Ferrara (07-mm-yyyy), Wien (02-mm-yyyy), Savoie (dd-mm-yyyy)	Bartoli Cosimo	3079_117
MdP 3079, fol. 530r-v, 531r-v, 532r-v, 541r-v	Messina (26-05-1565), Roma (02-06-1565), Bordeaux (25-05-1564), Genova (28-05-1565), Wien (02-06-1565)	Bartoli Cosimo	3079_118
MdP 3079, fol. 533r-v, 540r-v, 539r-v, 540r-v	Roma (26-05-1565), Malta (14-05-1565)	Bartoli Cosimo	3079_119
MdP 3079, fol. 535r-v, 536r-v, 537r-v, 538r-v	Roma (09-06-1565), Messina (01-06-1565), Genova (01-06-1565), Wien (08-06-1565), Napoli (06-06-1565), Mantova (09-06-1565), Levant (dd-mm-1565), Krakow (26-05-1565)	Bartoli Cosimo	3079_120
MdP 3079, fol. 543r-v, 544r-v, 545r-v, 550r-v	Roma (23-06-1565), Messina (17-06-1565), Wien (22-06-1565), Wien (22-06-1565)	Bartoli Cosimo	3079_121
MdP 3079, fol. 546r-v, 547r-v, 548r-v, 549r-v	Mirandola (27-06-1565), Lyon (26-06-1565), Roma (30-06-1565), Genova (23-06-1565), Wien (29-06-1565), Wien (30-06-1565), Napoli (25-06-1565), Bruxelles (24-06-1565), Antwerpen (16-06-1565), Wien (dd-06-1565)	Bartoli Cosimo	3079_122
MdP 3079, fol. 551r-v, 552r-v, 577r-v, 578r-v	Roma (07-07-1565), Augsburg (07-07-1565), Messina (06-07-1565)	Bartoli Cosimo	3079_123
MdP 3079, fol. 553r-v, 576r-v	Roma (14-07-1565), Siracusa (dd-06-1565), Siracusa (03-07-1565)	Bartoli Cosimo	3079_124
MdP 3079, fol. 554r-v, 555r-v, 556r-v, 575r-v	Roma (21-07-1565), Genova (13-07-1565), Malta (dd-07-1565), Messina (19-07-1565), Wien (21-07-1565)	Bartoli Cosimo	3079_125
MdP 3079, fol. 557r-v, 574r-v	Wien (13-07-1565), Wien (14-07-1565), Lyon (07-07-1565)	Bartoli Cosimo	3079_126

MdP 3079, fol. 558r-v, 559r-v, 560r-v, 573r-v	Roma (28-07-1565), Genova (dd-07-1565), Messina (21-07-1565), Wien (28-07-1565), French Court (dd-07-1565), Istanbul (30-06-1565)	Bartoli Cosimo	3079_127
MdP 3079, fol. 561r-v, 562r-v, 571r-v, 572r-v	Roma (04-08-1565), Malta (20-07-1565), Malta (25-07-1565), Wien (04-08-1565), Wien (04-08-1565)	Bartoli Cosimo	3079_128
MdP 3079, fol. 563r-v, 564r-v, 569r-v, 570r-v	Roma (11-08-1565), Napoli (08-08-1565), Messina (05-08-1565), Wien (11-08-1565)	Bartoli Cosimo	3079_129
MdP 3079, fol. 566r-v, 567r-v	Roma (18-08-1565), Pesaro (20-08-1565), Istanbul (23-07-1565), Wien (18-08-1565)	Bartoli Cosimo	3079_131
MdP 3079, fol. 579r-v, 580r-v, 583r-v, 584r-v	Messina (20-08-1565), Siracusa (24-08-1565), Roma (01-09-1565), Wien (31-08-1565)	Bartoli Cosimo	3079_132
MdP 3079, fol. 581r-v, 582r-v	Napoli (18-09-1565), Birgu (13-09-1565), Roma (22-09-1565), Istanbul (29-08-1565), Roma (22-09-1565)	Bartoli Cosimo	3079_133
MdP 3079, fol. 585r-v, 586r-v, 591r-v, 592r-v	Wien (24-08-1565), Roma (25-08-1565), Messina (14-08-1565), Messina (15-08-1565), Napoli (dd-08-1565)	Bartoli Cosimo	3079_134
MdP 3079, fol. 587r-v, 588r-v, 589r-v, 590r-v	Roma (08-09-1565), Messina (dd-08-1565), Siracusa (25-08-1565), Capo Passero (25-08-1565), Capo Passero (26-08-1565), Malta (22-08-1565), Malta (22-08-1565), Malta (29-08-1565), Wien (09-09-1565)	Bartoli Cosimo	3079_135
MdP 3079, fol. 593r-v, 594r-v	Lyon (19-09-1565), Roma (06-10-1565), Napoli (04-10-1565), Ferrara (08-10-1565)	Bartoli Cosimo	3079_136
MdP 3079, fol. 595r-v, 596r-v	Roma (29-09-1565), Siracusa (19-09-1565), Wien (28-09-1565), Antwerpen (23-09-1565)	Bartoli Cosimo	3079_137
MdP 3079, fol. 587r-v, 598r-v	Roma (13-10-1565), Bruxelles (07-10-1565)	Bartoli Cosimo	3079_138
MdP 3079, fol. 599r-v, 600r-v, 605r-v, 606r-v	Roma (27-10-1565), Bruxelles (21-10-1565)	Bartoli Cosimo	3079_139
MdP 3079, fol. 601r-v, 602r-v, 603r-v, 604r-v	Roma (10-11-1565), Bruxelles (04-11-1565), Istanbul (08-10-1565)	Bartoli Cosimo	3079_140
MdP 3079, fol. 607r-v, 608r-v	Wien (17-11-1565), Istanbul (23-10-1565), Bruxelles (11-11-1563)	Bartoli Cosimo	3079_141
MdP 3079, fol. 609r-v, 612r-v	Wien (22-11-1565)	Bartoli Cosimo	3079_142
MdP 3079, fol. 610r-v, 611r-v	Roma (24-11-1565), Wien (22-11-1565)	Geri Paolo	3079_143

MdP 3079, fol. 613r-v, 614r-v	Wien (29-11-1565), Roma (08-12-1565)	Bartoli Cosimo	3079_144
MdP 3079, fol. 615r-v, 616r-v	Bruxelles (04-04-yyyy), Augsburg (09-04-yyyy), Augsburg (09-04-yyyy)	Bartoli Cosimo	3079_145
MdP 3079, fol. 617r-v, 618r-v	Bourg-en-Bresse (07-11-yyyy), Bruxelles (09-11-yyyy)	Bartoli Cosimo	3079_146
MdP 3079, fol. 622r-v, 633r-v	Wien (07-12-1565), Milano (30-11-1565)	Bartoli Cosimo	3079_150
MdP 3079, fol. 626r-v, 627r-v, 628r-v, 629r-v	Roma (04-01-1567), Wien (03-01-1567), Antwerpen (29-12-1566), Istanbul (23-11-1566)	Bartoli Curzio	3079_154
MdP 3079, fol. 637r-v, 638r-v, 639r-v, 640r-v	Roma (11-01-1567), Wien (09-01-1567), Bruxelles (05-01-1567)	Bartoli Curzio	3079_155
MdP 3079, fol. 641r-v, 642r-v, 643r-v, 644r-v	Roma (25-01-1567), Antwerpen (18-01-1567), Istanbul (12-12-1566), Wien (23-01-1567), Genova (25-01-1567), Wien (25-01-1567)	Bartoli Curzio	3079_156
MdP 3079, fol. 645r-v, 646r-v, 647r-v, 652r-v	Roma (29-01-1567), Istanbul (13-12-1566), Istanbul (21-12-1566)	Bartoli Curzio	3079_157
MdP 3079, fol. 648r-v, 651r-v, 649r-v, 650r-v	Pesaro (08-04-1566), Moulins (24-03-1566), Istanbul (14-03-1566), Augsburg (06-04-1566), Augsburg (13-04-1566)	Bartoli Curzio	3079_158
MdP 3079, fol. 653r-v, 654r-v, 655r-v, 656r-v	Roma (01-02-1567), Messina (15-01-1567), Bruxelles (29-01-1567), Milano (01-02-1567), Wien (30-01-1567), Istanbul (28-12-1566)	Bartoli Curzio	3079_159
MdP 3079, fol. 657r-v, 658r-v, 659r-v, 660r-v	Roma (08-02-1567), Genova (31-01-1567), Opava (03-02-1567), Wien (06-02-1567), Graz (05-02-1567), Antwerpen (01-02-1567)	Bartoli Curzio	3079_160
MdP 3079, fol. 661r-v, 664r-v	Roma (09-02-1566)	Bartoli Curzio	3079_161
MdP 3079, fol. 662r-v, 663r-v	Roma (15-02-1567), Opava (11-02-1567), Wien (14-02-1567), Antwerpen (08-02-1567)	Bartoli Curzio	3079_162
MdP 3079, fol. 665r-v, 666r-v, 667r-v, 668r-v, 669r-v, 670r-v	Roma (02-02-1566), Espana (07-01-1566), Espana (14-01-1566), Espana (17-01-1566), Augsburg (02-02-1566)	Bartoli Curzio	3079_163
MdP 3079, fol. 671r-v, 672r-v, 673r-v, 674r-v	Roma (22-02-1567), Genova (14-02-1567), Rimini (25-02-1567), Pesaro (23-02-1567), Napoli (15-02-1567), Kromeriz (17-02-1567), Wien (21-02-1567), Antwerpen (15-02-1567), Istanbul (13-01-1567)	Bartoli Curzio	3079_164
MdP 3079, fol. 675r-v, 676r-v, 677r-v, 678r-v	Roma (08-03-1567), Saluzzo (21-02-1567), Lyon (02-03-1567), Antwerpen (01-03-1567), Genova (08-03-1567), Wien (08-03-1567)	Bartoli Curzio	3079_165

MdP 3079, fol. 679r-v, 680r-v, 681r-v, 682r-v	Roma (22-03-1567), Praha (18-03-1567), Wien (20-03-1567), Antwerpen (15-03-1567), Roma (29-03-1567), Paris (11-03-1567), Torino (21-03-1567), Istanbul (10-03-1567)	Bartoli Curzio	3079_166
MdP 3079, fol. 683r-v, 684r-v, 685r-v, 686r-v, 687r-v, 692r-v	Roma (23-03-1566), Istanbul (27-02-1566), Augsburg (23-03-1566), Messina (24-03-1566)	Bartoli Curzio	3079_167
MdP 3079, fol. 688r-v, 689r-v, 690r-v, 691r-v	Roma (04-05-1566), Torino (01-05-1566), Istanbul (12-04-1566), Augsburg (04-05-1566)	Bartoli Curzio, Bartoli Cosimo	3079_168
MdP 3079, fol. 693r-v, 694r-v, 695r-v, 696r-v	Roma (30-03-1566), Augsburg (30-03-1566), Genova (22-03-1566)	Bartoli Curzio	3079_169
MdP 3079, fol. 697r-v, 698r-v	Roma (06-04-1566), Roma (13-04-1566)	Bartoli Curzio	3079_170
MdP 3079, fol. 699r-v, 700r-v, 701r-v, 702r-v, 703r-v	Roma (20-04-1566), Clermont-Ferrand (06-04-1566), Zakinthos (dd-04-1566), Bruxelles (07-04-1566)	Bartoli Curzio, Bartoli Cosimo	3079_171
MdP 3079, fol. 704r-v, 705r-v, 706r-v, 707r-v	Roma (27-04-1566), Mantova (30-04-1566), Istanbul (02-04-1566), Augsburg (27-04-1566)	Bartoli Curzio	3079_172
MdP 3079, fol. 708r-v, 709r-v, 710r-v, 711r-v	Roma (11-05-1566), Spanish Court (14-04-1566), Spanish Court (17-04-1566), Spanish Court (20-04-1566), London (22-04-1566), Genova (03-05-1566), Napoli (03-05-1566)	Bartoli Curzio	3079_173
MdP 3079, fol. 712r-v, 713r-v, 714r-v, 715r-v	Roma (18-05-1566), Istanbul (30-04-1566), Messina (03-05-1566), Capo d'Otranto (06-05-1566), Genova (10-05-1566)	Bartoli Curzio	3079_174
MdP 3079, fol. 716r-v, 717r-v, 718r-v, 719r-v	Roma (25-05-1566), Napoli (21-05-1566), Polska (14-05-1566), Kerkyra (dd-05-1566), Istanbul (29-04-1566), Augsburg (25-05-1566)	Bartoli Curzio	3079_175
MdP 3079, fol. 720r-v, 721r-v, 722r-v, 723r-v	Roma (01-06-1566), Genova (24-05-1566), Porto Ercole (26-05-1566), La Goletta (13-05-1566), Pesaro (03-06-1566)	Bartoli Curzio	3079_176
MdP 3079, fol. 724r-v, 725r-v, 726r-v, 727r-v	Roma (08-06-1566), Pesaro (10-06-1566), Istanbul (15-05-1566), Wien (07-06-1566), Augsburg (08-06-1566)	Bartoli Curzio	3079_177
MdP 3079, fol. 728r-v, 729r-v, 730r-v, 731r-v	Roma (15-06-1566), Bruxelles (09-06-1566), Wien (14-06-1566), Venezia (22-06-1566)	Bartoli Curzio	3079_178
MdP 3079, fol. 733r-v, 734r-v, 735r-v, 736r-v, 737r-v, 732r-v	Roma (22-06-1566), Messina (12-06-1566), Genova (14-06-1566), Wien (19-06-1566), Wien (20-06-1566)	Bartoli Curzio	3079_179

MdP 3079, fol. 738r-v, 739r-v, 740r-v, 741r-v, 742r-v, 743r-v	Roma (29-06-1566), Genova (21-06-1566), Lublin (20-06-1566), Wien (27-06-1566), Paris (29-06-1566), Lyon (21-06-1566)	Bartoli Curzio	3079_180
MdP 3079, fol. 744r-v, 745r-v, 746r-v, 747r-v, 748r-v, 749r-v	Roma (06-07-1566), Genova (28-06-1566), Messina (28-06-1566), Wien (04-07-1566), Dubrovnik (26-06-1566)	Bartoli Curzio	3079_181
MdP 3079, fol. 750r-v, 751r-v, 752r-v, 753r-v	Roma (13-07-1566), Genova (05-07-1566), Lyon (07-07-1566), Wien (11-07-1566), Neretva (03-07-1566), Istanbul (21-06-1566)	Bartoli Curzio	3079_182
MdP 3079, fol. 754r-v, 755r-v, 756r-v, 757r-v	Roma (27-07-1566), Wien (25-07-1566), Augsburg (27-07-1566), Flanders (21-07-1566)	Bartoli Curzio	3079_183
MdP 3079, fol. 758r-v, 759r-v, 760r-v, 761r-v	Roma (03-08-1566), Ancona (02-08-1566), Pesaro (05-08-1566), Wien (01-08-1566)	Bartoli Curzio, Bartoli Cosimo	3079_184
MdP 3079, fol. 762r-v, 763r-v	Roma (10-08-1566)	Bartoli Curzio, Bartoli Cosimo	3079_185
MdP 3079, fol. 764r-v, 765r-v, 766r-v, 767r-v	17-08-1566 (Roma), Genova (09-08-1566), Messina (01-08-1566), Atri (10-08-1566), Wien (15-08-1566), Lublin (01-08-1566), Graz (15-08-1566), Roma (17-08-1566)	Bartoli Curzio	3079_186
MdP 3079, fol. 768r-v, 769r-v, 770r-v, 771r-v	Roma (07-09-1566), Radkersburg (31-08-1566), Wien (06-09-1566)	Bartoli Curzio, Bartoli Cosimo	3079_187
MdP 3079, fol. 772r-v, 773r-v, 774r-v, 775r-v	Roma (21-09-1566), Magyarorszag (17-09-1566), Magyarorszag (17-09-1566), Wien (19-09-1566), Wien (17-09-1566), Istanbul (01-09-1566)	Bartoli Curzio, Bartoli Cosimo	3079_188
MdP 3079, fol. 777r-v, 778r-v, 779r-v, 780r-v	Roma (28-09-1566), Magyarorszag (23-09-1566), Magyarorszag (24-09-1566), Wien (26-09-1566)	Bartoli Curzio	3079_190
MdP 3079, fol. 782r-v, 783r-v, 784r-v, 785r-v	Roma (05-10-1566), Pesaro (08-10-1566), Zabar (01-10-1566), Magyarorszag (30-09-1566), Magyarorszag (01-10-1566), Wien (03-10-1566)	Bartoli Curzio, Bartoli Cosimo	3079_191
MdP 3079, fol. 786r-v, 787r-v, 788r-v, 789r-v	Roma (12-10-1566), Napoli (09-10-1566), Espana (26-09-1566), Wien (10-10-1566), Magyarorszag (08-10-1566)	Bartoli Curzio	3079_192
MdP 3079, fol. 790r-v, 791r-v, 796r-v, 797r-v	Roma (19-10-1566), Wien (17-10-1566), Magyarorszag (15-10-1566)	Bartoli Curzio	3079_193

MdP 3079, fol. 792r-v, 793r-v, 794r-v, 795r-v	Roma (26-10-1566), Magyarorszag (22-10-1566), Wien (24-10-1566)	Bartoli Curzio	3079_194
MdP 3079, fol. 798r-v, 799r-v	Roma (02-11-1566), Mantova (03-11-1566), Wien (30-10-1566)	Bartoli Curzio	3079_195
MdP 3079, fol. 800r-v, 801r-v, 802r-v, 803r-v	Roma (09-11-1566), Wien (07-11-1566)	Bartoli Curzio	3079_196
MdP 3079, fol. 804r-v, 805r-v, 806r-v, 807r-v	Roma (16-11-1566), Wien (14-11-1566)	Bartoli Curzio	3079_197
MdP 3079, fol. 808r-v, 809r-v, 810r-v, 811r-v	Roma (23-11-1566), Wien (21-11-1566), Antwerpen (16-11-1566), Lisboa (18-10-1566), Spanish Court (31-10-1566), Milano (27-11-1566)	Bartoli Curzio	3079_198
MdP 3079, fol. 812r-v, 813r-v, 824r-v, 825r-v	Roma (30-11-1566), Istanbul (03-11-1566), Istanbul (03-11-1566), Wien (28-11-1566)	Bartoli Curzio	3079_199
MdP 3079, fol. 814r-v, 823r-v	Istanbul (26-10-1566)	Bartoli Curzio	3079_200
MdP 3079, fol. 815r-v, 816r-v, 821r-v, 822r-v	Roma (07-12-1566), Wien (05-12-1566)	Bartoli Curzio	3079_201
MdP 3079, fol. 817r-v, 818r-v, 819r-v, 820r-v	Roma (21-12-1566), Napoli (13-12-1566), Antwerpen (14-12-1566), Wien (19-12-1566), Istanbul (16-11-1566)	Bartoli Curzio	3079_202
MdP 3079, fol. 826r-v, 827r-v, 828r-v, 829r-v	Roma (27-12-1566), Wien (26-12-1566), Genova (24-12-1566)	Bartoli Curzio, Bartoli Cosimo	3079_203
MdP 3080, fol. 1r-v, 2r-v, 3r-v, 4r-v	Roma (03-01-1568), Torino (29-12-1567), Wien (01-01-1568), Bruxelles (28-12-1567), Paris (26-12-1567)	Bartoli Curzio	3080_001
MdP 3080, fol. 5r-v, 6r-v, 7r-v, 8r-v, 9r-v, 14r-v	Roma (10-01-1568), Wien (09-01-1568), Langres (26-12-1567), Bruxelles (04-01-1568), Paris (03-01-1568), Al-Iskandariyah (03-12-1567)	Bartoli Curzio	3080_002
MdP 3080, fol. 10r-v, 11r-v, 12r-v, 13r-v	Roma (17-01-1568), Pesaro (19-01-1568), Bruxelles (11-01-1568), Wien (15-01-1568), Lyon (13-01-1568), Saint-Dizier (09-01-1568)	Bartoli Curzio	3080_003
MdP 3080, fol. 15r-v, 16r-v, 17r-v, 22r-v	Roma (24-01-1568), Wien (22-01-1568), Bruxelles (20-01-1568)	Bartoli Curzio	3080_004
MdP 3080, fol. 18r-v, 19r-v, 20r-v, 21r-v, 23r-v, 27r-v	Roma (07-02-1568), Wien (05-02-1568), Bruxelles (31-01-1568), Istanbul (03-01-1568), Edirne (14-01-1568)	Bartoli Curzio, Bartoli Cosimo	3080_005

MdP 3080, fol. 24r-v, 25r-v, 26r-v, 27r-v	Roma (13-02-1568), Bruxelles (08-02-1568), London (02-02-1568), Wien (12-02-1568), Ferrara (20-02-1568)	Bartoli Curzio	3080_006
MdP 3080, fol. 29r-v, 30r-v, 31r-v, 32r-v	Roma (28-02-1568), Wien (26-02-1568), Bruxelles (22-02-1568), Milano (03-03-1568), Madrid (27-01-1568), Lyon (20-02-1568)	Bartoli Curzio	3080_007
MdP 3080, fol. 33r-v, 34r-v, 35r-v, 36r-v	Roma (21-02-1568), Wien (19-02-1568), Lyon (14-02-1568), Bruxelles (15-02-1568), Mantova (26-02-1568), Wien (dd-02-1568)	Bartoli Curzio, Bartoli Cosimo	3080_008
MdP 3080, fol. 37r-v, 38r-v, 39r-v, 40r-v	Roma (31-01-1568), France (12-01-1568), Lyon (20-02-1568), Bruxelles (24-01-1568), Wien (29-01-1568)	Bartoli Curzio	3080_009
MdP 3080, fol. 41r-v, 42r-v, 43r-v, 44r-v	Roma (06-03-1568), Wien (04-03-1568), Bruxelles (01-03-1568), Edirne (11-02-1568)	Bartoli Curzio, Bartoli Cosimo	3080_010
MdP 3080, fol. 45r-v, 46r-v, 51r-v, 52r-v	Wien (27-03-1567), Antwerpen (22-03-1567)	Bartoli Curzio	3080_011
MdP 3080, fol. 47r-v, 48r-v, 49r-v, 50r-v	Roma (05-04-1567), Antwerpen (29-03-1567), Bruxelles (28-03-1567), Wien (03-04-1567), Praha (29-03-1567), Lyon (01-04-1567)	Bartoli Curzio	3080_012
MdP 3080, fol. 55r-v, 56r-v, 57r-v, 58r-v, 54r-v, 59r-v	Praha (07-04-1567), Roma (12-04-1567), Wien (10-04-1567), Piotrkow Tribunalski (26-03-1567), Bruxelles (06-04-1567), Flanders (05-04-1567), Augsburg (12-04-1567), Trieste (12-04-1567)	Bartoli Curzio	3080_014
MdP 3080, fol. 61r-v, 62r-v, 63r-v, 68r-v	Roma (26-04-1567), Genova (18-04-1567), Wien (24-04-1567), Piotrkow Tribunalski (14-04-1567)	Bartoli Curzio	3080_015
MdP 3080, fol. 64r-v, 65r-v, 66r-v, 67r-v	Roma (10-05-1567), Madrid (18-04-1567), Toulouse (15-04-1567), Lyon (28-04-1567), Lyon (29-04-1567), Wien (08-05-1567), Piotrkow Tribunalski (29-04-1567), Kosice (01-05-1567)	Bartoli Curzio	3080_016
MdP 3080, fol. 69r-v, 70r-v, 71r-v, 72r-v, 73r-v, 74r-v, 75r-v	Roma (17-05-1567), Antwerpen (04-05-1567), Wien (15-05-1567), Wien (16-05-1567), Piotrkow Tribunalski (03-05-1567), France (23-04-1567), London (26-04-1567), London (04-05-1567)	Bartoli Curzio, Bartoli Cosimo	3080_017
MdP 3080, fol. 77r-v, 78r-v, 79r-v, 80r-v, 81r-v, 76r-v	Roma (24-05-1567), Madrid (05-05-1567), Genova (17-05-1567), Mantova (22-05-1567), Wien (22-05-1567), Krakow (14-05-1567), Piotrkow Tribunalski (14-05-1567), Wien (24-05-1567), London (10-05-1567), Antwerpen (23-05-1567)	Bartoli Curzio	3080_018

MdP 3080, fol. 82r-v, 83r-v, 84r-v, 85r-v	Roma (31-05-1567), Genova (26-05-1567), Madrid (16-04-1567), Lyon (18-05-1567), Wien (29-05-1567), Piotrkow Tribunalski (23-05-1567), Torino (27-05-1567), London (17-05-1567), Antwerpen (25-05-1567)	Bartoli Curzio, Bartoli Cosimo	3080_019
MdP 3080, fol. 86r-v, 91r-v	Antwerpen (17-05-1567)	Bartoli Curzio	3080_020
MdP 3080, fol. 87r-v, 88r-v, 89r-v, 90r-v	Roma (14-06-1567), Napoli (08-06-1567), Wien (12-06-1567), London (31-05-1567), Antwerpen (08-06-1567), Lyon (dd-06-1567)	Bartoli Curzio, Bartoli Cosimo	3080_021
MdP 3080, fol. 92r-v, 93r-v, 94r-v, 95r-v	Roma (07-06-1567), Wien (05-06-1567), London (24-05-1567), Antwerpen (01-06-1567)	Bartoli Curzio	3080_022
MdP 3080, fol. 96r-v, 97r-v, 98r-v, 99r-v	Roma (22-06-1567), Rimini (23-06-1567), Genova (17-06-1567), Torino (12-06-1567), Wien (19-06-1567), Madrid (31-05-1567), Antwerpen (15-06-1567), London (07-06-1567)	Bartoli Curzio	3080_023
MdP 3080, fol. 100r-v, 101r-v, 102r-v, 103r-v	Roma (18-06-1567), Messina (10-06-1567), Madrid (08-06-1567), Torino (17-06-1567), Lyon (13-06-1567), Wien (27-10-1567)	Bartoli Curzio	3080_024
MdP 3080, fol. 104r-v, 105r-v, 106r-v, 107r-v	Roma (05-07-1567), Malta (16-06-1567), Torino (26-06-1567), Bratislava (02-07-1567), London (21-06-1567)	Bartoli Curzio	3080_025
MdP 3080, fol. 108r-v, 109r-v, 110r-v, 111r-v	Roma (12-07-1567), Messina (24-06-1567), Torino (08-07-1567), Milano (dd-07-1567), Bratislava (09-07-1567), Wien (10-07-1567), Antwerpen (06-07-1567), London (28-06-1567)	Bartoli Curzio	3080_026
MdP 3080, fol. 122r-v, 112r-v, 113r-v, 127r-v	Messina (17-07-1567), Wien (31-07-1567), Antwerpen (26-07-1567), Roma (02-08-1567), Pesaro (03-08-1567)	Bartoli Curzio	3080_027
MdP 3080, fol. 114r-v, 115r-v, 120r-v, 121r-v	Roma (19-07-1567), Rimini (22-07-1567), Wien (18-07-1567), London (05-07-1567)	Bartoli Curzio, Bartoli Cosimo	3080_028
MdP 3080, fol. 116r-v, 117r-v, 118r-v, 119r-v	Roma (26-07-1567), Barcelona (29-07-1567), Lauria (15-07-1567), Lezhe (28-06-1567), Wien (24-07-1567), Bruxelles (20-07-1567)	Bartoli Curzio	3080_029
MdP 3080, fol. 123r-v, 124r-v, 125r-v, 126r-v	Roma (09-08-1567), Madrid (17-06-1567), Pesaro (11-08-1567), Wien (07-08-1567), Bruxelles (03-08-1567)	Bartoli Curzio, Bartoli Cosimo	3080_030
MdP 3080, fol. 128r-v, 129r-v, 130r-v, 131r-v	Roma (16-08-1567), Wien (14-08-1567), Lietuva (dd-mm-1567), Genova (14-08-1567)	Bartoli Curzio, Bartoli Cosimo	3080_031

MdP 3080, fol. 132r-v, 133r-v, 134r-v, 135r-v	Roma (23-08-1567), Wien (21-08-1567), Krakow (06-08-1567), Bruxelles (10-08-1567)	Bartoli Curzio, Bartoli Cosimo	3080_032
MdP 3080, fol. 137r-v, 138r-v, 139r-v, 140r-v, 141r-v, 136r-v	Napoli (23-08-1567), Bruxelles (17-10-1567), London (08-08-1567), Wien (28-08-1567), Bruxelles (24-08-1567), Krakow (24-08-1567)	Bartoli Curzio, Bartoli Cosimo	3080_033
MdP 3080, fol. 142r-v, 143r-v, 144r-v, 145r-v	Roma (07-09-1567), Wien (05-09-1567), Krakow (28-08-1567), Bruxelles (31-08-1567)	Bartoli Curzio, Bartoli Cosimo	3080_034
MdP 3080, fol. 146r-v, 147r-v, 148r-v, 149r-v	Roma (13-09-1567), Annecy (01-09-1567), Pesaro (15-09-1567), Wien (12-09-1567), Bruxelles (07-09-1567)	Bartoli Curzio	3080_035
MdP 3080, fol. 150r-v, 151r-v, 152r-v, 153r-v	Roma (20-09-1567), Wien (18-09-1567), Bruxelles (dd-09-1567)	Bartoli Curzio, Bartoli Cosimo	3080_036
MdP 3080, fol. 154r-v, 155r-v, 156r-v, 157r-v, 169r-v, 176r-v	Bruxelles (21-09-1567), Roma (04-10-1567), Wien (02-10-1567), Lyon (28-09-1567)	Bartoli Curzio	3080_037
MdP 3080, fol. 158r-v, 159r-v, 160r-v, 161r-v	Roma (27-09-1567), Wien (25-09-1567)	Bartoli Curzio	3080_038
MdP 3080, fol. 164r-v, 165r-v, 166r-v, 167r-v, 168r-v, 177r-v	Bruxelles (28-09-1567), Mantova (12-10-1567), Roma (11-10-1567), Wien (03-10-1567)	Bartoli Curzio	3080_039
MdP 3080, fol. 171r-v, 172r-v, 173r-v, 174r-v, 175r-v, 170r-v	Paris (07-10-1567), Lyon (28-10-1567), Lyon (31-10-1567), Roma (08-11-1567), Pesaro (11-11-1567), Wien (07-11-1567), Bruxelles (02-11-1567), London (25-10-1567)	Bartoli Curzio	3080_040
MdP 3080, fol. 178r-v, 179r-v	Torino (10-10-1567), Paris (08-10-1567), Bruxelles (12-10-1567), Wien (16-10-1567)	Bartoli Curzio	3080_041
MdP 3080, fol. 181r-v, 183r-v, 184r-v, 182r-v, 185r-v, 180r-v	Roma (15-11-1567), Bruxelles (09-11-1567), Paris (29-10-1567), Malta (13-09-1567), Parma (26-09-1567)	Bartoli Curzio	3080_042
MdP 3080, fol. 186r-v, 197r-v	Wien (16-10-1567), Lyon (14-10-1567)	Bartoli Curzio	3080_043
MdP 3080, fol. 187r-v, 188r-v, 195r-v, 196r-v	Roma (18-10-1567), Roma (dd-10-1567)	Bartoli Cosimo	3080_044
MdP 3080, fol. 189r-v, 194r-v	Bruxelles (05-10-1567)	Bartoli Curzio	3080_045
MdP 3080, fol. 190r-v, 191r-v, 192r-v, 193r-v	Roma (25-10-1567), Ferrara (25-10-1567), Madrid (05-10-1567), Genova (07-10-1567), Wien (23-10-1567)	Bartoli Curzio	3080_046

MdP 3080, fol. 198r-v, 199r-v, 200r-v, 201r-v	Roma (01-11-1567), Mantova (02-11-1567), Wien (30-10-1567), Bruxelles (27-10-1567)	Bartoli Curzio	3080_047
MdP 3080, fol. 202r-v, 207r-v	Savoie (22-11-1567)	Bartoli Cosimo	3080_048
MdP 3080, fol. 203r-v, 204r-v, 205r-v, 206r-v	Roma (22-11-1567), Wien (20-11-1567), Bruxelles (16-11-1567)	Bartoli Curzio	3080_049
MdP 3080, fol. 208r-v, 209r-v, 210r-v, 211r-v	Roma (29-11-1567), Wien (28-11-1567), Lyon (23-11-1567), Lyon (24-11-1567), Lyon (24-11-1567), Bruxelles (23-11-1567), Espana (29-11-1567)	Bartoli Curzio	3080_050
MdP 3080, fol. 212r-v, 213r-v, 214r-v, 215r-v	Roma (13-12-1567), Wien (12-12-1567), Wien (12-12-1567), Krakow (05-12-1567), Bruxelles (07-12-1567), Lyon (06-12-1567)	Bartoli Curzio	3080_051
MdP 3080, fol. 216r-v, 217r-v, 218r-v, 219r-v	Roma (06-12-1567), Wien (04-12-1567), Krakow (30-11-1567), Bruxelles (30-11-1567), Mantova (12-12-1567)	Bartoli Curzio	3080_052
MdP 3080, fol. 220r-v, 221r-v, 222r-v, 223r-v	Roma (20-12-1567), Wien (18-12-1567), Bruxelles (14-12-1567), London (06-12-1567), Mantova (27-12-1567)	Bartoli Curzio	3080_053
MdP 3080, fol. 225r-v, 226r-v, 227r-v, 228r-v, 229r-v, 224r-v	Roma (27-12-1567), Wien (25-12-1567), Bruxelles (21-12-1567), Paris (16-12-1567), Lyon (21-12-1567), Rimini (30-12-1567), Paris (13-12-1567)	Bartoli Curzio	3080_054
MdP 3080, fol. 230r-v, 235r-v	Venezia (dd-mm-yyy)	not identified	3080_055
MdP 3080, fol. 231r-v, 232r-v, 233r-v, 234r-v	Roma (01-01-1569), Madrid (15-12-1568), Wien (30-12-1568), Bruxelles (26-12-1568), Lyon (28-12-1568)	Bartoli Curzio	3080_056
MdP 3080, fol. 236r-v, 237r-v, 242r-v, 243r-v	Roma (08-01-1569), Wien (06-01-1569)	Bartoli Curzio	3080_057
MdP 3080, fol. 238r-v, 239r-v, 240r-v, 241r-v	Roma (15-01-1569), Antwerpen (01-01-1569), Wien (13-01-1569)	Bartoli Curzio	3080_058
MdP 3080, fol. 244r-v, 245r-v, 246r-v, 247r-v	Roma (22-01-1569), Antwerpen (08-01-1569), Lyon (15-01-1569), Wien (20-01-1569), Antwerpen (15-01-1569)	Bartoli Curzio	3080_059
MdP 3080, fol. 248r-v, 249r-v, 254r-v, 255r-v	Roma (29-01-1569), Wien (27-01-1569), Lyon (28-01-1569), Bruxelles (24-01-1569)	Bartoli Curzio	3080_060
MdP 3080, fol. 250r-v, 251r-v, 252r-v, 253r-v	Roma (05-02-1569), Wien (04-02-1569), Antwerpen (29-01-1569)	Bartoli Curzio, Bartoli Cosimo	3080_061

MdP 3080, fol. 256r-v, 257r-v, 258r-v, 259r-v	Roma (12-02-1569), Wien (10-02-1569), Antwerpen (05-02-1569), Lyon (11-02-1569)	Bartoli Curzio, Bartoli Cosimo	3080_062
MdP 3080, fol. 260r-v, 261r-v, 262r-v, 263r-v	Antwerpen (12-02-1569), Bruxelles (15-02-1569), Augsburg (dd-02-1569), Wien (23-02-1569), Antwerpen (20-02-1569), Lyon (25-02-1569), Genova (26-02-1569)	Bartoli Curzio, Bartoli Cosimo	3080_063
MdP 3080, fol. 264r-v, 265r-v, 270r-v, 271r-v	Roma (19-02-1569), Wien (17-02-1569), Roma (23-02-1569)	Bartoli Curzio	3080_064
MdP 3080, fol. 266r-v, 267r-v, 268r-v, 269r-v	Roma (12-03-1569), Rimini (14-03-1569), Cesenatico (14-03-1569), Kerkyra (21-02-1569), Wien (10-03-1569), Madrid (21-02-1569), Roma (16-03-1569), Lyon (10-03-1569), Lyon (11-03-1569)	Bartoli Curzio, Bartoli Cosimo	3080_065
MdP 3080, fol. 272r-v, 273r-v, 274r-v, 275r-v	Roma (13-03-1569), Wien (11-03-1569), Bruxelles (07-03-1569), Mantova (21-03-1569)	Bartoli Curzio	3080_066
MdP 3080, fol. 276r-v, 277r-v, 278r-v, 279r-v	Roma (19-03-1569), Wien (17-03-1569), Lyon (15-03-1569), Antwerpen (12-03-1569), Bruxelles (13-03-1569)	Bartoli Curzio, Bartoli Cosimo	3080_067
MdP 3080, fol. 280r-v, 281r-v, 290r-v, 291r-v	Roma (20-03-1569), Wien (18-03-1569), Bruxelles (14-03-1569)	Bartoli Curzio	3080_068
MdP 3080, fol. 282r-v, 283r-v, 288r-v, 289r-v	Antwerpen (14-03-1569), Savoie (20-03-1569)	Bartoli Curzio, Bartoli Cosimo	3080_069
MdP 3080, fol. 292r-v, 293r-v, 294r-v, 295r-v	Roma (27-03-1568), Wien (25-03-1568), Bruxelles (21-03-1568), London (08-03-1568), London (17-03-1568), Mantova (27-03-1568)	Bartoli Curzio	3080_071
MdP 3080, fol. 296r-v, 297r-v, 298r-v, 299r-v	Roma (03-04-1568), Spanish Court (06-03-1568), Wien (01-04-1568), Bruxelles (28-03-1568)	Bartoli Curzio	3080_072
MdP 3080, fol. 300r-v, 301r-v, 304r-v, 305r-v	Genova (06-04-1568), Rimini (20-04-1568), Wien (15-04-1568)	Bartoli Curzio, Bartoli Cosimo	3080_073
MdP 3080, fol. 302r-v, 303r-v	Gazzuolo (17-04-1568), London (03-04-1568)	Bartoli Curzio	3080_074
MdP 3080, fol. 306r-v, 307r-v, 308r-v, 309r-v	Roma (10-04-1568), Bruxelles (04-04-1568), Lyon (05-04-1568), Roma (17-04-1568)	Bartoli Curzio	3080_075
MdP 3080, fol. 310r-v, 311r-v	Roma (23-04-1568), Wien (21-04-1568), Antwerpen (10-04-1568)	Bartoli Curzio	3080_076
MdP 3080, fol. 312r-v, 321r-v	London (05-04-1568)	Bartoli Curzio	3080_077

MdP 3080, fol. 316r-v, 317r-v, 318r-v, 319r-v, 320r-v	Roma (15-05-1568), Wien (13-05-1568)	Bartoli Curzio	3080_079
MdP 3080, fol. 322r-v, 323r-v, 324r-v, 325r-v	Roma (08-05-1568), Rimini (11-05-1568), Wien (06-05-1568)	Bartoli Curzio	3080_080
MdP 3080, fol. 326r-v, 327r-v, 328r-v, 329r-v	Roma (05-06-1568), Wien (03-06-1568)	Bartoli Curzio	3080_081
MdP 3080, fol. 330r-v, 331r-v, 332r-v, 333r-v, 334r-v, 335r-v	Bruxelles (06-06-1568), Roma (19-06-1568), Wien (17-06-1568)	Bartoli Curzio	3080_082
MdP 3080, fol. 336r-v, 337r-v, 338r-v, 339r-v	Roma (12-06-1568), Kerkyra (29-05-1568), Wien (10-06-1568)	Bartoli Curzio	3080_083
MdP 3080, fol. 340r-v, 345r-v	Augsburg (10-06-1568), Augsburg (11-06-1568)	Bartoli Curzio	3080_084
MdP 3080, fol. 341r-v, 342r-v, 343r-v, 344r-v	Lyon (13-06-1568), Roma (26-06-1568), Wien (25-06-1568)	Bartoli Curzio	3080_085
MdP 3080, fol. 346r-v, 347r-v, 348r-v, 349r-v, 350r-v, 351r-v	Antwerpen (19-06-1568), Roma (03-07-1568), Wien (01-07-1568)	Bartoli Curzio	3080_086
MdP 3080, fol. 352r-v, 353r-v	Bruxelles (20-06-1568), Genova (26-06-1568), Milano (30-06-1568)	Bartoli Curzio	3080_087
MdP 3080, fol. 354r-v, 355r-v	London (22-06-1568), Wien (15-07-1568), Krakow (12-07-1568)	Bartoli Curzio	3080_088
MdP 3080, fol. 356r-v, 357r-v, 358r-v, 359r-v	Roma (10-07-1568), Wien (08-07-1568)	Bartoli Curzio	3080_089
MdP 3080, fol. 360r-v, 361r-v, 362r-v, 363r-v	Roma (17-07-1568), Gruminghen (30-07-1568), Antwerpen (05-07-1568)	Bartoli Curzio	3080_090
MdP 3080, fol. 364r-v, 365r-v, 366r-v, 367r-v, 368r-v, 369r-v	Antwerpen (17-07-1568), Antwerpen (20-07-1568), Paris (15-07-1568), Lyon (21-07-1568), Roma (31-07-1568), Wien (29-07-1568), Krakow (24-07-1568), Grodkow (13-07-1568)	Bartoli Curzio	3080_091
MdP 3080, fol. 370r-v, 371r-v, 372r-v, 373r-v, 374r-v, 375r-v	Roma (24-07-1568), Antwerpen (10-07-1568), Deventer (dd-07-1568), London (02-07-1568), Wien (23-07-1568)	Bartoli Curzio	3080_092
MdP 3080, fol. 378r-v, 379r-v, 380r-v, 381r-v	Roma (07-08-1568), Unknown (30-07-1568), Unknown (01-08-1568), Genova (05-08-1568), Mantova (07-08-1568), Wien (05-08-1568)	Bartoli Curzio	3080_094

MdP 3080, fol. 384r-v, 385r-v, 386r-v, 387r-v	Napoli (05-08-1568), Napoli (06-08-1568), Roma (11-08-1568), Roma (14-08-1568), Wien (12-08-1568), London (24-07-1568)	Bartoli Curzio	3080_095
MdP 3080, fol. 388r-v, 393r-v	Antwerpen (07-08-1568)	Bartoli Curzio	3080_096
MdP 3080, fol. 389r-v, 390r-v, 391r-v, 392r-v, 394r-v, 395r-v, 400r-v, 401r-v	Utrecht (12-08-1568), s Hertogenbosch (16-08-1568), Antwerpen (14-08-1568), Madrid (27-07-1568), Avignon (15-08-1568), Paris (09-08-1568), Lyon (17-08-1568), Torino (18-08-1568), Genova (20-08-1568), Roma (28-08-1568), Wien (26-08-1568)	Bartoli Curzio	3080_097
MdP 3080, fol. 396r-v, 397r-v, 398r-v, 399r-v	Roma (21-08-1568), Napoli (14-08-1568), Wien (19-08-1568)	Bartoli Curzio	3080_098
MdP 3080, fol. 402r-v, 403r-v, 404r-v, 405r-v, 406r-v, 407r-v	Antwerpen (21-08-1568), Antwerpen (21-08-1568), Paris (19-08-1568), Torino (24-08-1568), Avignon (24-08-1568), Roma (04-09-1568), Pesaro (06-08-1568), Wien (02-09-1568)	Bartoli Curzio	3080_099
MdP 3080, fol. 408r-v, 409r-v, 410r-v, 411r-v, 412r-v, 419r-v	Antwerpen (28-08-1568), London (21-08-1568), Paris (29-08-1568), Torino (02-09-1568), Roma (11-09-1568), Wien (09-09-1568)	Bartoli Curzio	3080_100
MdP 3080, fol. 413r-v, 414r-v, 415r-v, 416r-v, 417r-v, 418r-v	Bilzen (18-09-1568), Roma (25-09-1568), Lyon (13-09-1568), Wien (23-09-1568), Paris (07-09-1568), Toulouse (10-09-1568), Lyon (13-09-1568), Frankfurt am Mein (19-09-1568)	Bartoli Curzio, Bartoli Cosimo	3080_101
MdP 3080, fol. 420r-v, 421r-v, 422r-v, 423r-v, 424r-v, 431r-v	Roma (13-09-1568), Lyon (12-09-1568), French Court (04-09-1568), London (28-08-1568), Wien (18-09-1568)	Bartoli Curzio	3080_102
MdP 3080, fol. 426r-v, 427r-v, 428r-v, 429r-v, 430r-v, 425r-v	Meuse (02-10-1568), Antwerpen (03-10-1568), Lyon (01-10-1568), Paris (03-10-1568), Roma (16-10-1568), London (25-09-1568), Wien (14-09-1568)	Bartoli Curzio	3080_103
MdP 3080, fol. 440r-v, 441r-v, 442r-v, 443r-v	Antwerpen (21-10-1568), Roma (30-10-1568), Lyon (24-10-1568), London (02-10-1568)	Bartoli Curzio	3080_105
MdP 3080, fol. 444r-v, 445r-v, 446r-v, 447r-v, 448r-v, 453r-v	Meuse (15-10-1568), Milano (21-10-1568), Paris (07-10-1568), Roma (23-10-1568), Wien (21-10-1568)	Bartoli Curzio	3080_106
MdP 3080, fol. 449r-v, 452r-v	Paris (18-10-1568)	Bartoli Curzio	3080_107
MdP 3080, fol. 456r-v, 470r-v	Milano (28-10-1568), Savoie (24-10-1568)	Bartoli Curzio	3080_110

MdP 3080, fol. 458r-v, 459r-v, 467r-v, 468r-v	Antwerpen (06-11-1568), Roma (20-11-1568), Wien (19-11-1568), Roma (20-11-1568)	Bartoli Curzio, Bartoli Cosimo	3080_112
MdP 3080, fol. 460r-v, 461r-v, 465r-v, 466r-v	Roma (06-11-1568), Kerkyra (17-10-1568), Wien (05-11-1568), London (13-10-1568)	Bartoli Curzio	3080_113
MdP 3080, fol. 462r-v	Antwerpen (14-11-1568)	Bartoli Cosimo	3080_114
MdP 3080, fol. 463r-v, 464r-v	Basel (13-11-1568), Lyon (18-11-1568), Lyon (21-11-1568)	Bartoli Curzio	3080_115
MdP 3080, fol. 474r-v, 475r-v	Cateau Cambresis (25-11-1568), London (15-11-1568), Wien (02-12-1568), Roma (04-12-1568)	Bartoli Cosimo	3080_117
MdP 3080, fol. 476r-v, 477r-v	Roma (27-11-1568), Wien (25-11-1568), Lyon (25-11-1568)	Bartoli Cosimo	3080_118
MdP 3080, fol. 478r-v, 483r-v	Cateau Cambresis (27-11-1568)	Bartoli Cosimo	3080_119
MdP 3080, fol. 479r-v, 480r-v, 481r-v, 482r-v	Roma (12-12-1568), Lyon (07-12-1568), Wien (09-12-1568), Lyon (08-12-1568)	Bartoli Curzio	3080_120
MdP 3080, fol. 484r-v, 485r-v, 490r-v, 491r-v	Roma (18-12-1568)	Bartoli Curzio	3080_121
MdP 3080, fol. 486r-v, 487r-v, 488r-v, 489r-v	Roma (25-12-1568), Wien (23-12-1568), Antwerpen (12-12-1568), London (27-11-1568), Lyon (22-12-1568), Antwerpen (18-12-1568)	Bartoli Curzio	3080_122
MdP 3080, fol. 492r-v, 493r-v, 494r-v, 495r-v	Roma (07-01-1570), Lecce (21-12-1569), Augsburg (07-01-1570)	Bartoli Curzio	3080_123
MdP 3080, fol. 496r-v, 497r-v, 498r-v, 499r-v	Roma (21-01-1570), Lyon (10-01-1570), Bruxelles (07-01-1570), Praha (18-01-1570)	Bartoli Curzio	3080_124
MdP 3080, fol. 500r-v, 501r-v, 502r-v, 503r-v	Roma (28-01-1570), La Goletta (08-01-1570), Praha (25-01-1570), Lyon (16-01-1570), Lyon (17-01-1570), Dijon (10-01-1570)	Bartoli Curzio, Bartoli Cosimo	3080_125
MdP 3080, fol. 504r-v, 511r-v	Bratislava (28-01-1570), Praha (08-02-1570)	Bartoli Cosimo	3080_126
MdP 3080, fol. 512r-v, 517r-v	Antwerpen (11-02-1570), Praha (15-02-1570)	Bartoli Curzio	3080_127
MdP 3080, fol. 513r-v, 514r-v, 515r-v, 516r-v	Roma (11-02-1570), Lyon (02-02-1570), Bratislava (28-01-1570), Praha (08-02-1570), Paris (20-01-1570), Lyon (20-01-1570), Roma (15-02-1570)	Bartoli Curzio	3080_128
MdP 3080, fol. 518r-v, 519r-v, 530r-v, 531r-v	Roma (25-02-1570), Praha (22-02-1570)	Bartoli Curzio	3080_129

MdP 3080, fol. 520r-v, 521r-v, 528r-v, 529r-v	Roma (11-03-1570), Praha (08-03-1570), Kotor (06-03-1570), Flanders (26-02-1570)	Bartoli Curzio	3080_130
MdP 3080, fol. 522r-v, 523r-v, 524r-v, 525r-v, 526r-v, 527r-v	Roma (02-04-1569), Roma (09-04-1569), Madrid (09-03-1569), Urbino (11-04-1569), Wien (31-03-1569), Wien (07-04-1569)	Bartoli Curzio	3080_131
MdP 3080, fol. 532r-v, 533r-v, 534r-v, 535r-v	Roma (16-04-1569), Antwerpen (03-04-1569), Metz (28-03-1569), Lyon (09-04-1569), Wien (14-04-1569), Torino (13-04-1569)	Bartoli Curzio	3080_132
MdP 3080, fol. 536r-v, 537r-v, 548r-v, 549r-v	Lyon (22-04-1569), Antwerpen (16-04-1569), Roma (30-04-1569), Avignon (26-04-1569), Roma (dd-04-1569), Bruxelles (17-04-1569), Pesaro (02-05-1569), Wien (28-04-1569), Wien (28-04-1569)	Bartoli Cosimo	3080_133
MdP 3080, fol. 538r-v, 539r-v, 540r-v, 545r-v, 546r-v, 547r-v	Antwerpen (23-04-1569), Milano (05-05-1569), Wien (05-05-1569), Milano (05-05-1569), Roma (07-05-1569), Verdun (20-04-1569), Bruxelles (24-04-1569)	Bartoli Cosimo	3080_134
MdP 3080, fol. 541r-v, 542r-v, 543r-v, 544r-v	Roma (13-04-1569), Milano (21-04-1569), Antwerpen (09-04-1569), Wien (19-04-1569), Lyon (12-04-1569), Lyon (16-04-1569)	Bartoli Curzio	3080_135
MdP 3080, fol. 550r-v, 551r-v, 552r-v, 553r-v	Bruxelles (01-05-1569), Lyon (05-05-1569), Roma (14-05-1569), Toulouse (28-04-1569), Wien (12-05-1569)	Bartoli Cosimo	3080_136
MdP 3080, fol. 554r-v, 557r-v	Bruxelles (16-05-1569), Torino (20-05-1569)	Bartoli Cosimo	3080_137
MdP 3080, fol. 555r-v, 556r-v	Roma (25-05-1569), Lyon (21-05-1569), Wien (22-05-1569)	Bartoli Curzio, Bartoli Cosimo	3080_138
MdP 3080, fol. 558r-v, 559r-v, 564r-v, 565r-v	Roma (21-05-1569), Antwerpen (07-05-1569)	Bartoli Cosimo	3080_139
MdP 3080, fol. 561r-v, 562r-v	Roma (04-06-1569), London (14-05-1569), Wien (02-06-1569), Milano (02-06-1569)	Bartoli Cosimo	3080_141
MdP 3080, fol. 566r-v, 567r-v	Roma (11-06-1569), Madrid (20-05-1569), Antwerpen (30-05-1569), Paris (30-05-1569), Lyon (05-06-1569)	Bartoli Cosimo	3080_142
MdP 3080, fol. 568r-v, 569r-v	Roma (25-06-1569), Bruxelles (13-06-1569), Wien (23-06-1569), Lyon (17-06-1569)	Bartoli Curzio	3080_143
MdP 3080, fol. 570r-v, 571r-v, 572r-v, 573r-v	Roma (02-07-1569), Madrid (12-06-1569), Lyon (26-06-1569), Wien (30-06-1569)	Bartoli Curzio	3080_144

MdP 3080, fol. 574r-v, 575r-v, 576r-v, 577r-v	Roma (09-04-1569), Lyon (01-07-1569), Lyon (04-07-1569), Bruxelles (27-06-1569), Wien (07-07-1569), Roma (09-07-1569)	Bartoli Curzio	3080_145
MdP 3080, fol. 578r-v, 579r-v, 580r-v, 581r-v	Roma (16-07-1569), Antwerpen (02-07-1569), Wien (13-07-1569)	Bartoli Curzio	3080_146
MdP 3080, fol. 582r-v, 583r-v, 584r-v, 585r-v	Roma (23-07-1569), France (07-07-1569), Lyon (14-07-1569), Lyon (16-07-1569), Bruxelles (11-07-1569), Wien (21-07-1569)	Bartoli Curzio	3080_147
MdP 3080, fol. 586r-v, 587r-v, 588r-v, 589r-v	Madrid (30-07-1569), Roma (20-08-1569), Lyon (11-08-1569), Amboise (12-08-1569), Wien (18-08-1569), Bruxelles (07-08-1569)	Bartoli Curzio	3080_148
MdP 3080, fol. 590r-v, 591r-v, 592r-v, 597r-v	Roma (06-08-1569), Lyon (29-07-1569), Wien (04-08-1569)	Bartoli Curzio	3080_149
MdP 3080, fol. 593r-v, 594r-v, 595r-v, 596r-v	Roma (13-08-1569), Lyon (03-08-1569), Ferrara (16-08-1569), Bruxelles (01-08-1569), Wien (11-08-1569)	Bartoli Curzio, Bartoli Cosimo	3080_150
MdP 3080, fol. 598r-v, 599r-v, 600r-v, 601r-v	Roma (27-08-1569), Malta (03-08-1569), Napoli (20-08-1569), Lyon (16-08-1569), Bruxelles (14-08-1569), Bratislava (24-08-1569)	Bartoli Curzio	3080_151
MdP 3080, fol. 603r-v, 604r-v, 605r-v, 606r-v	Roma (03-09-1569), Lyon (26-08-1569), Bruxelles (21-08-1569), Wien (31-08-1569)	Bartoli Curzio	3080_153
MdP 3080, fol. 608r-v, 609r-v, 610r-v, 611r-v	Roma (10-09-1569), Bruxelles (29-08-1569), Bratislava (06-09-1569)	Bartoli Curzio	3080_154
MdP 3080, fol. 612r-v, 613r-v, 614r-v, 615r-v	Roma (18-09-1569), Madrid (28-08-1569), Lyon (07-09-1569), Lyon (08-09-1569), Bruxelles (04-09-1569), Bratislava (13-09-1569)	Bartoli Curzio	3080_155
MdP 3080, fol. 616r-v, 617r-v, 618r-v, 619r-v	Roma (24-09-1569), Antwerpen (11-09-1569), Bratislava (20-09-1569)	Bartoli Curzio	3080_156
MdP 3080, fol. 620r-v, 621r-v, 622r-v, 623r-v	Roma (01-10-1569), Lyon (23-09-1569), Antwerpen (18-09-1569), Bratislava (26-09-1569)	Bartoli Curzio	3080_157
MdP 3080, fol. 624r-v, 629r-v	Unknown (dd-mm-yyy)	Bartoli Curzio	3080_158
MdP 3080, fol. 625r-v, 626r-v, 627r-v, 628r-v	Roma (08-10-1569), Bruxelles (25-09-1569), London (18-09-1569), Bratislava (04-10-1569), Tours (27-09-1569)	Bartoli Curzio	3080_159
MdP 3080, fol. 630r-v, 631r-v, 632r-v, 633r-v	Roma (15-10-1569), Bruxelles (03-10-1569), Bratislava (11-10-1569), Roma (15-10-1569)	Bartoli Curzio	3080_160

MdP 3080, fol. 634r-v, 635r-v, 640r-v	Roma (22-10-1569), Bruxelles (10-10-1569), Bratislava (18-10-1569), Tours (07-10-1569)	Bartoli Curzio	3080_161
MdP 3080, fol. 636r-v, 637r-v, 638r-v, 639r-v	Roma (29-10-1569), Tours (09-10-1569), Bruxelles (17-10-1569), Bratislava (25-10-1569), Paris (17-10-1569), Lyon (22-10-1569)	Bartoli Curzio	3080_162
MdP 3080, fol. 641r-v, 642r-v, 647r-v, 648r-v	Roma (05-11-1569), Lyon (25-10-1569), Bruxelles (23-10-1569), Wien (02-11-1569)	Bartoli Curzio	3080_163
MdP 3080, fol. 643r-v, 644r-v, 645r-v, 646r-v	Roma (12-11-1569), Bruxelles (05-10-1569), Wien (09-11-1569), Wien (17-11-1569)	Bartoli Curzio	3080_164
MdP 3080, fol. 649r-v, 650r-v	Roma (19-11-1569), Lyon (12-11-1569), Antwerpen (05-11-1569), Nicosia (30-08-1569)	Bartoli Curzio	3080_165
MdP 3080, fol. 651r-v, 652r-v, 653r-v, 654r-v	Roma (03-12-1569), Lyon (17-11-1569), Wien (30-11-1569), Roma (07-12-1569), Limoges (20-11-1569), Lyon (28-11-1569), Antwerpen (26-11-1569)	Bartoli Curzio, Bartoli Cosimo	3080_166
MdP 3080, fol. 655r-v, 656r-v, 657r-v, 658r-v	Roma (10-12-1569), Antwerpen (26-11-1569), Lyon (04-12-1569)	Bartoli Curzio	3080_167
MdP 3080, fol. 659r-v, 660r-v, 661r-v, 662r-v	Roma (15-12-1569), Lyon (08-12-1569), Lyon (17-12-1569)	Bartoli Curzio	3080_168
MdP 3080, fol. 663r-v, 664r-v, 671r-v, 672r-v	Roma (24-12-1569)	Bartoli Curzio	3080_169
MdP 3080, fol. 665r-v, 666r-v, 669r-v, 670r-v	Roma (26-12-1569), Wien (24-12-1569), Bruxelles (14-12-1569)	Bartoli Curzio	3080_170
MdP 3080, fol. 667r-v, 668r-v	Roma (31-12-1569), Praha (23-12-1569), Roma (dd-12-1569), Antwerpen (24-12-1569)	Bartoli Curzio, Bartoli Cosimo	3080_171
MdP 3080, fol. 673r-v, 674r-v, 675r-v, 676r-v	Roma (13-01-1571), Kerkyra (18-12-1570)	Bartoli Curzio	3080_172
MdP 3080, fol. 677r-v, 678r-v, 679r-v, 680r-v	Roma (14-01-1571), Bruxelles (07-01-1570), Praha (11-01-1571), Lyon (02-01-1571)	Bartoli Curzio	3080_173
MdP 3080, fol. 681r-v, 682r-v	Roma (20-01-1571), Lyon (13-01-1571)	Bartoli Curzio	3080_174
MdP 3080, fol. 683r-v, 684r-v, 685r-v, 686r-v	Roma (27-01-1571), Antwerpen (07-01-1571), Roma (31-01-1571)	Bartoli Curzio	3080_175

MdP 3080, fol. 687r-v, 688r-v, 689r-v, 690r-v	Roma (03-02-1571), Antwerpen (13-01-1571), Augsburg (17-01-1571), Warszawa (10-01-1571), Praha (24-01-1571)	Bartoli Curzio	3080_176
MdP 3080, fol. 691r-v, 692r-v, 693r-v, 694r-v	Roma (10-02-1571), Antwerpen (21-01-1571), London (08-01-1571), Praha (31-01-1571)	Bartoli Curzio	3080_177
MdP 3080, fol. 695r-v, 701r-v	Roma (14-02-1571)	Bartoli Curzio	3080_178
MdP 3080, fol. 697r-v, 698r-v, 699r-v, 700r-v	Roma (17-02-1571), Praha (07-02-1571), Warszawa (22-02-1571), Antwerpen (03-02-1571)	Bartoli Curzio	3080_179
MdP 3080, fol. 702r-v, 703r-v, 704r-v, 709r-v	Roma (18-02-1571), Lyon (08-02-1571), Antwerpen (11-02-1571), Praha (25-02-1571)	Bartoli Curzio	3080_180
MdP 3080, fol. 705r-v, 706r-v, 707r-v, 708r-v	Roma (03-03-1571), Antwerpen (17-02-1571), Praha (21-02-1571), Roma (07-03-1571)	Bartoli Curzio	3080_181
MdP 3080, fol. 710r-v, 715r-v	Antwerpen (10-03-1571)	Bartoli Curzio	3080_182
MdP 3080, fol. 711r-v, 712r-v, 713r-v, 714r-v	Roma (17-03-1571), Paris (25-02-1571), Antwerpen (03-03-1571), Praha (14-03-1571)	Bartoli Curzio	3080_183
MdP 3080, fol. 716r-v, 718r-v, 719r-v, 717r-v, 720r-v	Roma (24-03-1571), Praha (20-03-1571)	Bartoli Curzio	3080_184
MdP 3080, fol. 721r-v, 722r-v, 727r-v, 728r-v	Roma (25-03-1570), Bruxelles (13-03-1570), Praha (15-03-1570)	Bartoli Curzio	3080_185
MdP 3080, fol. 723r-v, 724r-v, 725r-v, 726r-v	Lyon (06-04-1570), Torino (08-04-1570), Genova (13-04-1570), Cordoba (13-03-1570), Granada (04-03-1570), Tabarca (02-04-1570), La Goletta (14-03-1570), London (28-03-1570), Roma (15-04-1570)	Bartoli Curzio	3080_186
MdP 3080, fol. 729r-v, 730r-v, 731r-v, 732r-v	Roma (08-04-1570), Antwerpen (26-03-1570), London (18-03-1570), Praha (29-03-1570), Praha (05-04-1570)	Bartoli Curzio	3080_187
MdP 3080, fol. 733r-v, 734r-v, 735r-v, 736r-v	Zadar (12-04-1570), Bratislava (05-04-1570), Praha (12-04-1570), Bruxelles (10-04-1570), Roma (19-04-1570), Roma (22-04-1570), Lyon (05-04-1570)	Bartoli Curzio	3080_188
MdP 3080, fol. 737r-v, 738r-v, 739r-v, 740r-v	Roma (29-04-1570), Antwerpen (16-04-1570), London (10-04-1570), Praha (19-04-1570), Bratislava (18-04-1570)	Bartoli Curzio	3080_189
MdP 3080, fol. 741r-v, 742r-v, 743r-v, 744r-v	Split (30-04-1570), Bruxelles (24-04-1570), Praha (26-04-1570), Roma (02-05-1570), Istanbul (10-04-1570), Roma (24-04-1570)	Bartoli Curzio	3080_190

MdP 3080, fol. 745r-v, 746r-v, 747r-v, 748r-v	Roma (13-05-1570), Lyon (04-05-1570), Bruxelles (01-05-1570), Praha (03-05-1570)	Bartoli Curzio	3080_191
MdP 3080, fol. 749r-v, 750r-v, 751r-v, 752r-v	Roma (20-05-1570), Antwerpen (05-05-1570), Spanish Court (17-04-1570), Cordoba (25-04-1570), Praha (10-05-1570), Kotor (17-05-1570), Krakow (13-05-1570)	Bartoli Curzio, Bartoli Cosimo	3080_192
MdP 3080, fol. 753r-v, 754r-v, 755r-v, 756r-v	Roma (27-05-1570), Palermo (05-05-1570), Lyon (20-05-1570), Bruxelles (15-05-1570), Praha (13-05-1570), Palermo (15-05-1570), Palermo (17-05-1570)	Bartoli Curzio, Bartoli Cosimo	3080_193
MdP 3080, fol. 757r-v, 758r-v, 759r-v, 760r-v	Roma (10-06-1570), Lyon (02-06-1570), Lyon (02-06-1570), Pavia (25-05-1570), Bruxelles (28-05-1570), Split (05-06-1570)	Bartoli Curzio	3080_194
MdP 3080, fol. 761r-v, 766r-v	Roma (14-06-1570)	Bartoli Curzio	3080_195
MdP 3080, fol. 762r-v, 765r-v, 763r-v, 764r-v	Istanbul (23-05-1570), Brindisi (19-06-1570), Kythira (07-06-1570), Speyer (21-06-1570), Lyon (18-06-1570), Roma (01-07-1570)	Bartoli Curzio	3080_196
MdP 3080, fol. 769r-v, 768r-v, 767r-v, 770r-v	Bruxelles (15-06-1570), Genova (26-06-1570), Albania (10-06-1570)	Bartoli Curzio	3080_197
MdP 3080, fol. 771r-v, 776r-v	Sibenik (28-06-1570)	Bartoli Curzio, Bartoli Cosimo	3080_198
MdP 3080, fol. 772r-v, 773r-v, 774r-v, 775r-v	Istanbul (05-06-1570), Bruxelles (02-07-1570), Lyon (03-07-1570), Chalon sur Saone (29-06-1570), Speyer (05-07-1570), Roma (15-07-1570)	Bartoli Curzio, Bartoli Cosimo	3080_199
MdP 3080, fol. 777r-v, 778r-v, 779r-v, 780r-v, 781r-v, 792r-v	Roma (22-07-1570), Madrid (06-07-1570), Madrid (07-07-1570), Madrid (13-07-1570), Bruxelles (10-07-1570), Speyer (12-07-1570), Lyon (14-07-1570)	Bartoli Curzio	3080_200
MdP 3080, fol. 782r-v, 783r-v, 784r-v, 785r-v, 786r-v, 791r-v	Antwerpen (17-07-1570), Speyer (19-07-1570), Kerkyra (13-07-1570), Roma (29-07-1570), Warszawa (12-07-1570)	Bartoli Curzio	3080_201
MdP 3080, fol. 787r-v, 788r-v, 789r-v, 790r-v	Roma (05-08-1570), Speyer (26-07-1570), Warszawa (18-07-1570)	Bartoli Curzio, Bartoli Cosimo	3080_202
MdP 3080, fol. 793r-v, 794r-v, 795r-v, 796r-v	Roma (12-08-1570), Messina (30-07-1570), Antwerpen (31-07-1570), Speyer (02-08-1570)	Bartoli Curzio	3080_203

MdP 3080, fol. 797r-v, 798r-v, 799r-v, 800r-v	Speyer (23-08-1570), Nijmegen (14-08-1570), London (05-08-1570), Genova (20-08-1570), Antwerpen (19-08-1570), Roma (02-09-1570), Torino (17-08-1570)	Bartoli Curzio	3080_204
MdP 3080, fol. 801r-v, 802r-v, 803r-v, 804r-v	Roma (26-08-1570), Lyon (15-08-1570), Zadar (29-08-1570), Kefallinia (27-07-1570), Speyer (16-08-1570)	Bartoli Curzio	3080_205
MdP 3080, fol. 805r-v, 806r-v, 807r-v, 808r-v	Famagusta (14-07-1570)	Bartoli Curzio	3080_206
MdP 3080, fol. 809r-v, 810r-v, 811r-v, 812r-v	Roma (09-09-1570), Speyer (30-08-1570), Kotor (04-09-1570), Antwerpen (30-08-1570)	Bartoli Curzio	3080_207
MdP 3080, fol. 813r-v, 814r-v, 815r-v, 816r-v	Kerkyra (07-09-1570), Messina (10-09-1570), Speyer (13-09-1570), Lyon (14-09-1570), Roma (23-09-1570), Antwerpen (10-09-1570), Madrid (07-09-1570), Warszawa (15-09-1570)	Bartoli Curzio, Bartoli Cosimo	3080_208
MdP 3080, fol. 817r-v, 818r-v, 819r-v, 820r-v	Roma (16-09-1570), Speyer (06-09-1570), Antwerpen (02-09-1570), Kerkyra (26-08-1570), Krakow (10-09-1570), Zadar (18-09-1570)	Bartoli Curzio, Bartoli Cosimo	3080_209
MdP 3080, fol. 825r-v, 826r-v, 827r-v, 828r-v	Antwerpen (16-09-1570), Speyer (20-09-1570), Roma (30-09-1570)	Bartoli Curzio	3080_211
MdP 3080, fol. 829r-v, 830r-v, 831r-v, 832r-v, 833r-v, 840r-v	Zadar (01-10-1570), Roma (04-10-1570), Iraklion (08-10-1570), Speyer (23-09-1570), Lyon (30-09-1570), Roma (07-10-1570)	Bartoli Curzio	3080_212
MdP 3080, fol. 834r-v, 835r-v, 836r-v, 837r-v, 838r-v, 839r-v, 841r-v, 842r-v, 843r-v, 844r-v	Iraklion (11-10-1570), Roma (11-11-1570), Speyer (01-11-1570), Antwerpen (30-10-1570)	Bartoli Curzio	3080_213
MdP 3080, fol. 845r-v, 846r-v	Iraklion (17-10-1570)	Bartoli Curzio	3080_214
MdP 3080, fol. 847r-v, 848r-v, 849r-v, 850r-v	Roma (28-10-1570), Lyon (08-10-1570), Speyer (19-10-1570)	Bartoli Curzio	3080_215
MdP 3080, fol. 857r-v, 858r-v, 859r-v, 860r-v	Roma (04-11-1570), Speyer (22-10-1570), Iraklion (15-10-1570)	Bartoli Curzio	3080_217
MdP 3080, fol. 865r-v, 866r-v, 867r-v, 868r-v	Lyon (21-11-1570), Roma (09-12-1570), Antwerpen (25-11-1570), Speyer (30-11-1570)	Bartoli Curzio	3080_219

MdP 3080, fol. 869r-v, 870r-v, 871r-v, 872r-v	Charleville-Mezieres (26-11-1570), Roma (30-12-1570), Munchen (21-12-1570), Wiener Neustadt (08-12-1570)	Bartoli Curzio	3080_220
MdP 3080, fol. 873r-v, 874r-v, 875r-v, 876r-v	Zadar (23-11-1570), Kerkyra (20-11-1570), Speyer (24-11-1570), Roma (02-12-1570), Antwerpen (19-11-1570)	Bartoli Curzio	3080_221
MdP 3080, fol. 878r-v, 879r-v, 880r-v, 881r-v, 882r-v, 877r-v	Roma (25-11-1570), Roma (29-11-1570), Lyon (07-11-1570), Paris (26-10-1570), Antwerpen (12-11-1570), Speyer (08-11-1570), Speyer (16-11-1570)	Bartoli Curzio	3080_222
MdP 3080, fol. 883r-v, 884r-v, 885r-v, 886r-v	Roma (16-12-1570), Famagusta (24-10-1570), Speyer (07-12-1570)	Bartoli Curzio	3080_223
MdP 3080, fol. 887r-v, 888r-v, 889r-v, 890r-v	Roma (23-12-1570), Ancona (09-12-1570), Speyer (14-12-1570)	Bartoli Curzio	3080_224
MdP 3081, fol. 6r-v, 7r-v, 10r-v, 11r-v	Antwerpen (22-12-1571), Wien (01-01-1572), Roma (09-01-1572)	Gavazzo Giovanni	3081_001
MdP 3081, fol. 8r-v, 9r-v	Roma (12-01-1572), Flanders (29-12-1571), Roma (16-01-1572), Wien (11-01-1572)	Gavazzo Giovanni	3081_002
MdP 3081, fol. 15r-v, 16r-v	Roma (19-01-1572), Flanders (05-01-1572), Wien (16-01-1572), Roma (23-01-1572)	Gavazzo Giovanni	3081_004
MdP 3081, fol. 17r-v, 18r-v, 19r-v, 20r-v	Roma (26-01-1572), Wien (22-01-1572), Roma (30-01-1572)	Gavazzo Giovanni	3081_005
MdP 3081, fol. 21r-v, 22r-v	Roma (02-02-1572), Amboise (06-01-1572), Paris (14-01-1572), Navarre (18-12-1571), Wien (29-01-1572), Flanders (12-01-1572)	Gavazzo Giovanni	3081_006
MdP 3081, fol. 23r-v, 24r-v, 29r-v, 30r-v	Roma (09-02-1572), Wien (05-02-1572), Roma (13-02-1572), Lyon (08-02-1572), Flanders (19-01-1572)	Gavazzo Giovanni	3081_007
MdP 3081, fol. 32r-v, 33r-v, 34r-v, 31r-v	Roma (23-02-1572), Bruxelles (10-02-1572), Wien (19-02-1572), Bruxelles (12-02-1572)	Gavazzo Giovanni	3081_008
MdP 3081, fol. 35r-v, 36r-v	Roma (26-02-1572), Wien (11-02-1572)	Gavazzo Giovanni	3081_009
MdP 3081, fol. 37r-v, 40r-v	Roma (29-02-1572), Wien (26-02-1572)	Gavazzo Giovanni	3081_010
MdP 3081, fol. 38r-v, 39r-v	Roma (05-03-1572), Wien (04-03-1572), Roma (12-03-1572)	Gavazzo Giovanni	3081_011
MdP 3081, fol. 41r-v, 42r-v, 43r-v, 44r-v	Roma (10-03-1571), Otranto (19-02-1571), Praha (28-02-1571), Praha (07-03-1570), Paris (25-02-1571)	Gavazzo Giovanni	3081_012

MdP 3081, fol. 45r-v, 46r-v	Roma (15-03-1572), Wien (11-03-1572), Roma (19-03-1572)	Gavazzo Giovanni	3081_013
MdP 3081, fol. 48r-v, 49r-v	Praha (28-03-1571), Praha (04-04-1571), Antwerpen (31-03-1571), Wien (11-04-1571)	Bartoli Curzio	3081_015
MdP 3081, fol. 51r-v, 52r-v, 53r-v, 54r-v	Roma (31-03-1571), Roma (04-04-1571), Genova (25-03-1571), Napoli (24-03-1571), London (10-03-1571), Antwerpen (17-03-1571), Antwerpen (24-03-1571)	Bartoli Curzio	3081_016
MdP 3081, fol. 56r-v, 57r-v, 58r-v, 59r-v, 60r-v, 55r-v	Roma (07-04-1571), Kerkyra (26-03-1571), Warszawa (15-03-1571), Roma (11-04-1571), Roma (13-04-1571), Kerkyra (03-04-1571)	Bartoli Curzio	3081_017
MdP 3081, fol. 61r-v, 62r-v, 63r-v, 64r-v	Roma (21-04-1571), Antwerpen (05-04-1571), Praha (11-04-1571), Wien (17-04-1571), Famagusta (12-02-1571)	Bartoli Curzio, Bartoli Cosimo	3081_018
MdP 3081, fol. 65r-v, 66r-v, 67r-v, 68r-v	Roma (28-04-1571), Finale Ligure (23-04-1571), Antwerpen (13-04-1571)	Bartoli Curzio	3081_019
MdP 3081, fol. 69r-v, 70r-v, 71r-v, 72r-v	Roma (05-05-1571), Genova (27-04-1571), Lyon (29-04-1571), Antwerpen (21-04-1571), Praha (25-04-1571)	Bartoli Curzio	3081_020
MdP 3081, fol. 73r-v, 74r-v, 75r-v, 76r-v	Roma (09-05-1571), Roma (12-05-1571), Antwerpen (28-04-1571), Lyon (04-05-1571), Praha (02-05-1571)	Bartoli Curzio	3081_021
MdP 3081, fol. 77r-v, 78r-v, 79r-v, 80r-v	Roma (19-05-1571), Praha (09-05-1571), Antwerpen (05-05-1571)	Bartoli Curzio	3081_022
MdP 3081, fol. 81r-v, 82r-v, 83r-v, 84r-v	Roma (26-05-1571), Bruxelles (14-05-1571), Antwerpen (12-05-1571), Praha (16-05-1571), Zadar (23-05-1571), Milano (24-05-1571)	Bartoli Curzio	3081_023
MdP 3081, fol. 87r-v, 88r-v, 89r-v, 90r-v	Roma (02-06-1571), Praha (22-05-1571), Antwerpen (22-05-1571), Bratislava (28-05-1571)	Bartoli Curzio	3081_025
MdP 3081, fol. 91r-v, 92r-v, 93r-v, 94r-v	Roma (09-06-1571), Kerkyra (30-05-1571), Kerkyra (01-06-1571), Strasbourg (28-05-1571), Bruxelles (28-05-1571), Praha (30-05-1571), Kotor (02-06-1571)	Bartoli Curzio	3081_026
MdP 3081, fol. 95r-v, 96r-v, 97r-v, 98r-v	Roma (16-06-1571), Antwerpen (02-06-1571), Bruxelles (04-06-1571), Praha (06-06-1571)	Bartoli Curzio	3081_027
MdP 3081, fol. 99r-v, 100r-v, 101r-v, 102r-v	Roma (23-06-1571), Otranto (14-06-1571), Antwerpen (09-06-1571), Praha (13-06-1571)	Bartoli Curzio	3081_028

MdP 3081, fol. 103r-v, 104r-v, 105r-v, 106r-v	Roma (30-06-1571), Praha (20-06-1571), Kerkyra (24-06-1571), Antwerpen (16-06-1571)	Bartoli Curzio	3081_029
MdP 3081, fol. 107r-v, 108r-v, 109r-v, 110r-v	Roma (07-07-1571), Zadar (28-06-1571), Zadar (03-07-1571), Praha (01-07-1571), Antwerpen (28-06-1571)	Bartoli Curzio	3081_030
MdP 3081, fol. 111r-v, 112r-v, 113r-v, 114r-v	Roma (14-07-1571), Napoli (06-07-1571), Genova (06-07-1571), Antwerpen (30-06-1571), Ulcinj (05-07-1571), Lecce (12-07-1571)	Bartoli Curzio	3081_031
MdP 3081, fol. 115r-v, 116r-v, 117r-v, 118r-v	Roma (21-07-1571), Wien (16-07-1571), Antwerpen (07-07-1571), Győr (09-07-1571)	Bartoli Curzio	3081_032
MdP 3081, fol. 119r-v, 120r-v, 121r-v, 122r-v	Roma (28-07-1571), Zakinthos (12-07-1571), Kotor (13-07-1571), Antwerpen (14-07-1571), Wien (23-07-1571)	Bartoli Curzio	3081_033
MdP 3081, fol. 123r-v, 124r-v, 125r-v, 126r-v	Roma (04-08-1571), Genova (27-06-1571), Messina (23-06-1571), Messina (25-06-1571), Kerkyra (22-07-1571), Kerkyra (25-07-1571), Antwerpen (21-07-1571)	Bartoli Curzio	3081_034
MdP 3081, fol. 127r-v, 128r-v, 133r-v, 134r-v	Roma (11-08-1571), Antwerpen (28-07-1571), Wien (06-08-1571)	Bartoli Curzio	3081_035
MdP 3081, fol. 146r-v, 147r-v, 148r-v, 149r-v, 150r-v, 145r-v	Roma (01-09-1571), Wien (27-08-1571), Hvar (28-08-1571), Antwerpen (18-08-1571), Piacenza (26-08-1571)	Bartoli Curzio, Bartoli Cosimo	3081_038
MdP 3081, fol. 151r-v, 152r-v, 153r-v, 154r-v	Messina (06-09-1571), Roma (15-09-1571), Antwerpen (01-09-1571), Wien (10-09-1571), Zara (09-09-1571)	Bartoli Curzio	3081_039
MdP 3081, fol. 155r-v, 156r-v, 157r-v, 158r-v	Roma (08-09-1571), Antwerpen (25-08-1571), Wien (03-09-1571)	Bartoli Curzio	3081_040
MdP 3081, fol. 159r-v, 160r-v, 161r-v, 162r-v	Roma (22-09-1571), Messina (13-09-1571), Roma (24-09-1571), Roma (25-09-1571), Antwerpen (08-09-1571), Wien (17-09-1571)	Bartoli Curzio	3081_041
MdP 3081, fol. 163r-v, 164r-v	Kerkyra (29-09-1571)	Bartoli Curzio	3081_042
MdP 3081, fol. 166r-v, 167r-v, 168r-v, 169r-v	Roma (29-09-1571), Antwerpen (15-09-1571), Wien (24-09-1571), Controne (27-09-1571)	Bartoli Curzio	3081_044
MdP 3081, fol. 171r-v, 172r-v, 173r-v, 174r-v, 175r-v, 176r-v, 177r-v, 178r-v	Iraklion (07-09-1570), Souyia (17-08-1570), Souyia (24-08-1570), Souyia (04-09-1570), Souyia (07-09-1570), Souyia (07-09-1570), Roma (14-10-1570), Speyer (04-10-1570)	Bartoli Curzio	3081_045

MdP 3081, fol. 179r-v, 180r-v, 181r-v, 182r-v	Roma (06-10-1571), Lyon (21-09-1571), Antwerpen (23-09-1571), Wien (01-10-1571)	Bartoli Curzio	3081_046
MdP 3081, fol. 188r-v, 189r-v, 190r-v, 187r-v	Lepanto (08-10-1571), Patrai (09-10-1571), Kipros (20-09-1571), Roma (27-10-1571)	Bartoli Curzio, Bartoli Cosimo	3081_048
MdP 3081, fol. 195r-v, 196r-v	Roma (17-10-1571), Messina (08-10-1571), Antwerpen (28-09-1571)	Bartoli Curzio	3081_050
MdP 3081, fol. 197r-v, 198r-v, 205r-v, 206r-v	Roma (20-10-1571), Espana (01-10-1571)	Bartoli Curzio	3081_051
MdP 3081, fol. 199r-v, 200r-v	Roma (03-11-1571), Antwerpen (20-10-1571), Wien (30-10-1571), Roma (08-11-1571)	Bartoli Curzio	3081_052
MdP 3081, fol. 201r-v, 204r-v	Wien (23-10-1571), Antwerpen (14-10-1571)	Bartoli Curzio	3081_053
MdP 3081, fol. 202r-v, 203r-v	London (08-11-1571)	Gavazzo Giovanni	3081_054
MdP 3081, fol. 207r-v, 208r-v, 209r-v, 210r-v	Roma (17-11-1571), Antwerpen (03-11-1571), Wien (13-11-1571), Roma (21-11-1571)	Gavazzo Giovanni	3081_055
MdP 3081, fol. 212r-v, 213r-v	Roma (24-11-1571), Roma (28-11-1571)	Gavazzo Giovanni	3081_057
MdP 3081, fol. 221r-v, 222r-v, 223r-v, 224r-v	Roma (08-12-1571), Roma (15-12-1571), Wien (05-12-1571)	Gavazzo Giovanni, Bartoli Cosimo	3081_058
MdP 3081, fol. 225r-v, 226r-v, 227r-v, 228r-v	Roma (15-12-1571), Roma (19-12-1571), Roma (22-12-1571), Wien (12-12-1571)	Gavazzo Giovanni	3081_059
MdP 3081, fol. 230r-v, 231r-v, 230r-v, 240r-v	Roma (22-12-1571), Wien (19-12-1571), Roma (26-12-1571)	Gavazzo Giovanni	3081_060
MdP 3081, fol. 234r-v, 236r-v, 235r-v, 237r-v	Roma (29-12-1571), Flanders (15-12-1571), Venezia (09-01-1572), Wien (26-12-1571), Roma (02-01-1572)	Gavazzo Giovanni	3081_061
MdP 3081, fol. 262r-v, 265r-v	Roma (06-04-1572), Wien (31-03-1572)	Gavazzo Giovanni	3081_062
MdP 3081, fol. 266r-v, 267r-v	Roma (22-03-1572), Lisboa (01-02-1572), Wien (19-03-1572)	Gavazzo Giovanni	3081_063
MdP 3081, fol. 268r-v, 271r-v	Roma (12-04-1572), Paris (12-03-1572)	Gavazzo Giovanni	3081_064
MdP 3081, fol. 269r-v, 270r-v	Roma (17-04-1572), Pesaro (19-04-1572)	Gavazzo Giovanni	3081_065
MdP 3081, fol. 276r-v	Lyon (22-04-1572), Poitiers (13-04-1572)	Gavazzo Giovanni	3081_067
MdP 3081, fol. 277r-v	Roma (02-05-1572)	Gavazzo Giovanni	3081_068

MdP 3081, fol. 278r-v, 279r-v	Wien (05-05-1572), Roma (10-05-1572), Pesaro (12-05-1572), Paris (25-04-1572), Bruxelles (27-04-1572), Kotor (16-05-1572), Zara (08-05-1572)	Gavazzo Giovanni	3081_069
MdP 3081, fol. 280r-v, 283r-v	Roma (24-05-1572), Lyon (16-05-1572), Antwerpen (10-05-1572), Wien (19-05-1572)	Gavazzo Giovanni	3081_070
MdP 3081, fol. 284r-v, 285r-v	Wien (28-05-1572), Roma (03-05-1572), Zara (01-05-1572), Paris (18-04-1572), Bratislava (22-04-1572)	Gavazzo Giovanni	3081_072
MdP 3081, fol. 286r-v, 287r-v	Roma (31-05-1572), Antwerpen (10-05-1572), Wien (27-05-1572), Dubrovnik (23-05-1572)	Gavazzo Giovanni, Bartoli Cosimo	3081_073
MdP 3081, fol. 288r-v, 289r-v	Roma (07-06-1572), Antwerpen (24-05-1572), Wien (02-06-1572), Roma (07-06-1572)	Gavazzo Giovanni	3081_074
MdP 3081, fol. 291r-v, 292r-v	Wien (12-05-1572), Roma (17-05-1572), Zara (12-05-1572), Antwerpen (28-05-1572)	Gavazzo Giovanni, Bartoli Cosimo	3081_076
MdP 3081, fol. 294r-v, 295r-v	Wien (24-06-1572), Antwerpen (18-06-1572), Paris (24-06-1572), Roma (28-06-1572)	Gavazzo Giovanni, Bartoli Cosimo	3081_077
MdP 3081, fol. 296r-v, 297r-v	Antwerpen (21-06-1572), Roma (05-07-1572)	Gavazzo Giovanni	3081_078
MdP 3081, fol. 298r-v, 299r-v	Roma (21-06-1572), Wien (16-06-1572)	Gavazzo Giovanni	3081_079
MdP 3081, fol. 300r-v, 301r-v, 302r-v, 303r-v	Augsburg (05-07-1572), Bruxelles (20-06-1572), Lyon (02-07-1572), Roma (12-07-1572)	Gavazzo Giovanni	3081_080
MdP 3081, fol. 305r-v, 306r-v, 307r-v, 304r-v	Madrid (18-06-1572), Paris (07-07-1572), Baden AG (08-07-1572), Bruxelles (14-07-1572), Zara (15-07-1572), Roma (19-07-1572), Wien (01-07-1572), Wien (08-07-1572), Wien (15-07-1572)	Gavazzo Giovanni	3081_081
MdP 3081, fol. 308r-v, 313r-v	Bruxelles (22-07-1572), Bruxelles (23-07-1572)	not identified	3081_082
MdP 3081, fol. 309r-v, 310r-v, 311r-v, 312r-v	Antwerpen (20-07-1572), Bruxelles (23-07-1572), Speyer (27-07-1572), Lyon (25-07-1572), Roma (02-08-1572), Paris (12-07-1572), Paris (26-07-1572), Torino (02-08-1572), Wien (30-07-1572)	Gavazzo Giovanni	3081_083
MdP 3081, fol. 314r-v, 315r-v	Antwerpen (27-07-1572), Bruxelles (30-07-1572), Roma (09-08-1572)	Gavazzo Giovanni	3081_084

MdP 3081, fol. 316r-v, 317r-v	Bruxelles (14-07-1572), Zara (20-07-1572), Roma (26-07-1572), Wien (23-07-1572)	Gavazzo Giovanni	3081_085
MdP 3081, fol. 320r-v, 321r-v, 322r-v, 323r-v	Wien (06-08-1572), Paris (01-08-1572), Roma (16-08-1572), Bruxelles (05-08-1572), Wien (12-08-1572)	Gavazzo Giovanni	3081_087
MdP 3081, fol. 328r-v, 337r-v	Zara (23-08-1572)	Bartoli Cosimo	3081_089
MdP 3081, fol. 340r-v, 341r-v, 338r-v, 339r-v, 342r-v, 343r-v	Paris (24-08-1572), Paris (25-08-1572), Kefallinia (dd-08-1572), Antwerpen (26-08-1572), Roma (06-09-1572), Wien (03-09-1572), Aegean Sea (28-08-1572)	Bartoli Cosimo and another hand	3081_091
MdP 3081, fol. 344r-v, 345r-v	Roma (30-08-1572), Antwerpen (17-08-1572), Wien (27-08-1572)	Gavazzo Giovanni	3081_092
MdP 3081, fol. 346r-v, 347r-v, 348r-v, 349r-v	Roma (13-09-1572), Paris (01-09-1572), Antwerpen (01-09-1572), Wien (09-09-1572)	Gavazzo Giovanni	3081_093