Splendour displayed: state barges, embroideries and power in Renaissance Ferrara

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Vol I of II

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102. Carved hand blocks

103. Carving and pressing hand blocks

104. Anonymous, *Jacob Leupollt, embroiderer*, in Amb. 279.2°, f. 94v (Landauer I), 1625, Nürnberg, Stadbibliotek.

105. *Miniature of embroiderer*, Japan, Edo period (1603 – 1868). Leiden, Museum Volkenkunde, Japanese Collection.

106. Or nue effect. © Beatrice Mezzogori.

107. Sforza's *Biscione* ("snake"), Milan, Castello Sforzesco. © Beatrice Mezzogori

108, 109, 110, 111. Details of Beato Tavelli da Tossignano's embroidered pluvial. Ferrara, formerly in the Church of Saint Jerome, Ferrara, temporarily in the Ferrarese Archbishopric. © Beatrice Mezzogori

112. Title page of *Nüw Modelbuch allerley gattungen Däntelschnür so diser zyt in hoch Tütschlanden geng und brüchig sind [...] erstmals in truck verfergket durch R. M.*, Zurich: Christoph Froschauer, ca. 1561. © Christie's 1996.

113. Route of Pope Pius II's trip to Mantua (1459). © Beatrice Mezzogori.

114. Route of Pope Pius II's return journey to Rome (1460). © Beatrice Mezzogori.

115. Princely palaces in which Pius II had received hospitality. © Beatrice Mezzogori.

116. The Piccolomini Palace and the Duomo in Pienza. © Beatrice Mezzogori.

117. The monumental well in Pienza. © Beatrice Mezzogori.

117bis. Detail of the monumental well with the building date, Pienza. © Beatrice Mezzogori.

118. Detail of the *Opus Anglicanum*, mid-fourteenth century. Pienza, Museo Diocesano. © Fondazione Musei Senesi.

119. Pius II's pluvial, embroideries dated 1420-1430, textile dated 1460-1470. Pienza, Museo Diocesano. © Fondazione Musei Senesi.

120. "The investiture of Borso as Duke of Modena and Reggio", in Michele Savonarola, *Del felice progresso di Borso d'Este al marchionato, al Ducato di Modena e Reggio e alla Contea di Rovigo*, Ravenna, Biblioteca Classense, cod. 302, fol. 31v. © Ravenna, Biblioteca Classense.

121. Pope Pius II, Galeazzo Maria Sforza, Lorenzo de' Medici and Sigismondo Malatesta, portrayed by Benozzo Gozzoli, *Magi Procession*, 1459, Firenze, Palazzo Medici Riccardi. © Electa Editore.

122. Copy from: Nicolò Baroncelli, *Borso d'Este administering Justice*, Ferrara, Piazza del Duomo. © Beatrice Mezzogori.

123. Francesco del Cossa, *Month of April* (detail with "Borso administering justice"), Ferrara, Salone dei Mesi, Palazzo Schifanoia. © Palazzo Schifanoia, Ferrara.

124. Giorgio d'Alemagna, "Book of Judith", in Borso d'Este's *Bible*, vol. I, Lat. 422 = ms. V.G. 12, fol. 217r. Detail with Borso administering justice. © Franco Cosimo Panini Editore.

125. Medal of Borso d'Este, reverse and obverse. © Charles Rosenberg.

126. Pius II's bull for the crusade (1460), Rossano (Cosenza), Museo Diocesano. © Beatrice Mezzogori.

127. Pinturicchio, *Aeneas Silvio Piccolomini arrives to Ancona*, 1505, Siena, Duomo, Piccolomini Library. © Beatrice Mezzogori.

128. Leonardo da Vinci, "Impaled Sforza and Estense Shields", Milan, Sala dell'Asse, Castello Sforzesco. © Fototeca Castello Sforzesco, Milan.

129. Cristoforo de Predis, *De Sphaera*, "Venus", 1460 ca, Lat. 209 = α.X.2.14, Biblioteca Estense, Modena. © BEM

130. "The triumph of Massimiliano Sforza", in Elio Donato, *Grammatica*, Biblioteca Trivulziana, Milano.

131. Route of trip of Duke Alfonso II d'Este from Ferrara to Venice. © Beatrice Mezzogori

132. The "Fondaco dei Turchi", Venice. © Beatrice Mezzogori

133. Giovanni Battista Aleotti, *Polesine d'Ariano with the cut-off and floods*, 1611. Ferrara, Biblioteca Comunale Ariostea

134. Duke Francesco III d'Este's *Bucintoro*, ASMo, Mappe in Volume 75/1, Grandi Mappe, n. 16, ink and colours on paper, cm. 147x50. © Archivio di Stato di Modena

135. Anonymous, *Floral pattern*, Pattern for embroidery, eighteenth century, ink on paper, Modena, Archivio di Stato, Stampe e Disegni, vol. 5, n. 90/18. © Beatrice Mezzogori.

136. Pope Benedetto XVI's entry into Venice (2011)

137. Elisabeth II's Diamond Jubilee (2012)

Abstract

In most Renaissance courts particular kinds of vessels or galleys used for state ceremonies and prepared with appropriate lavishness for this purpose were usually called *bucintori*. The primary function of these boats was to celebrate the owner in public, to display the 'public body' of princes with appropriate magnificence and to receive visitors, ambassadors or brides in the most sumptuous manner possible, as well as for luxurious hunting and fishing trips, concerts and theatrical representations. For this reason, the entire *bucintoro* was gilded or painted; balustrades, columns, vases and statues decorated its hull; embroidered pennons, flags and upholstery enriched the mast, the lateen and the seats; and, finally, the deck of the *bucintori* were fitted with a room that functioned as a private stateroom or Hall of State, usually decorated with embroidered and painted panels.

In this work I propose to analyse the particular case of the Estense *bucintori* between 1438 and 1598, through original documents which have not previously been studied, to show the important role they played in the political strategies of the Estense duchy and to exemplify how these boats were seen by observers from other Italian Renaissance courts. For this reason, I shall consider several interesting ceremonies occurred in Ferrara in which *bucintori* played an important role, also explaining the complex and variegated meanings of the different embroidered symbols that decorated the staterooms of these barges. I will also examine the particular painters and embroiderers who carried out the heraldic panels and, by means of these analyses, it will become apparent that among the workers there were different levels of experience and specialisation and, moreover, that there were obvious differences between professional and amateur embroiderers, men and women, court professionals and 'superstars'.

Declaration

No portion of the work referred to in the thesis has *been submitted in support of an* application for another degree or qualification of this o*r any other university or other* institute of learning.

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Transcription, Currency and Presentation Norms

In this thesis my transcriptions of original documents in manuscript are as palaeographically faithful as possible. I have retained original spellings, including the use of both j and i to indicate the modern "i", but I have changed the letter "u" to "v" when this helped to make the text easier for the modern reader to understand. I have respected original punctuation and capitalizations, and, whenever reasonable, the perceived patterns of word separation. All abbreviations are expanded. My transcriptions also represent struck out letters, interlinear replacements, and later scribal interventions as faithfully as possible. If there are corrections by the scribe they are usually accepted as the correct version of the text. Question marks within square brackets or parenthesis, [??] or (??), stand for illegible text.
In the case of early printed sources, I have either chosen the earliest text or version possible, or else what I judge to be the best one for the purposes of the present work.

A brief note on the Estense Lira Marchesana

In this work I will present several original document transcribed from books kept for the Ducal Treasury of the Estense court. For this reason throughout the thesis all prices are expressed in *Lire Marchesane*. The *Lira Marchesana* was an artificial currency of account instituted at the end of the fourteenth century (1381-1382) in Ferrara. It was divided into 20 *soldi* and a *soldo* divided into 12 *denari*.[1] In Ferrara two gold coins also circulated: the Fiorino and the Ducato (or *zecchino Veneziano*), which had been coined since the 13th century in 18-carat gold, the first one in Florence and the second in Venice. The Estense treasurers recorded both the coins used to pay creditors and the counter value in *lire marchesane ferraresi*. The average value of one ducat was three *soldi* (approximately 69 grams of silver) and the relation between silver and gold was 11 to 1 (820 grams of silver = 72 grams of gold).[2] The *Lira Marchesana* suffered considerable devaluation in relation to the afore-mentioned

[1] G. Guerzoni, *Le corti estensi e la devoluzione di Ferrara del 1598*, Modena, Archivio Storico Comunale, 1999.
[2] V. Bellini, *Dell'antica lira ferrarese di Marchesini, detta volgarmente Marchesana*, Ferrara, Bernardino Pomatelli, 1754.

gold currencies, falling from 50 *soldi* to the ducat in the 1450s to 57 *soldi* in 1476 and after the war with Venice in early 1480s it fell further to 63 *soldi.*[3]

Abbreviations

AMa	Ambasciatori Mantova
Amm. C.	Amministrazione della Casa
Amm. P.	Amministrazione dei Principi
ANFe	Archivio Notarile Ferrara
ARo	Ambasciatori Roma
ASC	Archivio Storico Comune di Ferrara
ASE	Archivio Segreto Estense
ASFe	Archivio di Stato Ferrara
ASMa	Archivio di Stato di Mantova
ASMo	Archivio di Stato Modena
ASRE	Archivio di Stato di Reggio Emilia
ASVe	Archivio di Stato di Venezia
AVe	Ambasciatori Venezia
b.	Busta
BCAFe	Biblioteca Comunale Ariostea Ferrara
BEMo	Biblioteca Estense Modena
DBI	Dizionario Biografico degli Italiani
DPSPFe	Atti e Memorie della Deputazione Provinciale Ferrarese di Storia Patria
DSPMo	Atti e Memorie della Deputazione di Storia Patria per le antiche Provincie Modenesi
LCD	Libri Camerali Diversi
M&F	Munizioni e Fabbriche

[3] C.M. Cipolla, *Studi di storia di cambi della moneta. I movimenti di cambi in Italia dal secolo XIII al XV*, Pavia, Pubblicazioni Universitarie, 1948, pp. 35-40 and pp. 48-49.

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During my years as a Ph.D. student I had the fortune to have Suzy Butters as my supervisor, her constant help and support in these years have contributed to the shape of the present work and the way in which I look at historical problems. Cordelia Warr has been extremely generous in advice and sincere comments from the beginning to the end.

My special thanks goes to Luca Molà for his precious suggestions and to Guido Guerzoni for all his advices about the House of Este and for his affection in the past ten years.

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To Suzy

Foreword

Years of living among the breakage
Of what was believed in as the most reliable –
And therefore the fittest for renunciation.

T.S. Eliot, *The Dry Salvages*

On May 20th 2012, at 4:04 am, an earthquake of 6.1 on the Richter scale occurred with an epicenter near Ferrara, affecting the counties of Ferrara and Modena. Nine days later, on May 29, 2012, at 9:00 pm, a second earthquake of 5.8 in the Richter scales affected the cities of Ferrara, Modena and Mantua. Fifteen people died and more than 6,000 were homeless as a result of these earthquakes.

A European agreement states that, in case of earthquakes superior to 6 on the Richter scale, State members should help their citizens with the reconstruction through non-repayable funds. Most conveniently the Italian Government downgraded the first earthquake to a magnitude of 5.9. The result of the earthquakes has been devastating, especially because in the '80s Ferrara and Modena have been classified as "non-seismic zones" which permitted the Italian State to build houses, public buildings and industries in these areas without any particular "safety plan". To this one could be add that the Courts of Law of Modena and Ferrara are prosecuting two American industries for having paid bribes in order to receive the permission to drill in these areas and to pump tons of methane gas, which probably contributed to the disaster.

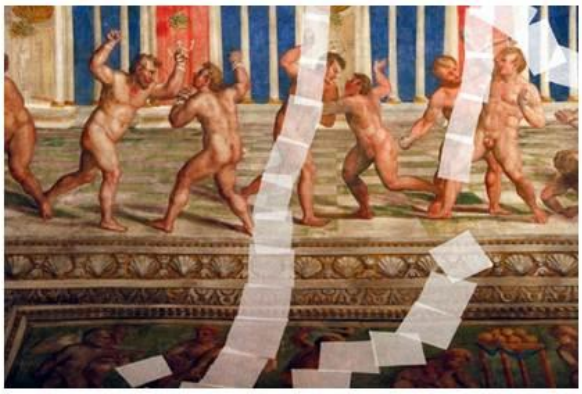
I do not want to comment on the difficult economical and political situation we are facing in Italy, but the earthquake and the feelings around it are something we have to remember. When these earthquakes occurred in Ferrara and I saw the statues fall from the churches, the frescoes crack, and the

whole Estense artistic patrimony devasted by the force of nature, I really felt the pain of losing reference points.















The Estense Rocca (San Felice sul Panaro, Modena), The Estense Tower (San Felice sul Panaro, Modena; the Communal Palace (Sant'Agostino, Ferrara).









1. Introduction

In the past years, I have had the opportunity (and the honour) to share discoveries and doubts concerning my thesis with several colleagues and professors. Their comments have been both valid and helpful, although I have to admit that, at first, their attitude towards my thesis was, to say the least, one of surprise, not only towards the theme of embroideries (fallen into oblivion since the feminist revolution), or that of *bucintori* (were there *bucintori* outside Venice?), but also towards my linking of the two subjects (were *bucintori* embroidered?), and especially in the Ferrarese Renaissance court of the Estensi (is Ferrara on the sea?). For all of them, and at the beginning for me too, the idea of an 'embroidered *bucintoro*' sounded so peculiar as to seem an artistic extravagance limited in time and place. This, however, is a myth that I would like to discredit with my work. The roots of the present thesis are to be found in a document I found in the State Archive of Modena, entitled *Manifature de li ricami de lo ornamento del bucintoro* ("the manufacture of embroideries for the decoration of the *bucintoro*"), one of the few volumes devoted to a single manufactured object in the enormous *Guardaroba* Estense. A manuscript dated 1459, unique in its completeness, considering the painstakingly detailed account of the day-by-day work of a group of embroiderers and the relative costs involved, but, at the same time, as implacable as only accounting could be, it left me in the dark about what a *bucintoro* was, why it was embroidered and what use was made of it. Starting from that peculiar document I began searching for answers to the aforesaid questions, and quite unexpectedly a plethora of account books, letters, memoranda, reports and chronicles emerged from the different archives of the north-Italian courts. What surprised me most was the endurance of *bucintori* in the court records which revealed not only their existence as early as the twelfth century right down to the nineteenth century but also the geographical distribution of these boats. From the

documents we are informed that the fashionable habit of owning a *bucintoro* was widespread in Italian, German, French, Flemish, and English courts, as well as in Turkey and Egypt, although, with the exception of some recent articles,[4] little attention has been paid by historians to the role *bucintori* played in these courts and regions.

The first problem I faced was to find a suitable answer to the simple but fundamental question: what is a *bucintoro*? One of the earliest documents in which the term *bucintoro* appears dates back to the mid-twelfth century.[5] It describes a boat built in Venice to be used during the so-called *fiera della Sensa* to lead the fleet which sailed to the Porto del Lido on Ascension Day in the ceremony of the 'marriage of the sea' (*sposalizio del mare*). During the ceremony the Doge threw a consecrated ring into the Adriatic Sea, pronouncing the formula: "We unite ourselves to you in matrimony, our sea, in sign of true and perpetual sovereignty" (*Desponsamus te, mare nostrum, in signum veri perpetuique dominii*). From this very first example, it is immediately clear that the *bucintoro* was a boat devoted to specific celebratory uses. But what kind of boat was it? And why was it named *Bucintoro*? Historians have defined *bucintori* as galleys,[6] considering the family of the *bucintori* as a 'subcategory' of the main set of

[4] E. Ballaira, A. Griseri, S. Ghisotti, *La Barca Sublime. Palcoscenico regale sull'acqua*, Milano, Silvana Editoriale, 2013; L. Griva, *La nave dei Re, il Bucintoro dei Savoia e il Po a Torino nel Settecento,* Torino, Edizioni del Capricorno, 2012; *Ibidem*, «Il Bucintoro dei Savoia», in *Studi Piemontesi*, n. 31 (2002), Torino, Centro Studi Piemontesi, pp. 301-319; *Ibidem*., «Venezia – Torino 1731: un bucintoro per i Savoia», in *Studi Veneziani,* n. 46 (2003), pp. 342-353; *Ibidem.*, «Lo scultore Matteo Calderoni e la costruzione del bucintoro sabaudo», in *Studi Piemontesi*, vol. 36 (2007), pp. 427-434; M. Mazzei Traina, «Un bucintoro a Crespino», in *Anecdota*, n. 2 (2010), Comacchio, Palazzo Bellini, pp. 41-58; L. Beltrami, *Il Bucintoro di Milano al principio del secolo 17*., Milano, Allegretti, 1904; S.J. Klingensmith, *The Utility of Splendour. Ceremony, Social Life and Architecture at the court of Bavaria (1600-1800)*, Chicago, Chicago University Press, 1993.

[5] A. Renier, L. Urban, *La Festa e la Fiera della Sensa: il Bucintoro*, Venezia, Filippi, 2008.

[6] M.E. Mallet, *The Florentine Galleys in the fifteenth-century. With the Diary of Luca di Maso degli Albrizzi, Captain of the Galleys (1439-1430)*, Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1967; J.S. Morrison, *The age of the galley: Mediterranean oared vessels since Pre-Classical time*, Conway Maritime Press, 2004.

galleys. This classification came from the Venetian *Bucintoro* as it appeared in the eighteenth century, depicted in a masterly fashion by Canaletto (and Bellotto or Guardi) (fig. 1),[7] that is, in every respect, a covered galleass (fig. 2). This label was extended to the whole set of *bucintori*, despite the fact that not all these barges were galleys. We are all very familiar with what the Venetian *Bucintoro* looked like in the baroque era, but how it appeared three centuries before is quite a surprise. From careful observation of the surviving evidence (paintings, prints and documents) of the Venetian *Bucintoro* and its shape, it is evident that its type and dimensions changed quickly, due to the development of nautical engineering and, no less importantly, to the desire to exceed in luxury and splendour all previous examples. In fact, in the fifteenth century the Venetian *Bucintoro* was actually a big *burchiello* (fig. 3), a century later it had assumed the appearance of a large flat-bottomed ships (fig. 4), while in the eighteenth century it was a galleass (fig. 5); despite these changes, however, its name never changed, enduring for six centuries as *Bucintoro*. The rapid variations in shape of *bucintori* occurred all over the Mediterranean area and continental Europe, making it even harder to define completely and unambiguously all the different *bucintori* created in and outside Venice over more than six centuries.

Three main problems affect the possibility of providing a suitable and definitive category for *bucintori*: the first being the wide diffusion of *bucintori* across geographically distant places and different periods of the modern era. The second problem is offered by the fact that all historians who wish to study *bucintori* have only written documents at their disposal or, at best, sketches or paintings, and not actual shipwrecks, submerged settlements or real *bucintori*, as maritime historians usually have. The only surviving examples of *bucintori* are the ones of the Savoyard court (fig. 6) and those of the Bourbons (figs. 7 and 8), both dating to the eighteenth century. None of the ephemeral decoration

[7] F. Magnani, *Uno sguardo su Venezia. Canaletto al Miramare*, Milano, Silvana Editoriale, 2012.

has come down to us in either of these two examples. Last but not least, the third problem refers to the fact that if the term *bucintoro* does not actually identify a peculiar class of ships (like galleys, submarines or frigates) but, more correctly, designates royal or state barges designed and, above all, decorated for important moments and celebrations, it was the owner himself (and his courtiers) who attributed the name '*bucintoro*' to his own barge. This is a tricky problem. As became apparent from the many documents I have found during my research, most Italian rulers, especially in northern courts, whose ambition it was to compete with others in luxury and magnificence, decided to furnish their fleets with at least one massive, painted, gilded and embroidered barge that they called *bucintoro*. This does not mean that they defined it as 'a boat called the *Bucintoro*' in the sense that *bucintoro* was the name chosen for the boat, like the proper name of Columbus's caravels 'Niña, Pinta and Santa Marìa', but rather that they furnished their fleet with a 'state barge in the style of a *bucintoro*'. Account books, letters and *memoriali* are, in fact, extremely precise in the distinction of proper names or kinds of boats, so that they always distinguish between the formula 'la barca detta la *Diamante*' ('the boat called the *Diamond*'), just to quote an example, and 'il *Bucintoro Grande*' ('the Great *Bucintoro*'). Notwithstanding the precision of the documents, it is quite impossible to be sure that all the *bucintori* recorded in the documents were as sumptuous as the Venetian model was, but, at the same time, a modern day search for *bucintori*, whether 'major league' or more modestly finished, is a hard and fruitless task. Unexpectedly, none of the historians who have studied *bucintori* (the only published works are on the Venetian and the Savoyard ones) have taken these preliminary problems into consideration. In the present work, for all these reasons, I have taken different kinds of ships into account, not in relation to their nautical engineering features, but because they were similar in their uses and decoration and were defined by their owners as *bucintori*. In the next chapter I will try to explain the similarities among these barges, why they

were fashionable and in what ways rulers competed with each other in the decoration of *bucintori*.

The term *bucintoro* was used with few variations in Italian courts,[8] but it was also turned into Latin (*nave buccinatoria*)[9] and translated into Greek. In his description of the Council of Ferrara-Florence (1438), the historian Syropolus recorded the Venetian '**πουτζιδῶρον**' (*poutzidoron*) and, in the chapter about "The entry of the Patriarch into Ferrara" the Estense '**ορομπούρκιον**' (*orompourkion*).[10] A few decades later, Phrantzes, the Byzantine envoy to Doge Foscari in 1455, in the description of his Venetian trip used the two terms *poutzidoron* and *orompourkion* as synonyms.[11] Outside Italy we find the terms *Bucentaur*, *Galiota* in several French documents, or *Kalieta* in Turkish ones (both from the Venetian *Galeota*).[12] Despite the wide use of the term *bucintoro*, its origin is not completely clear. Traditionally, the etymology of the word seems to derive from the composition of two Greek terms: '**βου**' (*bou*) and '**κεντάυρος**' (*kentauros*), centaur.[13] '*Bou*' had been considered an intensifying particle, so that Leonardo da Vinci in his commentary on Valturio's *De Re militari*, used the word *Bucintauro* to underline the meaning of 'wide' for the particle *bu(s)*.[14] In the seventeenth century the historian and philologist Pietro Giustiniani identified the word *kentauros* with the vessel that Aeneas prepared

[8] In the documents I have found: *buzintoro*, *bucentoro*, *buccintoro*, *buzentoro*, *buzentauro* and *oroburchio*.
[9] Enea Silvio Piccolomini, *Commentarii*, XI, 22.
[10] "**ὀκαλῆιτο δὲ Ορομπούρκιον**" (*okalèito de Orompoùrkion*), in "De ingressu Patriarcha in urbem Ferrariam", in *Acta Conciliorum et Epistolae Decretalis ac Constitutiones Summorum Pontificum, Tomus Nonus, ab anno MCCCCXXXVIII ad annum MDXLIX*, Paris, ex Typographia Regia, 1714, c. 6.
[11] R. Maisano (edt.), *Giorgio Sfrantze. Cronaca [Chronicon Minus]*, Roma, 1990.
[12] H. Kahane and R. Kahane, «Turkish Nautical Terms of Italian Origin», in *Journal of the American Oriental Society*, vol. 62, n. 4 (December 1942), pp. 238-261.
[13] A. Bonavilla, *Dizionario etimologico di tutti i vocaboli usati nelle scienze, arti e mestieri che traggono origine dal Greco compilato coll'assistenza del professore di lingua greca Abate D. Marco Aurelio Marchi*, Milano, Giacomo Pirola, 1918.
[14] A. Marinoni, *Gli appunti grammaticali e lessicali di Leonardo da Vinci*, vol. 1, Milano, Istituto Nazionale di Studi del Rinascimento, 1952.

for the funeral games of his father Anchises as narrated by Virgil.[15] In Book Five of the *Aeneid* the poet recounted that during the funeral games an impressive boat race had been organized and the competing boats were called *Chimaeras*, *Centaur*, *Scylla* and *Pristis*.[16] Cloanthus, the *Centaur*'s sailor, won the race and was awarded laurel wreathes, a talent of silver and a cloak embroidered with gold and purple. For Giustiniani the word *bucintoro* meant 'a bigger *Centaur*'. In contrast, Marin Sanudo, in his fifteenth-century diary, traced the origin of the word from the Venetian *burchio d'oro*, with the meaning of 'golden ship'.[17] This interpretation might also explain the word *oroburchio* ('gilded barge') used in northern Italian courts as a synonym for *bucintoro*[18] and the Egyptian translation '*al-dhahabiyya'*, literally the 'golden boat', used by the historian Maqrizi in the year 1367.[19] If the etymology of the word is not perfectly clear, all the historical explanations presented here focus on the magnificence of the barge: either with regard to its dimensions or its decorations. The historical desire to find a suitable etymology for the magnificence of *bucintori* is a further demonstration of how widely appreciated these kinds of boats were during the Renaissance.

Taking the evidence I found in documents as excluding the hypothesis

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[15] Pietro Giustiniani, *Dell'Historie Venetiane. Nelle quali si contengono tutte le cose notabili, occorse dal principio della fondatione della Città, sino all'anno M.D.LXXV.*, Venezia, Gio: Battista Brigna, 1671.

[16] A. Feldherr, «Ships of State: "Aeneid" 5 and Augustan Circus Spectacles», in *Classical Antiquity*, vol. 14, no. 2 (Oct. 1995), pp. 245-265; R.J. Edgeworth, «Associative Use of Color in the "Aeneid"», in *The Classical World*, vol. 3 (Nov. 1979), pp. 167-170.

[17] M. Sanudo, *I diarii di Marin Sanuto*, Venezia, 1892; for the description of the Arsenale of Venice see Marin Sanudo il giovane, A. Caracciolo Aricò (edt.), *De origine, situ et magistratibus urbis Venetae ovvero La città di Venezia (1493-1530)*, Milano, 1980, pp. 35-37.

[18] Miller wrongly translated the word *orompourchion* as "tow-boat" in W. Miller, «The Historians Doukas and Phrantzes», in *Journal of Hellenic Studies*, vol. 46, Part 1 (1926), pp. 63-71.

[19] al-Maqrizi, *Suluk*, vol. 3, 1, p. 132, quoted by D. Behrens-Abouseif, «European Arts and Crafts at the Mamluk Court», in *Muqarnas*, Vol. 21, 'Essays in Honor of J. M. Rogers', 2004, pp. 45-54, quotation p. 50.

that *bucintori* constitute a precise and particular set of boats, my attention therefore came to focus on finding out what these barges had in common, what distinguished them from other boats and on what occasions they were used by their owners. From the documents I consulted it quickly emerged that *bucintori* were used for important ceremonies, so that it could be said that the primary function of these boats was to celebrate the owner in public, to display the 'public body' of princes with appropriate magnificence and to receive visitors, ambassadors or brides in the most sumptuous manner possible. For this reason, the entire *bucintoro* was gilded or painted; balustrades, columns, vases and statues decorated its hull; embroidered pennons, flags and upholstery enriched the mast, the lateen and the seats; and, finally, the deck of the *bucintori* were fitted with a room that functioned as a private stateroom or Hall of State. This was the heart of the boat and its most expensive part, usually fitted on the deck with wooden columns, textile panels and curtains, all elements which required annual investments to preserve and renew their grandeur. Taken together, all these decorations of *bucintori* constituted a visible manifestation of significant intent: not only to adorn and furnish the barge with comfortable and attractive seats and with covered rooms to protect passengers from the wind and the sun, but also to confer authority and dignity on the owners, by extension understood to be endowed with wisdom, virtue, knowledge and, above all, honour. Thus, an outwardly beautiful appearance bespoke a virtuous soul; gorgeous. 'ornate' decoration signified a marriage of elevated status with personal achievement, as made apparent in the definition of the term *ornatus* by Thomas Cooper in his 1573 *Thesaurus*.[20] The painted and embroidered decorations of the main rooms of *bucintori* were not merely decorative but also functional, in intellectual as well as practical ways, designed to focus the attention of observers on carefully chosen meanings. Because the character of these decorations depended on the uses to which the principal spaces of

[20] Thomas Cooper, *Thesaurus Linguae Romanae & Britannicae. Dictionarium Historicum Et Peticum Propria Vocabula Virorum, Mulierum, Sectarum, Populorum, Urbium, Montium*, London, 1573.

bucintori were put, they evolved in keeping with the political changes undergone in the regimes to which the owners belonged. In this sense the relationship between the barge and its embroidered and painted decorations was inseparable. I will discuss these arguments in greater depth in Chapters Three and Four.

Notwithstanding the early creation of *bucintori* in Venice, it was only in the fifteenth century that the habit of owning a *bucintoro* actually became widespread. The earliest example of Italian *bucintori* that I have found in the documents consulted is the Estense one, built for the Council of Ferrara in 1438. Before the construction of this barge, the Estensi had at their disposal at least two ships-of-state, but these were called *le navi del Signore* ('the boats of the *Signore*') and for this reason I could argue that these boats were not as sumptuous as the Venetian model was. In 1440 a *bucintoro* appeared in the courts of the Palaeologogi in Montferrat, while in 1444 a communal *bucintoro* was used for the first time in Chiusi, near Siena. The Gonzaga of Mantua furnished their fleet with a first *bucintoro* around 1450 and in less than a century the Savoyards, the Bourbon, the Sforza of Pesaro, the Farnese, the Papal Legates in Bologna and Ravenna and the Papal court in Rome would have at their disposal their own *bucintoro*.[21] I am sure that other examples are still hidden somewhere in the archives of Renaissance courts. A courtly competition with the powerful city of Venice is certainly one of the reasons that induced Italian rulers to own *bucintori*, but I would also like to suggest that the discovery in 1444 of two Roman ships at the bottom of Lake Nemi also prompted the urgent desire for this 'new' habit. In fact, these Roman barges were two 'floating palaces' that seem to have served the Emperor Caligula

[21] C.M. Brown, «Luca Fancelli in Mantua, A Checklist of His 185 Letters to the Gonzaga. With an Appendix on the Dating of Letters Regarding Luca Fancelli and Giovanni Bellini», in *Mitteilungen des Kunsthistorischen Institutes in Florenz*, 16. Bd., H. 2 (1972), pp. 153-166; E. Ballaira, A. Griseri, S. Ghisotti, *La Barca Sublime. Palcoscenico regale sull'acqua*, Milano, Silvana Editoriale, 2013; Furlotti B., *The Art of Mantua. Power and Patronage in the Renaissance*, J. Paul Getty Foundation, 2008.

simply as opulent places in which to pass time with luxurious distractions. It is more than likely that this archaeological discovery cast light on courtly ambitions. *Bucintori* were symbols that spelled status, because the honour of the owner was directly related to the creation of an opulent show. For this reason, it could be argued that *bucintori* were objects that contributed, more than any others at the disposal of Renaissance courts, to the creation of a theatricality of acts and events outside the theatrical stage, situations that were collectively valued and socially meaningful. The spectators of these celebrations, namely rules and princes (from Italian states and abroad), the Pope, ambassadors, courtiers and the whole population, were aware of the theatrical intentions addressed to them. The parade organized around the *bucintori* used for important celebrations or entries into cities represented one of the most highly organized and sumptuous productions of Renaissance courts. Dozens of small boats came first, all of them appropriately decorated, tow-boats of the *bucintori* came after, most of them provided by nobles and courtiers, and finally the luxurious and magnificent *bucintoro* proceeded slowly transporting the highest-ranking figures of the courts. This artificial creation constituted a fictional space on the move in which every element acted as a sign. And, as Barthes has taught us, this is one of the main characteristics of the theatre.[22] A special insight into this theme will be offered by the *Bucintoro* commissioned by Borso d'Este in 1459, which I will analyse in Chapter Five.

Despite the importance of their decorations, *bucintori* were not intended for long sea journeys, but for inland navigation. In fact, although these ships-of-state were usually fitted with sails and benches for rowers, they were towed for short journeys along rivers by horses or minor tow-boats (fig. 9). The use of horses for towing boats and the transport of goods along rivers persisted in the Veneto region until the 1940s (fig. 10). Nonetheless, there are examples of *bucintori* towed by horses for long journeys, for example from Ferrara to Venice, a trip of approximately 150 kilometres, or *bucintori* which sailed the sea,

[22] R. Barthes, *L'Empire des signes*, Paris, Skira, 1970.

like the six ones that transported Isabella of Aragon from Naples to Milan in 1489. These boats were so central to the creation of important events that a competition between courts emerged. The competition was focused on the extravagance of the decoration and on the size of the decorated stateroom, and, subsequently, on the size of the boats themselves, which over the centuries became bigger and bigger. For example, in the mid-fourteenth century the Estensi ordered the building of the *Bucintoro Grande* and in two years, the Gonzaga of Mantua furnished their fleet with their own *Bucintoro*, a handful of metres bigger than the Estense one. After a year, the Estensi ordered a completely new *Bucintoro*, bigger than the previous one and, obviously, the Gonzaga one. The Gonzaga replied with a new painted decoration for their barge. While they were competing for the biggest *bucintoro*, the ambassadors of Venice defamed all these barges (and the honour of the two families) calling them the '*burchielli*', the flatboats with covered corridors used in Venice for the transport of goods (figs. 11 and 12). Indeed, Venetian ambassadors were great adepts in the art of disparaging the *bucintori* of other courts.[23] *Bucintori* were so fashionable and the competition to construct bigger and betters ones was so great that it comes as no surprise that in 1475 Costanzo Sforza wished to organise a solemn entry into Pesaro with his wife, Camilla of Aragon, in an enormous *Bucintoro*, the only problem being that there was not a river or a canal running through Pesaro! To get round this 'little inconvenience' the Sforza ordered the building of a *bucintoro* equipped with wheels, to be guided by a group of servants hidden in the hull. And in this way they happily entered into the city of Pesaro, in the *Bucintoro*.[24]

In this work I propose to analyse in particular the case of the Estense *bucintori*, through original documents which have not previously been studied, to show the important role they played in the Estense duchy and to exemplify

[23] G. Cecchini, *Il Bucintoro o Le sposalizie di Venezia coll'Adriatico*, Venezia, Cecchini, 1866, pp. 10-28.
[24] M. Tabarrini, *Descrizione del convito e delle feste fatte in Pesaro per le nozze di Costanzo Sforza e Cammilla d'Aragona*, Tipografia G. Barbera, 1870.

how these boats were seen by observers from other Italian Renaissance courts. The nature and position of the Estense Duchy offers a special insight into the theme of *bucintori*. Primarily this is because its capital was Ferrara, a major city located on the river Po, near its delta. The Ferrararese territory is rich with small rivers, canals and ports and the navigation of its inland water was particularly developed, so that it is possible to speak of a water-based community. Close to the cities of Venice, Bologna, Mantua and Ravenna, Ferrara was necessarily in competition with their courts (fig. 13). Indeed, it is important to remember that throughout the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, the Estensi (Tables 1 and 2) were keen on securing a major role in courts all over northern Italy. The Estensi were torn between the Milanese and Venetian spheres of power, subject to the Emperor (the cities of Modena and Reggio Emilia were part of the Reichsitalien) and to the Pope, which made the Estensi Papal Vicars in Ferrara. Notwithstanding these different forces that contrasted with the ambitions of the Estensi, the members of the family tried to enhance their positions and fame among Italian rulers. For this reason, the Estensi created a self-image of power that emerged from the richness of their possessions, the display of their good rule and a very wide array of objects that show their tastes and cultural necessities, ranging from music instruments to paintings, from books of poetry to philosophy, from manuals of medicine to astrology researches, from embroideries to tapestries, from *maioliche* to tarots, in a kind of universalism that was sign of their honour, magnificence and power.[25] In my opinion, the *Bucintoro* Estense was part of this 'universalism', becoming, after its building in 1438, a must for the family honour. The rivalries between Renaissance courts, the desire to exceed in any field of aesthetic production, the necessity of display different and sumptuous terms of honour, the celebration of power, the creation of a new society and the discovery of

[25] Rinaldo Rinaldi, «Princes and Culture in the Fifteenth century Italian Po Valley Courts», in M. Gosman, A. Macdonald, A. Vanderjagt (edts.), *Princes and Princely Culture 1450-1650*, Leiden, Brill, 2005, vol II, pp. 23-43.

objects and values of classical Antiquity, are some of the reasons that might have induced the Estensi to furnish their fleet with *bucintori*.

The House of Este has been the subject of several interesting studies, but we have at our disposal only a few articles written about Ferrarese transport crafts,[26] in particular about the ships called the *Diamante* and the *Alfonsina*, which partly considered the existence of the Estense *bucintori*, notwithstanding the fact that the very first example of courtly *bucintori* recorded in the documents is the Estense barge built in 1438 for the entry of the Pope and the Patriarch into Ferrara.[27] The present work mostly concerns the years 1438 – 1598, the period in which the Estense court was at the apogee of its fame. The so-called 'devolution' of Ferrara to the Papal State in 1598, in fact, limited the Estensi to the cities of Modena and Reggio Emilia, territories controlled by the House of Este until the 1861 unification of Italy. During the period covered by the present work, the Estense *Bucintoro grande* (the biggest of their three *bucintori*) was used for six major events in two centuries, in particular for the entries into Ferrara of John VIII Palaeologus, Emperor Frederick III,

[26] M. Bonino, «Lateen-rigged medieval ships. New evidence from wrecks in the Po Delta (Italy) and notes on pictorial and other documents», in *The International Journal of Nautical Archaeology and Underwater Exploration,* n. 7, 1978, pp. 9-28; P.P. Pedriali, «Una Galeotta al servizio dei duchi di Ferrara: appunti per una ricostruzione del naviglio estense nei secoli 15. – 16.», *Rivista Marittima*, Apri 1978, pp. 59-76; P.P. Pedriali , «Per una storia delle attività marinare degli Estensi», *Rivista Marittima*, June 1981, pp. 47-56; P.P. Pedriali , «Sulle attività marinare degli Estensi (secc. XV e XVI) fonti e documenti», *VI Congreso Internacional de Arqueologia Submarina*, Cartagena, 1985, pp. 357-376; F. Sassi, «Attività marinare degli Estensi: contributo per la storia delle Corporazioni, del diritto marittimo amministrativo della Marina Italiana», in *Giornale di Storia e Letteratura Ligure*, 8, 1932, pp. 48-85.

[27] M. Bonino, «Ricostruzione della Fregata Diamante: Ferrara 1550», in *Bollettino di Notizie e ricerche da archivi e biblioteche*, n. 5, 1982, pp. 53-57; P.P. Pedriali, «I Bucintori Estensi nel Rinascimento», *Rivista Marittima*, Jan. 1979, pp. 78-98; T.J. Tuohy, *Studies in Domestic Expenditure at the Court of Ferrara 1451-1505 – Artistic Patronage and Princely Magnificence*, Ph.D. thesis, London, The Warburg Institute, 1982 pp. 130-140, published in his *Herculean Ferrara. Ercole d'Este (1471-1505) and the invention of a ducal capital*, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1996, pp. 154-160.

Pope Pius II, Pope Paul III, Archduke Charles of Austria, King Henry III of France, and for the entry into the capital city of all the Estense brides and ambassadors, as shown in Table 3. Considering the costs of building, decorating, renewing, embroidering, painting and gilding the barge and its main room, of its furniture, sails and lines, as well as heating and preserving it, creating docks, paying the salary of captains, sailors, rowers and food for servants in respect of the exiguous number of times in which it was officially used, it is obvious that the *Bucintoro* was a truly luxury object. To avoid the unemployment of one of the most expensive boats the Estensi had they frequently used the *Bucintoro* for different activities, some of them really far removed from the reasons for its original creation, as I will show in more details in Chapter 6. Princes or nobles who could not afford to have their own, rented small *bucintori* from companies who offered these services. Giacomo Casanova, for example, was one of those.

This study has been made possible thanks to the great number and variety of original and unpublished documents I have been able to find in the archives of north Italian courts. Notwithstanding the number of contemporary documents concerning *bucintori* in fifteenth and sixteenth century Italian courts, the list of expenses to decorate these barges compiled by the Treasury officials of the different courts, the dozens of letters from ambassadors and the many printed pamphlets narrating entries into the different cities with *bucintori*, not a single painting, fresco or drawing of these courtly barges has been preserved. I have therefore been obliged to formulate my arguments and draw my conclusions from the material at my disposal, and not from the objects themselves, as we have to take what history has randomly preserved for us. The Ferrarese *bucintori* are perfect examples of this process: there are no sketches of them, indeed no images at all, not a single piece of wood or textile of any of these enormous boats has been preserved, and yet I have been lucky enough to find the small pieces of paper that indicated which embroidery frames were to be distributed to the embroideresses for the main room of the

Great *Bucintoro*, each of them with two little holes created by the pin used to tag the frame (fig. 14). Hopefully, my work will provide sufficient detail to fill the gap in our imagination! Quite different is the case of the Venetian *Bucintoro*, for which there are several images, the oldest one dating back to the fourteenth century. Unfortunately, at the beginning of the nineteenth century, Napoleon's troops set fire to this stately barge.

To summarize, in Chapter Two I will describe the relationship that existed between the Venetian *Bucintoro* and other north Italian court *bucintori* and what distinguished *bucintori* from other vessels. I will also introduce the Estense *Bucintoro*, describing the evolution of its shape and decoration. In Chapter Three I will consider more closely the kind of decoration which was usually created for the main room of the Estense *Bucintoro*, analysing in particular the meaning of the heraldic panels and curtains that ornamented this stateroom. Chapter Four focuses on the embroiderers and painters who made the Estense *Bucintoro* in the mid-fourteenth century, underlining which duties the workers performed and what social status they held within the various Este courts. This chapter contributes to scholarship with its detailed analysis of the day-to-day work carried out on the embroideries for the main room of the *Bucintoro*, focusing in particular on the professional activities of those involved, their working lives, and, finally, the roles of women at elite and craft levels. One of the most interesting things that has emerged from this analysis is the discovery that of a particular technique for transferring the patterns for embroideries to the textiles, by means of a matrix carved with the nitric acid. For this reason I will try to formulate some innovative hypotheses on the use of nitric acid for printing textiles and creating patterns for embroideries. Chapter Five deals with one of the most extravagant examples of the Ferrarese state barges: the *Bucintoro* commissioned by Borso d'Este for the two entries of Pope Pius II into Ferrara in 1459 and 1460. In order to retrace the history and the reasons that stand behind the creation of this barge, I have considered several unpublished documents regarding not only its the decoration, but also

the diplomatic relations between the Pope and Borso, Marquis of Ferrara. Chapter Six is a study of how *bucintori* were used by the Estense family to obtain recognition from other Italian courts and at the same time, surprisingly, to contravene the pacts signed with the Pope on the production of salt. In fact, the Pope had forbidden the Estensi to exploit the salt mines in the territories under their control of Comacchio and Longastrino, so they literally stole their own salt from the mines with the *Bucintoro* in order to resell it to other courts. Moreover, I will examine the kind of stratagems taken in naval processions to make the princes appear splendid and magnificent, in particular with the analysis of Alfonso II d'Este's entry into Venice and Isabella d'Este's entry into Milan. With the death in 1597 of Duke Alfonso II, Pope Clement VIII declared the Estense line extinct and reclaimed Ferrara back for the Church. Cesare d'Este, Alfonso II's cousin, abandoned Ferrara and moved his court to Modena, which became the capital of the Duchy. There, he and his successors continued the habit of commissioning *bucintori* until the eighteenth century, in spite of its awkward geographical position for inland navigation. The departure of Cesare d'Este from Ferrara and the formation of the new court of Modena constitute the focus of Chapter Seven.

2. The cultural importance of having a *bucintoro*

Introduction

In most Renaissance courts, as I have disclosed in the Introduction, particular kinds of vessels or galleys used for state ceremonies and prepared with appropriate lavishness for this purpose were usually called *bucintori*. In this chapter, therefore, I would like to analyse the essential role played by Venice in the field of creating these state barges and the relation between its ship-of-state and other courtly *bucintori*, since the model to follow and outclass was the Venetian *Bucintoro*. Three reasons may be put forward to account for the importance of Venice: firstly, the creation of the *bucintoro* originated there in the twelfth century to satisfy the Republic's demand for magnificence. Secondly, from the thirteenth to the nineteenth century, the Venetian Arsenal was one of the few industrial enterprises able to satisfy the courtly desires of invention, differentiation, specialization and perfection of forms, materials and functions regarding luxurious boats. In fact, Venice developed the most efficient market for boats and nautical parts, thanks to the unending labours of the thousands of people who worked on these luxurious products. A third element is offered by the intense debate on nautical engineering generated within the borders of the Venetian Arsenal. The steady demand of courts for state and royal barges was encouraged and satisfied by the industrial capacity of the Arsenal, but it was also stimulated by a continuous supply of innovative products.

These factors help to explain why Venice was the reference point for the creation of the *bucintori* market, but none of these elements provides a satisfactory explanation for the fifteenth-century desire to acquire these state barges. In fact, notwithstanding the early creation of *bucintori* in Venice, it was only in the fifteenth century that the habit of owning a *bucintoro* actually became widespread. In the present chapter I would like to suggest that one of the reasons that particularly contributed to the interest in *bucintori* was the

archaeological discovery of two Roman ships in Lake Nemi, near Rome. In fact, during the first half of the fifteenth century, new methods were devised for the study of archaeological remains, and one of the greatest achievements was the acquisition of an understanding of the techniques involved in the building of ancient ships. The discovery of the Nemi ships provided a unique opportunity to Renaissance historians and architects to study the nautical engineering of the Roman era. Moreover, we can be sure that the fact that these two enormous boats had not been intended for navigation, but were used by Roman emperors as floating palaces stimulated Renaissance princes whose ambition it was to enhance their stately appearance and honour.

Following these premises, I shall analyse the main characteristics of courtly *bucintori*, focusing my attention on the Estense *Bucintoro*. The first Estense state barge in the fashion of a *bucintoro* was built in 1438 on the occasion of the Council of Ferrara, recorded in the document as the *Oroburchio*. It was with Leonello and Borso, a decade later, that the same barge was definitively named the Estense *Bucintoro*. It was a very complex product and many magistracies (and their officials) were involved in its building, conservation, preservation and renewal, as I would like to present in detail in this chapter.[28] Finally, I shall consider how the liveries especially designed for the captain and the crew of the *Bucintoro* contributed to the creation of a splendid and orchestrated show, aimed at displaying the honour of the whole Estense dynasty.

[28] I am very grateful to Mr. Gilberto Penzo, my favourite Venetian shipwright, for his essential help (and his patience during long discussions on facebook and several visits to his workshop) for my understanding of the nautical parts of *bucintori*. Gilberto, having corrected some 'howlers' that I made, offered me a coffee and concluded: "Beatrice, you are nice, but you are still a woman!".

The Venetian Bucintoro, a model to outclass

The Venetian *Bucintoro* has been the object of several interesting studies,[29] and from these we are informed that *bucintori* found their origins around 1180 in Venice. The first *Bucintoro* was used primarily by the Doge to celebrate the so-called 'marriage of the sea', but it was only in 1311 that it was decided that the *Bucintoro* be built at state expense and kept in a dockyard especially built in the Arsenal, thus making it the Venetian ship-of-state. For this reason, a new *Bucintoro* was built in 1328. It was an oared vessel with a single flat-bottomed hull, with benches for a limited number of rowers.[30] As I will show throughout the present thesis, the flat hull is one of the characteristics that all *bucintori* have in common. The reasons for flat hulls lie not only in the fact that Venice had developed a wide range of flat-hull boats for the sea (*battane, bragozzi, burchi, comaccine, topi*) as well as for the lagoon and

[29] L. Urban, *Il Bucintoro: la festa e la fiera della Sensa dalle origini alla caduta della Repubblica*, Venezia, Centro Internazionale della Grafica, 1988; *Ibidem,* «La festa della 'Sensa' nelle arti e nell'iconografia», in *Studi Veneziani*, X, 1968, pp. 291-353; *Ibidem*, «Il Bucintoro: nascita e fine di un mito», in S. Graciotti (edt.), *Mito e antimito di Venezia nel bacino Adriatico (secoli XV-XIX), Atti del I Convegno Internazionale Italo Croato*, Venezia, Fondazione Giorgio Cini (11-13 novembre 1997), Roma, 2001, pp. 105-116; A. Boholm, *The Doge of Venice: the symbolism of state power in the Renaissance,* Institute for Advanced Studies in Social Anthropology, Gothenburg, University of Gothenburg, 1990; J.R. Mulryne, H. Watanabe-O'Kelly, M. Shewring, (edts.), *Europa triumphans: court and civic festivals in early modern Europe*, Ashgate, 2004; L. Nadin Bassani, «Giorgio Castriota Scanderbeg a Venezia, sul Bucintoro», in *Ateneo Veneto*, CXCIV, s. III, 6/II (2007), pp. 8-24.

[30] Vincenzo Coronelli, Witt M.M. (edt.) *Ships and other sort of craft used by the various nations of the world – Venice 1690. Together with a catalogue of prints dealing with ships and the sea which have appeared in the works of Vincenzo Coronelli*, London, 1970; Garnier (abbé), «Galères et galéasses à la fin du Moyen Age», in *La navire et l'economie maritime du Moyen-Age au XVIIIe siècle principalement en Méditerranée. XII Colloque International d'Histoire Maritime*, Paris, Mollat, 1958; Bonino M., *Argomenti di architettura navale antica*, San Giuliano Terme, 2005; Cann Cattermole S., *Navi veneziane: catalogo illustrato dei piani di costruzione*, Padova, 1996; V. Giormani , «I peatoni, fratelli minori del Bucintoro», in *Studi Veneziani,* Istituto di Storia della Società e dello Stato Veneziano e dell'Istituto Venezia e l'Oriente della Fondazione Giorgio Cini, n. 39 (2000), pp. 289-305.

rivers (*trabaccoli, gondole, pieleghi, tartane*), all of them suitable for the Venetian hydrography,[31] but also in the fact that these barges were intended for parades or celebrations, so that the deck was fitted with a proportionate room. A massive, flat hull meant a larger deck and, consequently, a bigger room. From that moment on, the *bucintoro* was used for the ceremony of the 'marriage of the sea', to receive important visitors and ambassadors and for other stately parades. At the beginning of the fifteenth century a law was passed to prohibit the doge from making private use of the *bucintoro*, a prohibition attenuated by the possibility of the doge using it at his own expense.[32]

Between the fourteenth and the eighteenth century the Venetian *Bucintoro* underwent huge developments in its dimensions and decorations, transforming it into an object of ostentation and theatrical imagery. The year 1462 marked a fundamental passage in the history of this barge, because it was newly built as an oared vessel with one mast and two decks, the first deck for the rowers, the second one partially covered by a barrel-vaulted canopy and on its bow a statue representing Venice as Justice, as may be seen in fig. 3. I would like to suggest that the differences between the 1462 *Bucintoro* and the previous barges may be the result of the competition in this field sustained by the Republic of Venice and other Italian duchies. I do not think it was merely by chance that in 1459 Borso d'Este ordered a new double-deck *Bucintoro* for the reception of Pope Pius II, and that in 1460 the Gonzaga of Mantua furnished their fleet with a bigger *Bucintoro* than the Estense one, and, again only two

[31] AA.VV., «Imbarcazioni arcaiche e barche a fondo piatto in adriatico», in *Le marinerie tradizionali adriatiche*, exhibition catalogue, Rome, Museo delle Arti e Tradizioni Popolari, 1989; Guilmartin J.F. Jr., *Gunpowder and Galleys: changing technology and mediterranean warfare at sea in the sixteenth century*, Naval Institute Press, 2004; Tenenti A., *Cristoforo da Canal: la marine vénitienne avant Lépante*, Paris, Bibliothèque générale de l'École pratique des hautes études, 1962; Bonino M., «Le barche tradizionali italiane. Aspetti metodologici e tecnici della ricerca», in *La ricerca folklorica*, no. 21 (1990), pp. 19-24.

[32] This law is dated 6 May 1401. M. Azzi Visentini, «Festivals of State: Late Renaissance and Baroque Venice festivals», in S. Bonnemaison, C. Macy, (edts.), *Festival architecture*, 2008, pp. 74-128.

years later, that Venice ordered a new *Bucintoro* for the very first time in its history with the main deck completely occupied by room and corridors (the rowers being in the lower deck, as may be seen clearly in fig. 15), a shape maintained from then on to the eighteenth century. In Chapter 5 I will discuss in greater detail the *Bucintoro* built in Ferrara in 1459 and the relations between Venice and Ferrara. From this moment on, the Venetian *Bucintoro* became bigger and bigger, so much so that, from the sixteenth century, it assumed the appearance of a big covered galleass. In contrast, in the fifteenth century, a galleass was purely a war boat, being: "no more and no less than a very large *galea*, designed not for general use but exclusively for sea battles".[33] Entirely covered in gold leaf, adorned with two lions, decorated with the statues of Mars and Justice, enhanced by forty-eight columns, eight of which in the form of atlantes, furnished with the dogal throne, covered with velvet drapes and powered by one hundred sixty-eight oarsmen and forty sailors, the *Bucintoro* became one the most symbolic objects of the Venetian Republic.[34] Goethe, who saw the *Bucintoro* in 1786, wrote: "The ship is itself a decoration and as such cannot be overly decorated; it is in itself a golden carving, but is of no practical use; it is a true ostentation to show the people their Princes in all their magnificence", being for him probably the most preposterous vessel ever built.[35]

The Arsenal was definitely the only state manufactory able to satisfy the particular Venetian demand for richly decorated state barges and, at the same time, to export *bucintori* and their spare parts abroad. Decorated barges were completed with the collaboration of several painters, sculptors and carvers who

[33] Joseph Furttenbach, *Architectura Navalis*, Franckfurt: Durch Jonam Saurn, 1629, pp. 78-79.
[34] L. Urban, «I progetti per le decorazioni d'intaglio del Bucintoro settecentesco e lo scultore Antonio Corradini», in *Studi Veneziani*, XIX, 1990, pp. 285-92; A. Secco, «Stefano de Zuanne de Michel e il bucintoro del Settecento», in *Navis*, n. 1/99, pp. 87-102.
[35] J.W. von Goethe, *Italian Journey*, in T.P. Seine and J.L. Sammons (edts.), *Goethe's collected works*, New York, Suhrkamp, 1989, vol. 6, ch. 68.

were called in by the Arsenal to work on individual and unique projects. The Arsenal had been founded in the thirteenth century and the production of ships persisted until the nineteenth century. The Arsenal's ability to produce galleys was unique for its time, employing at the peak of its capacity between 1,500 to 2,000 shipbuilders every day (also know as *arsenalotti*, 'sons of the Arsenal'). Its industrial capacity took on almost mythical proportions: according to a diarist an entire galley was built and launched in a single day of 1574 for the express purpose of entertaining the King of France, Henry III, just in time to take him to eat his dinner.[36] It should come as no surprise, then, that Venetian shipbuilders and shipwrights were the creators and the developers of the market in nautical parts for *bucintori*. In fact, the officers of the fleets of the different courts either ordered spare parts from Venice,[37] or invited Venetian workers to come and restore their ships *in situ*. For example, in July 1544, Chapuys, the French ambassador, wrote to Charles V that Henry VIII's decorated ship-of-state, the so-called 'Galley Subtile' (fig. 16), was kept afloat on the Thames and that five Venetian shipwrights were employed in London: "in and aboutes her redoubbing tackling and other apparelling of the same for that they were more perfect in the same than the englishmen".[38] The Arsenal was not only the only organized manufactory able to satisfy the courtly demand for luxurious barges, but was also the main producer of nautical innovations, offering new products and a diversity of services. Thanks to the meticulous attention of the *Proti* (paraphrasing the words of Galileo Galilei, the *proti* were those artisans of the Arsenal who had a certain predominance over

[36] R.C. Davis, *Shipbuilders of the Venetian Arsenal: Workers and Workplaces*, Baltimore, Johns Hopkins University Press, 1991.
[37] In 1434, for example, the official of the Estense fleet bought in Venice a rower bench (*trasto*). In ASMo, LCD, n. 4, 24 November 1434, fol. 133. See here Appendix A, doc. 1.
[38] E.R. Adair, «English Galleys in the Sixteenth Century», in *The English Historical Review*, vol. 35, no. 140 (Oct. 1920), pp. 497-512.

the rest of the masters)[39] and the fruitful collaboration between architects, scientists and engineers, the Venetian Arsenal managed to built innovative vessels, for sea-battles, inland navigation and parades. It was this know-how in shipbuilding generated within the confines of the Arsenal, the collaboration of experts with scientists and, last but not least, the contacts with different nautical cultures that made these innovations possible and profitable. In the next section I will show how an archaeological discovery of two Roman ships in Lake Nemi led to an unusually fruitful understanding of a different culture, providing an opportunity for 'new' discussions about shipbuilding techniques. The 1592 correspondence between Galileo and a Commissioner of the Arsenal may be considered a prime example of these kinds of discussions, because it shows that the Republic's military committee systematically exchanged letters with engineers in order to find answers to a number of pressing questions about military and technical developments. One of the questions that persisted in the correspondence of the Arsenal is particularly interesting for the present work, as an inquiry was being made into:

> "which approach one has to take to remedy the flaw which the large galleys have in travelling so that, on occasion, they may travel without being towed; if one has to enlarge the superstructures of these galleys; which quality of oars and [oars] of which length will it be necessary to apply; if one has to adjust these galleys to having two oars per bench or one; the costs which one could encounter in such an adjustment; the way to then recover these galleys from the Arsenal in case one should enlarge the superstructures".[40]

[39] Galileo Galilei, D. Stillman (ed.), *Two New Sciences: including Centers of Gravity and Force of Percussion*, Madison, University of Wisconsin Press, 1974, p. 11.
[40] Giacomo Contarini, *Fabrica di galee*, in Archivio Proprio Contarini, Busta 25, Archivio di Stato di Venezia, Venezia, 1593, quoted in J. Renn, P. Damerow, S. Rieger, «Hunting the White Elephant: When and How did Galileo Discover the Law of Fall?», *Science in Context*, 13, fasc. 3/4, 2000 and M. Valleriani, «A View on Galileo's *Ricordi Autografi*. Galileo Practitioner in Padua», in J. Montesinos, C. Solís (edts.), *Largo campo di filosofare. Eurosymposium Galileo 2001*, La Orotava, Fundación Canaria Orotava de Historia de la Ciencia, 2001, pp. 281-291.

Sixteenth century *bucintori* were in fact large galleys or galleons and their superstructures were frequently altered and enlarged. Moreover, as I have mentioned several times, *bucintori* were towed by horses (for example the biggest among the Estense *bucintori* was drawn by at least ten or twelve horses guided by seven carters)[41] or, for longer journeys, by minor crafts that functioned as towboats, provided by professionals or by the boats of noble members of the court. These smaller barges were excellent examples of efficiency, since they generated a large amount of power for their size. In the eighteenth century the Venetian *Bucintoro* was towed by two big completely furnished galleys, as may be seen in fig. 17. It is obvious that the demand for *bucintori* and sea-battle galleys offered the same challenges to the shipbuilders of the Arsenal.

9 January 1798 saw the end of the Venetian *Bucintoro* as Napoleon's soldiers broke up the carved wooden portions and the gold decorations of the ship into small pieces, carted them to the island of San Giorgio Maggiore and set fire to them to recover the gold. The ship burned for three days and four hundred mules were used to carry away its gold. Some of the decorative elements that survived the flames are now preserved in the Museo Correr in Venice. The hull was used as a prison until it was entirely destroyed in 1824.

Like a modern emperor: the discovery of Nemi ships

In the previous section I discussed the important role played by Venice in the creation of the particular decorated barges called *bucintori* and the Republic's role in sustaining a European market for these vessels. It is intriguing to note that the first *bucintoro* was created in the twelfth century but it was only in the second half of the fifteenth century that these barges appeared

[41] ASMo, Amm. C., *M&F*, n. 20bis, "Libro di spese per corte, Castello, Bucintoro e castalderie", 1487, fol. 36.

regularly in the registers of different European courts. Broadly speaking, there are no strictly contemporary writings on the spread of *bucintori* or the reasons that account for it. However, it is clear from the many documents I have found that the fashion of owning *bucintori* was becoming popular in the mid-fifteenth century. One of the first examples of courtly *bucintori* dates back to 1438, when Niccolò III d'Este specifically ordered a state barge for the visits of the Pope and the Patriarch to Ferrara during the Council. The ship was so big that the ambassadors and the diarists who attended the Council vividly remembered the magnificence of this *Oroburchio,* and Syropolous, a Greek historian who attended the Council, was so impressed by it he wrote that the shape of this barge was similar to that of Noah's Ark.[42] Notwithstanding the hyperbolical comparison, it is interesting that Syropolus did not have at his disposal any term of comparison for such a barge, built with two decks, the upper one completely devoted to a sumptuous room. Similar difficulties were encountered by Pope Pius II when in his 1464 *Commentarii* he recorded that in his life he had seen just three genuine 'floating palaces', also known as *navi buccinatorie*: those belonging to Emperor Frederick III, the Gonzaga and the Estensi. However, in less than fifty years *bucintori* were to become widespread in different Italian and European cities, representing one of the most luxurious objects of sixteenth- and seventeenth-century courts.

At this point it is important to try to give a suitable answer to the question: what influenced the spread of *bucintori* in the second half of the fifteenth century? A first possible answer lies in the competition among rulers to exceed one another in owning luxurious objects as overt symbols of magnificence. As I previously hinted, however, the discovery of the two Roman ships in Lake Nemi, near Rome, in my opinion, may be put forward as another reason that contributed to the change in importance assigned to *bucintori* in Renaissance courts. In fact, a legend concerning two Roman ships

[42] "[…] erat autem duobus tribusve foris constructa, ut verus illum Noë arca […]", in "De ingressu Patriarcha in urbem Ferrariam", in *Acta* […], 1714, c. 6.

that lay on the lake bed had in fact been handed down by peasants who lived in the neighbourhood of Lake Nemi (fig. 18), a legend reinforced by some propitious recoveries of ancient pieces of woods and nails in the fishermen's nets.[43] The humanist Prospero Colonna (Rome, 1410-1463),[44] owner of the lake and its surroundings, fascinated by the legend, decided to attempt the recovery of the wrecks. In 1445 he called Leon Battista Alberti for a first 'scientific' attempt. Helped by a group of Genoese divers, who had studied the position of the two boats, Alberti built a barrel-shaped machine to bring them to the surface. Unfortunately, during the process, the first wreck collapsed and only its poop was recovered, although, surprisingly, its wood and nails looked as good as new. Among the public who had attended the recovery of the two ships was Flavio Biondo, who, a few years later, became Pope Pius II's court geographer. In his *Italia Illustrata* Biondo gave an account not only of the poop's recovery but also of the stories told by the divers, as may be seen here in Appendix B, Document n. 3. According to these accounts, the larger ship was an elaborate floating palace built by the Roman emperor Tiberius Caesar,[45] which included quantities of columns, marble, mosaic floors and systems for plumbing and heating baths among its many amenities (fig. 19).[46] Pope Pius II himself, in the *Commentarii*, described the discovery of the Nemi ships, as narrated to him by Biondo, comparing these 'floating palaces' with the richest boats of his time: the *navi buccinatorie* of Borso d'Este and Ludovico III Gonzaga. He wrote: "[…] on the deck there was built a house, similar to those I have seen on the Po in Ferrara owned by Borso or on the Mincio owned by the Gonzaga or those I have seen in the German Rhine by the Elector […]".[47]

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[43] Mariani L., *Le navi di Nemi nella bibliografia*, Roma, 1941; Ucelli G., *Le navi di Nemi*, Roma, 1950.
[44] F. Petrucci, «Prospero Colonna», in *DBI*, vol. XXVII, Roma, 1982.
[45] Studies of the two barges have clarified that they were built by the Emperor Caligula in the first century AD.
[46] Flavio Biondo, *Italia Illustrata* in *Roma ristaurata et Italia Illustrata di Biondo da Forlì, tradotte in buona lingua volgare per Lucio Fauno*, Venezia, 1542, pp. 77-79.
[47] *Commentarii*, XI, 22.

Enea Silvio Piccolomini, who took the name of Pope Pius II, wrote his *Commentarii* in Latin; here he transformed the Italian term *bucintoro* into a Latin one, using this term both for the Roman Nemi Ships and for the fifteenth-century *bucintori*, finding an obvious connection in the shape of the barges, more than in the etymology of the term. From the Roman court of Pius II, Biondo was also in contact with Borso d'Este to whom he sent a copy of his *Italia Illustrata* containing the description of the Nemi Ships, a manuscript preserved in the Vatican Library (Urb. Lat. 1125) dated 1460, an illuminated version of which is also preserved in the Biblioteca Estense of Modena (ms. Alfa.O.6.4 = Lat. 168). The volumes are dedicated as follow: "Flavio Biondo greets the Most Illustrious Prince Borso, Duke of Modena, and Vicar of Ferrara, of the illustrious Estense family".[48] Unfortunately, the illuminations do not include one of the whole or part of the Nemi ships.

Both Leon Battista Alberti and Flavio Biondo contributed greatly to a more secular and empirical approach towards the past, establishing in particular new methods for finding and studying archaeological remains. One of their greatest achievements was the understanding of ancient building techniques, which resulted in an attempt to rescue and record as much as possible of what was still left of the ancient city of Rome.[49] In his *Roma Instaurata*, Biondo described in a scientific manner the archaeological topography of the city, a matter of some urgency as many of the ancient ruins were being demolished to make way for the new Renaissance Rome. Much destruction had taken place during the reign of Pope Eugenius IV (1431-1447) and his successor Nicolas V (1447-1455). In contrast to these tendencies, in 1462 Pope Pius II issued the bull *Cum almam nostra urbem*, forbidding the destruction of antiquities in the Roman region. The reasons given for the preservation of Roman's vestiges were both aesthetic and spiritual: the ruins added dignity and magnificence to

[48] Fava D., Salmi M., *I manoscritti miniati della Biblioteca Estense di Modena*, Firenze, 1950, vol. I, pag. 139, n. 41.
[49] O. Kristeller, *The Classics and Renaissance Thought*, Cambridge, Harvard University Press, 1955.

the city, but they were also the sites of sacred relics.[50] Pius's awareness of classical precedent and his fascination with the ancient world is clear:[51] as a humanist and writer, Enea Silvio was particularly attracted to the Latin world, so much so that he had chosen the papal name of Pius from the epithet of Virgil's Aeneas, the 'pious', underlining the status enjoyed by the *Aeneid* as a "mirror for princes", a guide to virtuous conduct, and repository of spiritual and allegorical wisdom.[52]

The extraordinary state of conservation of the two Nemi ships combined with the Renaissance attitude towards the ruins of classical antiquity had a great influence on Alberti and other architects in the decision to reconsider how the Romans had built their ships, and how to use their findings to improve contemporary galleys and vessels.[53] This is not surprising, since antique objects of arts were regularly used as prototypes for contemporary art objects. Vasari, attributing the first imitation of Roman art to Lorenzo Ghiberti, wrote: "he studied very carefully [*sarcophagi*], as must everyone who wants to do good work".[54] In the period between the discovery of the Nemi ships and 1480, a specific genre of treatises on nautical engineering began to flourish, whose purpose was to explore the nature of *navium rationes* (the proportions of crafts), mentioned by Leon Battista Alberti in his *De Re Aedificatoria*, or rather, to teach how to build 'modern' nautical crafts.[55] The problem centred on defining the best scheme of proportions to be used for the essential dimensions of the craft and the techniques to work metals and nails.

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[50] C.M. Richardson, *Reclaiming Rome. Cardinals in Fifteenth Century*, Leiden, Brill, 2009.
[51] G. Clarke, *Roman House – Renaissance Palace. Inventing Antiquity in Fifteenth-Century Italy*, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 2003; J.R. Lindow, *The Renaissance Palace in Florence: Magnificence and Splendour in Fifteenth-Century Italy*, Aldershot, Ashgate Publishing Company, 2007.
[52] E. Garin, *Volti di umanisti*, Firenze, 1967, p. 10.
[53] M. Bonino, *Un sogno ellenistico: le navi di Nemi*, Felici Editore, 2003.
[54] C.M. Sousloff, *Absolute Artist. The Historiography of a Concept*, Minneapolis, Minnesota University Press, 1997.
[55] Leon Battista Alberti, *L'architettura [De Re Aedificatoria]*, G. Orlandi (edt.), Milano, 1966, l. V, cap. XII, pp. 388.

Among the treatises, it is useful to note the lost *De Navis* by Leon Battista Alberti, *Fabrica di galere* and *Arte de far vasselli* by anonymous Venetians (fig. 20),[56] and the notes written by Zorzi da Modon, all of which were written between the discovery of the wrecks and the year 1459.[57] The publication of Aristotle's *Mechanical Questions* at the beginning of the sixteenth century, which was first made available in Latin by the Venetian humanist Vettor Fausto, provided another important stimulus to research on nautical proportions.[58] Fausto was also famous in Venice for his reconstruction of a *quinquireme* (a Carthaginians war-boat) as it was supposed to be used in Antiquity.[59] These manuscripts, addressed in particular to shipbuilding, were the first group of works that brought to fruition current knowledge of maritime engineering. It is not by chance that shortly afterwards the best boats for crossing the oceans were built in the shipyards of Venice, as well as those of Genoa and Europe. The Nemi Ships were not only perfect for the study of nautical engineering, but they also displayed the magnificence of Roman emperors. Surprisingly enough, these two boats were not intended for navigation, but were considered more as palaces to float in the middle of the lake (fig. 21). Indeed, the systems for heating these two ships (several pipes connected to land) encumbered the movements of the barges. The richness of their decorations, the provision of a splendid place in which to spend the hot summer, as well as the fatuous

[56] A. Chiggiato, «Le ragioni antique dell'architettura navale», in G. Bonfiglio Dosio (edt.), *Ragioni antique spettanti all'arte del mare et fabriche de vasselli. Manoscritto nautico del sec. XV*, Venezia, 1987, pp. LVII-LXXIX; R.C. Anderson, «Italian Naval Architecture about 1445», in *The Mariner's Mirror*, XI (1925), pp. 135-163; F.C. Lane, *Navires et constructeurs à Venise pendant la Renaissance*, Paris, 1965; E. Concina, *L'Arsenale della Repubblica di Venezia. Tecniche e istituzioni dal medioevo all'età moderna*, Milano, 1984; E. Concina, *Navis. L'umanesimo sul mare (1470-1740),* Torino, Einaudi, 1990.

[57] Zorzi da Modon, ms. Titus Cotton, A. XXVI, 1459, British Museum Library, London; Lillian R. M., *The art and archaeology of Venetian ships and boats*, London, Onathan Publishing, 2001, pp. 84-159.

[58] Vettore Fausto, *Aristotelis mechanica / V. Fausti industria in pristini habitum restituta ac latinitate donata*, Paris, Jodocus Badius, 1517.

[59] E. Concina, *L'Arsenale della Repubblica di Venezia. Tecniche e istituzioni dal medioevo all'età moderna*, Milano, Electa, 1988, p. 108.

reasons for building these two completely furnished ships, most likely appeared to Renaissance rulers as the highest point of magnificence and lustre. It is particularly clear now that the fact of having a *bucintoro* indicated its owner was well informed on nautical innovations, magnificent in his extravagance, and, at the same time, as splendid as an ancient emperor: competition in the field of creating luxurious *bucintori* was just beginning.

The Nemi ships were recovered once again between 1928 and 1932, during the Fascist period, when the lake was completely drained and subsequently refilled (fig. 22). The boats were immediately deposited in the Museo Nazionale Romano. On June 1st 1944, however, both the wrecks were burned, most probably by German soldiers. The French destroyed the symbol of the pride of Venice, by burning its *Bucintoro*, in the same way that, during the Second World War, the 'allies-enemies' of Italy destroyed the boats that symbolized the 'new Roman spirit', so trumpeted by Mussolini during his dictatorship. The flagships of magnificence were burned together with the society that had bestowed on them their powerful place.

Courtly bucintori *and Estense ambitions*

Before turning to the Estense *Bucintoro*, it is important to reconstruct, at least in part, the shape of these kinds of state barges and to imagine their decorations. As I have already shown, the prototype for courtly *bucintori* was the Venetian ship-of-state. This is particularly evident given the fact that some of the earliest examples of courtly *bucintori* reproduced or imitated not only the boat used in Venice but also the ceremonial for which the *Bucintoro* was conceived. But some other crafts and ceremonies were interwoven with those of Venice. A first and very interesting example is offered by the so-called *al-dhahabiyya* ('the golden boat') that emerged in Egypt in late fourteenth century, at a time of intense contacts between the Mamluks and Venice. With this boat the sultan navigated along the Nile to celebrate the opening of the Grand

Canal of Cairo on the occasion of the yearly flood, a ceremony called Khalij. It was a unique event, in which the sultans affirmed their power over the maritime waterways and thanked the river for its prosperity. This barge was in use from 1367 to 1470 and was revived in 1513 when the construction of a barge in the "style of the old boat called *dhahabiyya*" was ordered.[60] As noted by Abouseif, the ship used for the ceremony of Khalij was different from the other royal barges used in water festivals by the Mamluks, called *harraqa* or *ashari*. This 'golden boat' probably took its inspiration from the shape of the Venetian *Bucintoro*, since it was propelled by sixty oars and its deck was occupied by a comfortable main room painted in many colours, gilded and equipped with its own latrine.[61] Notwithstanding the richness of the Venetian and Egyptian examples, it is erroneous to conclude that these barges and events were so sumptuous and expensive as to belong exclusively to powerful cities. In fact, the ceremony of 'the marriage of the sea' was also performed, just to quote an example, in the small Tuscan city of Chiusi from 1444 to 1474,[62] when the Magistrate of the city navigated with the Communal *Bucintoro* on Lake Chiusi and threw a consecrated ring into its water. But not all the courts that furnished their fleets with *bucintori* used them for the ceremony of the 'marriage of the sea'. Most of these courtly *bucintori* were displayed in water festivals, parades, entries into the cities or to receive illustrious visitors and ambassadors. This element reinforces my opinion that, from a ceremonial point of view, in the mid-fifteenth century *bucintori* had largely lost their peculiar communal or civic connotations, and were being transformed into the richest royal or state barges of the time, true floating palaces whose grandeur honoured above all their princely owners. At this point, it is important to move

[60] Silvestre de Sacy, *Relation de L'Egypte par Abd Allatif médecin arabe de Baghdad*, Paris, chez Treuttel et Würtz, 1810, pp. 299-300.
[61] D. Behrens-Abouseif, «European Arts and Crafts at the Mamluk Court», in *Muqarnas*, Vol. 21, 'Essays in Honor of J. M. Rogers', 2004, pp. 45-54.
[62] E. Repetti, «Chiusi in Val-di-Chiana», in *Dizionario Geografico Fisico Storico della Toscana*, vol. I, Firenze, presso l'Autore, 1833, p. 719.

on to consider both the features that these barges have in common and the main characteristic of the *Bucintoro* owned by the Estense family.

Bucintori were flat-hull boats that derived from different types of vessels, in particular from *burchielli*, *peatoni*, *peotte*, galleys, galleasses and galleons. The shapes of *bucintori* were influenced by their dimensions, the period in which they were conceived and, last but not least, by the fact that the decorated superstructure conditioned and transformed the shape of the boat, making its classification even harder. Just to quote some examples, Syropolous, as we have seen, compared the Estense *Bucintoro* to Noah's Ark, while twenty years later the Greek historian Sfrantze compared the very same boat to a Roman *trireme*. In contrast, in 1565, the Estense *Bucintoro* was described by a German ambassador as "a ship like a half-galleon".[63] The attempt to classify 'half-galleons', 'big-galleys', 'floating palaces', 'arks' and Roman ships under a single sure and indisputable label seems impossible. What is sure, however, is that *bucintori* took their shape from flat-hull boats, mainly developed in the Adriatic area, in contrast to boats with rounded sterns, like carracks and caravels, developed in Genoa, Spain and Portugal, as may be seen in fig. 23.

All *bucintori* were oar-propelled vessels, the oars placed in front of the room on the main deck (fig. 24) or, in the case of a double-deck barge, on the lowest deck. The biggest examples of *bucintori* were also fitted with a mast and sail.[64] Despite their oars and sails, *bucintori* were towed along rivers or coasts by minor crafts or horses. In no documents have I found any mention of human barge haulers for *bucintori*, notwithstanding the fact that it was quite a common activity among the farmers of the Polesine (the countryside between Ferrara and Padua), who made up their wages with this exhausting activity (fig. 25).[65] This may be explained by the fact that *bucintori* were heavy and bulky vessels

[63] M. A. Katritzky, «The Florentine entrata of Joanna of Austria and other Entrate Described in a German Diary», in *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes*, Vol. 59 (1996), pp. 148-173.
[64] ASMo, Amm. C., *M&F*, n. 13, "Memoriale 1479", fol. 4.
[65] C. Crepaldi, G. Pasqualetto, *I tiranti. Un mestiere dimenticato*, Fiesso d'Artico, La Press, 2006.

and the use of horses or boats was more efficient and cost-saving. The reasons, therefore, for towing *bucintori* were their scarce agility, the need to move them upstream, especially in narrow rivers or canals, and the overall weight of the boat. Indeed, it is important to remember, that these barges were completely covered with gold, silver, statues, balustrades, marbles and multifarious decorations, so that their weight was greater than of other boats. Just to quote a similar example, the Japanese *Tekkosen* ('iron ship') was used by *daimyo* to visit and control their domains, a boat that was towed along the coasts because of its weight. The same boat, without its iron decoration, was called *Atakebune* (fig. 26), a large vessel used in battles of such agility that it was used by Japanese pirates.[66]

The superstructures of *bucintori* were fitted out with one or more rooms that took up almost the whole main deck, the biggest among them served primarily as the Great Hall of State. Made of gilded wood and their partitions completely covered with textile panels and curtains, these rooms were positioned in the centre of the main deck unlike those of other royal or state barges, which were covered with a sort of pavilion on their poop (fig. 27). Embarkation took place on the poop or on the prow, in contrast to that on other barges, which took place on the sides (fig. 28). This was so because the superstructure was specially built to give importance to the Hall of State on the deck, providing guests with the best view of the room. The boat was equipped with small rooms below deck where it was possible to sleep. These rooms were decorated with embroidered panels, sets that had to be specially made because the rooms of *bucintori* were lower in height than those in palaces, making the re-use of palace panels in boats impossible, or by several framed paintings, so that, for example, the Flemish painter Jan Soens was paid to execute six 'stories' for the *Bucintoro* of Ranuccio Farnese in 1594.

[66] P.D. Shapinsky, *Lords of the sea: pirates, violence, and exchange in medieval Japan*, University of Michigan, 2005.

Owing to their particular shape, *bucintori* were unable to remain at sea for extended periods and often needed to return to land to take on water and other supplies. Braziers (*fogare*) and charcoal were used to heat the rooms. In truth, the *Bucintoro* was not a comfortable place to spend the night. In fact, Beatrice de' Contrari, the companion of Isabella d'Este, writing about the trip to Milan in 1491, informed the Marquis of Mantua that:

> "When the time to go to sleep arrived, my bleak room in that *buzintoro* full of draughts came into my mind, so that the desire to sleep was lost. And my poor Lady, the Marchioness, without a fire was freezing. She started to complain saying that she was almost dead, and I felt pity for her and I started to cry. Finally she called me into her bed in order to keep her warm. I complied with her orders but I thought I was less fitted to the task than you would have been, you being her husband and my Lord".[67]

For this reason it seems more likely that the court would have disembarked at night. Obviously, getting off a *bucintoro* required not only perfect organisation and coordination, but also expensive preparation and good reception. Moving courts abroad on *bucintori* meant not only moving the prince and his family, the courtiers and nobles, but also the court's furniture, garments, plate and tapestries, food and rations, charcoal, wax and wood, just to mention the most important provisions for a short boating trip. To quote a striking example, when Eleanor of Aragon sent to the Ferrarese ambassador in Milan, Alfonso Trotti, the list of guests from Ferrara to be submitted to Ludovico Sforza for his wedding with Beatrice d'Este, scheduled for January 1491, the Duke of Milan, frightened by the cost of hosting the Estense court, kindly replied that it was probably better for the six hundred Ferrarese companions to spend the night in the *Bucintoro* and other boats, pointing out that the Milanese companions for the wedding of Alfonso d'Este and Anna Sforza, to be held in Ferrara in the same month, was of modest size. That January the Po froze, thus

[67] F. Malaguzzi Valeri, *La corte di Ludovico il Moro: la vita privata e l'arte a Milano nella seconda metà del quattrocento*, Milano, Hoepli, 1912, p. 39.

the Ferrarese guests moved to the wedding on coaches and the Duke of Milan, generously, played host to the whole Estense cortège.

After this analysis of the main characteristics of courtly *bucintori*, I would like to introduce the *bucintori* owned by the Estense family. The first *Bucintoro* was ordered by the Estensi in 1437-38 for the entries of the Pope and the Patriarch into the city of Ferrara. This is a very important barge, since it was probably the earliest example of Italian courtly *bucintori*. Niccolò III d'Este, Marquis of Ferrara, Modena and Reggio Emilia, signed an agreement regarding the receptions with the Venetian Pope Eugene IV (former Gabriele Condulmer), in which the Marquis promise to observe every detail of the future Council's organization: from the number of white flour buns to be served to each participant to the way in which the Pope should make his entry into Ferrara. A sumptuous entry with a *bucintoro* was undoubtedly appropriate for a Venetian Pope. An unpublished document, now preserved in the Biblioteca Ariostea of Ferrara and utilised here for the first time,[68] provides a precious description of the preparations that preceded the Council. The *Bucintoro* of 1438 was built as a double-deck barge, completely decorated in various colours, so that on its outside the decorations reached the water. The rooms below deck overlooked the water with several small windows and between each window stood two columns painted to look like porphyry. There was a kitchen, a fishery and a cellar full of barrels of wine. The furniture of the rooms were lined in velvet and their floors and corridors covered with rugs. On the deck a long rectangular portico supported by columns, was built, the open parts covered by embroidered textile panels, where it was possible to stand and enjoy the navigation. It looked more like a palace than a boat.

This barge was used by the courts of Niccolò III, Leonello, Borso and Ercole I d'Este. In fact, from the time of its construction on, the *Bucintoro* became one of the most important objects of the House of Este, so that all the

[68] Biblioteca Ariostea, Ms. Cl. I, n. 505, *Concordato del Papa Eugenio IV con Nicolò III d'Este relativo all'intervento del Concilio Eucaristico in Ferrara. Firmato in Bologna il giorno 17 gennaio 1438*.

receptions in the city of Ferrara were planned with the *Bucintoro*. In 1489 its nautical parts would be completely replaced whilst its wooden superstructure was completely remade in 1502.[69] In contrast, the painted decoration of the superstructure was restored every three years or so: in fact we are informed by documents that during the marquisate of Borso the superstructure of the *Bucintoro* was repainted in 1456 (for Borso's visit to Venice),[70] 1458-1459, 1463 (on this occasion, the *Bucintoro Piccolo* as well as the *Bucintoro Grande*), 1465 and 1469.[71] This is not unusual, since we are informed that, for example, the structure of the Turkish royal barge (the so-called *Kadirga*) had been built two hundred years before its superstructure, and that this was continuously repaired and renovated, as may be seen in figs. 29 and 30.[72] In addition to this Great *Bucintoro*, between the reigns of Borso d'Este and Ercole d'Este (approximately between 1450 and 1480) two smaller *bucintori* were built, called *Piccolo* ('small') and *Mediano* ('medium'), which remained in the fleet of the Estensi throughout the sixteenth century. In the following sections, I will describe how these Estensi *bucintori* were built and preserved. Moreover, in the next two chapters I will explore the meanings of the decorations so carefully chosen for the main room of the *Bucintoro* Estense, and how they were executed.

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[69] In ASMo, Amm.C., *M&F*, n. 24, "Memoriale", 1489 and *ibidem*, n. 39, "Memoriale", 1502, fol. 100. Published by Tuohy T., *Herculean Ferrara. Ercole d'Este, 1471-1505, and the invention of a Ducal Capital*, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1996, pp. 118-127.

[70] "Maistro Girardo de Andrea da Vicenza depintore de in havere depinto et ornato el bucintoro de legname, et facto dipinzere stendardi, bandiere de seta, penuni de tella et altre cosse per dicto […] facte dicte cosse per l'andata del Signore a Venexia". In ASMo, CDE, *Computisteria*, "Memoriali", n. 9, CC, (1456-1472).

[71] A. Franceschini, *Artisti a Ferrara in età umanistica e rinascimentale. Testimonianze archivistiche*, Ferrara, Fondazione della Cassa di Risparmio di Ferrara, 1993, vol. I, documents nn. 784b, 786c, 788b, 822d, 861, 1001e, 1036f.

[72] E. Arcat, «Kadirga. A technical analysis of the Sultan's Galley», pp. 241-248, in C. Beltrame (edt.), *Boats, ships and shipyards: proceedings of the ninth International Symposium on Boats and Ship Archaeology*, Venice, 2000, Oxbow, 2003, p. 241.

Commissioning, maintaining and exploiting the Bucintoro

A fully equipped *bucintoro* was obviously a very complex product, composed of the boat itself (*nave*) and its ornate superstructure. Creating a *bucintoro* required the collaboration of many different craftsmen, who were called to work by the officials of the courts of the Marquis or, later, of the Duke. In particular, the 'official in charge of the Wardrobe' (*officiale sopra la Guardaroba/Salvaroba*) was in charge of the furniture, textiles, panels and decorations of the *bucintori*, whereas its nautical parts were supervised, from 1438 to 1465, by 'the official in charge of the buildings of the Marquis' (*officiale sopra le fabbriche marchionali*) and, from 1465 on, by the chief official of a specific unit called 'the Office in charge of the Munitions and Buildings' (*Uffizio delle Munitioni e delle Fabbriche*), established by Borso d'Este. The priorities of this office were to manage the munitions warehouses (storing a great variety of goods, from timbers to powder), to direct ship-building activities (dry-docking and maintenance of *bergantini*, galleys, boats and *bucintori*), to superintend the works of the bombardiers-founders who manufactured artillery pieces and gunpowder, to superintend the several ducal furnaces and kilns specialized in the production of bricks, roof tiles, lime, and glassware, and finally, to supervise the construction of new buildings and castles. The relations between suppliers and officers of the court bring us back to a system of delegating and sub-delegating decision-making, where the duties of the officers were not only to control accurately, as simple bureaucrats, but also to decide what would be purchased and, above all, to whom work should be entrusted.[73] To satisfy the needs of the *Bucintoro*, the 'Official in charge of the munitions' was, for example, in contact with specialist wood turners (*torladori* or *torteleti*) who supplied the nearly one hundred and fifty columns used to make the portico

[73] Interesting examples are analysed in G. Guerzoni, *Apollo and Vulcan. The Art Markets in Italy 1400-1700*, Michigan State University Press, 2011, p. 69-71.

and the balustrades around the deck.[74] Carpenters were called to work on the semi-circular wooden vault or calotte (fig. 31) of the portico, while a carver was paid to embellish the vault with gilded rosettes and, on the boat's exterior, a group of painters covered the hull with white and gold stuccoes. In fact, the *Bucintoro* needed annual investments in its modernisation and renewal,[75] even if the most important expenses approved for the Great *Bucintoro* were related to the decoration of its main deck (furniture, curtains and embroidered panels). The 'Official in charge of the Wardrobe' ordered and checked the textile panels that completed the deck's portico (transformed during the reign of Borso d'Este into a real room). In particular, the openings of the portico were closed by sixteen panels, eight on each of its parallel longer sides, while, in addition to these sixteenth panels, during the eventual transformation of the portico into a room, a curtain was ordered that hung at the end towards the prow as well as two more curtains towards the stern. The composition and the decoration of the main room will form the basis of the next chapter.

Up on the poop deck, at the end of a covered corridor, a ravelin (*rivellino*) was created, together with another curtain that hung in front of it.[76] In the mid-fifteenth century the word *rivellino* was used particularly in military contexts to indicate fortifications or detached outworks in front of the bastions of a fortress. The Estense Castle in Ferrara has four *rivellini*, as may be seen in fig. 32.[77] Thus, by extension, it is possible to imagine that on the poop an

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[74] ASMo, CDE, *M&F*, n. 27, "Memoriale", 1492-1495, fol. 8, and *idem*, n. 15, "Memoriale", 1481, fol. 57.

[75] In each of the annual wardrobe account books kept by Marco and Galeotto dell'Assassino, the expenses for the nautical parts of the *bucintoro* for that year are itemised in a single section.

[76] "uno ornimento per coprire lo rivelino de ligname che se fa in cima de la punta dela popa", see here Appendix A, doc. 2.

[77] It was only at the end of the fifteenth century that *rivellini* were transformed to real fortified structures stretching outwards. Filarete (Antonio Averlino), *Trattato di Architettura I*, (V.36r), pag. 143.10, in A.M. Finoli, L. Grassi, (edts.) Milano, Il Polifilo, 1972; Francesco di Giorgio Martini, *Trattati di Architettura Ingegneria e Arte Militare I*, pagg. 4-9, in Maltese C. (edt.), LIV, Milano, Il Polifilo,

ephemeral wooden door was built connected to the room by a covered corridor, which created a sort of pavilion. Guests passed under the ravelin to embark and there they could also stand to enjoy the fresh river breeze. The main standard was another extremely expensive object specifically painted or embroidered for the *Bucintoro*: for example in April 1460 Borso ordered a standard painted with the shield of the marquis and several devices to replace the old one that Leonello had ordered, which had been embroidered with the symbol of the "knee armour" (*zenochiale*).[78] Borso's standard was painted with silver leaves, gold flowers and coloured devices by Gherardo da Vicenza.[79] The tradition of an embroidered naval standard came from the Byzantines[80] and was common in a variety of boats on the Mediterranean Sea. The crimson standard of the Venetian *Bucintoro*, for example, was embroidered in gold with St. Mark's lion and described as a real treasure considering the cost of the raw materials demanded for its realization and the high quality of the embroidery executed on it.[81] The Wardrobe Superintendant also ordered the chairs, the

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1967; F.P. Fiore and M. Tafuri, *Francesco di Giorgio architetto*, Milano, Electa, 1993.

[78] «Stendardo uno grande de tafetado de grana cum uno scudo de tafetado azuro, suxo lo quale scudo va dipinto da omni canto l'arma marchesana, et tuto lo resto del canpo meso d'oro, cum franze de seda ala devixa intorno, per ornamento del buzentoro, per cambio de uno tuto roto fato a zinochiali». In ASMo, CDE, *Guardaroba*, n. 64, "Registri di Mandati e Spexa", 1460, fol. 63.

[79] "[…] per sua fatura e spexa de oro fino batudo, arzento, choluri, posto per lui in avere fatto et messo d'oro uno stendardo de tafetado de grana chon l'arma marchesana in mezo, et lo resto de fogiame et fiori de oro, arzento, lo quale si è lungo braza ____. […] per adoperare a ornamento del buzintoro de lo prefatto Ducha nostro […] lire 58, soldi 10 de marchesani […]", ASMo, CDE, *Guardaroba*, n. 62, "Memoriale 1460", c. 129.

[80] L. Serra, «A Byzantine Naval Standard (circa 1141)», in *The Burlington Magazine for Connoisseurs*, Vol. 34, No. 193, Apr. 1919, pp. 152-157.

[81] E.A. Cicogna, *Vessillo che già sventolava sul bucintoro, anteriore all'anno 1724*, 1847; M.M. McGowan, «Festivals and the Arts in Henry III's Journey from Poland to France (1574)», in J.R. Mulryne, H. Watanabe-O'Kelly, M. Shewring, E. Goldring, S. Knight, (edts.), *Europa Triumphans: Court and Civic Festivals in Early Modern Europe*, London, Ashgate, 2004, text 2, p. 151.

benches, the framed paintings, and the beds.[82] It is very difficult to establish the proportional weight of these expenses, but on the basis of the information available, taking 100% as representing the total expenses for a large *bucintoro*, I would calculate that 30% of it would have been spent on the hull and other nautical parts, 15% on the work done by carpenters, 10% on the painting and 45% on the hangings, standards and other textiles.

All the orders mentioned above were signed when a *bucintoro* was built or when it needed money spent on its restoration or renewal. But what happened to the Estense *bucintori* after their creation? Who was in charge of their maintenance? Who exploited their potential as the biggest boats of the entire Estense fleet? The three Estensi *bucintori*, as all their other boats, were given in custody to expert 'patrons' (*Paroni*), who looked after the boats, prepared them for the needs of the court, bought the raw materials, and, when necessary, travelled around the duchy in order to transport goods to the ducal estates and the Estense palaces. There were families of *Paroni* who passed down to their sons the profession of guardians of the *bucintori*. In particular, the Finotti, who were also *Paroni alle Valli* (masters in the Valleys of Comacchio), managed the Great *Bucintoro* for more than eighty years, members of the same family providing the captains, the sailors and the fallers for the barge. These *Paroni* also kept the books in which all the expenses for the maintenance of *bucintori* and the list of their travels were recorded.[83] The cost per month of the Great *Bucintoro* was approximately forty *lire marchesane*, in the following proportions:

a) salary for the captain from 8 to 10 *lire*
b) expenses for the captain from 4 to 6 *lire*
c) expenses for the pantry (white and black salt, oil, candles, bread, tobacco, wine) *soldi* 10

[82] ASMo, CDE, *M&F*, n. 20, "Memoriale", 1485-1489, fol. 11.
[83] In ASMo, *Amministrazione dei Principi*, n. 60 "Libro del bucintoro inzignera et finotta principiando l'anno 1550-1553" and n. 65 "Libro del bucintoro inzignera et finotta principiando l'anno 1554".

d) salary for two sailors from 3 to 4 *lire* (*lire* 1.15 each)
e) salary for fallers or sailors of the towboats *lire* 4
f) other expenses (charcoal, paper, ink, caulking the boat, ropes and lines, etc.) from 10 to 12 *lire*.

Thus, the annual cost of maintaining the *bucintoro* in the dockyard, or using it just for short trips, was approximately four hundred and fifty *lire* (142 *scudi*). Just to offer a term of comparison, in the middle of the sixteenth century the chief 'Officer in charge of the Munitions and Buildings' compiled the estimated budget for a year of use of the biggest among the galleys of the Duke of Ferrara (fig. 33), calculating that with six months of navigation and six months in the dockyard its annual cost constituted the impressive sum of *scudi* 2124, approximately ten times more than the amount spent on the *Bucintoro*.[84] Notwithstanding this proportion, it is evident that spending four hundred and fifty *lire* every year for two entire centuries and using the barge once a year or less, was in contrast with all the rules that dominated the perfect machine of the Ducal treasury. For this reason in certain moments of its life-cycle, the *Bucintoro* was used like all the other boats, in particular for transporting goods or materials within the borders of the Duchy. This happened only for brief periods, coincident with the period of inactivity that preceded the renovation and restoration of the barge or with particularly difficult years for the Estense finances. This was made possible by the fact that the same office organized both the fleet and the quantity of goods to be transported in the Estense territory. In Chapter 6, I will analyse the interesting example of the use of *bucintori* in the commercial trade in salt. To summarize, I have demonstrated that *bucintori* were complex objects that needed the cooperation of different groups of workers and supervisors, each of them specialized in specific activities; these covered the entire life cycle of these barges: from their building to their restoration, from their preservation to their maintenance in the port.

[84] ASMo, *Amministrazione della Casa*, «Navi», n. 8, "Compendio della spesa della galera di sua eccelentia".

Dressed for the bucintori

In the previous sections I have shown that the Estensi owned three *bucintori* of different dimensions, each of them supervised and preserved by different officials of the Este court. Every office was in charge of unique and defined activities to be performed for the maintenance of *bucintori*. Particular attention was devoted to the decoration of the barges, which assumed a central role in the public communication of the honour and magnificence of the Estensi. The Great *Bucintoro* was structured as follows: the main deck (the upper one) was occupied by a covered portico or, from 1459, by a big room with the function of Hall of State. On the second deck (below the first) there were the benches that served for the sixty rowers of the *Bucintoro*. Below these two decks there were rooms, the kitchen, the cellar, the fishery and the latrine. The exterior of the boat was entirely painted in gold and white, while the decoration of the main deck displayed the colours of the Estensi: turquoise, red, green and white. In the next Chapter I will offer an explanation of the meaning of these colours and how they were arranged. The furniture of the rooms below deck was covered with red and violet velvets and the floor with multicoloured rugs.

To the boat's textile and painted decoration it is important to add the liveries specifically designed for all the courtiers and workers who performed their activities on these state barges.[85] In particular, enlisted in the crew of the Great *Bucintoro* there were: the Captain-in-chief, the vice-captain who was in charge of sailing, the officer at the prow, the helmsman, the officer for towboats, two sailors for the towboats, the officer for the rowers and the oarsmen. On particular occasions or for longer trips, a master cook, an assistant cook, a vintner, three or four waiters, a scribe and three servants to

[85] ASMo, *Amministrazione della Casa*, "Navi", n. 43.

clean the rooms and the latrine joined the staff on board. And, unfailingly, there were the three trumpeters who played around the mast and four drummers at the prow, all their instruments decorated with small turquoise flags embroidered with the Estense white eagle. The crew and the musicians wore the colours of the livery of the House of Este, that is turquoise and white or turquoise and yellow. To exemplify this I may give an account of an event in 1565 when Prince Ferdinand of Bavaria, second son of Duke Albrecht of Bavaria, was sent at the request of his uncle, the Emperor Maximilian, to represent his father at the wedding of Francesco de' Medici and Joanna of Austria, during which time he also spent a few days at the Estense Court. A detailed diary of the journey was kept by a member of his entourage, who recorded that to transport Prince Ferdinand to Ferrara, Duke Alfonso II d'Este sent up the Po river "a ship like a half-galleon [...] all hung with blue and yellow silk", and sailors in matching blue and yellow outfits. The captain, wearing "a long blue coat lined with satin, with a little Hungarian hat", welcomed the Prince on board the *Bucintoro* about three Italian miles up-river from Ferrara.[86] They were met by the ducal welcoming party, in three further boats, about a mile and a half further on; then all four vessels continued into the city's harbour together, where coaches and horses were waiting to take the visitors to the Ducal palace.

The decoration of the costumes for staff and crew in service on the *bucintori*, together with the decoration of the barge itself, created a unique choreography whose meaning was specifically displayed for particular occasions. The colours of liveries were immediately recognisable by visitors, to whom they declared the power of the owner. Livery and colour displays were in fact studied for 'external eyes', that is for all the spectators of these sumptuous shows. Documents clearly record events for which *bucintori* were set up for formal or informal uses: for example when the future Grand Duke of

[86] M. A. Katritzky, «The Florentine entrata of Joanna of Austria and other Entrate Described in a German Diary», in *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes*, Vol. 59 (1996), pp. 148-173.

Tuscany Cosimo III de' Medici reached Chioggia in 1654 three of the Estensi *bucintori* were waiting for him, the crew of the Great *Bucintoro* dressed in the official yellow and turquoise livery, while the crews of the *Mediano* and *Piccolo* wore normal apparel because they served only for the private necessities of the Estensi (see here Appendix B, document 5).[87] The event is described as follows:

> "[…] at the right distance to distinguish the colours, we recognised the oarsmen's livery, and we didn't even hesitate […] [*Sua Altezza*] went aboard the [Estense] *Bucintoro* from the prow […]. The boat prepared for the Prince was all covered with red velvet, furnished with a table in the middle and a rug in the same style […] similar cushions, pennons at the poop and prow, guided by six sailors with new liveries in turquoise and yellow colours. On the other boats there were no the liveries because they were in service for the House".

Wearing the liveries of princes on boats was very common, so that the thirteenth-century equipment list of King Charles I of Anjou's galleys records thirty-two leather sleeves with the Angevin coat of arms to be used by oarsmen during entrances into the ports.[88] Because of the number of the sleeves and because they are not recorded as pairs, I would suggest that each oarsman probably wore only one sleeve on the arm visible from the outside of the galley. This once again underlines the importance of ordered and combined decorations, and is a measure of how expensive the decoration arranged for boats were.

To this end it is interesting to consider how rulers solved the problem of reaching foreign cities without their personal *bucintoro.* Here, it is important not to underestimate the fact that *bucintori* were used not only within the borders of sovereign territories, in order to impress visitors and lead a

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[87] F. Pizzichi, «Viaggio per l'alta italia del Serenissimo Principe di Toscana poi Granduca Cosimo III descritto da Filippo Pizzichi», in F. Mutinelli, *Annali urbani di Venezia dall'anno 810 al 12 maggio 1797*, Venezia, Merlo, 1841.

[88] J.H. Pryor, «The galleys of Charles I of Anjou, King of Sicily, c. 1269-84», in *Studies in Medieval and Renaissance History*, n. 14 (1993), pp. 34-103, in particular pp. 88-91.

prestigious and powerful life, but also to visit other rulers and impress them in their territories by means of splendid entries. But, when it was impossible for visitors to display their own naval power, there were two possible solutions: either the hosting rulers could help by offering their own barges (a very exclusive opportunity) or private companies hired out ad-hoc barges and *bucintori*. Just to quote an example, in 1441 Giovanni Giacomo Palaeologus of Montferrat lent his *Bucintoro* to the Marquis of Ferrara and Domenico di Parabiago, the Master of this *Bucintoro*, received from Leonello d'Este the gift of a double-wool garment embroidered with the device of the 'diamond ring' for having led and guided Leonello's sick father, Niccolò III d'Este, to the baths in Montferrat. Niccolò died in December of the same year.[89] In the second case specific contracts of purpose were signed in which the companions offered not only the appropriate barge, but also its decoration and, if needed, the livery apparatus. This was the case of the trip to Venice made by Renée of France in May 1534, for which:

> "The most Serene Prince [Ercole II d'Este], ordered you, magnificent gentlemen of the company of *cortesi*, that, under penalty of 100 ducats to each of you, to come with a *bucintoro* to meet the most Illustrious Madam the Duchess of Ferrara, and to use it every time it is needed to honour the aforesaid Illustrious Madam, to celebrate her and to chaperon her everywhere, as His Serenity will order you, no expense for you, bestowing, only for this time, the possibility of wearing what you prefer and like".[90]

After the description of the elements that differentiated *bucintori* from other type of boats, I would like to proceed with the analysis of the main room of the Great *Bucintoro* Estense. For its political function this room was the core

[89] "Adì 30 Maggio. Mandato Illustris et Excelsi domini nostri Nicolai Marchionis Estensi […] vos factores generales fieri faciatis unam vestem duplicem de pano ad divisiam adamantum domini omnibus expensis Camere Dominico de Parabiago, maistro bucintorii Illustris domini Marchionis Montisferrati in quo a balneis idem dominus noster per aquas revertit sub guida dicti Dominici, cum vestem ipsam dono dari vult. Ludovicus Casella scripsit. XXX maii 1441. Leonellus", in ASMo, CDE, *Computisteria*, "Mandati in volume", n. 6 (1441-1442), c. 57.

[90] ASVe, Collegio – Notatorio, 1532-34, 8 May 1534, f. 119.

of the boat and particular attention was devoted to its set-up. In the next chapter I will describe the entire decoration of this room and I will explain the symbols that were embroidered on its panels and curtains. To this I will add in Chapter Four a full analysis of the organizational structure that made completion of the room possible.

3. Inside the Estense *Bucintoro*: the Hall of State

Introduction

In the previous chapter I analysed the nautical structure of *bucintori*, comparing courtly examples to the model identified in the Venetian state barge. I also introduced the *Bucintoro* Estense, which offers a special insight into these boats, not only because it is one of the first courtly *bucintori* recorded in Italian Renaissance documents, but also for the extraordinary relevance attributed to it by the House of Este, as I will show in the next sections. Its shape, dimensions and uses changed quickly, as happened to all the other courtly *bucintori*. As a consequence, its ornate superstructure was frequently altered and rebuilt. For this reason the present chapter consist of an in-depth investigation into the decoration of the superstructure of the Estense *Bucintoro* and in particular into the kind of heraldic symbols which were chosen for the embroidered panels of its main room. I will proceed considering the function and the dimensions of the superstructure of the Great Estense *Bucintoro* to demonstrate how it was conceived as a symbolic political space and the ways in which the Estense duchy and the *Signori* of Ferrara were 'represented' in this space. This room was an extension of politics and, for this reason, it evolved with the regime's needs. This was also true of other Italian *bucintori*, so that the Estense state barge can be taken to represent a model for the study of the decoration of a variety of courtly *bucintori*. I would like to underline once again that, although there are monographs and studies on Renaissance private space with public functions, sporadic attention has been paid to those ephemeral political places in which the symbols of regimes were displayed and their rituals acted out. *Bucintori* were not only luxurious objects set up to show the wealth and the magnificence of the owner, then, but also *ad hoc* spaces in which the state and the ruler were represented. In this sense the decorated room of a

bucintoro was an extension of the politics of the ruling House, and of the places identified with its landed estates, and, in this latter sense, provided spaces on the move that accompanied visitors to magnificent palaces and *delizie*.

The decoration of these staterooms is fundamental in order to understand the mingling of symbolic and political values, because through the *bucintori* the owner offered external signs of his most prestigious characteristics. In particular, in the present chapter, I would like to propose an interpretation of the coats of arms of the House of Este, heraldic devices and colours chosen for the decoration of the stateroom during the period 1449-1467, thereby adding some new elements to the history of Estense blazons. My aim is to show why the Estense *Bucintoro* was symbolically set up with these unique devices and to propose a new interpretation of the whole set of symbols. As I will show, the decoration of the Estense *Bucintoro* accompanied the political ambitions of the marquises to show their magnificence in culture and power. Notwithstanding the fact that there are no written programs that explicate the reasons and meanings of these decorations, several of their elements can help us to interpret of the 'arts of politics' hidden in these cycles. In the next chapter I will provide more detail on the kinds of work done by the painters and the embroiderers of the *Bucintoro*. For the moment, however, I will limit myself to the kind of symbols chosen for its decoration and how these symbols were put together in order to show that the Estensi were the perfect rulers for Ferrara, the capital city of their landed possessions.

The politics of bucintori

Before turning to the Estense stateroom, I would like very briefly to introduce the House of Este, pointing out the crucial moments of its history. As I will show, the pivotal moments of the House of Este were interlinked with the main changes that occurred in the decoration of the *Bucintoro*'s stateroom. The Estensi came to prominence during the wars between the

Guelphs and Ghibellines as leaders of the Guelph party, acquiring in succession the territories of Ferrara, Modena, Reggio Emilia, Comacchio (1325),[91] Rovigo (1438) and the Garfagnana.[92] In particular, Azzo VI d'Este was elected *Podestà* of Ferrara in 1196 and his son, Azzo VII, became the first *Signore* (Lord) of the city in 1240, putting an end to the Ferrarese Communal experience. He was thus made Papal Vicar in Ferrara and its territories, subject to the payment of an annual tax called the *census vicariatus.*[93] In contrast, the cities of Modena and Reggio Emilia were part of the 'Reichsitalien' (Kingdom of Italy) and the titles of these territories were granted by the Holy Roman Emperor. The Estensi had governed these two cities since the thirteenth century, but it was in 1393 that Emperor Sigismund of Luxemburg transformed Modena, Reggio Emilia and their territories into a marquisate and bestowed the title on Niccolò III d'Este and his descendants (Table 1). The reign of Niccolò III marked a period of wealth and multiculturalism that culminated in 1438 when the Council of Basel was moved to Ferrara. Leonello, natural son of Niccolò III, succeeded his father and transformed Ferrara into one of the most important cultural cities of northern Italy, calling artists like Mantegna, Pisanello, Jacopo Bellini, Piero della Francesca, Jean Fouquet and Rogier wan der Weyden to his court. In 1452 the marquisate was transformed into a duchy and Borso d'Este, brother of Leonello and natural son of Niccolò

[91] Historians do not agree about the date: Bellini ascribes to the investiture of Comacchio to 1332. In L. Bellini, *Comacchio nell'opera di l'Antonio Muratori*, Ferrara, Dep. Prov. Fe., 1980.

[92] A. Vasina (edt.), *Storia di Ferrara*, vol. 4, Ferrara, Corbo Editore, 1999; L.A. Muratori, *Delle antichità estensi ed italiane trattato di Lodovico Antonio Muratori bibliotecario del serenissimo Rinaldo*, Modena, Stamperia Ducale, 1717; L.A. Muratori, *Delle antichità estensi continuazione, o sia parte seconda, composta, e dedicata all'altezza serenissima di Francesco III*, Modena, Stamperia Ducale, 1740; A. Frizzi, *Memorie per la storia de Ferrara raccolte da Antonio Frizzi*, 2nd ed., 4 vols., Ferrara, 1847-48; E.G. Gardner, *Dukes and Poets in Ferrara,* New York, E.P. Dutton, 1904. For further references see W.L. Gundersheimer, «Toward a Reinterpretation of the Renaissance in Ferrara», *Bibliotheque d'humanisme et renaissance*, XXX (1968), 267-281 and *idem*, *Ferrara: The Style of a Renaissance Despotism,* Princeton, Princeton University Press, 1973.

[93] Chiappini L., *Gli Estensi. Mille anni di Storia*, Ferrara, Corbo Editore, 2001.

III, became the first Duke of Modena and Reggio Emilia. In 1471, the year he died, Borso also obtained the title of Duke of Ferrara; the ambitions of Borso d'Este will form the argument of Chapter 5. Borso never married and had no heirs, so the duchy passed to his half-brother Ercole. Thereafter, it passed to Alfonso I, Ercole II and finally to Alfonso II. In 1597, Alfonso II died with no heirs and his cousin Cesare inherited the duchy, but the Pope did not recognise the succession and reclaimed Ferrara back for the Church. In 1598 Cesare was forced to leave Ferrara, while Pope Clement VIII entered gloriously into the city.[94] This change in the government has also been called the 'devolution' of Ferrara to the Holy See. I will consider this important passage in more detail in Chapter 7. Cesare established his court in Modena, the new capital of his mutilated duchy. The annexation of Modena and Reggio Emilia to the new Italian state in 1859 signalled the definitive end of the rule of the Estensi (Table 2). At that time the Estensi were one of the oldest reigning dynasties in Europe.

This brief overview on the history of the House of Este is important to understand the differences between *bucintori* commissioned by the different rulers of Ferrara, each of whom exerted a strong influence over the decoration of the stateroom. As I have already shown and partially described, the first *Bucintoro* Estense was built in 1438. Its superstructure was occupied by a long covered corridor; that assumed the appearance of a portico, furnished with seats and benches. This first *Bucintoro* was built for the unique and specific purpose of receiving the Pope and the Patriarch one mile out from Ferrara and accompanying them to the city gate. The boats of the Byzantine delegation, represented in the bronze door of Saint Peter in Rome by Filarete (fig. 34), would have followed the *Bucintoro*. The procession needed a space in the great barge that would allow them to enjoy the navigation to Ferrara, to observe the sumptuous procession and to see the gate and the walls of the city. A covered

[94] G. Guerzoni, *Le corti estensi e la devoluzione di Ferrara del 1598*, Modena, Archivio Storico Comunale, 1999; R. Renzi, *Ferrara al 1598*, Bologna, AIFA, 1969.

corridor was perfect for these purposes. In the documents there are no details concerning the textiles that covered the portico, but they were most likely painted or embroidered with the Este coats of arms. I would suggest, in fact, that this first example of courtly *bucintori* was decorated with the symbols of the hosting ruler and not with the coats of arms of the visitors, a habit that also persisted in the fifteenth and sixteenth century. This can be explained by the fact that *bucintori* were expressions of the magnificence, culture and power of the owner and, as I stated before, all the symbols displayed in the room were arranged to convey information. As Pope Pius II noted, referring to the necessity of powerful men to build and have magnificent things: "while men live they take pleasure in the glory of the present, which they hope will continue after death. It is this which sustains the most brilliant intellects, even more than the hope of a celestial life".[95]

With the death of Niccolò III, the *Bucintoro* passed to Leonello and was used for the entry of Mary of Aragon, Leonello's second wife. In 1449 the Marquis ordered the openings of the portico to be covered with textile panels, a set of which was especially made on the occasion of Leonello's Carnival trip to Venice.[96] In particular, these panels were embroidered with the shield of the Marquis held by a putto and painted with two of Leonello's devices, those of the 'knee armour' (*zenochiale*) (fig. 35) and the 'full-blown sail' (*vela ventosa*) (fig. 36) on a turquoise, white, red and green field. In the following sections I will analyse the devices of the Este. As shown below in Table 4 Borso had the room completely redone in 1459 for the entry of Pope Pius II in Ferrara, choosing a fully embroidered decoration on a white, red and green field and he ordered the addition of two curtains on the shorter sides of the room and a ravelin that connected the room to the main entrance on the prow. The portico was thus transformed into a semi-permanent room. From that moment

[95] E.S. Piccolomini, *Commentarii*, "Prefatio".
[96] G. Pardi, *Leonello d'Este: marchese di Ferrara*, Zanichelli, 1904, p. 197.

on it assumed the function of a private stateroom, in which formal greetings and gestures were exchanged and political decisions discussed.

Indeed, the portico evolved into a room which provided discretion and exclusivity. The ducal throne crowned with a textile canopy and a big table with several chairs were recorded in the lists of furniture of the *Bucintoro*.[97] We do not know precisely how they were arranged in the room, but the throne was probably set on the short side in front of the ravelin (the main entrance) while the table was in the middle of the room. But I could not exclude that the arrangement of the throne and the table changed on occasion or that only one was placed in the room at a time. Notwithstanding the fact that the room was small in scale, measuring approximately $48m^2$ (12m x 4m), it assumed the function of a stateroom where audiences and formal receptions could be held. This room is undoubtedly smaller than other Communal Halls of State, like the very famous 'Room of Nine' in the Communal Palace of Siena that measured $98m^2$, but comparing the room of the *Bucintoro* with the contemporary *Camera Picta* (also known as *Camera degli Sposi*) in Mantua ($60m^2$) one can surely suggest that private staterooms in the mid-fifteenth century could be as small as *camere* usually were (a camera was room furnished with a bed) in contrast to the size of *sale*, the rooms devoted to feasts and receptions. It is important not to forget that the dimensions of the stateroom of the *Bucintoro* was necessarily proportionate to the size of the boat, but that its comparatively size was more than compensated for by the sumptuous receptions held in it. The room was completely covered with coloured textile panels, each of them embroidered with the symbols and the coats of arms of the Estensi. The striking point was in fact that visitors were called upon to look at this decoration, to recognize its meanings and to analyse the proof it provided of the good government the marquises of Ferrara were offering them. As the visitors were connoisseurs of politics and artistic quality, the *Bucintoro* represented a perfect example of the

[97] ASMo, Amm. C., *Navi*, n. 5, "Bucintori, Bergantini, Burchieli, Feluche, Battelli, Barche"

politics of Renaissance art. The importance attributed to the decoration of the stateroom by Leonello and Borso remains an *unicum* in the whole of Estense history. The coats of arms and symbols on show demonstrated their royal genealogy and provided proof of their exemplary faith and justice, and, as such, they became elements giving weight to their ambitions in matters of culture and domain. Burckhardt saw the cultural finish of the Renaissance courts as a cover for the 'illegitimacy' of the *Signori* in the eyes of the traditional authorities.[98] In Ferrara, legitimating two illegitimate brothers was one of the challenges involved in the decoration of the *Bucintoro.*

Interestingly, the staterooms of Leonello and Borso's *Bucintoro* were decorated at a later date than the equivalent rooms in Estense palaces, in which mottos or repeated symbols were depicted. For example, in the Castle of Ferrara there were the rooms 'of the unicorns', of the 'wor.bas',[99] of the 'lions', and of the 'paladins',[100] their names indicating very similar decorations to those in the Mantuan castle of the Gonzaga family, and immediately before there where a variety of private staterooms in which the ruling *Signore* was represented and portrayed naturally "breathing and lively as life",[101] as may be seen in the Schifanoia Palace in Ferrara, in the *Camera Picta* in Mantua, in the Castello Sforzesco in Milan and in the Castle of Pavia, all of which were

[98] J. Burckhardt, *The Civilization of the Renaissance in Italy*, Penguin Classic, 1990 (first edition 1860).

[99] The Estense motto "wor.bas" derived from the medieval German slogan "always forward". This motto has also been incorporated into the lions's arm in the façade of the Estense Castle in Ferrara. G. Fregni, *Dai sabaudi agli estensi, e cioè dalla parola fert nelle monete e negli stemmi dei Conti e duchi di Savoia e re d'Italia al motto worpass o worbas degli estensi a Ferrara: Studi critici, storici e filologici*, Modena, Soc. Tip. Modenese, 1917.

[100] ASMo, CDE, *Amministrazione dei Principi*, "Regnanti", busta 1, in G. Bertoni, E.P. Vicini, «Il Castello di Ferrara ai tempi di Niccolò III», in *Documenti e Studi pubblicati per cura della Deputazione di Storia Patria per le Province di Romagna*, vol. 3, Bologna, 1909.

[101] W. Gundersheimer, *Art and Life at the Court of Ercole I d'Este: The De triumphis religionis, of Giovanni Sabadino degli Arienti*, Geneva, Droz, 1972, p. 109.

completed during the period 1464-1475.[102] The Estense *Bucintoro*, in fact, represents another step in the evolutionary process of representing rulers in those spaces in which communication and perceptions were interwoven and devoted to 'external eyes'. I would suggest that the importance of the decoration of the *Bucintoro* was enhanced by the discussions of the arts that started to flourish at Leonello's and Borso's courts.

The decoration of the stateroom	**Marquis/Duke of Ferrara**	**Event**	**Shield**	**Devices**	**Technique**	**Colours**
1438	Niccolò III (Marquis)	Council of Ferrara	Marchional?	Unknown	Unknown	Unknown
1444	Leonello (Marquis)	Entry of Mary of Aragon, Leonello's second wife	Marchional	Unknown	Painting and embroideries	Turquoise, green, red and white
1449	Leonello (Marquis)	Carnival in Venice	Marchional	Knee armour and full-blown sail	Painting and embroideries	Turquoise, green, red and white
1459	Borso (Marquis of Ferrara and Duke of Modena and Reggio)	Pius II's entry into Ferrara	Countal, Marchional and Ducal	Sluice gate, door knocker, pigeon trough, tenterhook, baptism and unicorn	Embroideries	Green, red and white
1465-1467	Borso (Duke)	-	Ducal	Borso's devices (unknown which ones)	Tapestries	Green, red and white

Table 4 – The decorations of the main room of the Estense *Bucintoro* (1438-1467).

[102] R. Starn, L. Partridge, *Arts of Power. Three Halls of State in Renaissance Italy 1300-1600*, Berkeley, University of California Press, 1992.

The curtains embroidered for Pope Pius II survived until 1467, as recorded by the Ducal Wardrobe,[103] when they were replaced by green, red and white tapestry panels woven with the ducal coats of arms and devices by Rainaldo Boteram,[104] on Gherardo da Vicenza's patterns, designed in 1465.[105] This woven set included twenty curtains to be hung along the sides of the *Bucintoro*, most likely on the outside of the balustrades, each of which measured three *braccia* high by two wide (h. 2,02m by w. 1,35m). In the same year another complete set with 'festoons in the ancient manner' and two backcloths (*spalliere* or *dorsalia*) were ordered from Giovanni Mille and Raynaldo Grua.[106] In 1467, Borso had tapestry rather than embroidered panels commissioned for the *Bucintoro*, probably because the production of tapestries had been set up in Ferrara just two years earlier, transforming tapestries into the newest and most fashionable product of the Ferrarese market. In fact, in November 1464 Masters Zoane Mille and Raynaldo Grua from Tournai had obtained a monthly payment from the Commune of Ferrara to start the production of tapestries in the city. They had also received nine gold ducats: "to teach anybody who wants to learn […] the aforesaid laudable and fine profession *[of working tapestries]*, teaching how to work them with figures and with foliage and with green vegetables".[107]

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[103] See here Appendix A, doc. 3.
[104] "Rainaldo Botrame de bursela tapeziero". In N. Forti Grazzini, *Arazzi a Ferrara*, Milano, 1982.
[105] ASMo, CDE, *Guardaroba*, n. 81, "Memoriale (1465)", fol. 143.
[106] "[…] spaliere fatti a corni e zoi, e zoe feste alantiga […]", in G. Delmarcel, *Flemish Tapestries: five centuries of tradition*, An Volokaert, 1995, p. 181.
[107] "[…] et insegnarla ad qualunque persona la vogliano imparare […] dicto laudevole et bello magisterio et de lavorare de quello sì de figure come de fogliame et verdure, epsi maestri gli insignarano.", in Ferrara, ASC, *Deliberazioni del Comune della città di Ferrara, dell'anno 1464 per tutto l'anno 1470*, classificazione: 1.12, vol. M, fols. 22-23. L.N. Cittadella in his *Notizie relative a Ferrara per la maggior parte inedite,* Ferrara, 1864, and N. Forti Grazzini, *Arazzi a Ferrara*, Milano, Electa, 1982. Grazzini and Cittadella reported an erroneous documentary reference.

With the death of Borso, the attitude towards the decoration of the stateroom changed: it was continuously renovated and newly ornamented, but there are no documents that record whether these decorations were painted or embroidered or which kinds of symbols were reproduced on them. More attention was devoted to a general need for decoration than to a discussion of the meanings of each individual image. In fact, during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries the *Bucintoro* became an object of brillian splendour and it was used as such, as I will demonstrate in Chapter 6. At the end of the sixteenth century the stateroom of the *bucintori* lost its shape in favour of new covered corridors, as may be seen clearly in the Savoyard example (fig. 6). The next sections will be devoted to the Estense coats of arms and devices represented in the *Bucintoro.*

The coats of arms and devices of the Estense private stateroom

In this section I will move on to consider one by one all the elements that formed the decoration chosen for the stateroom of the Great *Bucintoro* during the period 1438-1467, as I have summarised in Table 4. First of all, the embroidered panels on the sides of the room displayed the coats of arms of the House of Este and some of the personal devices chosen by Leonello and Borso. Leonello's panels were embroidered and depicted with the shield pertaining to the marquises, which consisted of the quartered arms of the family, with a white eagle in the upper left quadrant and the *fleur-de-lis* in the upper right (figs. 37 and 38). The right to use the three French golden *fleur-de-lis* on a turquoise field had been bestowed on the Estense family by king Charles VII in 1431, but documents inform us that only in 1437, just before the beginning of the Council of Ferrara, were the shields pertaining to the count (a white eagle with gathered wings on a turquoise field, as may be seen in fig. 39),

completely replaced by the new ones.[108] Differently to those of Leonello, in order to prove Borso's close link with his illustrious ancestors and his legitimacy to rule (being an illegitimate son, this assumed great importance),[109] the panels made in 1459 represented not only the contemporary Estense coat of arms but also the family's historical shields.[110] Indeed, as documents tell us, the embroidered compositions presented all the coats of arms of the Este family in succession: namely, the shields of the count (*arma contale*), the marquis (*arma marchesana*) and the duke (*arma ducale*). The ducal shield had been granted by Emperor Frederick III, when Borso was proclaimed Duke of Modena and Reggio Emilia in 1452. This shield comprised the quartered arms with the black double-headed eagle symbol of the Holy Roman Emperor in the upper left quadrant, the *fleur-de-lis* in the upper right hand quadrant and a central blazon that bore the Este white eagle in the centre (fig. 40). This particular combination was used by Borso in the period between the year 1452, when he was named Duke of Modena and Reggio,[111] and 1471, when Borso received the title of Duke of Ferrara and the accompanying right to add the papal crossed keys to the vertical bar of the shield (fig. 41). After Borso, only Duke Alfonso I of Este (Duke of Ferrara from 1505 to 1534) used the ducal shield without the

[108] Galeotto dell'Assassino, paying Iacomo Sagramoro for changing the arms on several pennons, noted: "Parme che l'antica consuetudine de le altre che erano ad l'arma inanti che se usasse questa de la cha de Franza ligata o veramente accompagnata cum quella del Signore nostro, se debia tenere ad quelli pregii che son a men pregio di queste", in ASMo, CDE, *Computisteria*, "Mandati in Volume", n. 4, 7 September 1437.

[109] Pius II wrote: "Illud in hac familia singulare, quod patrum nostrorum memoria nemo legitime natus ad principatum pervenit, adeo concubinaru, quam uxorum filii fortunatiores fuere: res non christianis modo sed omnium fere gentium legibus adversa", *Commentarii*, II, 40.

[110] Spaggiari A., «Gli Stemmi della Bibbia di Borso d'Este», in *Bollettino d'Arte*, anno XCIII, serie VI, n. 144, 2009, pp. 25-40.

[111] "A Maistro Andrea depintore ducati dexe de Venexia, li quali li devo dare li zenerali faturi per depinzere stendardi a l'arma nova che ha dato lo Sanctissimo Imperadore alo Illustro nostro Signore per lo duchato de Modena e de Rezo […]", ASMo, CDE, *Libri Camerali Diversi*, n. 11, "Zornale de Ussita", 16 May 1452, fol. 289.

papal crossed keys, as may be seen in his illuminated *Libro d'Ore* (fig. 42),[112] because he was excommunicated by Pope Julius II in 1510 and his rights abolished, reacquiring the complete possession of Ferrara only in 1530. The use of the double-headed eagle and the papal crossed keys was granted only to reigning dukes, while princes and princesses of blood had the right to use the shield pertaining to the marquis, which became the blazon of the whole House of Este, honouring the close link to the King of France. Two examples are provided by the shield painted in 1460 circa by Jan Van Eyck for Francesco d'Este (Leonello's natural son) (fig. 43) or by the blazon in the *maiolica* dishes ordered from Nicola di Gabriele Sbraghe da Urbino by Isabella d'Este in 1524-1525 (fig. 44).[113]

Alongside the coats of arms of dynastic and family prestige, Leonello and Borso used personal motifs, which could be described etymologically as enseigns (*insegne*) or heraldic devices (*divise*). A definition of the words used here to describe symbols commonly referred to in Italian as 'para-araldici', or 'para-heraldic' is required.[114] Enseigns and heraldic devices, as well as *imprese* and emblems, in fact played a seemingly-heraldic function, sharing with coats of arms and blazons the importance of showing the particularity and the prestige of the owner. Blazons were conceived as symbols of noble lineage and for this reason they passed to the various family members, at times with the addition of the owner's initials, as I have previously shown. In contrast, the symbols that formed heraldic devices were designed to convey information about a single member of the family, alluding to a particular purpose or trait. Devices were formed by figures, mottos, letters and colours, creatively combined together or

[112] *Libro d'Ore of Alfonso I d'Este*, fol. 13r, Lisbon, Museu Calouste Gulbenkian, inv. L.A. 149.
[113] J.E. Poole, *Italian Maiolica and incised slipware in the Fitzwilliam Museum*, Cambridge, 1995.
[114] L. Caratti di Valfrei, *Dizionario di araldica*, Milano, Mondadori, 1997; R. Bordone, G. Castelnuovo, G.M. Varanini (edt.), *Le aristocrazie dai signori rurali al patriziato*, Roma, Laterza, 2004, p. 112; A.C. Quintavalle (edt.), *Medioevo, Arte Lombarda*, Atti del Convegno di Studi, Parma, 26-29 settembre 2001, Milano, Electa, 2004, pag. 158.

taken one by one. The figure was commonly an animal, a flower or an object from everyday life. Unfortunately there is confusion among historians as to which terms are more appropriate to describe these symbols, partly because enseigns, devices, emblems and *imprese* have been defined generically as 'emblematic' symbols and more widely as 'emblems',[115] and partly because these terms had different meanings depending on the different Italian courts or years considered. In fifteenth-century Ferrara these symbols were called 'devices' (*divise*). It is important to point out that in Ferrara the term *divisa* also defined the typologies of stockings worn by Borso and his courtiers, like those *ala divisa delle calze*[116] with the meaning of 'stockings with the colours of the duke' (green and white),[117] or those *ala divisa del paraduro* with the meaning of 'stockings with the symbol of the sluice gate', usually accompanied by the symbol of the 'diamond ring' (*diamante*), as may be seen in fig. 45,[118] where *divisa* in these cases meant 'livery'. The term *divisa* was thus used with the double meaning of 'livery' and 'device'.

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[115] F. Ames-Lewis, «Early Medicean Devices», in *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institute*, v. 42, 1979, pp. 122-143; C.E.J. Smith, «The Livery Collar», in *The Coat of Arms*, VIII, 151, 1990, p. 243; P. Porçal, «Due lettere sulle imprese di casa Gonzaga. Contributo alla prassi pre-accademica delle prime imprese italiane», in *Mitteilungen des Kunsthistorischen Institutes in Florenz*, vol. 40, H. 1/2 (1996), pp. 232-235.

[116] For instance in 1461: "E adi XXIIII de decembre lire tredese marchesane per sua [Christophalo Calefin] manifatura et spexa de avere rechamato a tute loro spese una chalza ala devisa del paraduro, tempestata de goze dal paraduro in zoxo, de para una de chalze ala devisa delo Illustrissimo Duca Signore nostro, e per avere fatto et reportado suxo uno vestido de panno verde de Hercules Mareschoto pagio del prefato Duca li paraduri che porta simeli pagii", in ASMo, C.D.E., *Guardaroba*, n. 70, "Debituri et Crediturі (1461)", fol. 23.

[117] "[…] a Michiel Ongaro depintore per soa manifatura et magisterio de depinzere a tute sue spese bastoni 21 de sescalchi, facti per la retornata del Imperatore, dipincti de colori fini ala divisa dela calza, cioè bianco et verde, cum le guaine in campo bianco […]", in ASMo, CDE, *Computisteria*, Memoriali, 4, "Memoriale O (1452)", fol. 315.

[118] For istance in 1457 it is recorded "per fatura et spexe de avere fato recamare una calza de pano ala deviza per uxo di lo quale ebe piedro", in ASMo, C.D.E., *Guardaroba*, n. 57, fol. 3r.

In Estense documents the word *impresa* appeared after the year 1480 and referred specifically to the enseign of the Order of the Garter,[119] received by Duke Ercole I d'Este. Sabadino degli Arienti describes Duke Ercole I:

> "I saw your most illustrious Lord naturally rendered, with gold chain and a most rich gem hanging on your chest; and with a splendid beret adorned with a fine eastern pearl, and with a small garter on your left leg, called the *Impresa*, of singular value, which was given to you by the Most Serene King of England along with a regal vest".[120]

In contrast, in later sixteenth-century Ferrarese documents the word *impresa* also indicated a personalized device with a motto. For this reason, I disagree with Lippincott who has defined '*imprese*' as the images represented in the verso of Leonello's medals, not least because the term *impresa* appears later than these medals.[121] The emblem, in contrast, was a combination of a symbolic image (*pictura*), a motto or a title (*inscriptio*), and one or more passages in verse or prose (*subscriptio*). In this sense the emblem wove together words and images, to produce a hybrid art form in which texts and visual symbols were brought together into a composition with didactic aims, teaching the observer universal truths about moral, religious and political matters.[122] The differences between devices, *imprese* and emblems can be summarized by the following example:

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[119] J. Dacre Boulton d'Arcy, *The Knights of the Crown: The Monarchial Orders of Knighthood in Later Medieval Europe 1325-1520*, Woodbridge, Boydell, 1987.

[120] W. Gundersheimer, *Art and Life at the Court of Ercole I d'Este: The De triumphis religionis, of Giovanni Sabadino degli Arienti*, Geneva, Droz, 1972, p. 61; J. Manca, «The Presentation of a Renaissance Lord: Portraiture of Ercole I d'Este, Duke of Ferrara (1471- 1505)», in *Zeitschrift für Kunstgeschichte*, vol. 52, y. 4 (1989), pp. 522-538.

[121] K. Lippincott, 'Un gran pelago': the impresa and the medal reverse in fifteenth-century Italy, in S.K. Scher, (edt.), *Perspectives on the Renaissance medal*, American Numismatic Society, New York, Garland, 2000, p. 75-96.

[122] D.S. Russel, *The Emblem and Device in France*, Lexington, 1985; P. Burke, *The European Renaissance: centres and peripheries*; Rosenberg C.M., *Art and politics in late Medieval and Early Renaissance Italy 1250-1500*, University of Notre Dame Press, 1990; L. Bolzoni, *"Con parola brieve e con figura". Libri antichi di imprese e emblemi*, Pacini Fazzi, 2004; Marsh D., «Visualizing Virtue. Alberti and the Early Renaissance Emblem», in *Albertiana*, n. 6, 2003, pp. 7-26; H. Miedema, «The term Emblema in Alciati», in *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes*, vol. 31, 1968, pp. 234-250.

Alfonso I of Este (Duke of Ferrara, Modena and Reggio between 1505 and 1534) chose to use the device of a *granata svampante* (a 'cannonball in flames') that had previously been used by his uncles Leonello and Borso and later by his father Ercole I d'Este (fig. 46), but he added to the symbol the motto "at the right time and place" (used in the Latin form *Loco et Tempore* or in the French translation *A Lieu et Temps*). The device was thus transformed into an *impresa.* In *Le Sententiose Imprese* (a collection of emblems!), Paolo Giovio was to transform the *impresa* into an emblem, by adding a passage in prose to the symbol and the motto (fig. 47):

> "Come palla, in cui chiuso à tempo è foco
> Per ingannar d'altrui l'incauta mente,
> Tal l'huom si mostra all'hor saggio & prudente,
> Ch'offende il suo nimico à tempo & loco.
>
> Like a ball, in which fire is opportunely enclosed
> To deceive the incautious intellect of others,
> That man appears wise and prudent,
> Who harms his foe at the right time and place".[123]

It is important not to forget that devices were means of communicating ideologies to contemporary observers. It was hoped they would interpret these symbols not as casual connections but rather as a web of meanings and ends[124] that would directly identify the devices with their owners. As some studies have pointed out Renaissance devices referred to a common patrimony of symbols and were immediately comprehensible to contemporary observers.[125] An interesting example is given by Zambotti in the *Diario Ferrarese*, in which he reports an invective proclaimed by a lame man, who during a parade shouted at

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[123] My translation from Giovio Paolo, *Le Sententiose Imprese di monsignor Paulo Giovio, et del signor Gabriel Symeoni, ridotto in rima per il detto Symeoni, Al Serenissimo Duca di Savoia*, Lyone, appresso Guglielmo Roviglio, 1562, pag. 68.
[124] J. Huizinga, *The Waning of Middle Ages*, Harmondsworth, 1965.
[125] J. Brault, *Early Blazon. Heraldic terminology in the Twelfth and Thirteenth Centuries with special reference to Arthurian Literature*, Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1972; S.J. Campbell, «"Our eagles always held fast to your lilies": the Este, the Medici, and the negotiations of cultural identity», in S.J. Campbell, S.J. Milner, (edts.), *Artistic Exchange and Cultural Translation in the Italian Renaissance City*, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 2004, pp. 138-161.

Duke Ercole I d'Este: "sail for sail, diamond for diamond, shit for shit",[126] where the sail was Leonello's symbol and the diamond ring was Borso's. Unhappily this statement cost him his life as after a hasty trial, in which he was declared a sodomite, he was burnt at the stake.[127] Devices were well-known among the population and in courtly and noble entourages, so much so that the blazons of noble families were usually modelled on these symbols, as can easily be verified, for instance, from the surviving example of the book of coats of arms representing the blazons of the noble families of Reggio Emilia, the so-called *Stemmario Cugini* (fig. 48). In the next two sections I will discuss the rise of the use of personal devices in the history of the House of Este and the meaning of the devices chosen for the decoration of the stateroom of the *Bucintoro.*

Brothers and rulers: Estense devices between Leonello, Borso and Ercole

In Ferrara the habit of arranging personal devices and using them to mark the most different kinds of objects started at the beginning of the fifteenth century. Niccolò III d'Este had two main devices, to be used to distinguish the liveries of his courtiers and the pennons and flags flying over his estates: the devices of the daisy and the diamond. Very often these two devices were interlinked with each others, assuming the appearance of a diamond ring with a daisy in its centre, as may be seen in fig. 49. Aside from these two devices Niccolò also used other symbols, in particular the lion, the eagle, the unicorn, and the hammer, but these appeared in the decorations of his the palaces and not on his flags, personal objects, books or livery. For this

[126] B. Zambotti, «Diario ferrarese dall'anno 1476 sino al 1504», *Rerum italicarum scriptores*, tomo XXIV, parte VII, Bologna, Zanichelli, 1937, pp. 11-12.
[127] There are very few examples of sodomites who were condemned to execution at the stake, all of them in the mid-fifteenth century. A Mantuan example of 1450 is recorded in P.L. Mulas, «Maestro delle Ore di Birago», in M. Bollati (edt.), *Dizionario biografico dei miniatori Italiani, secc. IX-XVI*, Milano, Bonnard Editore, 2004, pp. 571-572.

reason I am induced to think that symbols and devices were rather different in their uses and meanings, a device being a symbolic representation of a precise characteristic of the owner, while fantastic symbols were the expression of a more generic vision of beauty and the bad.[128] The devices of Marquis Niccolò III passed to his sons (not only to the future marquises Leonello, Borso and Ercole, but also to other male sons) who used the daisy and the diamond ring as two distinguished devices (fig. 50 and 51), as well as a single and interlinked device, as I have mentioned before. The right to use the 'diamond ring with the tricolour daisy' was also bestowed on Alessandro and Francesco Sforza, who grew up at the court of Niccolò (fig. 52).[129] This makes it very difficult to identify unambiguously whether if some objects of that period were commissioned by the House of Este or the House of Sforza. I would like to present an example, a device of the diamond ring traditionally listed among those of Alessandro, indeed ascribed to the Sforza without taking into consideration the possibility that the diamond ring could represent one of the dukes of Este. I am thinking of a *Canzoniere* preserved in the Bibliothèque Nationale de France that is commonly said to have belonged Alessandro Sforza (fig. 53).[130] Because there are no traces of this *Canzoniere* among the documents of Alessandro, this hypothesis has been prompted by the initial 'A.SF.' ('Alessandro Sforza') on the top of fol. 9r, 'a.m.' ('Alessandro Maria') on the bottom and by the Sforza shield on the bottom-centre of the same folio. The shield is identical to the one painted by Rogier van der Weyden in 1460 in the *Sforza Triptych* preserved in Brussels. Moreover, a diamond ring with a tricolour daisy is represented three times in the illuminated manuscript, but it is

[128] U. Eco (edt.), *Storia della Bellezza e Storia della Bruttezza*, 2 voll., Milano, Bompiani, 2010.
[129] M. Torboli, *Il duca Borso d'Este e la politica delle immagini nella Ferrara del '400*, Ferrara, Edizioni Cartografica, 2007;
[130] Anonymous artist, from Petrarch, *Canzoniere*, Ms. Ital. 561, Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale de France. For the suggestion it belonged to Alessandro Sforza see A. Bayer (edt.), *Art and Love in Renaissance Italy*, New York, MET Museum, 2008, p. 140.

very hard to link it with certainty to Alessandro. But the style of the illuminated manuscript of the *Canzoniere* strongly suggests that it was, produced by an artist from the Emilia Romagna area and it is very close to that of *Missale* illuminated by Guglielmo Giraldi and now preserved in Vigevano (fig. 54)[131] and to that of the Ferrarese *Istoria Imperiale* now in Ravenna (fig. 55).[132] I would like to suggest that this may be the Estense 'diamond and tricolour daisy' and the initials on the top could stand for 'Anna (Maria) Sforza', the future wife (in 1491) of Alfonso II d'Este, and those on the bottom for 'Anna Maria'. Moreover the Sforza shield is very similar to the one illuminated in the *De Sphaera* (fig. 56), where the dragon with the diamond ring was also a symbol of the House of Este (two other similar examples can be found in Borso's *Bible*). A copy of Petrarch's famous *Canzoniere*, devoted to love, would surely have been an appropriate gift for the new bride. Only a thorough study of Anna Maria Sforza's Wardrobe accounts could clarify to which area the manuscript pertained.

To further complicate things, Leonello, Borso and Ercole, the three sons of Niccolò III who became *Signori* of Ferrara after him, on one hand introduced new devices experimenting different symbolisms, but on the other continued to use the devices of their predecessor, sometimes changing the visual representation of the same symbol.[133] For these reasons the patrimony of

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[131] M. Boskovitz, «Mostre di Miniatura Italiana a New York», in *Arte Cristiana*, LXXXIII, n. 770, 1995, pp. 455-462.

[132] A. Dillon Bussi, C. Giuliani (edts.), *Biblioteca Classense*, Firenze, 1996, pp. 104-105.

[133] G. Baldassarri, «Per un inventario delle "imprese"», in *Schifanoia*, 8 (1989), pp. 177-181; D. Benati, «La decorazione pittorica estense nel Castello delle Rocche», in *Finale Emilia popolo e castello*, atti del convegno, Aedes Muratoriana, Modena, 1985, pp. 409-423; P. di Pietro Lombardi, «Le imprese estensi come ritratto emblematico del principe», in R. Iotti (edt.), *Gli Estensi. La corte di Ferrara*, Il Bulino, Modena, 1997, pp. 183-231; E. Domenicali, «L'unicorno di pietra: feroce, casto e benefico», in G. Gentilizi e L. Scardino (edts.), *Crocevia estense: contributi per la storia della Scultura a Ferrara nel XV secolo*, Liberty House, Ferrara, 2007; G.A. Facchini, «Stemmi, imprese e divise dei principi d'Este», in *Rivista di Ferrara*, n. 7, luglio 1935, pp. 314-319;

Estense devices in the fifteenth century is not a fixed set of symbols that the dukes used indifferently on different objects, or a multiplicity of devices used nearly everywhere, but rather a continuous stream of elements capable of being transformed or preserved, in search of an equilibrium of its different parts. Indeed, Leonello, Borso and Ercole had a rich patrimony of heraldic devices and enseigns; they had been used one by one, as in the case of medals,[134] or combined to convey a particular symbolic significance, as in the case of the *Bucintoro*. In Leonello's treasury lists several devices are recorded, five of which prevailed over the others: the 'knee armour' (*zenochiale*), the 'full-blown sail' (*vela ventosa*), the 'jug' (*boccale*), the 'German padlock' (*chiavatura tedesca*) and the 'cannonball in flames' (*granata svampante*). But at least another six devices were regularly used by Leonello for the enrichment of his garments, stamped on medals and illuminated in manuscripts: the lynx, the three twins, the daisy, the diamond ring, the hammer and the compass. But the significance of the majority of these devices is still obscure.

After the elevation of Borso to Duke of Modena and Reggio Emilia in 1452, his devices were newly arranged and listed as: "el batesimo, la sieve, l'asse, el batelo, el alicornio, el paraduro, el diamante, e la malgarita".[135] From that moment the eight 'new' devices of the Duke were painted, sculpted, illuminated, engraved, woven and embroidered in every object of private and public display. There are several surviving examples, like the famous illuminated *Bible* (fig. 57 and Table 6), the stuccoes on the Schifanoia Palace ceiling (fig. 58), and the marble column in the Ferrarese Church of San Cristoforo (fig. 59), to quote but a few examples, but there are also

[134] M. Pastoreau, «La naissance de la médaille: le problème emblématique», in *Revue numismatique*, 6th series, vol. XXIV, 1982, pp. 206-221; *Idem*, «Una image nouvelle: a médaille du XVe siècle», in *The Medal*, n. 9, 1986, pp. 5-8; *Idem*, «La naissance de la médaille: des impasses historiographiques à la théorie de l'image», in *Revue numismatique*, 6th series, vol. XXX, 1988, pag. 227-247.
[135] ASMo, CDE, *Guardaroba*, n. 33, "Debitori et Creditori .N. (1452)", fol. CCLXX, in A. Franceschini, *Artisti a Ferrara in età umanistica e rinascimentale. Testimonianze archivistiche. Parte I dal 1341 al 1471*, Ferrara, Fondazione Cassa di Risparmio di Ferrara, 1993, pag. 384.

innumerable and less studied documentary examples. In fact, some of these devices were used, for example, in 1457, to decorate both the embroideries of Borso's bedroom (the *unicorno*, the *battesimo* and the *paraduro*) and the tapestry cartoons prepared by Cosmè Tura (the *unicorno*, the *battesimo*, the *paraduro* and the *chiodara*),[136] or in 1459 for the *Bucintoro*. Elsewhere they were painted on Borso's quail cages (1453)[137] or on those for six nightingales (1461).[138] Borso's devices have been the subject of several studies, especially by Italian authors,[139]

[136] ASMo, Guardaroba, Memoriale, T, May 18th 1457, c. 32: "M. Gosme depintore in Ferrara de avere […] per sua fatura et spexa de colurj de avere depinto uno patrone per desegno da fare spalire de razo. […] suxo lo quale ha dipinto pavelgionj 5 soto Li qualj sono fato una arma ducale et devixe 4 de lo S. zoe paraduro, alicornio, batesmo, et la chiodara fate a sua naturale et per tuto lo resto del canpo sie fato più diversi animali et verdure. La quale se de adoperare per uno maestro di franza che de venire qui in corte a fare dite spaliere". In A. Venturi, «Cosme Tura genannt Cosmè», *Jahrbuch der Königlich Preussischen Kunstsammlungen*, vol. 9, year 1/2 (1888), pp. 3-33.

[137] "Magistro Iacomo de Sagramoro depintore de havere […] adi XI de magio lire due, soldo 1 de marchesani, per lui dato Illustrissimo nostro signore, per depignere VIIII devixe suxo una carta bambaxina, uno cimero et 3 gabie da quaglia; como al Memoriale .P. 79, e posto a spesa", in ASMo, CDE, *Computisteria*, Conto Generale, 7, "Conto Generale O", 1452, fol. 95.

[138] "Manifacture et spese de havere dipinto […] 6 gabie da lisignollo cum le arme et divise del prefato nostro Signore", in ASMo, C.D.E., *Guardaroba*, 71, "Registro di mandati et spesa 1461", fol. 8.

[139] R. Varese, «Gli altri ambienti», in S. Settis and W. Cupperi (edts.), *Il Palazzo Schifanoia a Ferrara*, Modena, Franco Cosimo Panini, 2007, pp. 311-325; V. Ferrari, «Un'enigmatica "impresa" di Borso d'Este in un pavimento ceramico del sec. XV», in *DPSPFe*, 14, 1955, pp. 97-103; C. Forlani, V. Ferrari (edts.), *L'araldica estense nello sviluppo del Dominio ferrarese*, Casa Editrice Belriguardo, Ferrara, 1989; G. Martinelli Braglia, «Un episodio della Bottega degli Erri: le "imprese" estensi nella Rocca di S. Martino in Rio», in *DSPMo*, Aedes Muratoriana, Modena, 1996, pp. 97-108; H. Ragn-Jensen, «The Universe of the Este Court in the Sala dei Mesi. A study of the means used by painters to represent the court's view of the universe in the Palazzo Schifanoia», in *The Court of Ferrara and its patronage*, Atti del Convegno Internazionale, Modena, Panini, 1990, pp. 113-129; F. Toniolo, «Stemmi, imprese, natura dipinta», in *La Bibbia di Borso d'Este. Commentario al codice,* Panini, Modena, 1997, vol. II, cap. VIII, pp. 483- 497; M. Torboli, *Diamante! Curiosità araldiche nell'arte estense del Quattrocento*, Ferrara, Edizioni Cartografica, 2010; I. Galvani, *La rappresentazione del potere nell'età di Borso d'Este: "imprese" e simboli alla corte di Ferrara*, Università di Ferrara, tesi per il Dottorato di Ricerca in Scienze e Tecnologie per

but the contemporary inability to read the significance of some of them shows the failure of these symbols as a medium of communication, as they were intended to be, opening a long series of suppositions around them.[140] In the next sections I have concentrated my attention on the devices chosen by Borso for his *Bucintoro*, because they constitute an organized set of symbols chosen to convey information to observers.

Ercole I d'Este, half-brother of Leonello and Borso, became Duke of Ferrara and Modena in 1471, governing these territories until 1505. He continued to employ the Estense devices, adding to those used by his half-brothers the hydra, the three columns, the tree, the fish pot, and the glass furnace. The study of Ferrarese devices in the mid-fifteenth century is a complex and challenging task. This is not only because over forty years more than thirty different devices were conceived and used by dukes and several members of the courts, but also because a slightly different significance was attributed to the same device depending on the traits and thoughts of the owner. In the next sections I will consider more closely the devices embroidered for Borso's *Bucintoro*, exploring the particular meaning of each symbol and the significance of the whole composition.

The embroidered stateroom of Borso: an interpretation

In 1459 sixteen embroidered panels, and three curtains were commissioned by Borso for the main room of the *Bucintoro*. In the previous section I presented the embroidered blazons of the *Bucintoro* Estense and I listed the devices that Borso had chosen after his proclamation as Duke of Modena and Reggio Emilia. My aim now is to suggest an interpretation of each

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l'Archeologia e i Beni Culturali, a.a. 2007-2009.

[140] K. Lippincott, «The Genesis and Significance of the Fifteenth-Century Italian *Impresa*», in Sidney A. (edt.), *Chivalry in the Renaissance*, Woodbridge, 1990, pp. 49-76.

device chosen for the decoration of the main room of the *Bucintoro*, by adding new insights to the information already known. In particular I would like to answer an important question. What did the devices combined with the coats of arms to produce an allegory of the Marquis of Ferrara look like? And, still more significantly, to what extent did Borso's ambition to become the first Duke of Ferrara dictate the composition of the panels?

In the *Bucintoro*, according to contemporary documents, the Estense coats of arms were enriched by six of Borso's devices: the *battesimo*, the *unicorno*, the *paraduro*, the *colombarollo* (or *beverolli*), the *chioldara* and the *batello*. Each device was framed by two date palm leaves with fruits (*palme cum dataro*). The panels were connected to each other by the device of the continuous fence (*sieve*) embroidered with black and gold threads. It is immediately apparent that the list of devices chosen for the decoration of the *Bucintoro* does not perfectly match the names of the 'official' devices chosen by Borso in 1452, or, at least, that the 1452 definitions are not the same as those of 1459. I have given a brief summary of the two lists in the table below (Table 5).

1452	**1459** *Bucintoro*	*Literal translation*
Batesimo	Batesimo	*Baptism*
Alicornio	Unicorno	*Unicorn*
Paraduro	Paraduro	*Sluice Gate*
Asse	-	*Board*
Batelo	Batello	*Boat (?)*
Diamante	-	*Diamond*
Malgarita	-	*Daisy*
Sieve	Sieve	*Fence*
-	Colombarollo	*Pigeon trough*
-	Chioldara	*Nails*

Table 5. Borso's devices in 1452 and 1459

Some of these devices, like the *unicorno*, the *paraduro* and the *batesimo*, are well known to historians of the Este family, while others have not been thoroughly investigated, so I will try to formulate new proposals as to their significance. I will briefly consider and explain Borso's devices, one by one.

The device of the *batesimo* ('baptism') depicted an open-top baptismal font with a bowl inside. The font depicted in the device refers to the sacrament of baptism by water,[141] which not only cleansed the body of original sin, thus remitting eternal punishment, but also literally infused the soul with a primal goodness. As St. Antoninus of Florence preached in the mid-fifteenth century, baptism: "[…] diminishes the inclination to sin and illuminates the mind, especially in respect of those things that are of Faith".[142] In the surviving examples of illuminated manuscripts, its shape was pictured as a Roman marble font (fig. 60), or as a medieval hexagonal baptismal font (fig. 61). The latter, more frequent, also appeared in a medal by Pisanello (fig. 62) and likewise in every embroidered scale (green and red on close examination) that composes the garment of the man in the famous drawing of a *Nobleman with a falcon* attributed to Pisanello (fig. 63),[143] which, in my view, may well be a portrait of Borso. Pisanello had been in Ferrara for the Council of Ferrara in 1438 during which time he drew the portraits of John VIII Palaeologus and Niccolò III d'Este. Indeed, on the fourth of March 1438 the Marquis of Ferrara Niccolò III and his sons Borso and Leonello, dressed with embroidered costumes with the devices of the House of Este, welcomed the basileus who arrived in Ferrara for the council on a brown steed covered with a golden saddle-cloth.[144] Pisanello is also recorded in Ferrarese documents in 1441, when Borso was twenty-eight years old, because a boat was prepared to

[141] M. Baxandall, *Patterns of Intention. On the Historical Explanation of Pictures*, Yale University Press, 1985, pp. 121-125.
[142] St. Antoninus Pierozzi was archbishop of Florence in the years 1446-1459. His sermons were published in 1477 in Venice under the title *Summa Teologica.* In C.C. Calzolai, *Sant'Antonino Pierozzi, domenicano, vescovo di Firenze*, Firenze, Giovacchini, 1959; R. De Roover, *San Bernardino of Siena and Sant'Antonino of Florence: the two great economic thinkers of the Middle Ages*, Baker Library, Harvard Graduate School of Business Administration, 1967.
[143] J.B. Shaw, *The Italian drawings of the Frits Lugt Collection*, Paris, Institut Néerlandais, 1983, pp. 204-205.
[144] P. Bargellini, *Il concilio di Firenze e gli affreschi di Benozzo*, Firenze, 1961, p. 107.

accompany Pisanello to Mantua, without paying any duty for the transport of his chests along the river Po.[145]

The symbol of the *unicorno* ("unicorn") consisted of a sitting unicorn – a white, horse-like creature with a single horn in the middle of its forehead –, dipping its long silver horn into a stretch of limpid water (fig. 64), usually accompanied by a date palm tree and a hedge to create a small *hortus conclusus* around the tame animal (fig. 65). According to legend, derived from late-antique bestiaries, the unicorn had the power to purify water with its horn and the fierce animal could only be tamed by a virgin, after which it could be captured. For some historians of the Estense courts, Torboli in particular, virginity is a key element to the understanding of this device: the maiden who could capture the unicorn is like the 'virginal' Borso (who had never married and had no child), who had also purified water by means of his project of land reclamation. Notwithstanding the fact that this interpretation is rather tempting, I would like to remind readers that, in the mid-fifteenth century, celibacy, especially for a prince, was considered in a different way from female chastity.[146] This is a theme that needs further investigation, so for the current work I will limit myself observing that the allusion most forcefully accentuated in this device is likely to have been to the purification of water, a theme reinforced by the presence of the palm tree, itself symbol of sacrifice and purity. The attribute of purity derived in particular from the Gospel of Pseudo-Matthew, which recounts the story of the Holy Family fleeing into Egypt, very popular during the Renaissance. According to the story, Joseph and Mary paused on the flight in a grove of trees and the Child ordered the trees to bend down so that Joseph could take fruit from them and commanded:

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[145] "vos factores generales ipsius expensis Camere sua dari faciatis Pisano pictoris excellentissimo unam navem que ipsum conducet hinc Mantuam, et sibi fieri faciatis bullettas liberas pro tribus capsis plenis suis pannis et aliis nonnulis rebus suis et pro suis valisiis et bulzoniis", in ASMo, CDE, *Computisteria*, "Mandati in Volume n. 6", 15th August 1441.

[146] M. Pelaja, L. Scaraffia, *Due in una carne. Chiesa e sessualità nella storia*, Roma, Laterza, 2008.

> "Raise thyself, o palm tree, and be strong, and be the companion of my trees, which are in the paradise of my Father; and open from thy roots a vein of water which has been hid in the earth, and let the waters flow, so that we may be satisfied from thee. And it rose up immediately, and at its root there began to come forth a spring of water exceedingly clear and cool and sparkling. And when they saw the spring of water, they rejoiced with great joy, and were satisfied, themselves and all their cattle and their beasts".[147]

For this reason I think that this device should be considered as the sum of the two symbols, the unicorn and the palm tree, that in fact are depicted together the majority of times. To this I would like to add that during the Middle Ages, in a world filled with references, reminders and overtones of Divinity and manifestations of God in things,[148] this legend took on Christian connotations, so that the unicorn, associated with purity and self-sacrifice, could be seen as a Christ-like figure. In fact in the *Physiologus* the unicorn's horn is related to the Messiah, who: "[…] hath raised up a horn of salvation for us in the house of his servant David"[149] and: "the Lord will judge the ends of the earth. He will give strength to his king and exalt the horn of his anointed".[150] Secular and religious elements blended together, so both the 'unicorn' and the 'baptism' alluded to the same reference system, and did not appear as a juxtaposition of the sacred and the profane, as some authors had proposed.[151] The hypothesis that in Ferrara the unicorn was considered to be a symbol related to the Christian tradition is reinforced by the presence of a sculptural antecedent on a medieval marble slab which was part of an ambo in the nave of the Cathedral

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[147] Gospel of Pseudo-Matthew, Chap. 20, See here Appendix B, n. 11.
[148] U. Eco, *Art and Beauty in the Middle Ages*, Yale University Press, 1986, p. 52-64.
[149] Luke, 1:69.
[150] 1 Samuel 2:10.
[151] M. Torboli, *Il duca Borso d'Este e la politica delle immagini nella Ferrara del '400*, Ferrara, Edizioni Cartografica, 2007 and I. Galvani, *La rappresentazione del potere nell'età di Borso d'Este: "imprese" e simboli alla corte di Ferrara*, Università di Ferrara, Tesi del Dottorato di Ricerca in Scienze e Tecnologie per l'Archeologia e i Beni Culturali, a. 2007-2009.

of Ferrara (fig. 66).[152] This thirteenth-century high-relief in marble represents a man with the unicorn, an apologue included in the story of *Barlaam and Josaphat*, a Christian version of Buddha's life.[153] The *Barlaam and Josaphat* relates the story of the young prince Josaphat's conversion to Christianity under the advice given by the hermit Barlaam.[154] The story alternates talks between master and pupil with parables and apologues to provide a better understanding of the precepts of the Church. The apologue of the man and the unicorn is about a young man who took shelter in a tree after having a vision of a unicorn; here he spent his time eating honey (or fruits, depending on the version) on the tree, while days and nights consumed his life. During the thirteenth and the fourteenth centuries, the legend of Barlaam and Josaphat was to become extremely popular in Italy, and there are several surviving versions in the vernacular[155] or in painted and sculpted copies. The Ferrarese example belongs to this tradition and it is contemporary with the sculpted "man and the unicorn" in the south lunette of the Cathedral of Parma (fig. 67) or in the fresco by Cristoforo di Bendoccio which represents 'Barlaam's wheel' in the Communal Palace in Asciano, near Siena, now preserved in the same city

[152] Since the restoration of the Cathedral in the eighteenth-century, it has been preserved in the Cathedral Museum of Ferrara. Niccolò Baruffaldi, *Annali della città di Ferrara 1655-1700*, published by his son Girolamo Baruffaldi, in *Storia di Ferrara, libri IX*, Ferrara, Pomatelli, 1700.

[153] P. Cesaretti, S. Ronchey, *Storia di Barlaam e Ioasaf. La vita bizantina del Buddha*, Torino, Einaudi, 2012.

[154] K.H. Setton, «The Byzantine background to the Italian Renaissance», in *Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society*, vol. 100, no. 1, 1956, pp. 1-76; G. Frosini, «Fra donne, demoni e papere. Motivi narrativi e trame testuali a confronto nella storia di *Barlaam e Josaphas*, nel *Novellino* e nel *Decameron*», in *Medioevo letterario d'Italia*, no. 3, 2006, pp. 9-37.

[155] Some of these versions were based upon an old Latin translation made directly from the Greek which was printed during the late Renaissance under the name of George of Trebizond, but which is actually found in manuscripts of the twelve-century; P. Peeters, «La première traduction Latine de Barlaam et Josaphat et son original Grec», *Analecta Bollandiana*, no. 49, 1931, pp. 276-312; G. Dapelo, «Il romanzo latino di Barlaam e Josaphat [BHL 979]: preparando l'edizione», *Filologia Mediolatina*, VIII, pp. 179-220.

in the diocesan museum of Palazzo Corboli (fig. 68).[156] The unicorn in the apologue is mainly considered as a negative symbol, representing death, but at the same time it represents the resurrection and the possibility of remitting men's sins. Although different intentions animated the symbolic significance of the two images (the device and the apologue of the man and the unicorn), undoubtedly the unicorn is recognized in both examples as the symbol of the remission of sins, peculiar to Christian morality. In this sense the device of the unicorn and the device of the baptism were connected with the purification of water. By extension, I would suggest that these symbols may be an allegorical representation of land reclamation promoted by Borso in the Ferrarese territory.

In the symbol of the *paraduro* ('sluice gate') a wooden fence with a floating gourd is represented, sometimes with the motto 'F.I.D.O.' (*Fides Iustitia Domino Opulentissimo*) (figs. 69 and 70). This alluded to the locks and control system of the River Po: with a gourd acting as hydrometer it was easy to judge the level of water and to decide whether it was necessary to open the locks. The motto 'F.I.D.O.' underlined the faith in God and in the humane work of the Marquis of Ferrara. The 'sluice gate' used by Borso was a development of the symbol of the wooden fence used by the marquises Niccolò III and Leonello; Borso added the gourd to the fence. He also retained the symbol of the interwoven fence, usually to connect all the other devices, as it was used in the *Bucintoro* for the embroidered symbols (fig. 71). The above-mentioned three devices ('baptism', 'unicorn' and 'sluice gate') were the most expressive among Borso's devices, because, in the surviving examples, they were represented in a bigger format than the others, or were depicted separately (fig. 72 and 73).

The 'pigeon trough' (the so-called *beverollo* or *colombarollo*) was a circular trough with holes for the entrance of pigeons and doves (fig. 74). As I have

[156] C. Frugoni, A. Dietl, *Benedetto Antelami e il Battistero di Parma*, Torino, Einaudi, 1995; M. Caciorga, R. Guerrini, *La virtù figurata: eroi ed eroine dell'antichità nell'arte senese*, Prolagon Editori Toscani, 2003.

already shown it was not listed in the devices of the year 1452, but the *colombarollo* is recognizable in several illuminated examples, above all in Borso's famous illuminated *Bible*, in which the symbol appears seven times.[157] As the Table 6 shows the *colombarollo* was one of the less used devices, especially in comparison with the devices discussed above of the 'baptism', the 'sluice gate' and the 'unicorn'. In particular, this device referred not only to the attempt to provide drinkable and purified water for cattle and domestic animals, but also to restore healthy air through the drainage of marshes.[158]

Table 6. Number of times in which Borso's devices have been illuminated in his Bible (1450-1475). In grey the devices also used in the Bucintoro.[159]

Devices	Number of times		Total
	Vol. I	Vol. II	
Sluice gate	28	18	46
Glass Furnace	25	15	40
Fish pot	20	15	35
Cheetah/dragon	16	13	29
Diamond ring and daisy	16	8	24
Unicorn	9	7	16
Tree	10	6	16
Baptism	8	3	11
Hydra	4	4	8
Pigeon trough	6	1	7
Fence	6	-	6
Door knocker	5	-	5
Tenterhook	3	-	3
Full blown sail	3	-	3
Gourd	-	1	1
Total	**159**	**91**	**250**

[157] In particular it appears in the first volume at fols. 2r, 62v, 66v, 67r, 183v, 298v and in the second volume at fol. 203r.
[158] F. Cazzola, «Le bonifiche cinquecentesche nella valle del Po: governare le acque, creare nuova terra», in A. Fiocca, D. Lamberini, C. Maffioli, (edts.), *Arte e Scienza nel Rinascimento*, Venezia, Marsilio, 2003, pp. 15-36.
[159] My classification of the devices of Borso's *Bible*, Modena, Biblioteca Estense Universitaria.

A similar reading (through not connected to a pigeon trough) was given in Florence where it was possible to read the *motto* "Having drained the maritime marshes, he similarly made the air healthy" to celebrate Cosimo I's attention to and responsibilities for public domains.[160]

The remaining two devices, the *batello* and the *chioldara*, are the most intriguing and controversial. Although the Italian word *battello* is strongly suggestive of a boat, here I wish to underline the fact that there are, as will become apparent, two problems related to this symbol that indicate that it may well not represent a boat. First, considering the great number of surviving examples in miniatures, frescoes, prints, documents and other objects, a boat has never been recorded in Borso's devices. Second, in the previously mentioned unpublished document on the embroideries for the *Bucintoro*, it is written that a woman embroidered on this device one half of a daisy (*malgareta* in the Ferrarese documents),[161] an object that I find difficult to associate with the literal meaning of *battello*, that is, a boat. But, among Borso's devices, I recognize two other symbols in which a daisy is represented: the first one is the so-called *diamante* (or *compasso*) that consists of a ring with a diamond and a tricolour daisy, which I have described in the previous section (fig. 49) the second one is the so-called *picchiotto* (which may have represented a 'door knocker') (fig. 75).[162] In the surviving illuminated examples the latter includes two daisies (which authors have sometimes confused with a pot marigold or calendula) surmounted by a door knocker (from the 1460s in the shape of a dragon) (fig. 76). I think that the Ferrarese word *batello* may refer to an object used to beat (*battere*) and so this device may possibly be identified as the

[160] S. B. Butters, «Princely Waters: an Elemental Look at the Medici Dukes», in A. Calzona, D. Lamberini, (edts.), *La civiltà delle acque tra Medioevo e Rinascimento, Atti del convegno internazionale*, Mantova, 1-4 ottobre 2008, Centro Studi L.B. Alberti, Ingenium, n. 14, Firenze, Leo S. Olschki, 2010, pp. 389-411, quotation on pp. 396-397.

[161] See here Appendix A, doc. 3.

[162] A. Franceschini, *Artisti a Ferrara in età umanistica e rinascimentale. Testimonianze archivistiche*, Ferrara, Fondazione Cassa di Risparmio di Ferrara, 1993, docs. 763, 765, 791 and App. I, p. 229 and p. 231.

picchiotto; in modern Italian, for example, a door knocker is called a *battente*, so the root is from *battere* (to beat) and not from *picchiare* (to hit).[163] In this regard it is interesting to note that some authors (Galvani and Torboli in particular) have underlined the fact that although the symbol called *picchiotto* had been represented since 1452, it is never mentioned with this term in documents until the 1460s. To overcome this discrepancy H.J. Hermann, in his fundamental work on the Ferrarese illuminated manuscripts,[164] has developed the theory that the *picchiotto* and the *chiavadura tedesca* were two different definitions of the same device, calling them "Thürklopfer uber einer Blüthe". Instead, I feel that the devices of the *batello/picchiotto* and that of the *chiavadura tedesca* were two different symbols, while the *picchiotto* and the *batello* are two definitions of the same device.

Since no documents have been found so far which give a detailed description of the different devices, we need to use the information in our possession. First, the definition of the different words. There can be no doubt that the meaning of the word *picchiotto* in the Ferrarese documents referred to a 'door knocker'. The term *chiavadura* referred to different kind of locks, for instance, the lock for a coffer. The term *chiavadura tedesca* ('German lock') was used by Sabadino degli Arienti in the novella *Le Porrettane*[165] for two knights who had locked up their respective ladies with a *chiavadura tedesca* to protect them from risks.[166] I think that in this example the *chiavadura tedesca* may well represent a padlock, of the kind that was used either in chastity belt locks or in

[163] From the Latin noun *battiaculum*. In modern Italian we find different terms, depending on the region, like *battocchio*, *batacchio*, *battiporta*, *battente* or *picchiotto*.
[164] H.J. Hermann, «Zur Geschichte der Miniaturmalerei am Hofe der Este in Ferrara: stilkritische Studien», in *Jahrbuch der kunsthistorischen Sammlungen des allerhöchsten Kaiserhauses*, vol. 21, Wien, A. Holzhausen, 1900.
[165] Sabadino degli Arienti, B. Basile (edt.), *Le Porrettane (1495)*, Roma, Salerno Editrice, 1981.
[166] Torboli, quoting *Le Porrettane*, has proposed that the *picchiotto* and the *chiavadura todesca* are probably two different devices, but she has not proposed a visual alternative for the two symbols. In Torboli M., «L'araldica Estense e le arti», in J. Bentini (edt.), *Gli Este a Ferrara, una corte del Rinascimento*, catalogo della mostra, Ferrara, Castello Estense, 2004, pp. 88-89.

leg shackles (the first one is the most likely in the contest of Sabadino degli Arienti's work). I have searched other cases in which a padlock was defined as 'German', and I have found two other examples, each a heraldic contest; these are to be found in the *De symbolis Heroicis* by Pietrasanta[167] and in the *Mondo simbolico o sia Università d'imprese scelte* by Picinelli, composed in the seventeenth century.[168] The reason why the term 'German' was used can probably be traced to the fact that it was in Germany that an innovative kind of lock was developed, which worked with a key and a combination. The combination lock also suggested the motto given by Picinelli 'Uni Patet', which stands for 'one alone can make me open', but this is an interpretation that comes from later examples than the Estense one. Moreover, in contemporary documents we find separate definitions for both *chiavatura tedesca* and *picchiotto*, so we cannot presume that one term is the modern version of the other (as it is for *batello/picchiotto*). This is not the only case in which the definition of a device was changed: for example, the *chioldara* was initially called *asse*. It is important to remember that the document in which this occurs was drawn up by the Wardrobe Superintendent, who probably described the devices with the simplest and most common words.

To reinforce my hypothesis, that Borso's *batello* referred to a door knocker rather than to a boat, I would like to mention a device illuminated in one of the manuscripts made for the Marquis Leonello d'Este: the *De bello punico* by Livy (fig. 77 a and b). Some of Leonello's devices are illuminated on folio 9r. Among them we recognize the *vela ventosa* ('full blown sail'), the *zenochiale* ('knee armour'), the *granata svampante* ('cannonball in flames'), the *boccale* ('jug') and another one, until now not recognized, that probably represents the 'German lock'. In fact, under a chevron chain stands a padlock with a rounded shackle, and behind the padlock there is a golden *fleur-de-lis* on a turquoise field. Could this device be the 'German lock' mentioned in the

[167] S. Pietrasanta, *De symbolis Heroicis Libri IX*, Antverpiae, 1634, n. 3.
[168] F. Picinelli, *Mondo simbolico o sia Università d'imprese scelte, spiegate, ed illustrate con sentenze, ed eruditioni sacre, e profane*, Milano, 1653, pp. 836-837.

documents? Unfortunately, the modern location of this illuminated manuscript is unknown and the only colour image of this page was published in the 1994 edition of Hermann's research on Ferrarese illuminated manuscripts.[169] The possibility of identifying two different designs for the two devices is a really important element, even if the Livy manuscript represents the only surviving example of this kind. Galvani has proposed that if we turn the *picchiotto* upside-down, it assumes the appearance of a key, so the device included both the door knocker and the lock (fig. 78). I find this explanation quite unlikely, because it breaks the rule of devices: that is, that they be immediately readable to contemporaries. In both cases the reason for the decoration in the shape of a dragon and the meaning of the two tricolour daisies are unknown and mysterious. In the case of the *Bucintoro*, the 'door knocker' (*battello*), together with the 'sluice gate' (both referring to gates and to a system for controlling inner and outer areas), underlined the importance of control and of keeping Ferrara and its inhabitants safe from dangers.

The last device of the *Bucintoro* is the *chioldara* (or *chiodara*). In its literal sense the Italian term *chioldara* means 'nails', and for this reason historians have identified this device with a wooden board with upright nails; represented several times in the illuminated manuscripts of the House of Este, the term *chioldara* was construed as a synecdoche for the whole instrument (fig. 79). As I have already shown, this symbol was first called an *asse* ('board') and then, in documents of the 1460s, a *chioldara*. The *chiodara*, when pulled by horses, as interpreted by Toniolo and Di Pietro Lombardo,[170] served as a harrow, thus emphasising that the reclamation of the Po valley had provided new fields and the promise of economic growth to the city of Ferrara. Previously Marini

[169] H.J. Hermann, *La miniatura Estense*, Modena, Panini, 1994, p. 50 and F. Toniolo (edt.), *La miniatura a Ferrara*, Modena, Panini, 1998, p. 20 (reproduction in black and white).
[170] F. Toniolo, *La Bibbia di Borso. Commentario al Codice*, Modena, Franco Cosimo Panini, 1997, p. 487; P. Di Pietro Lombardi, «Le imprese estensi come ritratto emblematico del principe», in R. Iotti (edt.), *Gli Estensi. La corte di Ferrara*, Modena, Il Bulino, 1997, pp. 183-231.

interpreted the *chioldara* as an instrument of torture, the so-called *dado*,[171] but I do not think Borso's devices would have included such a negative symbol, especially considering the attention paid by his court entourage to his sense of justice. Although this symbol has been taken to be a harrow, there are three elements that cast doubt on this interpretation. First, the wooden board displays its nails upwards (so towards the sky) and not downwards to the ground, thus making it useless for the purpose of turning over the soil. Second, medieval and renaissance harrows were made of a series of narrow wooden boards, fixed in parallel with nails to form a sort of lattice frame that permitted the soil to pass between them, as may be seen clearly in the contemporary illuminated manuscript by Apollonio di Giovanni (fig. 80).[172] In contrast, the device depicts a solid wooden board (*asse*) without spaces between one bar and another. The two aforementioned details contrast with the realism with which Borso's devices were represented, even in a condensed form of art like the heraldic composition. Third, and most important, is the fact that in Ferrara the terms *chiodare*, *chiovare, ciodare* or *chioldare* might be translated as tenterhook racks, and for this reason connected to the wool processing technique. In fact, wool was hung out to dry on tenterhook racks for hanging serge: when cloth was milled and dried it was stretched on a wooden framework (rack) so that it would not shrink or lose shape as it dried. The tenterhooks were the close-set hooks or nails set into the wooden framework to hold the cloth. In her study on the Ferrarese court of the Este, Di Pietro Lombardi pointed out that the device of the *chioldara* may refer to the process of carding wool or flax,[173] as suggested in one of Pisanello's drawings for a costume, in which a man is shown with an embroidered device on his left sleeve which probably

[171] P. Marini (edt.), *Pisanello*, exhibition catalogue, Milan, Electa, 1996, no. 45, p. 276,

[172] Apollonio di Giovanni, Virgilio, Georgiche, so-called "Virgilio Riccardiano", Firenze, Biblioteca Riccardiana, Ms. Ricc. n. 492, c. 18r.

[173] J.H. Munro, «I panni di lana», in F. Franceschi, R.A. Goldthwaite, R.C. Mueller, (edts.), *Il Rinascimento Italiano e L'Europa. Commercio e cultura mercantile*, vol. IV, Fondazione Cassamarca, Angelo Colla Editore, 2007, pp. 3-48.

represented a teasel, most likely connected with the House of Este (fig. 81).[174] The problem is that in fifteenth-century Ferrara the teasel was called a 'comb' (*pettine*) and not a 'tenterhook' (*chioldara*)! Analysing different documents regarding the production of wool in the Estense duchy, one of the first examples in which the term *chioldara* appears is dated 1390, in particular in a patent-right given to Gerardum dei Floredibelis to start the manufacture of wool cloths in Reggio Emilia (part of the Estense duchy since the mid-thirteenth century).[175] From a study of documents concerning the production of wool cloth[176] I can state unequivocally that a *chioldara* was a tool used to dry and to stretch the washed and dyed wool; we can be sure, then that it was a tenterhook. In this sense it is clear that the nails covering the board were meant to hold the threads, preventing the wind from scattering cloths and the felting. The sun shining above the wooden board in the device is most likely not a casual detail (fig. 82)! I have to admit that the way in which this symbol is depicted in the Ferrarese manuscript is ambiguous to say the least: in fact, contemporary illuminated manuscripts present similar wooden boards covered with nails to represent teasels (fig. 83), while tenterhooks were usually depicted as a drying racks (fig. 84), an element that obviously does not exclude different ways and objects for drying wool (fig. 85). For this reason I feel confidant to affirm that this device is more likely to represent an object for drying wool than a harrow. It is interesting to emphasize here the importance of the development of the wool processing technique which occurred under the reign of Borso. In 1454, in fact, he promoted the installation of new systems in Ferrara for drying and dying the wool, thanks to patent rights and agreements

[174] Pisanello had in fact worked in the court of Nicolò III d'Este (Borso's father) during the Council of Ferrara in 1438.
[175] ASRE, *Società d'arti*, "Arte della Lana e del Panno", n. 19, busta 2353. See here, Appendix A, doc. 9. Similarly, in ACFe, *Deliberazioni XII Savi*, vol L., 1461, fol. 23r.
[176] ASMo, Archivio per Materie, *Arti e Mestieri*, b. 27, "Lana", undated [but 1548] and BCAFe, Archivio Antonelli, Ms. Classe I, *L'arte della lana come se usita nella città di Ferrara*, 1555, fols. 29r-v. See here Appendix A, docc. 10 and 11.

given to foreign cloth producers (unfortunately not fully laid out in the original archival document), like Pollo from Rovigo.[177]

In this sense, the *Bucintoro* devices were a coordinated set of symbols displayed to illustrate and commemorate the most remarkable technological activities carried out by Borso as Marquis of Ferrara, through which the observer was reminded of Borso's good government and the close relation between his actions and his faith in God. As such, they formed what we might term a 'politicization' of his imagery.

Colours for the duchy

After the analysis of the shields and devices that decorated the main room of the Estense *Bucintoro*, I would like to propose an interpretation of the colours chosen for the room's panels and curtains. No analysis of heraldry would be in fact complete without also considering the colours of the textiles on which the devices were depicted or embroidered. This main room was built on the deck of the *Bucintoro*, being immediately visible from the outside of the boat: for this reason its decorative apparatus was perfect suited to carry information. Colours can be seen even at great distances, and so, on these luxurious barges, they permit the immediate identification of the owner. Clearly it is not possible to analyse this emblematic setting in the same way that blazons are studied, but its composition should certainly be considered as a whole, in which colours are valued as much as the imagery they inform, instead of being understood merely as decorative background. In fact, in early modern courts, colours as well as devices and *imprese*, were used to communicate information. In order to understand just how important colours were for the image of the court, I should like to cite the example of the Wardrobe Superintendent who, in 1467, ordered five new flags to be painted with Borso's devices for the court trumpeters. Although the old ones were not worn out,

[177] ACFe, *Deliberazioni XII Savi*, vol L, fol. 23r.

they had been white; the marquis now wished to change the colour of the flags to azure the colour of the Estense liveries.[178]

Under the reign of Leonello the main room of the *Bucintoro* was composed of red, green, white and turquoise cloth panels, in alternating sequence. These are the colours in some of the figures drawn in sketches by Pisanello, which were probably done for the Este family around 1440 (figs. 86 and 87).[179] The description of Leonello's *Bucintoro*[180] shows that the throne and the canopy around it were made of turquoise cloth, most likely to underline the close Este association with and similarity to the kingdom of France,[181] whose blazon was turquoise scattered with golden *fleur-de-lis*, while the room was covered with red, green and white embroidered panels. The description immediately reminds us of the Hall of Justice in Vendôme, illuminated by Jean Fouquet in 1459 for a manuscript copy of Boccaccio's *De casibus virorum illustrium*, ordered by Laurent Girard (fig. 88).[182] In 1441 Jean Fouquet (Tours, c. 1420-1481), who, in 1440 had set out on a journey through Italy, had worked at the court of Marquis Niccolò III of Este, for whom he had painted a

[178] ASMo, C.D.E., *Guardaroba*, vol. 57, 1467, fol. 68v: "Per penoni de tafetado azuro da tronba li quali vano con frape atorno et tuti dipinti a larma ducale et suxo dite frape le devixe del n.ro s. la quali vano missi doro fino et arzento et coluri segondo el consueto per altri simili fati, li quali sono per uxo de trombiti zinque che sona tronbe grande et uno menore per lo tronbone storto per uxo de tomaxo perino, nicolo da modena, bitista de norse, gasparo todesco et antonio agostino dal tronbone, poste per che li altre si sono strazade exceto quelo del dito battista et quelo de lo agostino li quali forno fati in lanno 1464 ma per che sono bianchi et li diti novi serano azurj per tanto ancora segene fato azascuno de azuri posto in lista che montarano circa lire 206.0.0.".

[179] D. Cordellier, «Deux études d'homme vêtu aux couleurs et à la devise des Este. Tête de femme de profil», in *Pisanello. Le peintre aux septes vertus*, Paris, Musée du Louvre, 6 May – 5 August 1996, RNM, 1996, pp. 157-167.

[180] See here Appendix A, doc. 2.

[181] C. Mérindol (de), «Signes de Hiérarchie sociale a la fin du Moyen Age d'après le vêtement méthodes et recherches», in M. Pastoreau (edt.), *Le Vêtement. Histoire, archéologie et symbolique vestimentaires au Moyen Age*, Paris, Cahiers du Léopard d'Or, 1989, pp. 181-222.

[182] In the scene a moment of the trial against Jean d'Alençon in 1458 is depicted. He was convicted of lèse-majesté and sentenced to death. In 1459, the sentence was commuted and he was imprisoned at Loches.

portrait of the favourite buffoon, Gonella (fig. 89); he is depicted wearing the livery colours of the Este marquisate under the reign of Niccolò, that is yellow, green and red, as may also be seen in the Palazzo Paradiso in Ferrara, built in 1391 to serve as one of the Estense *delizie* and decorated in the following years when Niccolò became Marquis of Ferrara (1393) (fig. 90).[183] Jean Fouquet was recorded in the lists of the Estense Treasury under the emblematic name of 'Johannes bombarderius', identified by Carlo Ginzburg as the famous painter.[184]

The panels and curtains chosen by Borso in 1459 consisted of red, green and white cloth, while the devices embroidered on them were entirely with black, gold and silver threads. It is immediately clear that in the period 1440-1460 the colours chosen to represent the House of Este quickly changed, passing through different combinations, such as the white, yellow and turquoise chosen for the embroidered decoration of Borso's bedroom in 1457,[185] just two years before that of the *Bucintoro*. Until 1452 not a single piece of clothing in the lists of garments ordered by Borso's court was made in the three colours red-white-green alone, but the liveries were always composed of red, white, green and turquoise, as I summarized in Table 7. A complete study of the Estense liveries in the fifteenth century is still to be carried out, but it is remarkable that the tricolour green, red and white was particularly used during the reign of Borso,[186] and that the tricolour became not only a personal symbol

[183] O. Pächt, «Die autorshaft des Gonella-Bildnisses», in *Jahrbuch der Kunsthistorisches Sammlungen in Wien*, 1974, pag. 67; N. Reynaud, *Jean Fouquet*, Paris, Les dossiers du département des peintures, 1981, p. 7-8.
[184] C. Ginzburg, *Jean Fouquet. Ritratto del buffone Gonella*, Modena, Franco Cosimo Panini, 1996, p. 42-43.
[185] For the complete transcription of the document see B. Mezzogori (2006), *Tra arte ed economia: il ricamo nei territori del ducato Estense (1434-1598)*, Tesi di Laurea in Economia e Management per le Arti, la Cultura e la Comunicazione, Milano, Università Commerciale L. Bocconi, a.a. 2005-2006, Appendix B.
[186] «[…] Maistro Michele Ungaro depinctore per sua manifactura et magisterio de havere depincto bastoni 27 da seschalco per la venuta del Imperatore, depincti de colori fini ala devisa, cioè biancha et rossa et verde, cum le fiame in

of Borso but also of the entire Estense duchy right down until the devolution of Ferrara in 1598. Suffice it to say, these three colours were used to decorate the triumphal chariots in the fresco decoration (fig. 91) of the Schifanoia Palace in Ferrara (ca. 1470) and Borso's Bible (1455-1461), now in the Modena University Library. The same tricolour was also used in two different devices of the period: in 'diamond ring' the daisy was tricoloured, and each column in the 'three columns' device used by Ercole I d'Este from the year 1471 bore one of these three colours (fig. 92).

Table 7. Estense liveries between 1440 and 1459

	Niccolò III's liveries	**Leonello's *Bucintoro***	**Borso's bed**	**Borso's *Bucintoro***
	1440	**1444**	**1457**	**1459**
Yellow	✓		✓	
Turquoise		✓	✓	
Red	✓	✓		✓
Green	✓	✓		✓
White		✓	✓	✓

According to the cultural sensibility of the early modern period red was the colour of the divine and was often associated with power and justice; white symbolized light, eternity, purity and virginity while green represented hope and renewal.[187] I have already demonstrated that the devices of the *Bucintoro* could be grouped into three subsets, in accordance with their symbolic values and meaning. The first group refers to the Este ability to manage water and land (the 'sluice gate' and the 'door knocker'); the second to the purification of water (the 'unicorn' and the 'baptism'); and the third to the economic activities connected with the control and purification of water and air (the 'tenterhook'

campo biancho […]»., in ASMo, CDE, Computisteria, Memoriali, 4, Memoriale O, 1452, fol. 182.

[187] M. Pastoreau, *Figures et couleurs. Etudes sur la symbolique et la sensibilité médiévales*, Paris, Le Léopard d'Or, 1986.

and the 'pigeon trough'). These concepts were reinforced by the association of the device subsets with the colours of the panels, as shown below. In fact, the 'unicorn' and the 'baptism' were embroidered on a white field to enhance the sense of purity and virginity; the 'tenterhook' and the 'pigeon trough' on a green field to reinforce the concept of renewal and rebirth; and the 'sluice gate' and the 'door knocker' on a red field to strengthen the idea of Borso as the good ruler, as I have summarized in Table 8.

Table 8. Colours and Devices of the Estense *Bucintoro* in 1459

Colours	**Devices**	
Red	Sluice Gate	*Paraduro*
	Door Knocker	*Batello/Picchiotto*
White	Unicorn	*Unicorno*
	Baptism	*Battesimo*
Green	Tenterhook	*Asse/Chioldara*
	Pigeon Trough	*Colombarollo/Beverolli*

The Estense tricolour was also directly connected with the colours of faith in *De triumphis religionis,* in which Giovanni Sabadino degli Arienti described the triumphal entry of the Duke Ercole I into Paradise:

> "[…] [Duke Ercole] was conferred with his diamond enseign of the tricolour daisy, red white and green, with its leaves twisted around the diamond ring. […] the green colour means hope, which is always green. […] And the colour white means faith, because faith has to be spotless, pure, and clean from stains. And the colour red means charity, the burning queen among virtues and faith stays between her and hope. […]".[188]

Attributing a religious connotation to these colours, green was interpreted as the colour for Hope, white for Faith, and red for Charity, a reading obviously influenced by Gioacchino da Fiore's treatises on the representation of Faith.[189] During the fifteenth century the tricolour red, green

[188] W. Gundersheimer, *Art and life at the Court of Ercole I d'Este: the "De triumphis religionis" of Giovanni Sabadino degli Arienti*, Genève, Librairie Droz, 1972, pp. 61-62.

[189] C. Dempsey, «Love and the Figure of the Nymph in Botticelli's Art», in *Botticelli from Lorenzo the Magnificent to Savonarola*, Milan, Skira editore, 2003, pp.

and white was also chosen by the families of the Gonzaga of Mantua (fig. 93) and the Malatesta of Rimini and Fano (fig. 94).[190] This is easily understandable not only because of the importance that the tricolour white, green and red had assumed in early modern thought (just to cite an example the description of the nymphs's garments in Boccaccio's *Comedia delle Ninfe Fiorentine*), but also because in the various marriages between the Gonzaga, the Estensi and the Malatesta had mixed up the colours and symbols of the three families (Table 9). In the next chapter I will show how the main room of the *Bucintoro* was made and identify the painters and the embroiderers who executed Borso's devices. I will then move on to also consider the work's organizational structure, underlining the strategies adopted to complete it in the fastest way possible.

25-38.

[190] D. Sanderson Chambers, J. Martineau, (edts.), *Splendour of the Gonzaga, Catalogue of the Exhibition*, London, V&A Museum, 1981; F. Trevisani, *Andrea Mantegna e i Gonzaga: Rinascimento nel Castello di San Giorgio*, Soprintendenza Beni Culturali di Mantova, 2006; L. Bellosi, *Come un prato fiorito: studi sull'arte tardogotica*, Milano, Jaca Book, 2000, J. Woods-Marsden, *The Gonzaga of Mantua and Pisanello's Arthurian frescoes*, Princeton University Press, 1992.

4. The organizational structure for a splendid work: embroidering and painting Borso's *Bucintoro*

Introduction

In the previous chapters I have analysed which kind of ship *bucintori* were, which elements constituted these barges, what the distinctive elements of the Estense Great *Bucintoro* were, which kinds of decoration embellished its nautical structure and, finally, the meaning of the decoration carefully chosen for its stateroom. In this chapter I will go further, presenting how the panels of the stateroom were made, while underlining the organizational structure that led to the completion of the panels and curtains that decorated the main room. I have chosen to concentrate on the case of Borso d'Este's *Bucintoro* because of the extraordinary range, quantity and relevance of the documents I have been able to find about its methods of production. This particular example is extremely interesting not only for the importance its decoration assumed for the political claims of the Marquis of Ferrara, but also for the possibility it offers of retracing with reasonable accuracy the different professions involved for its realisation and the activities necessary for the composition of the textile panels and curtains that covered its stateroom and its ravelin. In fact, five merchants, two dyers, three spinners, a gold-wire drawer, three painters, two tailors, one cutter, one baster, thirteen male embroiderers, thirty-one female embroiderers, six porters, a carpenter, a cook, a boy in charge of the candles, a boy in charge of the fire and another one assigned to "shake the blankets and the panels" (seventy-three workers in total) worked day and night for four months to complete one of the most expensive apparati realised under the reign of Borso (1450 – 1471). They worked under the faultless supervision of the Wardrobe Superintendent, Marco di Galeotto dell'Assassino, whose account book records the daily progress of the work, a document now

preserved in Modena and previously unpublished.[191] In particular, they record, with extraordinary precision, the day-to-day work involved in the design and embroidery of the green, red and white panels forming the *Bucintoro*'s stateroom. Their purpose, as I have explored in depth in the previous Chapter, was to show the observer the history and the progress of the House of Este as well as the traits of Borso as the fairest ruler for the city of Ferrara. January 1459 marked the start of the work for the embroidered panels and curtains made for the entry of Pius II into Ferrara, to replace, by that time, the: "old, moth-eaten and patched"[192] panels in use when Leonello was Marquis of Ferrara. The painter Gherardo da Vicenza, assisted by two *garzoni*, and a group of forty-eight male and female embroiderers, guided by Cristoforo Caleffini, were occupied full time to carry out the embroideries of the *Bucintoro* before the Pope's entry into Ferrara. It was completed in four months, just in time for the celebrations. In March of the same year the painter Gherardo da Vicenza was paid for the gilding decoration of the room[193] as well as for sixty-two painted pennants to be distributed to other boats.[194]

In this chapter I will go on to an examination of the particular painters and embroiderers who carried out the heraldic panels and, by means of these analyses, it will become apparent that among the workers there were different levels of experience and specialisation and, moreover, that there were obvious differences between professional and amateur embroiderers, men and women, court professionals and 'superstars'. I will also discuss the different kinds of tasks performed by the professionals and the different levels of difficulty of each task. One of the most interesting things that has emerged from this analysis is the discovery that of a particular technique for transferring the

[191] ASMo, *Amm. Princ.,* n. 9, "Spese per il Bucintoro 1459". See here, Appendix A, doc. 3.
[192] "vechio e tarmato e rapezato", see here Appendix A, doc. 2.
[193] ASMo, C.D.E., *Guardaroba*, 1459, "Registro e mandati e spexa de lo officio de galaoto et de marco", fol. 72r, see here Appendix A, doc. 16.
[194] ASMo, C.D.E., *Giornale*, 61.6: "[…] il quale dè portare lo prefato Duca a Venezia per donare ale barche venirono in contra […]".

patterns for embroideries to the textiles, by means of a matrix carved with the nitric acid. For this reason I will try to formulate some innovative hypotheses on the use of nitric acid for printing textiles and creating patterns for embroideries. To this I will add an analysis of how the team worked together, comparing the embroideries of the *Bucintoro* with two other embroidered projects: Borso's bed (completed in 1457) and his funeral pall (1471). The last part of this chapter will be devoted to the working environments in which the embroideries were made: on careful reading, the documents on the Estense *Bucintoro* offer a plausible explanation for the lack of information on the workshop of Ferrarese Renaissance embroiderers. Finally I will explain how the professionals satisfied the expectations of their clients, in particular by ensuring the highest quality of the works they produced and by adhering to a work schedule that guaranteed deadlines would be met.

The painters of Borso's Bucintoro *and their activities*

I have previously shown that the *Bucintoro* was a very complex product, composed of nautical parts and decorated parts, which, in order to be completed, needed the collaboration of several professionals. For the entries of Pope Pius II into Ferrara in 1459, Borso commissioned a completely renovated decoration of the superstructure, to be set up in the ship-of-state previously used by his father Niccolò III and by his brother Leonello when they were marquises of Ferrara. In this section and in the next one I will examine more closely the works executed by the painters, especially their activities for the decoration of the boat's superstructure as well as for the patterns of the embroideries of the main room of the *Bucintoro*.

The painters engaged on the decoration of the *Bucintoro* included Master Gherardo (or Girardo) da Vicenza and two of his assistants (*garzoni*). Gherardo da Vicenza was well known by the members of the House of Este, as had been his father, Andrea, who had previously worked for the Marquises

of Ferrara Niccolò III and Leonello. Gherardo da Vicenza[195] replaced Iacopo da Bononia, also known as Iacopo Sagramoro, in the role of painter in the service of the Ducal court. And Gherardo's younger brothers, Costantino, Giovanni Francesco and Sigismondo, would also later work as painters for the court of Ercole I d'Este.[196] The work published by Franceschini in 1993[197] clearly demonstrates that the surname of Gherardo da Vicenza was Fiorini and not Costa, in contrast with Cittadella's opinion in his nineteenth-century work on the genealogy of painters in Renaissance Ferrara,[198] an error suggested by the life of 'Hercole da Ferrara' described in Vasari's *Vite*.[199] This confusion over the surname has led some authors to mix up the works of two different painters (Gherardo Fiorini and Girardo Costa), inevitably misunderstanding the role each had had within the Estense court. Notwithstanding his wonderful volume on the court of Ercole I d'Este, Tuohy is one of the authors who has failed to recognize this error, not least when he ascribes the decoration of the *Bucintoro Grande* to Girardo Costa instead of to Gherardo Fiorini.[200]

The Fiorini were, first of all, a family of decorators whose work included whitening walls, gilding furniture and so on. Moreover, as some authors have supposed, Gherardo Fiorini was called to work on the frescoes of the *Sala dei Mesi* in the Schifanoia Palace, in particular on the *Triumph of Ceres*

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[195] His will was published by A. Franceschini, *Artisti a Ferrara in età umanistica e rinascimentale. Testimonianze archivistiche*, vol. I, Ferrara, Cassa di Risparmio di Ferrara, 1993.
[196] M. Toffanello, *Le arti a Ferrara nel Quattrocento. Gli artisti e la corte,* Ferrara, Fondazione Carife, 2010, pp. 206-208.
[197] A. Franceschini, *Artisti a Ferrara in età umanistica e rinascimentale. Testimonianze archivistiche*, vol. I, Ferrara, Cassa di Risparmio di Ferrara, 1993.
[198] L.N. Cittadella, *Documenti e illustrazioni riguardanti la storia artistica ferrarese*, Ferrara, 1868, pp. 17-22.
[199] G. Vasari, *Le vite de' più eccellenti pittori, scultori, ed architettori*, Bettarini R., Barocchi P. (edts.), Firenze, 1966-87, III, p. 419.
[200] T.J. Tuohy, *Herculean Ferrara. Ercole d'Este (1471-1505) and the invention of a ducal capital*, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1996, but also J. Manca, «A Ferrarese painter of the Quattrocento», in *Gazette des Beaux-Arts*, CXVI (1990), pp. 157-162.

(fig. 95).[201] Among the works attributed to Gherardo Fiorini, Syson recognized the pack of tarot cards known as 'the Mantegna Tarots' (fig. 96), a *Madonna* preserved in the Galleria Sabauda in Turin and a *Baptism of Christ* preserved in the Bonnenfantenmuseum in Maastricht.[202]

The Estensi commissioned the workshop of Andrea Fiorini and his sons to produce several works for their palaces as well as for the personal needs of the Marquis, his family and his courtiers. In this sense Gherardo Fiorini was a painter at the court's service, because he permanently worked for the House of Este, without receiving, however, the advantages peculiar to other categories of the family's workers, namely those of the *salariati di bolletta* and the *salariati del soldo*, who instead received a monthly salary in money and a monthly payment in kind (food, wax, charcoal, salt and clothes, in particular).[203] In the 1440s and 1450s the official painter of the court of Este was Cosmè Tura, who, in fact, was not paid by on commission, but rather by monthly salary, although not always regularly paid. The Fiorini, on the other hand, subscribed to agreements with the different offices that required their work (i.e. the office in charge of the 'Wardrobe' or the office in charge of the 'Munitions and Buildings') in which the office bound the painter at his own risk to carry out and deliver the work within a stated period. After consigning the work, they were paid by the court Treasury (from 1452 called the office of

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[201] M. Toffanello, *Artisti a Ferrara nel Quattrocento. La corte, le botteghe, i cantieri*, Tesi di dottorato, Università Chieti e Pescara, 2004-2005, pp. 95-96; S. Buganza, «Intorno a Baldassarre d'Este e al suo soggiorno lombardo», in *Solchi*, 2006, 1/3, pp. 3-69, in particular p. 35; G. Manni, *Belfiore. Lo studiolo intarsiato di Leonello d'Este (1448-1453)*, Modena, Panini, 2006; G. Sassu, «Verso e oltre Schifanoia», in Natale M. (edt.), *Cosmè Tura e Francesco del Cossa. L'arte a Ferrara nell'età di Borso d'Este*, exhibition catalogue, Ferrara, Palazzo dei Diamanti, 2007, pp. 415-425.

[202] L. Syson, «Tura and the "Minor Arts": the School of Ferrara», in S.J. Campbell (edt.), *Artists at Court: Image-Making and Identity 1300-1550*, Boston, 2002, pp. 31-70.

[203] G. Guerzoni, «Ricadute occupazionali ed impatti economici della Committenza artistica delle Corti Estensi tra Quattro e Cinquecento», in *Economia e Arte*, 2002, pp. 187-230, in particular pp. 190-191.

the Ducal Treasury) for every individual work they executed and, sometimes, for their expenses on raw materials. Gherardo and his assistants were paid in this way for pennons of the *Bucintoro* and for the decoration of its superstructure. In contrast, during the period in which they worked on the patterns for the embroideries, the three painters received an amount in money (as may be seen in Table 10) and were lodged in the Castle of Ferrara, at the Duke's expense. Indeed, for the entire period they each received a mattress and a blanket and they ate at the same table with all the other male workers.

The master and the *garzoni* worked on the decoration of the superstructure of Borso's *Bucintoro* as well as on drawing patterns for the embroideries and the subsequent activities of pouncing and etching, a particular activity that I will analyse in greater detail in the next section. They executed the decoration of the barge directly onto the wood, gilding the surface of the superstructure, painting the columns and the balustrades to look like porphyry, gilding their capitals, and depicting gilded stars on the ceiling of the main room.[204] The mast was also painted, as well as much of the built-in furniture. For this kind of work, as painters were accustomed to painting beams for palaces, no special techniques were required. Moreover, the painters ornamented with gold and silver the arms and devices on the pennons, on the small flags and on the standard of the Great *Bucintoro.*[205] They decorated the ceilings of the rooms below deck with gilded roses and applied squares of painted paper to these ceilings. This technique was very common in fifteenth- and sixteenth-century Ferrara, so that, for example, the painter Giovanni Bianchini known as Trullo did work of a similar nature at the beginning of the sixteenth century in the duchesses's balcony in the Castle of Ferrara (fig. 97), painting two hundred and forty-six squares of paper in white and blue, with roses in the centre.[206] Some painted papers with Borso's devices are still preserved in the Schifanoia Palace in Ferrara (fig. 98), papers that had been

[204] See here, Appendix A, doc. 7.
[205] See here, Appendix A, doc. 5.
[206] T. Tuohy, 1996, p. 415.

painted by Andrea di Vicenza, Gherardo's father.[207] Painting on paper squares and applying them on the ceiling probably offered the advantages of making it easier to replace painted squares than to repaint the whole surface and faster in the execution, because in this way it avoided having to cover the surface with plaster before painting it.

In addition to the decoration of the nautical parts of the Great *Bucintoro*, Gherardo and the two *garzoni* from his workshop worked on designing patterns for the embroideries that would serve for the panels and curtains of its stateroom and ravelin, working to complete this process from February to March 1459, as may be seen in Table 10. In particular, Gherardo designed the patterns and also created the hand blocks that served for transferring their design on to the fabric, while the two *garzoni* pounced (*strafforarono*) the designs. When the patterns had been prepared, each panel was framed on a loom by the tailor, in order to be handed on to the embroiderers. Charles Rosenberg found a document in which the painter Ercole de' Roberti is listed among the *garzoni* of the Fiorini workshop, probably one of the most famous *botteghe* in Ferrara.[208] Son of the tailor Andrea Grandi, who worked for Borso d'Este, Ercole de' Roberti assumed the role of court painter for Borso and Ercole I and he was called for the decoration of the Schifanoia Palace (fig. 99) as well as for several sacred and profane paintings, such as, just to cite a wonderful example, the *Saint Jerome in the desert*, now preserved in Los Angeles. I would like to imagine that among the *garzoni* of Gherardo's workshop involved in the decoration of the Estense *Bucintoro* there may also have been Ercole de' Roberti, who, in 1459, was probably a very talented ten-year-old. In 1470, just after he had finished painting the frescoed panels of March, April and May in the *Sala dei Mesi* at Schifanoia, Ercole de' Roberti wrote the famous

[207] M. Toffanello, *Le arti a Ferrara nel Quattrocento. Gli artisti e la corte,* Ferrara, Fondazione Carife, 2010, p. 207.
[208] D. Jaffè, L. Syson, D. Allen, J. Helvey (edts.), «Ercole de' Roberti. The Renaissance in Ferrara», in *The Burlington Magazine*, vol. 141, no. 1153 (Apr. 1999), pp. i-xl.

letter to Borso d'Este in which he justified his appeal for a higher reward on the grounds of his individual merits, claiming that, although he had worked alone and to a high standard, his status had been insufficiently recognized, since he was being paid by the area covered like the most lowly *garzone*.[209] This letter reinforces the supposition that in 1470 Ercole de' Roberti was an experienced and well-known painter, having completed his traineeship as a *garzone* many years before.

Name	City of origins	Profession	Task	A	B	C	Lire	Soldi	Denari
Gherardo	Vicenza	Painter	Patterns	77	27	50	30	0	0
I assistant	*Unknown*	*Garzone*	Pouncing	77	12	65	13	0	0
II assistant	*Unknown*	*Garzone*	Pouncing	77	12	65	13	0	0

Table 10. The work performed by the painters for Borso's Bucintoro (1459).[210]
A = number of employment days
B = number of days off
C = total number of working days

One of the most interesting tasks performed by the painters sounds quite unusual to our contemporary idea of how patterns for embroideries were made, that is, the fact that Gherardo da Vicenza also used *acqua forte* (nitric acid) to create the pattern for these embroideries. Starting from the peculiar fact that in the list of raw materials used by Gherardo Fiorini, which had been ordered and paid for directly by the Estense Ducal Treasury, *acqua forte* bought at a druggist's shop is mentioned,[211] I tried to retrace why Gherardo used nitric

[209] C. Rosenberg, «The Iconography of the Sala degli Stucchi in the Palazzo Schifanoia in Ferrara», in *The Art Bullettin*, 1979, vol. 61, no. 3, pp. 377-384.
[210] My elaboration from the document in ASMo, *Amm. Princ.*, n. 9, "Spese per il Bucintoro 1459".
[211] ASMo, CDE, *Guardaroba*, n. 59, fol. 83. See here Appendix A, doc. 17.

acid for creating the pattern, in what way it was used, how it was produced, and why this use of nitric acid is so important for our knowledge of the technique of etching its early stage, as I will show in next section.

The patterns for the embroideries: pounced or etched?

In the previous section I have shown the main activities carried out by painters for the decoration of the *Bucintoro*. The documents cited, in particular, refer to the activities performed for the superstructure and the room below deck (painting and gilding) and for the curtains and panels of the stateroom (drawing the patterns of the embroideries, pouncing the cartoons and transferring the designs to the cloth). In this section I intend to consider more closely the two processes of creating the pattern and transferring it onto the fabric, adding important information on how nitric acid was used in the context of embroideries and how it was produced in the mid-fifteenth century. Indeed, starting from the scarce elements offered by the list of raw materials in which nitric acid is mentioned and from the emblematic sentence reported in the account book of the Ducal Treasury, in which it is stated that Gherardo was paid for "putting shadows to those embroideries", I start my search for a suitable answer to the use of nitric acid in patterns for embroideries. This is the first time in which nitric acid has been connected with embroideries, in a period that preceded the uses of this acid in etching techniques.

The first task was the creation of the design of the three Estense coats of arms and the six devices of Borso, as I have already shown in Chapter Two. Subsequently the *garzoni* prepared each cartoon for its transfer by means of the pouncing technique, one of the oldest transfer methods known. The outlines of the picture to be transferred were first perforated with a series of closely spaced pin-pricks.[212] Powdered charcoal was then poured into a soft linen or

[212] R.W. Scheller, *A survey of Medieval Model Books*, Harlem, 1963, p. 101.

muslin bag, and the bag rubbed over the pin-pricked figures, leaving a clearly visible outline in the form of dots on the surface of the textile underneath which could then easily be connected to form a continuous line (fig. 100). Strangely enough, none of the pin-pricked embroidery patterns that I have examined shows any traces of the charcoal powder, an example being the embroidery pattern of the Este eagle (fig. 101). This may be accounted for by the fact that the painter did not use the cartoon itself as a 'stencil', but applied the pin-pricks to a loose sheet laid under the cartoon, which he in turn used as his pounce, a method also used for illuminated manuscripts. In this manner it was possible to reuse the cartoons several times. The assistants of Gherardo pounced (*strafforarono*) a total of twenty-six cartoons.[213] Fiorini's workshop had received, from the Estense court, several commissions for drawing and pouncing patterns for embroideries or tapestries, and several of them had been sent from Ferrara to places such as Flanders or Milan, to serve as models.[214] For example, in 1460 Gherardo was paid for sixteen cartoons drawn with *schaioni* painted in green, red, white, and turquoise, with flowers and leaves to serve as models for the Duke of Milan's embroidered tester bed.[215]

At this stage the cartoons were ready to be transferred on to the fabric, but in the case of the *Bucintoro* this did not happen, because in the documents it is recorded that Gherardo received nitric acid from a druggist and was paid to add 'shadows' to the embroideries. A possible explanation for the fact that the pounced cartoons were not used directly on the textile could be that the

[213] "A girardo di andrea da vizenza dipintore per sua carta et fatura posta in avere fato et straforato dessigni 26 ale arme et divise de lo prefato duca grandi meza et pizoli per fare li recami de le dite cortine", See here, Appendix A, doc. 16.
[214] F. Ames-Lewis, J. Wright, *Drawing in the Italian Renaissance Workshop*, London, Victoria and Albert Museum, 1983, p. 222.
[215] "[…] per fatura de schaioni 16 di sua charta, tuti straforati, a lavoro de drapo d'oro chon fioruni et fogliame, per fare li disegni de una faxa de tela de esenpio di fare uno sparviero da letto. […] la quale fassa da mandare lo prefato Ducha nostro alo Illustrissimo Ducha di Milano per far fare in tale guixa". In ASMo, CDE, *Guardaroba*, n. 62, "Memoriale (1460)", fol. 129.

process of pouncing probably did not produce a perfect design, because of the fine nap that is peculiar to thick cloths. Another important reason may be the fact that, with the pouncing technique, painters transferred only the contours of the pattern onto the textile, whilst with the creation of a matrix cut with nitric acid, a procedure that I will carefully explain in this section, they could create a three-dimensional design to be followed by embroiderers.

In fact, in addition to the activity of pouncing it is also recorded that Gherardo Fiorini bought two pails (*sechie*) of nitric acid (*acqua forte*) from a druggist,[216] acid that he used "to shade those embroideries" (*avere onbrezado diti recami*). The process of adding shadows to the design is particularly important, especially considering that the embroideries were executed with black and gold threads alone (and not with coloured threads): these shadows were intended as guide-lines for the embroiderers, enabling them to create a convincing three-dimensional representation of Borso's devices by adding longer or shorter stitches to the outlines drawn by the painters. The way in which painters obtained the shadows is more intriguing and I would like to offer an explanation of this procedure.[217]

Nitric acid (HNO_3) had been named *acqua fortis* by the Romans, a term which they used to indicate a particular inorganic acid with a high oxidising capacity. Very briefly, this means that the nitric acid is able to eat into metals. Nowadays we associate nitric acid with its use in explosives (i.e. TNT or nitro-glycerine), with the phenomenon of 'acid rain' (with sulphuric acid) or, less dangerously, with the artistic technique of etching on metallic plates to produce prints on paper. It is commonly recognized that the technique of etching

[216] "A romeo di zorzo speciale per piu robe avute de spiciaria per onbrare dite cortine in aque", *Guardaroba*, n. 59, fol. 83.

[217] I am very grateful to Prof. Giulio Sgualdino, Dr. Antonella Pagnoni and Dr. Maurizio dal Colle, professors at the Chemistry Department of the University of Ferrara, for their precious help in my understanding of nictric acid. Special thanks goes to Mrs. Graziana Graziani of the Chemistry Laboratory of the University of Ferrara for having organized several meetings at the laboratory (and at the pub) and for her patience in trying to teach me what oxidation-reduction is!

originated in the fifteenth century when Italian and German armourers used nitric acid to create decorations on armour. Producing etching on paper, in contrast, started at the beginning of the sixteenth century, when nitric acid was used to engrave a plate of copper (or zinc) with a particular design that was subsequently covered with ink and pressed on paper to obtain a 'printed version' of the stencil.

As it is important at this point to give an explanation regarding the way in which the nitric acid was used for embroidery patterns, I will try to formulate some hypotheses on the basis of the documents and information in my possession. I would like to start by giving an explanation of the expressions used in the relevant document: "in avere onbrezado diti recami" ("for putting shadows in those embroideries") and "per onbrare dite cortine in acque" ("to shade those curtains in waters"). Even if the meaning of the term *onbrare* clearly refers to the activity of shading (in modern Italian it is *ombrare* or *ombreggiare*), the way in which the *acque forti* were used for this purpose is quite ambiguous and intriguing. For this reason I tried to find other documents that used this term. I discovered that in 1465 Gherardo Fiorini had painted ninety-five lances for Teofilo Calcagnini (Borso's favourite) with his arms and devices:

> "[…] Master Girardo painter […] for having painted ninety-five lances for the magnificent Sir Theofilo with his arms and devices, he put on those three coats of glue adjusting those in several parts, and he put on three coats of plaster and two coats of good colours, and he painted the aforementioned arms and devices upon tin, shaded and trimmed them […]".[218]

Even if these two examples seem quite different I think that there are important similarities. Firstly, the activity of shading was performed by painters. Secondly, the term 'shaded' refers to a process on metal (tin) in the

[218] "Maestro Girardo depinctore […] per havere depinto lanze novantacinque al magnifico Messer Theofilo cum sue arme e divise, ale qualle fo dato 3 mane de cola e apezade in molti luochi, et 3 mane de zesso e due mane de buoni colori, e le dicte arme e divise depinte suso stagnolo et umbrade e profilade a soldi 12 l'una e posto a spexa", in ASMo, CDE, *Guardaroba*, n. 81, "Memoriale 1465", fol. 146, 26 November 1465.

example of the lances and to nitric acid (an acid that eats into metals) in the case of the *Bucintoro*. Finally, the process of shading is a particular procedure, because it is never mentioned in documents concerning the painting of walls and woods, gilding or chiaroscuro techniques.

I would like to exclude some hypotheses about the use of the nitric acid, to focus my attention on the most plausible explanation for the patterns of the *Bucintoro*. Firstly, the activity of shading does not refer to the colours of the threads (the activity of working the threads was performed by spinners) and neither does it refer to the making of embroideries. Secondly, gold, being a noble metal, is not corroded by acids.[219] This means that Gherardo Fiorini could not have used nitric acid to change the colour of gold, in a sort of burnishing process. This is further confirmed if we presume that the gold used for threads was not pure, but made from an alloy of gold and copper (the so-called 'red gold'). Thirdly, it is not possible that the nitric acid was used directly upon the textile, because it would certainly have burnt the textile and the embroideries. And neither is it possible that the painter, to shade the textile, used either the vapours of nitrogen dioxin (NO_2) obtained with the nitric acid in a concentrated solution (>68%) or the red vapours obtained from the reaction between nitric acid and copper (nitrogen tetroxide),[220] since these two vapours were useless for the purpose (as well as being carcinogenic). Finally, for the process of shading the embroideries, Gherardo received two payments, the first in January and the second in March 1459, before the embroidered panels were finished. This obviously means that Gherardo first shaded the patterns and then the embroiderers started to work over them.

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[219] Nowadays we know the procedure to produce 'acqua regia', an acid that could eat into gold and platinum (composed of highly concentrated nitric acid and hydrochloric acid).

[220] (For those who love chemistry) the reaction between diluted nitric acid and copper,

oxidation: $3Cu \rightarrow 3Cu^{2+} + 6e$

reduction: $2NO_3^- + 8H^+ + 6e \rightarrow 2NO + 4H_2O$

$3Cu + 2NO_3^- + 8H^+ \rightarrow 3Cu^{2+} + 2NO + 4H_2O$

I would suggest that it is now obvious that the nitric acid was used over a support to create a pattern for the embroideries. What is plausible is that the design on the pounced cartoons was transferred onto a copper plate or a wooden board and that this plate or board completely covered of wax. The wax was carved following the design underneath and the nitric acid at a low concentration was poured over the wax, in order to bite the surface not covered with wax. The matrix obtained was inked and pressed directly on to the textile to transfer the design. This procedure is summarized in Table 11.

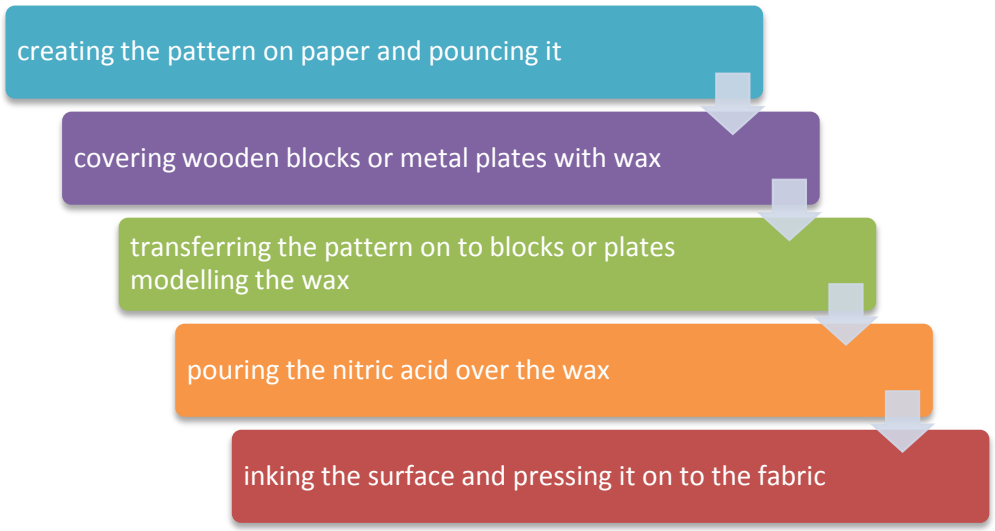


Table 11. The process of creating the pattern for embroideries and transferring it on the fabric.

I find it difficult to give a satisfactory answer as to which kinds of materials (wood or metals) were used to create the effect of shadows on the patterns for the embroideries, because the Office of the Ducal Treasury did not record any metallic plates or wooden boards in the list of raw materials. This suggests that Gherardo probably used a wooden board, especially considering the fact that metals were more expensive products than boards and more difficult to procure. It is also interesting to note that the creation of hand blocks for decorating textiles had been widespread in Europe since the twelfth century (fig. 102), but producing a hand block is a very complex task, whereas the use of nitric acid offers a simple alternative, and one that could be

performed by a painter and not by a professional carver, as may be seen in fig. 103.

Another important question to answer is how fifteenth-century druggists produced the *acqua forte*. Documents reveal that since the twelfth century it was obtained by calcining a mixture of alum, vitriol and one of the following: calcium nitrate [$Ca(NO_3)_2$], sodium nitrate [$NaNO_3$] or potassium nitrate [KNO_3]. These nitrates are just three of several nitrogen-containing compounds collectively referred to as saltpetre. Calcium nitrate was extracted from droppings or human urine, while sodium or potassium nitrate was most likely extracted from the guano of local water birds or from various kinds of moulds, mainly from the soil. There were several rules for collecting saltpetre in order to avoid risks connected with deep excavations: for this reason it was forbidden to dig for more than four fingers underground, especially near ruined palaces.[221] As I was able to infer from patent-rights given to saltpetre merchants in Mantua, the use of wall moulds started only at the end of the sixteenth century.[222] These elements were probably also used in the production of gun powder.[223] Druggists usually added water to nitric acid to reduce its concentration, so these shops sold different types of *acque forti* at different prices depending on their degree of dilution.[224] It is important to remember

[221] "Che detti salnitrari nel cavar salnitri s'astenghino da tutte le case e fabriche sospetti di rovina; et in ogni altro luogo nel cavar la terra, dall'andare più à basso che da intorno all'altezza di quattro dita". Mantova, Archivio Gonzaga, *Finanze*, busta 3188, n. XXIII "Privativa della Polvere e Salnitri n. 2", 1582.
[222] The first time in which Mantuan patent-rights mentioned moulds from building walls is dated 1605 (Mantova, Archivio di Stato, Archivio Gonzaga, *Finanze*, busta 3188, n. XXIII "Privativa della Polvere e Salnitri n. 2", 1605), while in the above-mentioned patent-right of 1582, just the saltpeter from the soil has been mentioned.
[223] W. Panciera, «La polvere da sparo», in *Il Rinascimento Italiano e l'Europa. Produzione e Tecniche*, vol. III, Fondazione Cassamarca, Angelo Colla Editore, 2007, pp. 305-324, in particular p. 307.
[224] For example "Acqua Forte da partire, l'.onc. lire 1 16; Acqua Forte ordinaria, l'.onc. lire 0 12", *Tassa delle Robbe Medicinali, tanto semplici, quanto composte, ad uso delle Speciarie dell'Illustrissima Città di Reggio*, In Modena, per Bartolomeo Soliani,

that different concentrations served for different kinds of works and that contact with a concentrated solution of nitric acid could cause serious burns. It is at least curious that, notwithstanding the dangerous effects of nitric acid, druggists transported it in wooden pails. These pails were certainly made without metallic nails, joints or frames, to avoid the risk of their breaking. Indeed, sixteenth-century patent-rights are preserved in Florence for the production of pails with glued boards; I would suggest that these may have served for transporting acids or drugs.[225]

The use of nitric acid for the patterns of embroideries opens up a series of new suppositions around the development of etching on different supports in the first half of the fifteenth century. It would seem that etching first served for the creation of elaborate works on metals (the case of armours), or to create patterns for embroideries or other serial patterns (some authors affirm that in Ferrara nitric acid had been used for the production of Tarot cards, but I have not found any documents to support this suggestion) and only later did it become the means to developing an artistic genre in itself, by being used in the process of creating prints on paper.[226] However, 1459 is not a *post quem* for the use of nitric acid in the creation of patterns for the decoration of textiles. In fact, the 1436 inventory of the wardrobe of Marquis Niccolò III d'Este records: "a blanket of red *sarza*[227] worked with figures and houses with nitric acid [and] a blanket of red *sarza* worked in the same way as the previous one with nitric acid with figures and houses, very old and tattered".[228] This means

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1646, fol. 3. Reggio Emilia, Archivio di Stato, *Società d'arti*, "Lardaroli e Speziali", b. 2353.

[225] I am very grateful to Prof. Luca Molà for having informed me of this document.

[226] Similar conclusions are expressed by Nash in her work about Flemish wood-engravings in S. Nash, *Northern Renaissance Art,* Oxford History of Art, Oxford University Press, 2009.

[227] A wool cloth with a diagonal weave.

[228] "Coverturo uno de sarza rosa lavorato a figure et casaminti de acqua forte […] Covertuto uno de sarza rosa lavorado como è el predicto a acqua forte,

that the second one had probably been made at least ten or fifteen years before the inventory was compiled, approximately in 1420s, a period that preceded the use of nitric acid on armours. More research is surely needed to obtain a fuller picture of the different uses of nitric acid between the fourteenth and the fifteenth century.

In support of the idea that painters supplied embroiderers with patterns that had been drawn and printed (probably over the textiles prepared with etching techniques – the mechanical printing press was at its very origins), I also found this interesting document:

> "Master Antonio embroiderer […] will complete […] at his own risk and expenses for silk, gold and silver threads, and patterns to make two embroideries, notably: one for a cope and the other one for a cope with hood […] adding to this one in its longest side stories drawn and *printed* [author's italics] by Baptista a Cultris from Ferrara, at the aforementioned price […]".[229]

There are two possible explanations for this: either the embroiderer transferred the printed pattern onto the silk or he assured the client that the painter Battista a Cultris would design the stories and print them onto the textile. I think that the second one is a more plausible explanation because the higher the quality of the pattern, the higher one could expect the quality of the embroideries to be. Moreover, the cartoons made for embroideries were often unique products, because they were studied for the purpose of executing particular and rich works on commission, and embroiderers were prohibited from selling new embroideries to anyone outside the courts and the Church. To reinforce this, each record about embroideries in the account books of the Ducal Treasury is always preceded by a payment to a painter.

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cum figure e casamenti, vecchissimo e strazado", in ASMo, CDE, Amm. Principi, Regnanti, Busta 1, 9 January 1436, c. 5.

[229] ASFe, ANFe, Notaio Ludovico Miliani, 14 January 1455.

The professional embroiderers of Borso's Bucintoro

After painters completed the patterns, the cloth on which they had been drawn was framed on a rectangular loom, ready to be embroidered. At that stage, thirteen male and thirty-one female embroiderers were summoned one by one by Marco di Galeotto dell'Assassino, the Wardrobe Superintendent, to receive a loom previously tagged for a single embroiderer or embroidress. In the present chapter, I will divide the group of embroiderers who worked from January to April 1459 to complete the main room of Borso's *Bucintoro* into two subsets: first, the professional embroiderers who carried out the main parts of the panels of the *Bucintoro*, and second, the embroideresses who helped them. Documents regarding the Estense *Bucintoro* reveal the extent of male involvement in a profession seen, in more recent times at least, as the preserve of women. In the current section my aim is to consider more closely the embroiderers who worked on the completion of the main room of the *Bucintoro*, showing in particular that, in contrast with common opinion, at fifteenth-century northern Italian courts, professional embroiderers were almost exclusively men, defining by the term 'professionals' those workers who were occupied full time in carrying out embroideries on commission, receiving for their work a proportionate salary, as I will show in the present section. In fact, as we will see, from a comparison with different contemporary embroidered projects, it clearly appears that the embroiderers who were called to work for the Estense courts and for the Church of Ferrara on different commissions were exclusively men. I will then move on to show how embroiderers worked together and which strategies they used to carry out complex projects. After an analysis of the male workers, I will take into consideration the female embroiderers, explaining their roles as amateur embroideresses and as semi-professional workers.

For the work done in the main room of the *Bucintoro* thirteen professional embroiderers were called up by the official of the Ducal Wardrobe

(Table 12). Table 12. The work performed by professional embroiderers for Borso's Bucintoro (1459).[230]

Name	City of origin	A	B	C	Lire	Soldi	Denari
Cristofalo Calefino	Ferrara	72	4	68	34	0	0
Antonio Negri	Venice	67	5	62	26	17	4
Luca di Giacomo Negri	Venice	67	5	62	6	4	0
Lanzalotto	Mantua	71	1	70	26	2	0
Bartolamio degli Agnelli	Mantua	69	2	67	13	8	0
Catabene	Da villa fuora (from the town of Villafora)	69	2	67	13	8	0
Cupino	Fiamengo (man from flandres)	67	2	65	21	13	4
Franzexe	(Frenchman)	67	2	65	17	6	8
Anichim	Dalemagna (German)	9	0	9	2	0	0
Zorzo	Cremona	17	0	17	4	10	0
Jacomo di Bonaventura	*Unknown*	60	0	60	30	0	0
Conte	Ferrara	0	0	0	0	0	0
Jacomino di Lupi	Ferrara	64	8	56	24	5	4
Ambroso di Lupi	Ferrara	14	0	14	4	10	0

A = number of employment days
B = number of days off
C = total number of working days

[230] My elaboration from the document in ASMo, *Amm. Princ.*, n. 9, "Spese per il Bucintoro 1459".

The person responsible for the Wardrobe was Marco di Galeotto dell'Assassino, who had been elected as "official in charge of the tapestries and wardrobe" in 1457 (he succeeded Niccolò di Michelino), a role he maintained until 1469. Notwithstanding the fact that a guild for embroiderers had never been established in Ferrara, the embroiderers hired by Marco dell'Assassino were recognized by their contemporaries as 'masters' of their art and their role as professionals is confirmed by the many documents which record payments to them.

To complete the heraldic panels, each embroider worked on a single rectangular wooden frame; on this, the textile panels on which patterns had been drawn were installed and the work was executed horizontally (and not vertically as in the case of tapestries), from left to right. I have found that this way of working was common during the fifteenth century, in both Europe and Asia (figs. 104 and 105). The use of embroidery wooden hoops and team work on big looms started in the middle of the sixteenth century, with the creation of work-groups of embroideresses, who together executed a single project, each one working on a single and unique kind of detail. Just to exemplify this practice, if a group of nuns were to embroider a table-cloth there would be one nun who specialised in flowers, another in contours, another one in dots, and so on, in order to produce a homogeneous work.

The male embroiderers worked alone, each on his assigned pattern, but they stayed cheek by jowl with the other embroiderers and painters, all together in a room purposely set up in the Castle of Ferrara; here they stayed day and night, working until late evening thanks to the light of tallow candles. In contrast, embroideresses worked from home so that a group of porters was paid to distribute looms to the women's houses. To avoid the risks of inconsistency the professional embroiderers prepared the so-called *mostre* ('examples') that were distributed among the embroideresses to be reproduced in their part of the work. Comparing Table 10 with Table 12, it is clear that the painters of the *Bucintoro* received a slightly higher salary than those of its

embroiderers, while the latter's apprentices were paid more than the painter's *garzoni*. In fact, in the case of the *Bucintoro*, the painter Gherardo Fiorini received a salary of thirty lire for fifty actual days of work (0.6 lire per day), while the chief embroiderer Cristoforo Caleffini received thirty eight lire for sixty eight days of work (0.5 lire per day). In contrast, the boys of the Fiorini workshop received thirteen lire each for sixty five days of work (0.2 lire per day), while the embroiderer Ambroso di Lupi, apprentice at his brother's workshop, received fourteen lire for four days of work (0.28 lire per day). This may be accounted for by the fact that the length of the apprenticeship was certainly longer for embroiderers than for painters, so it took longer to acquire the skills to work on embroideries than on drawings. For this reason, an embroidery apprentice was a skilled young adult, who performed the same activities as his master. Just to mention a basis of comparison, in the twelfth-century statutes of French embroiderers, the most ancient example of this kind, a period of eight years was laid down for embroidery apprentices, one of the longest apprenticeships recorded in any craft statute.[231]

All the embroiderers worked at their own expense (food and blankets), but they received water and wine from the Duke's cellars. Ten of them worked for the entire period (four months) on the panels, fringes and curtains of the *Bucintoro*, with just one day off bestowed by the Duke, that of Carnival. The other days off (on average, two per sixty continuous working days) were occasioned by reasons like pain in embroiderers' hands or by the needs to work on other projects that had to be completed before Pius's entry into Ferrara. Antonio da Venezia, for example, had a total of five days off, four of which he used: "to make *zornee* for the Most Illustrious Sir Ercole's entourage".

The other three embroiderers (Anichim from Germany, Zorzo from Cremona and the Ferrarese Ambroso di Lupi) were considered as assistants to the chief embroiderers, working for less than twenty days on minor works,

[231] K. Staniland, *Medieval Craftsmen. Embroiderers*, London, The British Museum Press, 2006, pp. 13-15.

such as date palms or contours or preparing the examples to be distributed to the women. The memorandum (*memoriale*) compiled by Marco dell'Assassino also mentions an embroiderer named Conte, but because he was resident in a foreign court at the time, he did not come to Ferrara to receive his embroidery frame. In contrast to other Ferrarese or Venetians workers, the embroiderers who arrived in Ferrara from foreign cities, like the Flemish 'Cupino' or the 'Frenchman' (*Franzexe*), are mentioned among the Estense documents only in the two-year period 1457-1459; from this I would argue that they left the Estense court after this work, having stayed in Ferrara with the express purpose of executing this complex project. Below, I will explain the importance of embroiderers' movements among different European courts.

Cristofalo Calefino was chosen as supervisor of the whole team of embroiderers, to be substituted in case of need by Antonio Negri from Venice. In particular, these men were in charge of embroidering the most difficult parts of the panels, such as the Estense eagle onto the shields and the main symbols of Borso's devices, and, above all, of helping Marco di Galeotto dell'Assassino in the judgment of the work executed by the other embroiderers, both male and female. The process of judging and checking the work of others was a crucial task, since it determined not only the overall quality of the final product but also the salary to be given to the workers. Based on his own decision alone, Marco dell'Assassino was able to grant a higher or lower salary, adding tips or reducing a worker's request; neither his authority nor his decisions could be challenged. This is clearly expressed in documents, where, for example, it is recorded that Galeotto di Borgogna, embroiderer, worked for forty three days but: "Because he was a good worker Galiotto decided that he should be paid with a salary proportionate to forty six days of work"[232] or, on the contrary the embroiderer who: "[…] worked two months and two days. But for the whole period Galiotto set the salary at his own judgment, granting him a salary

[232] ASMo, Amm. Casa, *Guardaroba*, "Ricami de apparamenti de seda", n. 52, 1457, c. 34r.

proportionate to one month and seventeen days of work, at the average of six ducats per month".[233]

Cristofalo Calefino and Antonio Negri were fully-trained embroiderers and they have been recorded dozens of times in the registers and memoranda of the Ducal Wardrobe as well as in the wardrobe accounts of Ferrarese Churches. Calefino and Negri probably suggested the other journeymen and apprentices (at various stages of training) to the Wardrobe official so he could hire additional help for the ambitious *Bucintoro* project. This is evident from the fact that in several of the notarial deeds I have examined the same embroiderers appear as companions or relatives.[234] Moreover, it is clear that some of these embroiderers created a husband-and-wife team, so that, for example, Antonio Negri's and Cristofalo Calefino's wives were always recorded as their helpers, but never recognized as professional embroideresses in their own right.

Even though the exact daily work executed by master embroiderers is not recorded, it is possible to argue from the documents that they completed all the larger and smaller devices, and the shields with gold and silver threads, leaving to apprentices and female workers the date palms and the continuous fence motif. Not all the embroiderers executed the same kind of work, nor did they all work at the same speed. Since they were certainly not paid per day, but for piecework, it is not difficult to explain the case of Bartolamio degli Agnelli who worked for sixty-seven days, five days more than Antonio da Venezia, but collected half of what Antonio earned. The embroiderers also produced models for the embroideresses, to show them the kinds of stitches to be used on the embroideries and how to render three-dimensional space, as it was to appear, for example, in the palm fruits. The practice of distributing

[233] *Idem*, c. 18v. Other examples in ASMo., *Archivio per Materie*, "Ricamatori", b. 30.

[234] See mine, B. Mezzogori, *Tra arte ed economia: il ricamo nei territori del ducato Estense (1434 – 1598)*, Milano, Università Commerciale L. Bocconi, Tesi di Laurea in Economia e Management per le Arti, la Cultura e la Comunicazione, A.A. 2005-2006, pp. 55-69.

embroidered models to workers was the only way to harmonize a work that otherwise would have looked like a patchwork of different styles and stitches, with a final result that showed all too clearly different stitching due to the various sizes of individual hands, the strength of the embroiderer or the resistance of the cloth. A clear example is given by the document regarding the *apparamenti da letto* commissioned by Borso in 1457, just two years earlier the *Bucintoro*, in which:

> "The wife of Manfredo goldsmith received on June 22 a loom set with fine green silk, part of the crimson velvet cloth, with an embroidered leaf as a model […] on June 28 the aforementioned wife of Manfredo goldsmith gave back the loom and the threads because she could not execute the work with such thick threads".[235]

In their concern for high standards, the embroiderers paid particular attention to the quality of the gold threads since these played such an important role in embroideries. The making of these threads was in itself a skilled occupation. The *battiloro* made threads by hand, by spinning narrow strips of gold or silver-gilt around a core of silk threads. Considerable effort was then expended upon couching the gold thread so that it enriched the surface of the embroidery, catching the light and creating decorative surfaces. Quality and innovation were key elements in fashionable embroideries, especially because the use of poor quality threads would certainly diminish the effect of the work and could prove disastrous if the thread tarnished rapidly. Gold threads were so important in the realization of fashionable embroideries that Pope Pius II in 1460, during the Council of Mantua, was struck by the high quality of gold threads used for the Gonzaga's garments; it is no wonder, then, that, he took two Mantuan spinners back to Rome with him after the

[235] ASMO, Amm. C., *Guardaroba*, n. 52, 1457, c. 67v. The document regarding these bed curtains was partially analysed by A. Ghinato, in her «Tecniche ed organizzazione del lavoro nell'arazzeria a Ferrara all'epoca di Borso d'Este», in *Tecnica e Società nell'Italia dei secoli XII-XVI*, Atti dell'XI Convegno Internazionale di Studio (Pistoia, 1984), Pistoia, Centro di Studi di Storia e Arte Medievale, 1987, pp. 113-133, but she mistakenly considered these bed hanging as tapestries instead of embroideries!

council.[236] Barbara of Brandenburg, the Marchioness consort of Mantua, was so fascinated by gold threads that she personally chose them herself. Another example could be found in a previously unpublished letter by the embroideress Clara Sacrati to the Marchioness, where she wrote in her own hand:

> "[…] I received your letter and the materials to make other purses, which so delighted your Most Illustrious Madam […] and I am very grateful for the money You send me […] and please inform me about other gold threads you would like to send me to finish the purses, because in the past this made you pleased with my work, so that I will always strive to serve you to the best of my ability […]".[237]

For the embroideries of the *Bucintoro*, gold and silver of first quality was purchased by a Venetian merchant, while the green, red and white cloths were part of the patrimony of the Ducal *fontico dei panni*. It was quite common, however, that embroiderers were directly involved in purchasing the materials for their works in the most famous markets[238] because their experience of evaluating the quality of textiles, and gold and silver threads was unique. The threads produced purposely for the *Bucintoro* were coiled up on wooden bobbins, called *brozzolle* or *gieme*, each of them the right measure of *braccia* in order to complete a device. In this way it was easy to keep a tight check on the use of this noble metal, avoiding any temptation of theft. Embroiderers completed the panels with the aid of a group of three female spinners, who produced black and yellow wool threads. Black threads were used to make the contours, while the yellow ones were produced to be used over the metallic base of gold strings to form patterns or designs, to achieve the so called *or nue*

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[236] The spinners were Giovanni Francesco de Grossi da Mantova and Bartolomeo di Nanni da Siena 'setaiuolo in Mantua', in M. Marubbi (edt.), *L'oro e la porpora: le arti a Lodi nel tempo del Vescovo Pallavicino, 1456-1497*, Silvana Editoriale, 1998, pag. 109.

[237] ASMa, *Archivio Gonzaga*, b. 2397, F.II.8 Quarterio, 26 September 1462.

[238] For example in 1472 Roseto Romano, ambassador in Venice, wrote to Borso d'Este: "è stato qui uno nostro rechamadore el guale achonprato parecho onze de oro e de arzento filado" in ASE, *Cancelleria*, *Estero*, "Ambasciatori, agenti e corrispondenti all'estero", Italia, Venezia, b. 1.

effect (fig. 106).[239] After the embroiderers had finished working on the looms, Giacomo del Bailo, *stracciarolo*, trimmed and lined the panels, which were then transferred to a beater who shook them, in order to remove any loose scraps of thread.

Embroiderers' companions and workrooms

It is surprising to note that the project of the *Bucintoro*, as well as other important embroidered projects – Borso's bed above all –, were assigned to Master embroiderers called one by one by the Wardrobe Superintendent, instead of being commissioned to an established and famous embroidery workshop. It is indeed curious that the most outstanding period in the history of Ferrarese embroidery (1435-1598) should coincide with the time when other professionals were coming together to form guilds and confraternities, like tailors, tapestry-makers or furriers,[240] while embroiderers did not seem to have felt the need to formalize an organization that apparently existed informally. My aim now is to present how embroiderers worked together, what kinds of agreements existed between them to realize complex projects and how they balanced the importance of protecting their art and, at the same time, passing on their professional knowledge. Ferrarese archival sources clearly show that the embroiderers who worked contemporaneously for different clients were very few, even though they produced innumerable embroidered objects. Archival documents also refer to an incredible number of embroideries commissioned by members of the *XII Savi*, the Estense courts (female and religious entourages included) and the Church of Ferrara. It is ironic to think

[239] D. King and S. Levey, *The Victoria and Albert Museum's Textile Collection: Embroidery in Britain from 1200 to 1750*, London, Canopy Books/Abbeville Press, 1993; A. Garzelli, *Il ricamo nell'attività artistica di Pollaiuolo, Botticelli e Bartolomeo di Giovanni*, Firenze, EDAM, 1973.
[240] BCAFe, *Fondo Statuti*, "XV secolo".

that such a wealth of documentary evidence for the production of lavishly ornamented clothing is still available but is itself supported by virtually no surviving examples.

In my analysis I am considering embroideries produced only for these three organisations, because I have never found a document recording embroideries for private use, even though the existence of sumptuary laws provides obvious evidence of the fact that private commissions were widespread and multifarious.[241] The first sumptuary law that limited the use of embroideries appeared in Ferrara in the year 1434, providing, in the section entitled "on female clothing", that: "the use of embroideries must be limited",[242] followed by the section "on female clothing and decoration" for the year 1456, in which it was established that women:

> "[…] should not sell or wear […] clothes embroidered or painted if these embroideries or paintings exceed the value of twenty pounds *marchesani* […]. And, furthermore, it is forbidden to those who are granted the right to sell clothes of fine crimson silk, to add to those clothes embroideries or paintings, if these exceed the price of twenty-five golden ducats […]",[243]

Notwithstanding the value of private commissions (which I find difficult to estimate), the "triple ruler", notably the Church, the Commune and the House of Este, managed the market for embroideries, being at the same time its main clients and patrons, controllers of the private market, supplier of raw materials and administrators of embroiderers' salary. Regarding this, it is important to make two points; first, the Council of the Ferrarese Commune sometimes lent the Church the money to commission new embroidered pluvials to decorate the Cathedral or other churches, money that they should usually have had to

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[241] C. Kovesi Killerby, *Sumptuary law in Italy 1200-1500*, Oxford, The Clarendon Press, 2002; *Ibidem*, «The Enforcement of Italian Sumptuary Legislation, 1200-1500: Conflict between ideal and practice», in T. Dean and K. Lowe (eds.), *Crime, Society and the Law in Renaissance Italy*, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1993, pp. 99-120; M.G. Muzzarelli, *Disciplinare il lusso, la legislazione suntuaria in Italia e in Europa tra medioevo ed età moderna*, Carocci Editore, 2003.
[242] ACFe, *Deliberazioni dei XII Savi*, vol. D (1434-1437), 14 January 1434.
[243] BCAFe, Ms. Classe I, n. 475.

give back in the year following the notarial deeds;[244] and second, the House of Este commissioned embroidered objects for both churches and the Commune, while the Commune and the churches offered embroidered gifts to the House of Este. This made them into real client monopolists.

This may, indeed, partly account for the lack of information about Ferrarese embroidery workshops. If embroidery workshops were, in fact, established in fifteenth-century century Ferrara, virtually nothing of their organization is known. Surviving documents list individuals or rather families of embroiderers, who, for generations, continued the profession and kept their skills alive. For this reason I tend to think that, because a guild of embroiderers was never set up in Ferrara, no workshops were organized either, meaning that embroiderers carried out their activities thanks to their personal contacts, entering into partnerships ratified in contracts establishing the details of the works they received from the commissioning bodies mentioned above. The limited number of commissions they received (in terms of patrons, more than in terms of quantity), as well as the quality of their professional skills, created strong barriers against any new embroiderers entering the market, favouring, instead, the support of semi-professional workers, who helped the Masters in specific projects. Thanks to this system virtually all the embroiderers of the city of Ferrara had, in one way or another, worked together as partners. They were also helped by several embroideresses who most likely worked with them in most of the complex projects carried out in the fifteenth century. Unhappily these women have rarely been recorded in surviving documents, but I have no doubt as to their significant contribution for it is confirmed by the documents concerning Borso's *Bucintoro*, funeral pall and bed.

Antonio da Venezia provides an illuminating case in point. In January 1455 Antonio signed an agreement in which he received the promise of eighty-nine golden ducats for embroidering a white cloth cope and its hood for the Cathedral of Ferrara. In 1457 Antonio had not yet delivered the work because

[244] ASFe, ANFe, Notaio Ludovico Miliani, 6 July 1451.

he was working continuously on the renewal of Borso's wardrobe after his election as Duke of Modena.[245] Several reproaches followed in the two-year period 1458-1460, along with sanctions if he did not finish the work in time. Antonio, was, therefore, obliged to enter into partnership with Cristofaro Calefino in order to bring to completion the commissioned work.[246] In 1460 he was fined six *soldi* because:

> "We *[Vincenzo and Andrea Sorba]* sent an agent and four superintendents to take the seven looms for the embroideries of the white cope commissioned by Pollo of Costabili, Judge of the XII Savij, because the aforementioned master Antonio did not comply with Andrea's orders to come to His Magnificence's, Sir Pollo's house".[247]

Antonio and Cristofaro finally received payment on October 3rd, 1461, six years later than the original provisions had demanded.[248] Interestingly, in periods of intense need of embroideries, such as Borso's change of heraldic symbols or around wedding times or princely inauguration days, agreements were frequently signed between embroiderers and the member of the House of Este. For example in the months that preceded Leonello's second marriage, to Eleanor of Naples in 1444, the embroiderers Giovanni, Giusto and Giacomo agreed to enter into partnership and work exclusively for the embroideries requested for the wedding celebrations.[249] They also specified that all the works to be accepted were intended to be to their mutual benefit. They obviously had an the interest in receiving commissions for this important event and their entrance into a partnership avoided the risk of competition between them.

Yet another element supports my opinion that embroiderers worked as independent professionals who entered into partnerships for specific goals: the

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[245] ASFe, ANFe, Notaio Ludovico Miliani, 13 October 1457.
[246] ASFe, ANFe, Notaio Ludovico Miliani, 1 February 1458.
[247] E. Peverada, *Suppellettile liturgica nella cattedrale di Ferrara in un inventario del 1462*, Ferrara, Centro Culturale Città di Ferrara, 1981, pp. 79-80.
[248] G.A. Scalabrini, *Notizie della S. Chiesa di Ferrara*, BCAFe, Ms. Cl. I, n. 389, c. 107.
[249] ASMo, CDE, Amm. Principi, *Regnanti*, "Memoriale", n. 4, c. 133, 16 November 1443.

many documents recording payments by embroiderers to rent workrooms for short periods. The organisation of dedicated areas in the Castle of Ferrara may further suggest that embroiderers did not set up permanent workrooms, but rather worked from home or, if they needed to work on big or numerous looms, they rented special locations to complete the embroideries. This may also be explained by the fact that embroiderers did not produce ready-made objects to be sold in the marketplace or in specific shops, because, as I have already mentioned, embroideries had specific purposes and were very rarely re-used. They were made to serve specific functions and, when they were re-made it was only to satisfy the client's orders. A perfect example is given by the bed furnishing bought in 1469 by Borso from Drusiana Sforza, widow of Jacopo Piccinino, whose embroidered *Biscie* (the child-devouring serpent images associated with the Visconti and adopted by the Sforza, see fig. 107) were replaced and re-embroidered with Borso's devices.[250] Rather different was the case of embroidered objects of popular devotion that were saved for replacement on different or new textiles in order to maintain and preserve the original function of the objects. This was the case of the pluvials and copes that belonged to Popes or Saints or to other important figures, such as Beato Tavelli da Tossignano's pluvial (of which I will speak in the next section). Another example is offered by a seventeenth-century Torah curtain preserved in the Jewish Museum of Prague (Prague, Old-New Synagogue), in which a fifteenth-century Italian embroidered device is inserted into a more recent embroidery frame.[251] In fact, the curtain was made with appliqué in an exacting medallion composition using an Italian Renaissance embroidered device representing a lion holding carnations, most probably the symbol of the Sforza of Pesaro. The frame of the medallion contains the words "Called Leib Negile Stock", were in ancient German "Leib" stands for lion and "Nagelstock" for

[250] T.J. Tuohy, *Herculean Ferrara. Ercole d'Este (1471-1505) and the invention of a ducal capital*, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1996, p. 222.
[251] L. Kybalová (edt.), *Textiles from Bohemian and Moravian synagogues: from the collections of the Jewish Museum in Prague*, Prague, The Jewish Museum, 2003.

carnation. This last example is particularly interesting because it also shows the cross-cultural passage of embroideries, not only to different and foreign countries, but also to different cultural backgrounds (from an Italian court to a Moravian Synagogue).

The preservation of these furnishings is mainly connected to veneration and honour, where the veneration for people who were recognised for their proximity to holiness was also transferred onto the things that had belonged to them, and so, for this reason, embroideries were hung up over the centuries as testimony to their veneration. The Church of Saint Rita in Ferrara preserves the most intriguing example of devotional textile reuse I have ever seen. A popular legend reminds us that during the sixteenth century the parish priest of the Church of Saint Rita undertook a trip to China where Chinese peasants honoured him by sewing together silk rice bags to form a sort of "patchwork" pluvial. When the priest returned to Ferrara he brought the pluvial back with him. For several centuries this pluvial has been used on particular occasions and the damaged squares of silk have been replaced with other pieces of silk. I had the opportunity of seeing this vestment some years ago[252] but, unfortunately, I was not able to study it in any depth or even to take pictures of it owing to the premature closing of the church.

The circulation of embroideries in northern Italian courts

In the previous section I established that fifteenth-century professional embroiderers were not considered as formal members of the Estense courts (court embroiderers would appear during the reign of Alfonso I of Este – Duke of Ferrara from 1505 to 1534), nor did they set up workshops and shops open to clients. Embroiderers were personally called to work on different and

[252] B. Mezzogori, «Il Libro di Ragione del Settenario di San Nicola da Tolentino»*, 1792-1804*, conference paper, *Convegno per gli Studi Tolentiniani*, Ferrara, Biblioteca Ariostea, October 2005.

specific embroidery projects by the House of Este, the Commune of Ferrara and the Ferrarese Archbishopric. For these particular reasons, various Italian or European cities called on them primarily for their skills and their renown for realising particular embroidered projects, and after completing these kind of commissions they would return to their hometowns. They were considered out-and-out 'superstars' of the art of embroidery.

One of the clearest examples is offered by the group of embroiderers called from Milan to execute Borso's bed in 1457. The Master embroiderer Giovanni Corbo (also known as 'Corvo') was called to Ferrara for the first time by Borso in 1457 to embroider two bed *apparati* (composed of the bedspread, the side curtains and the canopy – *cielo* – to cover the four-poster bed) with the shield and devices that pertained to the Marquis. The embroiderer arrived in Ferrara in June 1457 accompanied by Master Gabriele from Bollate (near Milan), fourteen journeymen and two assistants.[253] Helped by a group of Ferrarese embroiderers and embroideresses, they worked in Ferrara for two months, on the completion of the bed *apparamenti* decorated with the devices of the 'baptism', the 'unicorn' and the 'sluice gate'. The Milanese and the Ferrarese embroiderers all stayed together in the Castle of Ferrara at the Marquis's expense, with an organisational plan similar to the one I have shown for the embroideries of the *Bucintoro*, at the staging cost of 440 gold ducats and 435 *lire* – more or less comparable to the income earned by the embroiderer Antonio da Venezia during his fifteen years of service at Borso's court! Giovanni Corbo was a famous embroiderer and most likely taught the Ferrarese embroiderers new techniques, so that two years later the local professionals could manage the project of the *Bucintoro* without any help from foreign workers. The 1457 memorandum (*memoriale*) on the bed *apparati* lists the names of Jacomo de Bonaventura, Cristofaro Calefino, Antonio da Venezia, Catabene da Villafora, Gioanne Bischize, Anechino and Alberto de

[253] ASMo, Amm. Casa, *Guardaroba*, n. 52, "Ricami de apparamenti de seda", 1457

Franza, or rather all the embroiderers responsible for the Duke's state barge.[254] In the following years Borso required Corbo's work several times, so the embroiderer came to Ferrara on at least four occasions to execute garments for Borso's favourite, Teofilo Calcagnini. Curiously, in 1477, documents record a dispute between Giovanni Corbo and Rinaldo Maria d'Este, the half-brother of Leonello, Borso and Ercole I. In fact, in the same year the embroiderer was in Ferrara to execute embroidered sleeves and some horse covers. Because Rinaldo Maria did not respect the scheduled payments, Giovanni Corbo left two embroidered sleeves at the pawnshop. Rinaldo Maria was so furious that he had the ducal guards arrest the embroiderer. It was only with the intervention of Milanese ambassadors that Giovanni could safely return to Milan.[255]

What generally happened was that groups of embroiderers who were continuously active in the capital of the duchy (Ferrara for the Estensi) and several guest embroiderers usually called, by the Estense courts, worked together to complete particular commissions; the guests embroiderers stayed in the city only for brief periods, ranging from three months to two years. When, in 1440, Giovanni Tavelli from Tossignano, Archbishop of Ferrara and Comacchio, commissioned a pluvial and two tunics in white and gold silk, the person responsible for the vestments summoned the 'magnificent embroiderer' Nicolao a Cultris from Rome.[256] The Roman embroiderer worked in Ferrara (documents inform us that he came to Ferrara to personally sign the contract) and, considering the short time he took to finish the pluvial, he was probably

[254] ASMo, Amm. Casa, *Guardaroba*, n. 52, "Ricami de apparamenti de seda", 1457, cc. 9r, 18v, 19v, 20v, 23v, 29v. See mine B. Mezzogori, *Tra arte ed economia: il ricamo nei territori del ducato Estense (1434 – 1598)*, Milano, Università Commerciale L. Bocconi, Tesi di Laurea in Economia e Management per le Arti, la Cultura e la Comunicazione, A.Y. 2005-2006.
[255] ASFe, ANFe, Notaio Jacopo della Mela, 28 April 1477.
[256] G.A. Scalabrini, *Notizie della S. Chiesa di Ferrara*, BCAFe, Ms. Cl. I, n. 389,c. 64v.

helped by local embroiderers.[257] After Giovanni Tavelli's death in 1446, his process of canonization started immediately. For this reason, after his death his objects were rightly considered relics and preserved for centuries. In particular, his embroidered pluvial has always been kept in a golden shrine, which serves as reliquary, in the Ferrarese church of Saint Jerome. In 1996 the Diocesan Archive of Ferrara set up an exhibition to celebrate the 550th anniversary of the Archbishop's death and his pluvial was moved from the Church to the Archive and up to now it has not been taken back to the Church of Saint Jerome. Mons. Peverada, the curator and official responsible for the Cathedral Church Archive of Ferrara, offered me the unique opportunity of examining the pluvial.[258] It is gorgeously embroidered, and represents the only surviving example of mid-fifteenth-century Ferrarese embroidery still preserved in Ferrara. It depicts the Annunciation and the Church Fathers, each figure enclosed in a mandorla-shaped frame, each of them illuminated by *or nue* effects. When I first examined it I noticed it was fairly well preserved, but since then some parts of the *or nue* and some tinsel threads have begun to show the effects of time I decided that action was required, so over the past two years (2010-2012) I have personally sponsored the restoration of the pluvial and two photographic sessions to help support the work, as may be seen in Figs. n. 108, 109, 110 and 111.

For me, however, the most surprising finding of all concerns the evidence of the same interest devoted to the female embroiderers. In the State Archive of Mantua there is a letter in which Mary of Aragon (Leonello d'Este's second wife) wrote to Barbara of Brandenburg (Marchioness of Mantua, wife of Ludovico III Gonzaga) recommending to her the purses made by Ludovica

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[257] E. Peverada, *Con il cuore invidioso. Il Beato Giovanni Tavelli da Tossignano Vescovo di Ferrara (1386-1446)*, Ferrara, Arcidiocesi Ferrara-Comacchio, 1996.

[258] My thanks go to Mons. Peverada, not only for this important opportunity, but also for his incredible help in my understanding of Ferrara in the mid-fifteenth century. His lessons on the history of the Church of Ferrara and his vaste knowledge of its Renaissance patrimony have allowed me and many other historians to take great pleasure in his narration.

del Canale (who worked on the execution of both Borso's *Bucintoro* and his bed *apparamenti*) and urging her to call upon Ludovica in Mantua.[259] All the documents I have analyzed revealing the fifteenth-century obsession with embroidered details and fashion make the lack of attention historians have devoted to the subjects of embroideresses more and more incomprehensible. I hope to reddress this subject in the future.

Embroiderers and embroideresses were called to work at courts because of their extraordinary skills, as was also the case for composers and painters, and for this reason some of them constantly traveled in northern Italy to work on the most important embroidered projects of the time, and they were considered to excel in their profession. They received more works than other mid-range embroiderers, who were called to work on minor projects or on embroideries that required fewer skills. For this reason the mechanism of distribution of work deployed by the House of Este, as studied by Guerzoni in the case of professional workers,[260] in that of embroiderers is partially biased by the fact that princes were always in search of practitioners who excelled in their art. Notwithstanding this fact, it was quite common that to complete complex projects, like the *Bucintoro*, several workers and masters were called from the most diverse ranks of society because of their embroidering abilities; for this reason, these projects redistributed work and money in and outside the Este courts.

Talented amateurs: the embroideress

In the previous two sections I mainly presented the work executed by professional male embroiderers, who were particularly responsible for the realisation of the embroidered panels for the *Bucintoro*. The idea of professional

[259] ASMa, *Schede Davari*, b. 5, "Lavori femminili".
[260] G. Guerzoni, *Courtiers, Clients and Workmen: the Este Courts 1450-1650*, Harvard University, in publishing.

'male embroiderers' is probably in contrast with our contemporary belief that embroidery is a purely feminine activity. As I have previously shown, in particular for the Este courts, only men were considered 'professional' embroiders, while princesses, noble and middle-class women, nuns, maids and servants, were considered skilled, sometimes talented, amateur embroiderers. Notwithstanding the 'amateur embroideress' status, female workers have played an outstanding role in all the embroidered projects carried out for the Estense ducal court during the fifteenth century. In fact, considering only three of the projects realized under the marquisate of Borso d'Este, notably his *Bucintoro* (1459), his bed (1457) and his funeral pall (1471), more than one-hundred embroideresses are listed in the records of the Ducal Chambers as having received money for their embroideries. The study of women's work has constituted a major part of the investigation into the history of women over the last thirty-five years, as historians have analysed the gender division of labour and the ways in which it has shaped other economic structures.[261] However, these studies have focused mainly on cloth production in Florence, Flanders and Germany,[262] and very few of them on embroideresses or lace-makers.[263] After an analysis of the social status of embroideresses in Ferrara I will go on to demonstrate how women learnt the art of embroidery, considering why it was important for a young woman to practice this art. In the next section I will investigate the organizational structures that have permitted the realization of the above-mentioned embroidered projects,

[261] R. Bridenthal, S. Mosher Stuard, M.E. Wiesner, *Becoming Visible: Women in European History*, Boston, Houghton Mifflin, 1998; J.C. Brown and R.C. Davis, *Gender and Society in Renaissance Italy*, London, Longman, 1998; Ferguson M. (edt.), *Rewriting the Renaissance: the discourses of sexual difference in Early Modern Europe*, Chicago, 1986.
[262] M.E. Wiesner, *Working Women in Renaissance Germany*, New Brunswick, Rutgers University Press, 1986.
[263] Greci R., *Corporazioni e mondo del lavoro nel medioevo italiano*, Bologna, Clueb, 1988; Collier Frick C., *Dressing Renaissance Florence: Families, Fortunes, And Fine Clothing*, Baltimore, Johns Hopkins University Press, 2002.

exploring in particular the actual tasks that women performed and the way their work was defined and valued.

I have already mentioned that a guild of embroiderers was not established in Ferrara. Similarly to male embroiders, who were called to work on the *Bucintoro* because of their fame, female embroideresses took part in this project as a result of their relationship with courtiers or courtly professionals. Principally for this reason the embroideresses of the *Bucintoro*, just to quote the clearest examples, were the daughter of Galeotto dell'Assassino (the Wardrobe Superintendent), Rinaldo Maria d'Este's maid, Bianca d'Este's damsels, not to mention Borso's sisters and the wives of the noble families of Ferrara, like the Strozzi and Contrari. This may explain why they are rarely recorded in the Estense Treasury memoranda with their first and last names, but more commonly with the surname and name of their husbands or fathers and remembered for their relation with the court entourage (Table 13). Of the thirty-six embroideresses listed in the documents on the *Bucintoro* not a single one is identified as an embroideress in her own right. Even though none of the fifteenth-century Ferrarese ordinances forbade women's work per se, there were no women operating independently, in the same way to what happened in other cities, like Bologna or Florence.[264]

The fact that women of diverse social ranks and different degrees of education worked together performing the same activities introduces a key element in the history of women's work: women of different ranks had been practicing needlework since their childhood and were able to carry out patterns as complicated as those executed by professional workers, especially because they were accustomed to working on complex works. This is further supported by the fact that only adult or senior women with years of practice appear on the list of embroiderers of the *Bucintoro*. The importance assumed by the art of embroidery in the education of every woman most likely needs some

[264] D. Herlihy and C. Klapish-Zuber, *The Tuscans and their families*, New Haven, 1985.

clarification. From the time of the *Book of Manners*, written in the four-year period 1174-1178, men were asked by the author, Etienne de Fougères, Bishop of Rennes, to pay attention to their wives' activities. In the author's opinion ladies, spending their time in courtly pastimes, were in danger of forgetting the laudable works of spinning, weaving and embroidering: as they were wasting their time in idleness, admonished Etienne, women were obviously more exposed to sin.[265] In contrast Beguines and Saint Godeliva avoided temptations by means of their work. Etienne de Fougères reinforced his statement affirming that young ladies should follow the example of Cecily, countess of Hereford (and Etienne's protector), who spent her time doing honourable and fine embroideries that she then donated to French churches. Etienne also reminds us that Cecily had abandoned the 'demons' that usually live in the female mind, by devoting herself completely to ennobling works. In this sense, by performing manual activities, women could protect themselves from temptations and sins. This opinion was widespread throughout Renaissance Europe, so that in 1560 (four centuries after Stephen of Fougères) Ludovico Dolce, a Ferrarese author and Duke Alfonso d'Este's courtier, was still asking:

> "What shall ladies do? Will they waste their hours only with other ladies and courtiers? What kind of reasoning will they have? Will they always make witty remarks and quip? Or tell stories? Will these talks ever come to an end? And what kind of things are women going to do? Ladies will think – someone may suggest. Ladies' thoughts are generally fast, inconstant, flirtatious, wandering, and unstoppable. Ladies will read: a perfect exercise, to which they shall primarily devote their minds. But reading incessantly is an impossible occupation: and nothing is more dangerous than idling about, as I will explain later. […] But the honest works are always pleasant, and these are the most favourable delights after labours. I close my discussion of this topic by saying that our Women should not disdain those works which our

[265] Etienne de Fougères, R.A. Lodge (edt.), *Le Livre des Manières*, Genève, Librairie Droz, 1979.

> ancestors have been considered honourable and valuable".[266]

Similar advice was to be found in model-books by authors who, in the introduction to their works, usually recalled the importance of distracting women from temptation through hand-work. Just to cite an example, in the interesting title-page of the *Nüw Modelbuch*, engraved in Zurich in 1561, two women are working on a bobbin lace, whilst a little pig, commonly recognized as a symbol for lust, is sleeping in the middle of the room (fig. 112).

At the same time, however, bishops in their sermons[267] and authors in their works,[268] raised further objections that by working in groups women were exposed to other risks such as the bad influence they could have over each other if they were to spend their time talking about magic formulae or recipes for concoctions. The only solution to these inconveniences was to allow women to carry out embroideries, but alone or in small groups. This is easily verifiable if we consider how women finished embroideries in fifteenth-century Ferrara. They worked in their own houses, never meeting each other, since porters and servants brought the looms to them. This was true also for the wives of professional embroiderers, who never stayed with their husbands at the Estense Castle. They executed their work alone in their own houses, under the supervision of fathers and husbands (the non-embroiderer sort), following, they thought, the glorifying example of the Virgin Mary.[269] It was probably for

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[266] Ludovico Dolce, *Della institutione delle donne,* Venezia, 1560, pp. 11l-12r. For an analysis of feminine culture during the Renaissance see F. Sberlati, «Della Donna di Palazzo alla Donna di Famiglia. Pedagogia e cultura femminile tra Rinascimento e Controriforma», *I Tatti Studies: Essays in the Renaissance,* vol. 7, Florence, Leo S.Olschki, 1997.

[267] Of this advice have been Burchard of Worms, Teodorus, Rabanus Maurus and Theodulf bishop of Orléans.

[268] G. Duby, *Dames du XII^e siècle. III. Ève et le prêtres*, Paris, Gallimard, 1996.

[269] R.L. Wiss, «Die Handarbeiten der Maria. Eine ikonographische Studie unter Berücksichtigung der textilen Techniken», in *Artes Minores. Dank an Werner Abegg*, Bern, 1973, pp. 113-188; F. Faranda (edt.), *La Madonna del Ricamo di Vitale da Bologna*, exhibition catalogue, Bologna, Bononia University Press, 2008.

this endemic mistrust of women that a group of women working all together on a single work appeared only from the end of sixteenth century, in poor people's homes or in convents.[270] The shift to the predominant role of women in this profession is particularly clear at the end of the sixteenth century, as may be seen in Tommaso Garzoni's *La piazza universale di tutte le professioni del mondo, e nobili et ignobili,* an encyclopedic work on the professions dedicated to Alfonso II d'Este, Duke of Ferrara. In the section devoted to "embroiderers, or fregiatori and lace makers" Garzoni affirmed that: "[…] this profession serves more for ornaments than for necessities, and it is more suitable for women than for men […]".[271]

This new way of working marked a definite change in procedures and was probably the main cause of the decline in model books for embroideries. In fact, more than five-hundred such model books were published between 1490 and 1640, after which in practice they disappeared from the panorama of commercial books. It was first of all a matter of fashionable habits: was it right that a noble woman should be performing the same activities as nuns, the poor and orphans? And, if noble women did not want to buy these books any longer who else could afford to support the market? Furthermore, the performance of team production was so high in terms of quality and cost reduction that it was no longer profitable to commission embroideries to individual embroiderers.

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[270] AA.VV. *La famiglia e la vita quotidiana in Europa dal '400 al '600. Fonti e problemi*, Atti del convegno internazionale, Milano, 1-4 dicembre 1983, Roma, Ministero per i Beni Culturali e Ambientali, Pubblicazioni degli Archivi di Stato, Saggi 4, p. 293.

[271] Garzoni Tommaso, *La piazza universale di tutte le professioni del mondo, e nobili et ignobili. Nuovamente formata & posta in luce*, Venetia, appresso Gio. Battista Somascho, 1585.

Female teams' works for Borso

In the previous sections I have examined one by one the different groups of workers who completed the embroidered panels of Borso's *Bucintoro*, notably the painters, the male embroiderers and the female embroideresses. My aim now is to show how the group of embroideresses worked together, showing in particular how and where the interaction with each other took place. To achieve my purpose I will take into consideration two embroidered projects contemporary to the *Bucintoro* (1459), notably Borso's bed (1457), and his funeral pall (1471), projects that presented a similar need for teamwork organization. I have already pointed out how the panels and curtains of the *Bucintoro* and those of the bed were designed, embroidered and set up. In these two examples male embroiderers received fundamental help from their female counterparts, adopting organisational strategies in order to accomplish the highest standard of production in as short a time as possible. As I have already shown, embroideries were one of the favorite vehicles to express the importance of Borso's political aims for the Ferrarese territory and to declare his personal predisposition to administer and reign. Since his election as Duke of Modena and Reggio Emilia in 1452, his personal devices had been developed and arranged to serve as symbols for public displays, whose function was primarily to present his traits in the best possible way. The embroidered decoration of public and private objects played a major role in the field of splendour and luxurious appearance. The Wardrobe's lists of the Estense court include several bed sets or curtains registered for the use of the Marquis, embroidered with his devices and, later, his Ducal ones, not to mention the embroidered sets specifically designed as gifts to foreign rulers, such as, for example, those embroidered with the device of compasses (*compassi*) for the Duke of Milan.[272] The most significant set for private display, among the objects commissioned between the elevation of Borso's title to Duke of Modena in 1452 and subsequently to that of Duke of Ferrara in 1471,

[272] ASMo, CDE, *Guardaroba*, "Intrada e spexe", n. 91, 22 March 1471.

is surely the bed realized in 1457, under analysis in the present section. Considering these bed curtains for a private display I do not want to imply that only the Marquis could enjoy these *apparati*. In fact, the term 'private' should refer to those spaces (and subsequently furniture) for the personal use of the Marquis, where only a few courtiers and privileged high-ranking visitors were admitted.

The *Bucintoro* and the bed demanded a very similar process of manufacturing, not only because they were set up to be viewed at close range, but also because they satisfied the specific and unique need to illustrate the virtues of the future Duke. For this reason a comparison between them may be particularly effective. Embroideresses carried out the 'marginal' parts of the panels and curtains of the *Bucintoro*, as well as those of the bed, like the continuous device of the fence that ran between the panels (arranged in a sort of pelmet) and the date palm leaves with fruits that framed each device. In the case of the *Bucintoro* their work was assessed and checked by Cristoforo Caleffino and Antonio da Venezia, who were responsible for the team's work. Every woman received one drawn textile panel fixed on one loom at a time, the threads to realize it and a model, prepared by male embroiders, to follow. While male embroiderers worked for three whole months on the most difficult parts of the embroideries, receiving between 0.3 and 0.5 lire per day, the female workers usually completed a loom every ten days (paid circa one *lira*), so that their daily average was a mere 0.1! The two master embroiderers had the authority to not pay for the work if it was considered unsuitable for the purpose, as in the case of Giovanna, wife of Francesco Curione, whose work was considered *finido molto tristamente* ("finished in a very poor manner"); as a consequence, it had to be remade.[273] Though the embroideressess's daily income was considerably lower than those of male professionals it is important to note that in these teams different members of the same families worked, for instance, a mother, a daughter and a sister-in-law, so that, taken together, all

[273] See here, Appendix A, doc. 3.

the earnings of the female components of a family could double the patriarch's monthly income. This appears to have also been so in the case of the bed.

A third interesting case is offered by the embroidered funeral pall of Borso, whose obsequies were celebrated in 1471 (see here, App. A doc. 15).[274] For the completion of the pall a group of forty embroideresses executed the work for free, while the Ducal Chamber supplied the textiles and the raw materials from its *fontico*. In this case the Ducal Wardrobe paid only for raw materials (textile and gold threads), listing the names of the women who presented their work on the pall. Comparing the names of the women who worked on the three projects (as may be seen in Table 14), twenty of them worked on both the *Bucintoro* and the bed, whereas only four worked on the *Bucintoro* and the pall, and no one on all three projects. This may firstly be explained by the fact that the time-lapse between the first project and the last one was fourteen years, but it is also possible to note that there were mainly noble women among the embroideresses on the pall as compared to the other two projects because the pall was 'gifted' to the dead Duke and the embroideresses did not received a salary for this work. For this reason it is possible that the noble women of the court offered their work to the Duke while lower-ranked embroideresses usually worked for receiving a salary.

The organization of the work on the three projects was very similar, so that the embroideresses received the framed textiles to be embroidered at their own houses, never meeting each other. For this reason I disagree with the reconstruction of the bed *apparamenti* proposed by Ghinato: in her work she proposes a continuous decoration of palms that passed over the whole bed.[275] I believe that it would have been impossible to produce a well-proportioned and continuous effect of this sort by distributing different embroidery frames (and

[274] ASMo, ASE, LCD, n. 87, 1471, cc. 154-157.
[275] A. Ghinato, «Tecniche ed organizzazione del lavoro nell'arazzeria a Ferrara all'epoca di Borso d'Este», in *Tecnica e Società nell'Italia dei secoli XII-XVI*, Atti dell'XI Convegno Internazionale di Studio (Pistoia, 1984), Pistoia, Centro di Studi di Storia e Arte Medievale, 1987.

obviously different cut pieces of textile) to different embroideresses (and different hands). I am inclined to think that the pattern for these projects must have closely replicates units consisting of a single palm and flowers. This way of designing textiles was common in the mid-fifteenth century and is closer to the manner in which Estense displays with continuous motifs (miniatures, medals and boxes) were prepared. After the analysis of the stateroom of the Great *Bucintoro* I will then move on to consider ceremonial examples in which the *Bucintoro* assumed a particular relevance. Indeed, Chapter 5 will focus on the analysis of the *Bucintoro* commissioned by Borso d'Este for the two entries of Pope Pius II into Ferrara in 1459 and 1460, while in Chapter 6 will be examined in details the use of *bucintori* in between the end of the fifteenth century and the first half of the sixteenth century, with particular attention to male and female courts.

5. Borso d'Este's attempt to become the first duke of Ferrara: the *Bucintoro* and Pope Pius II's entries into Ferrara (1459 and 1460)

Introduction

The present chapter concerns Pope Pius II's two entries into Ferrara in 1459 and 1460, and the efforts of the Marquis of Ferrara, Borso d'Este, to raise his title to Duke of that territory. It seeks to explain the Marquis's attempt to promote himself as the most magnificent prince in Italy, through an array of symbols displayed in the stateroom of the Great *Bucintoro*, to capture the attention of his contemporaries. In this respect, the present chapter is devoted to the analysis of the reasons that had induced Borso in commissioning the embroidered decoration, that I have presented in the previous two chapters, for the visits of the Pope. In particular, in its original cultural context, the decorative apparatus of the *Bucintoro* was intended to boost Borso's reputation and to bring out the value of his political and economic projects for Ferrara. The devices embroidered in the stateroom were carefully chosen among Borso's symbols, as I have clearly demonstrated in Chapter Three, with the idea of offering the image of a fair ruler for the city of Ferrara. Borso d'Este's *Bucintoro* represents one of the clearest examples of how state barges embodied the magnificence of their owners and were used not only to impress visitors and ambassadors but also to compete with other princes in extravagance and splendour.

In the following analysis, I proceed by first introducing the reasons that had induced the Pope to undertake a journey through Italy and to convene a council in the city of Mantua. In fact, Pope Pius II was resolved to start a new crusade against the Turks and he was in search of allies and financial help from Italian and European rulers. I will also analyse why the passage of the Pope was crucial in that particular moment for the history of the Este family, since Borso d'Este, after the raising of his title to Duke of Modena and Reggio in

1452, would like to advance his title as Duke of the city of Ferrara, a title that could only have been conferred by the Pope. To this purpose I will present different previously unpublished documents, regarding the diplomatic relations between the Pope and Borso d'Este. These documents reveals that the ambiguous attitudes of Borso towards the Pope and his changing strategic moves towards alliances, made Pius II so furious to threaten Borso of excommunication, comparing the Marquis of Ferrara to Sigismondo Pandolfo Malatesta, Prince of Rimini and Fano,[276] a prince described in Pius's *Commentarii* as a 'monster' guilty of every possible private and public outrage.

Pius II and his trip for the Council of Mantua

Since his election to the Papal See in 1458, Enea Silvio Piccolomini, who took the name of Pope Pius II, had been determined to convene a council with the purpose of finding new allies among European rulers and reaffirming the power of the Roman Church. The official reason for a new council was to «[…] awaken fervour against the Turks in the Christian souls […]»,[277] and subsequently to declare a crusade against the Turks, an idea that took root in Enea Silvio's mind after the fall of Constantinople in 1453.[278] From then on, he had proposed a new crusade at both the Diet of Regensburg (1453) and the Diet of Frankfurt (1454), which were backed by Pope Nicholas V.[279]

[276] P.J. Jones, *The Malatesta of Rimini and the Papal State*, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1974.
[277] E. S. Piccolomini, *Commentarii*, II, 1-2.
[278] Costantinople was conquered by the twenty-year-old pâdishâ Mehmet II on 29 May 1453. A. Pertusi (edt.), *La caduta di Costantinopoli, L'eco del mondo,* vol. II, Milano, 1976.
[279] Nicholas V (Sarzana, 1397 – Rome, 1455), born Tommaso Parentucelli, was Pope from March 6, 1447. K. Meyer Setton, *The Papacy and the Levant, 1204-1571, vol II: the fifteenth century*, Philadelphia, The American Philosophy Society, 1978, pp. 150-156; D. von Heinemann, *Aeneas Sylvius als Prediger eines allgemeinen Kreuzzuges gegen die Türken*, Bernburg, 1855.

Pius II chose to locate the council in northern Italy and not in Rome, in order to facilitate travel to it by German and Italian princes. Pius's first choice of location for the council was Udine, but his plans were foiled by the Republic of Venice, which denied support for the council in its territory.[280] It was for this reason, then, that Ludovico III Gonzaga[281] seized the opportunity to offer his hospitality to the council and to the Pope's court in Mantua, the capital of his marquisate. It was accordingly agreed that they should meet in Mantua in June 1459. That year Pius II left Rome on 20 January and arrived in Mantua on 27 May, where the council lasted for six months. As may be seen in figs. 113 and 114, the journey of the Pope lasted in total nineteen months, from January 1459 to October 1460. The Pope and his court moved in daily stages, sojourning in twenty-seven different cities on the outward journey and in twenty-nine on the return. On both journeys, elaborate and expensive preparations awaited Pius's trip through the Italian cities. Enea Silvio, in his *Commentarii*, enthusiastically described the pageantries, frequently pointing out that the princes themselves had willingly held his palanquin. The pride and symbolic submission of these rulers was underscored by Sigismondo Pandolfo Malatesta, Prince of Rimini and Fano, who sarcastically remarked in front of Pius II, during his solemn entry into Florence, that princes were supporting the Pope's palanquin more than supporting their own governments.[282] Festivals, triumphal arches and military games (*ludi militari*) were organized in Perugia, Siena, Florence, Bologna and Ferrara to celebrate the entry of the Pope, in addition to showing the splendour of the host rulers. Since the Middle Ages,

[280] The city of Udine, part of the Patriarchate of Aquileia, had in fact been incorporated into the Republic of Venice since 1420 as part of the *Patria del Friuli*. T.F. Madden, *Enrico Dandolo and the rise of Venice*, JHU Press, 2006, pp. 76-80.
[281] Ludovico III Gonzaga (1412-1478) was the son of Gianfrancesco Gonzaga and Paola Malatesta. He was the ruler of the marquisate from 1444.
[282] E.S. Piccolomini, *Commentarii*, II, 26.

military games had assumed a political function in public ceremonies,[283] being not only a rite of passage for noble families's heirs but offering also the chance for these families to display their power and wealth and, moreover, to create new alliances.[284] The focus of *ludi militari* was the discipline, harmony and magnificence shown by a group of knights, at times in contrast with *ludi bellici* (like tournaments and jousts) which concentrated on the individual strength of the jouster.[285] In the ceremonies of military games the knights, dressed in coloured liveries and embroidered costumes, performed processions on horseback and choreographed displays of combat with lances, affirming their expertise and asserting control over nature or symbolically over the entire world.

On his journeys, Pius II had received hospitality in monasteries (such as that of San Francesco on Lake Trasimeno), in communal palaces (such as those of Florence or Bologna) or in the private palaces of princes, feudal lords or patricians, all of which had been built, restored or newly decorated in the years immediately before the visit of the Pope (fig. 115).[286] He sojourned, in fact, in Campagnano where the members of the noble Roman family of the Orsini had built a castle, unfortunately pulled down in 1882; in Perugia in the Palace commissioned by the captain of the Papal troops, Braccio Baglioni, nowadays incorporated into the Rocca Paolina; at Cafaggiolo in the Mugello

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[283] B.K. Frieder, *Chivalry and the Perfect Prince: Tournaments, Art, and Armor at the Spanish Habsburg Court*, Truman State University Press, 2008; D. Potter , *Renaissance France at war. Armies, Culture and Society c. 1480-1560*, The Boydell Press, 2008; I. Sinkevic, *Knights in Shining Armor*, *Myth and Reality 1450-1650*, Allentown Art Museum, 2006.

[284] P. Ventroni, «Cerimonialità e spettacolo nella festa cavalleresca fiorentina del quattrocento», in M.V. Baruti Ceccopieri (edt.), *La civiltà del torneo (XII-XVII). Giostre e tornei tra medioevo ed età moderna*, Roma, 1990, pp. 35-53.

[285] M.E. Mallett, J.R. Hale, *The Military Organization of a Renaissance State. Venice c. 1400 to 1617*, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1984.

[286] J. Lawson, «The building History of Gonzaga Palace at Revere», in *Mitteilungen des Kunsthistorisches Institutes in Florenz*, vo. 29, n. 2/3 (1985), pp. 197-228; G. Cherubini, G. Fanelli (edts.), *Il Palazzo Medici Riccardi di Firenze*, Firenze, Giunti, 1990.

Valley, where Cosimo il Vecchio de' Medici in 1451 had inherited and immediately restored this family Villa; in Palazzo Schifanoia in Ferrara, in which Borso d'Este, Marquis of Ferrara, commissioned a new fresco decoration, the well-known *Sala dei Mesi* by Ercole de Roberti and Francesco del Cossa; and, finally, in Palazzo Gonzaga in Revere and the Ducal Palace of Mantua, both newly decorated to exalt the host ruler of the Council, the Marquis of Mantua Ludovico III Gonzaga. The perfect prince, in fact, was meant to be seen to live magnificently, to dress splendidly, to furnish his palaces richly and to build sumptuously: lavish expenditure to achieve splendour and magnificence itself had become a princely virtue. This came into prominence in particular through the humanist revival of the Thomist-Aristotelian philosophical position.[287] In the *Nicomachean Ethics*, in fact, Aristotle wrote: "great expenditure is becoming to those who have suitable means to start with, acquired by their own efforts or from ancestors or connections, and to people of high birth and reputation, and so on; for all these things bring with them greatness and prestige".[288] The sense of magnificence and honour connected with state and ceremonial barges will be also the argument of Chapter Six.

It should come as no surprise, than, that Pius II decided at the time to build a private palace for his family in his native village, Corsignano, between Rome and Siena. After a complicated series of property purchases,[289] he decided not only to build the Piccolomini Palace but also to restore the Piazza and the Duomo, which transformed Corsignano into his "ideal city" (fig. 116). The village was then renamed Pienza in honour of its Papal founder and in

[287] A.D. Fraser Jenkins, «Cosimo de' Medici's Patronage of Architecture and the Theory of Magnificence», in *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes*, XXXIII, 1970, pp. 162-170; E. Welch, «Public Magnificence and Private Display. Giovanni Pontano's *De splendore* (1498) and the Domestic Arts», in *Journal of Design History*, 2002, vol. 15, n. 4.
[288] W.D. Ross (edt.), *Nicomachean Ethics*, 1915, 1122b, ll. 30ff.
[289] N. Adams, «The Acquisition of Pienza 1459-1464», in *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians*, vol. 44, no. 2 (1985), pp. 99-110.

1462 a monumental well was added to the Piazza to commemorate the 'rebirth' of what was now a 'city' (figs. 117 and 117bis). Pius also donated a rich dowry of embroidered pluvial and altar-clothes to the Duomo. The most famous is the twelfth-century *opus anglicanum* that had previously been in the collection of St. Peter's Church in Rome and, conscious of the great value of this object, he sent it to Corsignano (fig. 118). He also ordered a new pluvial, the so-called *Piviale Piccolomini*,[290] embroidered with stories from the Old Testament, completely covered with pearls and marked with the shield of Piccolomini family, as was the custom in the middle of the fifteenth century (fig. 119). The Piccolomini pluvial is now held in the Cathedral Museum in Pienza, but the pearls are all lost. With the re-foundation of Pienza as the capital of Piccolomini's properties and the creation of a textile patrimony in its churches, Enea Silvio was personally competing in luxury and magnificence[291] with other Italian princes. He had in fact assumed the appearance of a contemporary *signore*,[292] embodying the princely virtue of lavishness and liberality necessary, as praised by Leon Battista Alberti, for the reputation and honour of the family.[293] Pius himself describing his renewal of Corsignano admitted that: "he had never regretted his lavish expenditure, even though he had invested more than 50,000 ducats in such works. In fact the beauty and grandeur of the buildings more than compensated for the expenditure».[294] He claimed to be greatly upset at

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[290] F. Bari (edt.), *Munifica Magnificenza. Il tesoro tessile della Cattedrale di Pienza da Pio II Piccolomini agli inizi dell'Ottocento*, Museo Diocesano di Pienza, 2005; L. Martini, *Il Piviale di Pio II*, Silvana Editoriale, 2001.

[291] Welch E., «Public Magnificence and Private Display. Giovanni Pontano's *De splendore* (1498) and the Domestic Arts», in *Journal of Design History*, 2002 vol. 15, n. 4.

[292] P. Prodi, *Il sovrano pontefice. Un corpo e due anime: la monarchia papale nella prima età moderna*, Bologna, 1982; M. Spesso, *Enea Silvio Piccolomini, Scritti di Architettura*, Testo e Immagine n. 24, 1997; T.M. Izbicki, G. Christianson, P.D. Krey, *Reject Aeneas, accept Pius. Selected letters of Aeneas Sylvius Piccolomini*, CUA Press, 2006.

[293] L.B. Alberti, *I Libri della Famiglia,* l. III, in C. Grayson (edt.), *Opere Volgari*, Bari, Laterza, 1960, p. 160.

[294] *Commentarii*, IX, 23.

having missed a visit to the monuments built by Pope Martino V in Genazzano, since he was curious to see whether the Colonna palaces "were superior to those financed by him".[295]

In his choice of locating the council in northern Italy, Enea Silvio, who had spent many years at the Viennese court of the Holy Roman Emperor as poet and ambassador, was particularly interested in obtaining the support for the crusade of Frederick III and his Electors. But there was also a personal campaign that needed the intervention of the Emperor: the one against the French family of the Angevin. Pius was in fact at war with the French over their stubborn support of the Pragmatic Sanction of Bourges and their subsequent refusal to recognize papal supremacy.[296] Since his election to cardinalate, Enea Silvio Piccolomini was thus deeply concerned about broader French ambitions to establish a French hegemony in Italy and to restore the papacy to France,[297] which was also one of the reasons he had been elected *incredibili animorum consensu*[298] to the Papal seat. Moreover, since 1459, papal troops had been fighting in defence of Rome's ally, King Ferdinand I of Aragon, known as Don Ferrante I of Naples and the natural son of Alfonso V, who had been attacked for succession reasons by Jean II Duke of Lorraine, son of Réné of Anjou.[299] The dynastic conflicts for the Kingdom of Naples between the Spanish House of Aragon and the French House of Anjou

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[295] *Commentarii*, VI, 22.

[296] The Pragmatic Sanction of Bourges was a royal decree issued by King Charles VII in July 1438, in which papal authority over the Church in France was significantly restricted. L. Pastor, *The History of the Popes*, London, 1900, vol. 3, pp. 129-157.

[297] «Quid agant domi suae nobiscum Galli si forte ad eos venerimus, quando in patria nostra tam impudenter insultant? En genus italicum, ferrene horum dominatum potens, quorum servitia adeo sunt insolentia? […] Vae tibi, Italia, si horum subire iugum cogans!». In E.S. Piccolomini, *Commentarii*, IV, 27.

[298] ASMa, Archivio Gonzaga, busta 834. Published in S. Ronchey, *L'enigma di Piero*, Milano, Rizzoli, 2006, p. 14.

[299] E. O'Brien, «Arms and Letters: Julius Caesar, the *Commentaries* of Pope Pius II, and Politicization of Papal Imagery», in *Renaissance Quarterly*, n. 62 (2009), pp. 1057-1097.

originated in 1421 when Joan II of Anjou, the childless Queen of Naples, adopted Alfonso V of Aragon and named him heir to the Kingdom of Naples. When, in 1434, her husband Louis III of Anjou died, Joan II repudiated Alfonso V and orchestrated the passage of the crown to Réné of Anjou, Louis's brother. Alfonso V, King of Sicily, besieged Naples, and conquered it on 2 June 1441. Réné retained the title of King of Naples, but his effective rule was never recovered. In 1458 Ferdinand I of Aragon (Don Ferrante I) succeeded his father to the throne of Naples, but Pope Callistus III declared the line of Aragon extinct and the region a fief of the Church. Callistus III died that August and the newly elected Pope Pius II, recognized the Aragonese succession and crowned Ferdinand I King of Naples in the Cathedral of Barletta.[300] Pius II hoped that Emperor Frederick III, because of their personal friendship, shall take part in the war against the Angevin family, an alliance that never happened.

A second reason that had induced Enea to arrange the council outside Rome and set out on a journey through Italy was the possibility of spending time in his native land, Siena. On his outward journey, he remained in fact in Siena for two months, during which time he donated the Golden Rose to the city and raised the Sienese church to *Metropolitana* status, thereby giving it jurisdiction over the bishopric of the Val d'Elsa territory. On the way back he stayed in Siena for another six months, principally to cure his gout[301] but also to resolve family matters. He was, in fact, involved in diplomatic discussions with the popular regime of the Sienese Commune over the issue of re-admitting the noble families of Siena from their exile and re-establishing the

[300] T.N. Bisson, *The Medieval crown of Aragon. A Short History*, Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1986.
[301] He spent time taking the waters at the thermal baths in Capriola, Macereto, Poggibonsi and Petriolo. *Commentarii*, IV, 15-16.

rights of those families to participate in city government;[302] the Piccolomini were one such family.

The Ferrarese receptions of Pope Pius II

Before turning to the receptions of Pius II in Ferrara, it is necessary to consider and to reconstruct, at least in part, why the passage of the Pope was so important for the Marquis of Ferrara and how the entries of the Pope had been organized by the Estense family.

Since 1450 the ruler of the Estense duchy had been Borso, who had succeeded to the marquisate after his brother Leonello, as I have already analysed in Chapter Three (Table 1).[303] They were both illegitimate sons of the Marquis of Ferrara Niccolò III d'Este[304] and his mistress Stella of Tolomei. The Sienese family of Stella, also known as Stella dell'Assassino, and the Piccolomini were related and Enea Silvio in one of his speeches had celebrated Stella for her beauty and wisdom.[305] Despite the testamentary chain (Leonello's sons Niccolò[306] and Francesco, and Niccolò III's sons Ercole and Sigismondo), Borso had prevailed over his nephew and half-brothers, successfully pressing the claims that they were too young to rule and that he was simply fulfilling the will of the people. These claims were quickly supported by a papacy which

[302] F. Nevola, *Siena: constructing the Renaissance city*, Yale University Press, 2007, pp. 59-90.
[303] Leonello (marquis of Ferrara between 1441 and 1450) was the illegitimate son of Niccolò III and his mistress Stella dell'Assassino.
[304] Niccolò III (1393-1441), Alberto V's natural son, succeeded as a child to his father, supported by the Republic of Venice. L. Chiappini, «Niccolò III d'Este», in *DBI*, vol. 39.
[305] D.G. Mansi (edt.), *Pii II Orationes politicae et ecclesiasticae*, voll. I-III, Lucae, 1755-1759.
[306] Niccolò di Leonello's claims were legally annulled in a bull issued by Pope Nicholas V on 14 November 1450, six week after Leonello's death.

must have seen the advantage of having a mature ruler in Ferrara, which served as a buffer state among Milan, Venice, and the papal territory.[307]

Borso was in search of raising his title to Duke of Ferrara and its territory and Enea Silvio Piccolomini was generally well-disposed towards Borso, as he had previously proved in 1452 when he aligned himself with the Emperor Frederick III in favour of proclaiming Borso Duke of Modena and Reggio Emilia (fig. 120). In fact, Frederick III had stayed in Modena[308] on his homeward journey after his marriage to Eleanor of Portugal[309] in Rome where they were to be crowned Holy Roman Emperor and Empress on 19 March 1452. During the ceremony when the ducal crown was conferred on Borso, Enea Silvio, who had been ambassador to Frederick III since 1450, made a speech glorifying the Emperor's generosity, praising the Estense family highly and exhaulting Borso's virtues.[310] Borso gained the title of Duke of Modena and Reggio Emilia by reinforcing these celebratory words with a munificent gift of 30,000 ducats to the Emperor.

For Borso's political ambitions the passage of the Pope in Ferrara offered an important occasion; he was determined not to miss the opportunity to show off his power and influence to Pius II and to display the prosperity and wealth of Ferrara and its inhabitants under his government. Pius II and his court were received in Ferrara both on the outward journey (from 17 to 25 May 1459) and on the return (from 20 to 22 January 1460). Borso had organized the sumptuous *ludi militari* for Pius II's first visit in May 1459[311] and had ordered the restoration of the Estense state barge and the re-decoration of its main room for the procession from Ferrara to Mantua and back, no

[307] T. Dean, «Lord, Vassals and Clients in Renaissance Ferrara», in *English Historical Review*, vol. 100, no. 394 (Jan. 1985), pp. 106-119.
[308] The reception of the Emperor and the expenses for the celebrations are recorded in Ferrarese documents in ASMo, Amm. Princ., n. 7, *Spese per la venuta dell'Imperatore*, 1452.
[309] Eleanor d'Aviz (1434-1467), daughter of King Edward of Portugal and Leonor of Aragon.
[310] *Commentarii*, I, 24 and 37.
[311] *Commentarii*, II, 40. See here Appendix B, n. 1.

expense spared. Colourful impressions and witty opinions regarding the reception organized by the Marquis of Ferrara were described by Piccolomini himself throughout his *Commentarii*, written in the two-year period of 1462-1463, as well as in the *Diario Ferrarese*,[312] an anonymous manuscript published by Muratori in the eighteenth-century. The chronicles that came after, drawn directly from Pius's *Commentarii*, sometimes recorded the entry of the Pope in the year 1471, reiterating an error made by Giovanbattista Giraldi in his 1556 *Commentario delle cose di Ferrara*,[313] one of the most important chronicles regarding the history of Ferrara.

The most spectacular parts of the Ferrarese receptions were represented by the journeys along the Po on the *Bucintoro*. Documents inform us that the *Bucintoro* and its decoration were completed before May 1459 and used in both papal visits but, in the *Commentarii*, the *Bucintoro* is described only for the Pope's return journey (1460), while for the entry of 1459 Pius described the rich *ludi militari* and a joyous naval procession to Revere.[314] The chronology of the events may have been altered as we must not forget that Pius started his *Commentarii* four years after the facts narrated had occurred. In addition, I would suggest that Enea Silvio chose this fictional tool to underline that the glorious receptions on his return journey were the natural consequences of the important results he had obtained at the council, results that, in truth, were not satisfactory at all.

As Pius II himself noted, the spectacle organized for his second entry into Ferrara was superb. It was on the "freezing and foggy morning" of 20

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[312] L.A. Muratori (edt.), «Diarium Ferrariense ab anno MCCCCIX usque ad MDII». In *Rerum Italicarum scriptores ab anno aerae christianae quingentesimo ad millesimumquingentesimum, quorum potissima pars nunc primum in lucem prodit ex Ambrosianae, Estensis, aliarumque insignium bibliothecarum codicibus,* Mediolani, ex typographia Societatis Palatinae in Regia Curia, 1723-1751.
[313] G.B. Girardi, *Commentario delle cose di Ferrara, et de principi da Este, di m. Giovanbattista Giraldi gentil'huomo Ferrarese ... Tratto dall'epitome di m. Gregorio Giraldi; & tradotto per m. Lodovico Domenichi*, Fiorenza, appresso Lorenzo Torrentino, 1556, pag. 98. See here, Appendix B, n. 2.
[314] *Commentarii*, II, 42.

January 1460.[315] The Mantuan council had only just ended and Pius was awaited in Revere by Borso d'Este. After being greeted by the Marquis of Mantua Ludovico III Gonzaga, he was ready to board the Estense state barge to be conveyed to Ferrara. The magnificent Estense *Bucintoro* was surrounded by countless minor crafts, so that it was impossible to discern any part of the river not shaken and blown by oars. The multicoloured vessels and the embroidered curtains were ruffled by the wind and the gilded decorations glittered over the great, calm River Po. The procession was joyously accompanied by flutes and trumpets. Nobles and courtiers, dressed in suitable costumes, played the parts of heroes and goddess on an imaginative moving stage. The Pope entered the main room of the *Bucintoro* and looked out from the embroidered ravelin to bless all the men, women and children that took part in the feast from the river banks shouting "Long live the Pope" and "Long live Borso". When Borso and Pius were ready to leave Revere, the marquis ordered the boat procession to resume its voyage, during which they enjoyed an untroubled journey to Ferrara.[316] This description, partly taken from Pius's *Commentarii*, shows how impressive and stately the naval procession had been.

The sumptuous receptions meant emphasizing those aspects of the Estense story that could help Borso not only gain allegiance but also maintain it: his royal blood, his magnificence and his faith in God. Borso d'Este would in fact need all the assistance that presentation and propaganda might offer alongside the arts of patronage, financial security and diplomacy. In this sense, the symbols displayed in the *Bucintoro* were the visible manifestation of the Marquis's art of politic. Borso was successful in astonishing Pius, who noted in the *Commentarii* that the Marquis strove to display himself as the most

[315] *Commentarii*, IV, 4.
[316] See here Appendix B, Document n. 3

magnificent prince in Italy[317] and, in a previously unpublished letter, that Borso had given an honourable and magnificent welcome to the Pope:

> "You honoured us with a remarkable and magnificent reception in Ferrara and navigation to Mantua. […] You exalted the voyage of Your Pope: and you have in fact offered all the honours to Us. And for this reason it is not Our intention to forget your services, because we have recognised your magnificence and liberality".[318]

Moreover, the splendour of the Ferrarese reception was accentuated by comparison with other solemn entries, especially the Florentine one. Despite contemporary chronicles, which exalted the magnificence of the expenditure promoted by the Florentine Commune (Table 16),[319] Pius complained in his *Commentarii* that the Florentines had organized niggardly celebrations for him.[320] One of the reasons that had induced the Pope to discredit the Florentine celebrations was the fact that he was surely not pleased to share his glorious entry into Florence with Galeazzo Maria Sforza, heir to the Duchy of Milan. Galeazzo Maria had in fact arrived in Florence a week before the Pope, to escort him to Mantua and was welcomed by Cosimo de' Medici to consolidate the promise of future Florentine-Milanese relations. Neither was Pius pleased that Francesco Sforza had sent his fifteen-year-old son to the council, instead of coming personally to meet the Pope and the other princes. Documents reveal that during the stay of Galeazzo Maria Sforza in Florence a tournament was organized, a ball was held at the Mercato Vecchio, an exotic

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[317] *Commentarii*, IV, 4.

[318] "Honorasti nos Ferrariae egregie ac magnifice, et cum Mantuam ivimus. […] qui te papae adventu non magis exaltatum existimant: quam papam tuum tuis honoribus decoratum. Nos tamen offitium tuum non didimus oblivione, nec propterea liberalitati satisfactum & magnificentie tuae iudicavimus", "Pius secundus pontefice maxime a Borsio Estensi Duci Mutine", 1463, fol. 38v, in BCAFe, Ms. Classe I, n. 451, *Miscellanea di cose politiche che riguardano nella massima parte la Casa d'Este*, letter n. 7.

[319] For the entry of the Pope and Galeazzo Maria Sforza the Florentine Commune spent 13,626 florins and 48,091 *lire*. F. Filarete, A. Manfidi, R.C. Trextler (edts.), *The Libro Cerimoniale of the Florentine Republic*, Genève, Droz, 1978, pp. 74-79.

[320] *Commentarii*, II, 31.

hunt of lions and giraffes was held in the Piazza dei Signori, a joust (*armeggeria*) took place in front of the new Medici palace on via Larga and there was a theatrical representation of the *Tempio d'Amore*, during which Galeazzo Maria and the ten-year-old Lorenzo de' Medici were introduced.[321] When Pius arrived in Florence the entry was solemn and for the first time the procession passed down the Via Larga[322] on which the monumental Medici palace had been built[323] and where Galeazzo was lodged. It was the first time that this private palace had been used as a "state palace". At the same time the *Palazzo dei Signori* was prepared to lodge Pius. Pope Pius II, Galeazzo Maria Sforza, Lorenzo de' Medici and Sigismondo Pandolfo Malatesta were all portrayed by Benozzo Gozzoli in his 1459 *Magi procession* (fig. 121).

Galeazzo Maria Sforza entered Ferrara with the Pope on 17 May 1459 to escort him to Mantua with a naval procession. Some Ferrarese documents record that a boat, fully decorated by the painter Cosmè Tura,[324] had been prepared for Sforza's entry. This minor craft, not to be confused with the *Bucintoro* set up for Pius II, was specially re-painted and furnished[325] for

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[321] Anonimous, *Terze rime in lode di Cosimo de' Medici e de' figli e dell'honouranza fatta l'anno 1458* [sic] *al figliolo del Duca di Milano et al papa nella loro venuta a Firenze*; Firenze, Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale, Magliabechiano VII 1121; R. Hatfield, «Some Unknown Descriptions of the Medici Palace in 1459», in *The Art Bulletin*, LII, 1970, pp. 232-249; G. Volpi, *Le feste di Firenze del 1459. Notizie di un poemetto del secolo XV*, Pistoia 1902; E.S. Welch, «Galeazzo Maria Sforza and the Castello of Pavia», in *The Art Bullettin*, vol. 71, no. 3 (Sept. 1989), pp. 352-375.

[322] A.M. Testaverde Matteini, «La decorazione festiva e l'itinerario di "rifondazione" della città negli ingressi trionfali a Firenze tra XV e XVI secolo», in *Mitteilungen des Kunsthistorischen Institutes in Florenz*, vol. 32, no. 3 (1988), pp. 323-352.

[323] Palazzo Medici Riccardi was built in the period 1445-1455. The frescoes in the Medici's Chapel were completed in 1459 by Benozzo Gozzoli. G. Cherubini, G. Fanelli (edts.), *Il Palazzo Medici Riccardi di Firenze*, Firenze, Giunti, 1990.

[324] ASMo, Memoriale, ff, 1459, fol. 400. See here Appendix A, doc. 4.

[325] On 24 May 1459 Cristofalo Finotto, naval Superintendent, was paid "[…] per adornare la nave per la venida de lo ill.mo cunte mess. Galeazo Sforza posta da marchione". In ASMo, C.D.E., Guardaroba, 1459, "Registro e

Galeazzo with the purpose of welcoming the scion of the Sforza with appropriate lavishness and, at the same time, not arousing Papal indignation. The same boat would also be used in November of the same year[326] for the reception of Alessandro Sforza.[327] Surprisingly, none of the authors[328] who have cited the request for payment made by the artist to the ducal treasury,[329] have connected Tura's painted boat with the Papal naval procession to the Council of Mantua. After the trip for the Mantuan Council, Galeazzo Maria Sforza started the decoration of the Castle of Pavia, competing in magnificence with the other north Italian princes, as previously shown for Pius II.[330]

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mandati e spexa de lo officio de galaoto et de marco", fol. 72r, and see here Appendix A, doc. 16.

[326] "[…] per adornare la nave la quale doveva andare contra lo s. al mess. alessandro sforza posto da m. adi 30 de novembre", in *ibidem*, see here Appendix A, Document n 16.

[327] Alessandro Sforza (1404-1466), Lord of Pesaro. In W. George, E. Waters (edts.), Vespasiano da Bisticci, *Renaissance princes, popes and prelates: the Vespasiano memoires: lives of illustrious men of the 15. century*, New York, Harper & Row, 1963.

[328] M. Molteni, *Cosmè Tura*, 24 Ore Cultura, 1999, pag. 222; J. Manca, *Cosmè Tura: the life and art of a painter in Estense Ferrara*, Clarendon Press, 2000, pag. 189; A. Neppi, *Cosmè Tura: saggio critico*, Gastaldi, 1953, pag. 32; E. Camesasca, *Artisti in bottega*, Feltrinelli, 1966, pag. 188; A. Venturi, *Storia dell'arte italiana*, vol. VII, Hoepli, 1914, pag. 508.

[329] «[…] a Gosme depintore per soa manifactura e mercede de depinzere uno patrone grande da fare antiporti, e uno da fare banchali de razo e più dessigni per cagione de dicti razi e per richamo da paramenti e più altre cagione, e fu de più cosse per la festa de la venuta del magnifico conte Galeazo Sforza per la nave fiece fare in Po Anselmo […]», ASMo, C.D.E., *Computisteria*, "Memoriali", 12, F.F., 1459, fol. 300.

[330] G. Lubkin, *A Renaissance Court: Milan under Galeazzo Maria Sforza*, 1994; E. Welch, «Galeazzo Maria Sforza and the Castello di Pavia, 1469», in *Art Bulletin*, n. 71 (1989), pp. 355-356.

The magnificence of the good ruler

The richness of the Ferrarese festival is confirmed by expenses registered in the account books of the Estense treasury.[331] And, at this stage, it is interesting to ask why the Marquis of Ferrara had chosen to allocate most of the estimated resources, approximately the 85% of the total, as shown in Table 17, to the *Bucintoro* and the naval procession, instead of to other festival ephemera.[332] As it is shown in Tables 15 and 17, the decoration alone of the Estense state barge had cost the ducal wardrobe 1,240 *lire*, to which must be added all the expenses for the other ephemeral *apparati* for the tournament. Notwithstanding the values presented here, it is important to note that this information is biased by the fact that I have not found in the account books of the Ducal Treasury any record of the *ludi militari* that were organized in Ferrara in 1459.

The fact that most of the estimated resourced were allocated for the naval processions, may be explained on the one hand by the need to offer the Pope the most comfortable and rapid journey to Mantua, on the other by the importance attributed to the decoration of the stateroom of the *Bucintoro* by Borso, as a vehicle of information. To this, it is important not to forget that in the mid-fifteenth century attention to and the debate on nautical crafts were in particular ferment, as I have diffusely analysed in Chapter Two. In particular, the *Bucintoro*'s heraldic composition was intended to offer to the observers an allegorical representation of Borso, not only by enhancing the Marquis's programme of marsh clearance, land reclamation and air purification, but also by displaying his royal blood and his faith in God, as I have presented in

[331] Data are elaborated from the documents in ASMo: *Memoriale*, n. 12, 1459, fol. 400; *Guardaroba*, "Mandati e Spese 1459", n. 59, fols. 72r and 83r; *Amm. Princ.*, n. 9, "Spese per il Bucintoro 1459", see here Appendix A, doc. nn. 3, 4, 16 and 17.

[332] ASMo, CDE, *Guardaroba*, n. 54, f. 40; *Libri Camerali Diversi*, n. 34, "Zornale de Ussita GG", 1460, f. 7; *Computisteria*, "Memoriali", n. 12, Memoriali FF, 1460, f. 349; ASFe, *Serie Finanziaria*, Busta 2, "Memoriale 1459", f. 11 and f. 62v.

Chapter Three. Consequently, the embroidered devices conveyed that the Marquis was a 'good ruler', reminding its viewers of the image of an Old World condottiere and governor.

In the same way Enea Silvio was trying to assume the appearance of the pious Aeneas and of a modern Julius Caesar through his autobiographical hagiography, the *Commentarii*. To achieve this, it was not possible to leave celebratory events to chance. The Marquis of Ferrara was showing his "public body", as the Ferrarese writer Lorenzo Ducci expressed very clearly: "it is convenient to consider a prince like two bodies, the first is the prince that acts in public, as we recognize him, and the other is the private prince, leader of his family […]".[333] The gestures, the speeches, the objects displayed were scrupulously selected and organized and, for this reason, the *Bucintoro* represented the tangible emanation of his good nature.

The identification of Borso as a just ruler played a major role in the Marquis's personal iconography. The monument of Borso administering justice by Niccolò Baroncelli[334] offered by the Commune of Ferrara (fig. 122); "Borso dispensing justice to the people" on the frescoes in the *Sala dei Mesi* in the Palazzo Schifanoia by Francesco del Cossa (fig. 123) and in Borso's *Bible* (miniature vol. I, fol. 217r) (fig. 124); and the epigram "She and You are one" (*Haec Tu Unum*) accompanying the bust of Borso and the figure of Justice in one of Borso's medals (fig. 125)[335] are just a few examples of his intention to represent himself as the perfect ruler for the city of Ferrara. Besides a sense of justice, Borso was displaying his splendour through luxury objects. Far from being considered inappropriate expenditure (or sinful luxury as the Ferrarese

[333] Ducci Lorenzo, *Arte aulica di Lorenzo Ducci, nella quale s'insegna il modo che deve tenere il cortegiano per divenir possesore della gratia del suo Principe*, in Ferrara, appresso Vittorio Baldini, 1601, pp. 13-14. See also E.H. Kantorowicz, *The king's two bodies; a study in Medioeval political theology*, Princeton, Princeton University Press, 1957, p. 9.

[334] C. Rosenberg, *The Este Monuments and Urban Development in Renaissance Ferrara*, Cambridge University Press, 1997, pp. 88-109.

[335] C. Rosenberg, «The Iconography of the Sala degli Stucchi in the Palazzo Schifanoia in Ferrara», in *The Art Bullettin*, 1979, vol. 61, no. 3, pp. 377-384.

Fra' Girolamo Savonarola preached)[336] the embroideries of the *Bucintoro* and those of Borso's garments were specifically studied to be a vehicle of information, to exhibit wealth and, last but non least, to emphasize his handsomeness (*aspecto grato* as Piccolomini noted).

Borso's virtues were also celebrated by his courtiers, who, in different literary works, had publicised to the Marquis's deeds, testifying to his superior magnificence and his splendour over other Italian princes. In spite of the fact that these works were composed for a *captatio benevolentiae* and written in laudatory forms, they are nonetheless important in contributing to our understanding of how Borso used these characteristics to his own purposes. Among others, I would like to recall Michele Savonarola's *De foelici progressu Borsii Estensis ad Marchionatum* (1452),[337] Ludovico degli Arienti's *Oratio de Laudibus Borsii* (circa 1460),[338] Gaspare Tribraco's *Divi Duci Borsi Estensis Triumphus* (1463)[339] and Tito Vespasiano Strozzi's *Borsiade* (1470).[340] In their works, all these authors enumerated Borso's virtues, his prudence, tolerance, justice and temperance, accompanied by magnificence, magnanimity, humility, jocundity, sense of friendship and handsomeness, not to mention his deep regard for Christianity! A summary of Borso's characteristics was given by

[336] D. Thompson, *Renaissance Architecture: Critics, Patrons, Luxury*, Manchester, Manchester University Press, 1993; A. Brown, *Medicean and Savonarolan Florence. The interplay of Politics, Humanism and Religion*, Brepols, 2012.
[337] M.A. Mastronardi (edt.), *Del felice progresso di Borso d'Este,* Bari, Palomar, 1996.
[338] M.A. Mastronardi (edt.), «Retorica ed ideologia alla corte di Borso d'Este. L'*Oratio de laudibus Borsii* di Ludovico degli Arienti», in *Annali della facoltà di lettere e filosofia*, Università della Basilicata, 1993-1994, pp. 313-349.
[339] Gasparo Tribraco De' Trimbocchi, *Triumphus in Borsium Athestinum Carmen* (BEMo, Lat. 82 = Alfa M. 7.21), in G. Venturini (edt.), «Il Triumphus in onore di Borso d'Este di G. Tribraco», *Bollettino di notizie e ricerche da archivi e biblioteche*, n. 1, Jan. 1980.
[340] S. Macioce, «La "Borsiade" di Tito Vespasiano Strozzi e la "Sala dei Mesi" di Palazzo Schifanoia», in *Annuario dell'Istituto di Storia dell'Arte*, Roma, Università di Roma La Sapienza, n. 2, 1984, pp. 3-13.

Ludovico Carbone, who, in his *De VII litteris huius nomini Borsius* (1465),[341] created the acrostic:

Bonitas	(goodness)
Orationis venustas	(elegance of speech)
Religio	(piety)
Sobrietas	(sobriety)
Iustitia	(justice)
Venustas corporis	(beauty of body)
Sagacitas	(shrewdness).

In this last example the inclusion of 'sobriety' among Borso's virtues may be a little surprising, especially if we think that Borso was competing in luxury with all the other princes. On this subject, Piccolomini did not conceal his contempt for Borso's pearls and jewels and Girardi judged Borso's garments as: "more rich and ambitious for being appropriate".[342] However, compared to his father, Niccolò III d'Este, Borso would certainly have seemed a sober prince, given that the former had conceived more than forty illegitimate children and had publically executed his second wife Parisina Malatesta and one of his son Ugo for adultery. Borso's 'virginal' attitude and sense of justice, were obvious signs of his magnificence.

"I am faith": the paladin's ship

It is clear by now that the colours and devices designed for the *Bucintoro* were consciously distributed for the personal propaganda of the Marquis of Ferrara. At this stage there may well be yet another element, interwoven with the decorative setting, that sent out a message to the Pope and to other Italian princes: a reference to the vessel used by the paladin Bohort (*Bors* in French

[341] A. Lazzari (edt.), «Ludovico Carbone, De VII litteris huius nomini Borsius», *DPSPFe*, XXVI, 1928.
[342] G.B. Girardi, *Commentario delle cose di Ferrara, et de principi da Este, di m. Giovanbattista Giraldi gentil'huomo Ferrarese* [...] *Tratto dall'epitome di m. Gregorio Giraldi; & tradotto per m. Lodovico Domenichi*, Fiorenza, appresso Lorenzo Torrentino, 1556, pag. 97. See here, Appendix B, n. 3.

and *Borso* in Italian) to reach Perceval and Galahad in the search for the Holy Grail in the Arthurian saga. Borso was, in fact, trying to invest himself with the aura of one of Christendom's immortal heroes. In this sense Borso did not just enlist the past to justify his dynasty, he also grafted it onto its future.

Borso had most likely chosen the tricolour to politicize and to enhance the meaning of the symbolic decoration of his *Bucintoro*. In fact, leaving aside the implication of Borso's name,[343] the marquis had many other attributes in common with the Arthurian paladin,[344] elements that he may have used for his personal propaganda. The symbols and colour references should have been immediately recognizable to the 'period eye'. We should not forget that the Arthurian cycle was the most common group of romances in early modern courts and these stories had passed the Alps creating the so-called *franco-veneta* tradition in Italian dialects,[345] declaimed, or rather sung, in many a square.[346] In many court libraries there were examples of these *novelle*[347] as there were in Ferrara too;[348] by 1436, the date of the first library inventory compiled by Ser Jacomo and Raynaldo, the Estense library listed 279 volumes, including works in a variety of fields.[349] Of these, chivalric romances constituted the oldest part

[343] Dante Alighieri, *Vita Nuova,* XIII, 4: "con ciò sia cosa che li nomi siguitino le nominate cose, sì come è scritto: *Nomina sunt consequentia rerum*".
[344] M. Pastoreau, «Arthur, Lancelot, Perceval et les autres» in *L'Histoire,* n. 53, feb. 1983, pp. 84-87 and *Idem*, «L'"enromancement" du nom. Etude sur la diffusion des noms de héros arthuriens à la fin du Moyen Age», in *Figures et couleurs. Etudes sur la symbolique et la sensibilité médiévales*, Paris, Le Léopard d'Or, 1986, pp. 111-124; G.D. West, *An Index of Proper Names in French Arthurian Prose Romances*, Toronto, Toronto University Press, 1978.
[345] G. Monorchio, *Lo specchio del cavaliere: il duello nella trattatistica e nell'epica rinascimentale*, Canadian Society for Italian Studies, 1998, pag. 28-29.
[346] M. Bloch, *La société feodale*, Paris, Edition Albin Michael, 1968.
[347] M. Scaglione, *Knights at Court*, Berkeley, University of California Press, 1991, pag. 114.
[348] F. Franco*, La materia cavalleresca prima dell'Ariosto*, Napoli, Libreria Scientifica, 1972.
[349] A. Cappelli, «La Biblioteca Estense nella prima metà del secolo XV», in *Giornale Storico della Letteratura Italiana*, XIV (1889), pp. 12-30.

of the collection.[350] The self-conscious maintenance of chivalric traditions and styles at the court of Ferrara is an essential element of its cultural continuity and conservatism, one of the characteristics that distinguishes it from other Italian courts.[351] It is emblematic that Niccolò III had named his children after chivalric heroes: Leonello, Borso, Ercole, Meliaduse, Ugo, Sigismondo, Isotta and Ginevra.

Bohort, brother of Lyonel, is described in the *Queste* as a chaste and extremely religious paladin, and in the *Mort le Roi Artu*[352] he remains aloof to the charms of women and his friendship with Guinevere is purely platonic. But, Bohort had once given in to the temptation of a woman and they conceived a son, and for this reason: "When Bohort leaves the company [of the Grail], he meets a travelling priest who tells him that sinners may not find the Grail". The three knights on the search for the Holy Grail correspond to varying degrees of spiritual perfection. Galahad attained this perfection; Perceval achieved redemption through innocent faith; while Bohort reached it through good works by which he managed to expiate his one venal sin.[353] Borso d'Este, unlike his brother Leonello, had not married by choice, a decision that has occupied many authors when discussing the hypothesis of his homosexuality.[354] For this reason at his death he appointed his half-brother Ercole to succeed him. Borso's biographies have underlined his chastity and

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[350] In particular the books *Merlino* and *Lancillotto* in French, and *Meliaduse* and *Saint Graal* in Italian are recorded. G. In Bertoni, *La biblioteca estense e la cultura ferrarese ai tempi del Duca Ercole I (1471-1505)*, Torino, Loescher, 1903.
[351] W.L. Gundersheimer, *Ferrara the Style of a Renaissance Despotism*, Princeton, Princeton University Press, 1973, pag. 95-97.
[352] J. Frappier, *La Mort le Roi Artu: Roman du XIIIe siècle*, Genève, Droz et Paris, 1954.
[353] R. Barber, *King Arthur in Legend and History*, Boydell Press, 1974, pag. 83.
[354] M. Torboli, *Borso e la politica delle immagini a Ferrara nel Quattrocento*, Ferrara, 2008; W. Gundersheimer, «Clarity and ambiguity in Renaissance gesture: the case of Borso d'Este», in *Journal of Medieval and Renaissance Studies*, 23 (1991), pp. 1-17; M. Hollingsworth, *The Cardinal's Hat*, Overlook Press, 2006; T.J. Tuohy, *Herculean Ferrara. Ercole d'Este, 1471-1505, and the invention of a Ducal Capital*, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1996, pp. 38-39.

the absence of a son, but a previously unpublished letter from an illegitimate son is preserved in Modena, in which he asks his father, the Marquis of Ferrara, to remember him and to give him a blanket because he was completely indigent.[355]

In the *Queste del Saint Graal*,[356] the *Estoire del Saint Graal*[357] and elsewhere in the Arthurian Vulgate Cycle,[358] the vessel used by the three heroes (Perceval, Galahad and Bohort) is described, as is the bed that was at the heart of the vessel itself.[359] The attribution of particular significance to the decoration of supernatural marine vessels is common in all the stories of the Arthurian cycle. For instance, Morgan's vessel for Floriant in *Floriant et Florete*[360] features splendid curtains depicting astronomy, the story of Genesis and the story of Troy and Love, probably borrowed from Ovid's *Ars Amoris*. Only the perfectly faithful believer was permitted to board the vessel, traditionally called Solomon's vessel, and, only after its embarkation was it possible to see the bed and the canopy around it. The canopy and the three spindles that crowned it were decorated in the colours white, green and red. In the *Estoire* white symbolized the purity and innocence pre-lapsarian of Adam and Eve, green stood for Eve's fertility when she conceived, and red was associated with the blood shed when Cain slew Abel. In the *Queste*, following the New

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[355] ASMo, *Carteggio tra i Principi Estensi*, vol. 130, 17th June 1470.
[356] J. Cable, *The Death of King Arthur*, Penguin Books Ltd., Harmondsworth, Middlesex, 1971; A. Pauphilet, *La Queste del Saint Graal*, Paris, Librarie Ancienne Honouré Champion, 1923.
[357] H.O. Sommer, *The Vulgate Version of the Arthurian Romances edited from manuscripts in the British Museum*, vols. 3-5, Washington, the Cartnegie Institution of Washington, 1910-1912; M. Lot-Borodine, «Le Symbolisme du Graal dans *l'Estoire del Saint Graal*», in *Neophilogus* XXXIV (1950), pp. 65-79.
[358] C. Guivet-Bond, «The Supernatural Marine Vessel of the Vulgate Cycle», (1979), *Open Access Dissertations and Theses*, Paper 287, http://digitalcommons.mcmaster.ca/opendissertations/287
[359] S.L. Hahn, «The enigmatic contours of the bed in Yale 229», in E.M. Willingham (edt.), *Essays on the Lancelot of Yale 229*, Brepols, 2007, pp. 69-88.
[360] H.F. Williams, A. Arbor, (edts.), *Floriant et Florete*, University of Michigan, 1947.

Testament,[361] white was for Christ's chastity, green for patience and red for suffering. Moreover, according to tradition, Christ's Cross was made from three different species of trees that formed the tricolour, cedar, cypress and pine. Bohort's vessel itself was based on the principle *ecclesia est navis*,[362] as described in the *Estoire,* "ceste naif sest senefiance de ma nouuele maison",[363] and it embodied true faith, as had written on its side: "[…] thou man, which shall enter into this ship, beware thou be in steadfast belief, for I am faith".[364]
The link between Bohort's vessel in the search for the Holy Grail and Borso's *Bucintoro* most likely enhanced the allegory shown in the Estense state barge. Borso, as the eponymous knight, portrayed himself as the most faithful servant of the Pope, offering Pius II a new glorious paladin for his campaign against the infidel. Enea Silvio Piccolomini was perfectly aware of these symbols, being himself a humanist in the circle of Francesco Filelfo and a writer of romances like the *Historia de Eurialo e Lucretia* or *Chrysis* (both dated 1444). All the aforementioned elements were interwoven with the aim of offering an allegorical representation of the Marquis of Ferrara and of the entire Estense dynasty. All these symbolic references contributed to creating an effective vehicle of communication, based on not only in separating those who were perfectly aware of the different cultural and historical references displayed, from those who were not, so that visitors might be impressed by the sophistication reached by the Marquis of Ferrara.

[361] E.C. Quinn, «The Quest of Seth, Solomon's ship and the Grail», in *Traditio*, vol. XXI (1965), pp. 185-222.
[362] R. Shearman Loomis, *The Grail: from Celtic Myth to Christian Symbol*, Princeton University Press, 1991.
[363] *Estoire del Saint Graal*, 136/4.
[364] T. Malory, «Sir Bohort», in *Works*, Book XVII, ch. 2.

The council started in Mantua in 1459 and it finished on 14 January 1460, when Pope Pius II did proclaim the crusade against the Turks (fig. 126). Pope Pius II was not satisfied with the results obtained for the crusade: only a few princes had attended personally the council he had called and even fewer had offered definite help for the war. As his contemporary Jànos Vitéz[365] reported, the northern European princes were not interested at all in starting a new campaign against the Turks,[366] so that the Cardinal of Aquileia, Ludovico Scarampi Mezzarota, wrote:

> "[…] the Pope's projects were childish […] Pius showed inexperience and lack of foresight in abandoning Rome to lodge with one stranger after another and thinking by his exhortations to draw kings into war and exterminate the Turks, whose strength was unconquerable".[367]

And Pius himself admitted with extraordinary candour, that:

> «Christendom is a body without a head, a republic without laws or magistrates. The pope and the emperor may shine as lofty titles, as splendid images; but they are unable to command, and none are willing to obey. Every state has a separate prince, and every prince has a separate interest. What eloquence could unite so many discordant and hostile powers under the same standard? Could they be assembled in arms, who would dare to assume the office of general? What order could be maintained? What military discipline? Who could undertake to feed such an enormous multitude? Who would understand their various languages, or be able to deal with men of such widely different manners and character? Where is the mortal man that could bring England into accord with France, or Genoa with Aragon, or conciliate Germans, Hungarians, and Bohemians in their disputes? If a small number enlisted in the holy war, they must be overthrown by the infidels; if many, by their own weight and confusion».[368]

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[365] Jànos Vitéz (1408-1472) was Archbishop of Esztergom (Hungary) and ambassador to King Sigismund of Hungary, Croatia and Bohemia.

[366] I. Boronkai (edt.), *Vitéz Jànoz, Opera quae supersunt*, Budapest, Akademiai Kiado, 1980.

[367] *Commentarii*, III, 2.

[368] E. Gibbon, *The decline and fall of the Roman empire*, P.F. Collier & Son, 1899, p. 524.

Pope Pius II resumed his voyage to Rome five days later the end of Council. He was weakened by gout and the exceptionally severe climate of that January had not made his long voyage to Rome any easier.

The European princes did not attended the council or they participated to it only through their ambassadors. Borso, who had managed the entries of the Pope into Ferrara perfectly, in the summer of 1459 broke his promise to attend the Mantuan council, laying the blame upon a prediction made by two of the "most faithful and devoted"[369] astrologers of his court, who predicted that he would die during the trip to Mantua. Even without this prophecy, Borso did not want to be one of the few princes who attended the council and, moreover, he was not happy about sitting at the same table as the Venetian ambassadors, not only because he knew "the men, and the heart, and the manners of the Venetians",[370] but also because of the vexing question of the Polesine, as we are informed by two previously unpublished letters by Gurrone of Este.[371] Venice and Ferrara were at war over the possession of Rovigo, its countryside (the so-called *Polesine*) and the left bank of the river Po. The Po and its boundaries were in fact the reasons for tensions with Venice and Ravenna for the control of commercial traffic towards Lombardy and France. Interestingly, since the middle of the twelfth-century,[372] the *Serenissima* had claimed its right to navigate the Po without paying any duties, asserting that rivers were free waterways created by nature, and, for this reason, could not by any means be privatised. Obviously this rule was not bestowed on other natural maritime waterways. At the same time, for Ferrara and its territory the Po constituted its economic and political infrastructure. The destiny of the

[369] «fidelissimi et divotissimi», in ASMo, *Ambasciatori dall'estero*, Roma, Gurrone d'Este, 1459, n. 3.
[370] *Ibidem.*
[371] ASMo, *Ambasciatori dall'estero*, Roma, Gurrone d'Este, 1459, n. 2 and n. 3, see here Appendix A, doc. 18.
[372] S. Patitucci Uggieri, «La navigazione interna del delta padano nella "Chronica parva ferrariensi"», in *Atti e memorie della DPSPFe*, Ferrara, s. III, XXX (1984), pp. 48-50.

Estense Duchy itself, defined as a "hydraulic principality",[373] was mainly dependent on the inland navigation of the Po and its tributaries.[374] The Ferrarese economy was, in fact, largely agricultural and piscatorial, the other important sources of income being the tolls levied on traffic along the river Po.[375] The war between Ferrara and Venice ended only in 1484, during the reign of Duke Ercole I, with the definitive concession of Rovigo to Venice and of Comacchio to Ferrara.[376] I will show in the following chapters how the Po was crucial for the Estensi and, in particular, for the devolution of Ferrara to the Pope. *Bucintori* played their role in all these arenas.

Borso's absence at the Council of Mantua made Pius II furious: he had travelled on a palanquin through Italy for a year, abandoning Rome and moving his court abroad, only to find that the marquis of Ferrara had sent his young brother Gurrone[377] and the two jurists Antonio[378] and Giuliano

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[373] C. Poni, *Fossi e cavadagne benedicon le campagne. Studi di storia rurale*, Bologna, Il Mulino, 2004.

[374] C. Cattini, «Strade liquide e arcipelaghi di terre: lo spazio estense visto da Ferrara», in *La corte e lo spazio: Ferrara estense*, a cura di G. Papagno e A. Quondam, vol. 1, Roma, Bulzoni, 1982, pp. 119-168.

[375] Other excises were in particular the *gabella grande*, which was levied on goods manufactured and sold in Ferrara, and the *gabella grossa*, an excise on goods brought into or out of Ferrara. G. Guerzoni, *Le corti Estensi e la devoluzione di Ferrara nel 1598*, Modena, Archivio di Stato, 1999.

[376] After the peace of Bagnolo (1484) Ferrara handed over Rovigo, Lendinara and Badia to the Republic of Venice. During the defeat of Agnadello Emperor Maximilian I of Habsburg occupied the Polesine but the *Serenissima* reacquired these territories in 1514; G. Soranzo, *La guerra tra Venezia e la Santa Sede per il dominio di Ferrara*, Città di Castello, 1905.

[377] Gurrone d'Este (d. 1484), son of Nicolò III and Filipa/Camilla della Tavola, was the first abbot of Nonantola (since June, 10th 1449), abbot of S.M. del Gavello and Campagnola. He left three children, including Niccolò Maria, who succeeded him as abbot of Nonantola and became bishop of Adria in 1487. A. Frizzi, *Memorie per la storia di Ferrara raccolte da Antonio Frizzi*, Ferrara, 1847-1848, vol. 2; H.S. Ettlinger, «Visibilis and Invisibilis: the mistress in Italian Renaissance Court Society», in *Renaissance Quarterly*, vol. 47, no. 4 (winter 1994), pp. 770-792.

[378] We do not know the surname or the eponymous of the "jourist Antonio". He is mentioned by Pius II both in the *Commentarii* (III, 21) and in the letters preserved in the Biblioteca Ariostea di Ferrara. In contrast he is not mentioned

Cantabene to Mantua! To add insult to injury, well-informed individuals advised the Pope that Borso had been seen on a hunting trip instead of resting as he claimed.[379] To make reparations Borso promised 200,000[380] golden ducats for the war against the Turks, but Pius II knew that the offer was too generous to be honoured. Borso, in fact, soon requested elevation to the title of Duke of Ferrara and the annulment of all tax payments to the Pope,[381] a request that obviously clashed with Pius's interests. The Estense had been made papal Vicars in Ferrara in 1240,[382] subject to the payment of an annual tax called *census vicariatus*; Pius cannot have been so well-disposed towards the cancellation of this tax. Pius was also disturbed by Borso's attitude towards the question of southern Italy. Borso had in fact officially supported the Italian League (1454), but at the same time he backed the Angevin family,[383] in the hope that the French would succeed to the Aragonese dynasty in the Kingdom of Naples. The Este were in fact related to the Angevin family and were given permission to add the French *fleur-de-lis* to their coats of arms.[384] Borso was so proud of his 'French' origins that he wanted to be called by his courtiers 'Bors', the French translation of his name.[385] Pius II ironically said to Cosimo de' Medici that Borso: "shows himself more French than the French".[386]

On 22 January 1460, a day after his arrival, the Pope left Ferrara for Bologna. He harboured a deep grudge against Borso, so much so that in his

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by Borso in the letters preserved in the State Archive in Modena (see here, Appendix A, doc. 18).

[379] *Commentarii*, III, 21.

[380] In the *Commentarii* (II, 47) Pius recorded 300,000 ducats.

[381] *Commentarii*, II, 40.

[382] L. Chiappini, *Gli Estensi. Mille anni di Storia*, Ferrara, Corbo Editore, 2001.

[383] *Commentarii*, IV, 3 and XII, 31.

[384] C. Magoni, «I gigli d'oro e l'aquila bianca. Gli Estensi e la corte francese tra '400 e '500: un secolo di rapporti», *Atti e Memorie della DPSPFe*, XVIII, Ferrara, 2001.

[385] ASMo, CDE, *Computisteria*, "Mandati in Volume", n. 4, 1436-1438, f. 209, May 21.

[386] *Commentarii*, IV, 7; Vivanti C., «I "Commentari" di Pio II», in *Studi Storici*, year 26, no. 2, Apr.-Jun. 1985, pp. 443-462; Martelli C., «I corali del Duomo di Pienza», in *Bollettino d'Arte*, n. 143, 2008, pp. 27-48.

Commentarii he spent many pages complaining about Borso and his opportunism, as well as railing against the whole Estense dynasty.[387] The Pope sent a letter to Borso, asking him to change his attitudes towards the Pope and his allies, threatening of excommunicating him, as he had previously done to Sigismondo Pandolfo Malatesta.[388] Having lost the opportunity to become the Duke of Ferrara, Borso reduced his contribution to the crusade against the Turks; in 1464, before the beginning of the crusade, Jacopo Ammannati Piccolomini,[389] Pius's confidant, sent a letter to Borso asking for the payment, in which he underlined that Borso had offered just 20,000 ducats (and not the previous 200,000!).[390] The wardrobe Superintendent, Marco de Galeotto dell'Assassino,[391] recorded that Borso had not only offered money for the crusade but also a galley decorated with eight standards (*stendardi)*, thirteen flags (*bandiere*), twenty-eight plaques (*placchette*) and fifty-three small banners (*bandirolle*), all painted with the Estense eagle on a white, green and red field, and a damask cover for the poop embroidered with the Estense eagle in gold.[392]

The same year Pius II was in Ancona expecting the arrival of the fleet which he intended to lead to Constantinople to fight the Turks (fig. 127), but that August 1464 he died. After the Pope's death the fleet returned to Venice

[387] *Commentarii*, II, 40.
[388] "Pius secundus pontefice maxime a Borsio Estensi Duci Mutine", 1463, fol. 38v, in BCAFe, Ms. Classe I, n. 451, *Miscellanea di cose politiche che riguardano nella massima parte la Casa d'Este*, letter n. 7.
[389] G. Calamari, *Il confidente di Pio 2. card. Jacopo Ammannati-Piccolomini (1422-1479)*, 2 vols., Milano, Augustea, 1932.
[390] December 20th, 1464, in P. Cherubini, (a cura di), Iacopo Ammannati Piccolomini, *Lettere (1444-1479)*, vol. 3, Ministero per i beni culturali e ambientali, Roma, 1997.
[391] Marco de Galeotto dell'Assassino succedeed to Nicolò di Michelino as 'Chief in charge of tapestries' ('ufficiale delle tappezzerie') in the year 1457 and he occupied the role of the Wardrobe Superintendent since 1469.
[392] See here the Appendix A, doc. 16.

without ever seeing battle. And Borso, finally, received the title of Duke of Ferrara in 1471, the year he died, from Pope Paul II, a Venetian.[393]

[393] Pietro Barbo (1417-1471), known as Pope Paul II, had been elected in conclave on 30 August 1464.

6. Between honour and contraband: written laws and unwritten custom. The Estensi and their *Bucintori* in the period 1471-1598

Introduction

In the previous chapters I examined the reasons that induced Borso d'Este to commission a painted and embroidered decoration for his *Bucintoro*, that followed the in-depth analysis of the significance of the symbols used to decorate its stateroom and the way in which these symbols were set up by painters and embroiderers. I have demonstrate that Borso, Marquis of Ferrara, commissioned his state barge with the explicit aim of obtaining recognition by Pope Pius II, in order to advance his career to the rank of Duke of that territory. In this sense the symbols displayed in the stateroom of the *Bucintoro* were intended to be a physical manifestation of the Marquis's honour, representing his genealogy, nobility, and more broadly his personal traits and virtues. The purpose of the *Bucintoro* itself was to show the splendour of the future Duke, honouring him and his role as ruler, through the innovation of its nautical engineering, the extravagance of its dimensions and the richness of its decoration.

As I already mentioned, in my search for documents concerning Borso's *Bucintoro* and its decoration, I became curious to understand whether this barge was merely an extravagance of the Marquis of Ferrara, whose ambition was to compete no less than the powerful Doge of Venice, or, more probably, whether the habit of owning luxurious royal barges was common both to the Ferrarese courts of the Estensi and other courts of northern Italy. Was the wonderful example of Borso's *Bucintoro* simply an isolated case in the history of the Estense dynasty, limited to the twenty years of Borso's government? Or rather was it possible to find similar meanings attributed to *bucintori* within different northern Italian courts? And how were these state barges considered during the sixteenth century? Did the Estensi attribute to

these boats the same important role in different periods of the history of the House of Este? And, finally, why did the Estensi attribute an important role to these barges? These questions induced me to find other pivotal moments of Estense history in order to verify whether the *bucintori* did, in fact, play a major role in the show of power. For these reasons I would like to consider two other important moments in which a member of the Estense family used luxurious *bucintori* to obtain honour and recognition from their contemporaries, with the aim of identifying a common pattern among all these different situations, highlighting the fact that this attitude was frequent both in ducal and *particolari* courts, as well as in female and male courts. The '*particolari*' courts made their first appearance under the reign of Ercole I d'Este, approximately in 1480s,[394] and consisted in the division of the ducal family in different courts and families governed by princes or princesses.

The first example that I will examine concerns the trip to Milan made by Isabella d'Este-Gonzaga in 1491 to take part in her sister's wedding with Ludovico Sforza, also known as *il Moro*. Isabella, in fact, used her rich state barge to make her entry into Milan, in an attempt to dominate the public scene by showing herself as the most honourable princess of the House of Este, competing personally with her sister Beatrice and her future sister-in-law Anna Sforza. Another example of this kind is offered by the trip Duke Alfonso II d'Este made in 1580 to Venice because he desperately needed to raise his recognition and honour with the Doge and other northern Italian princes, in order to avoid the risk of losing the Duchy of Ferrara under the pressure of the claims of the Papal State. The second part of the present chapter will be devoted, in part, to leisurely princely activities on the *bucintori*, such as splendid concerts, carnival trips or hunting trips, and partly to the habit of using the *bucintori* for transporting goods on the river Po. Indeed, in certain moments of

[394] M. Cattini and M.A. Romani in the essay «Le corti parallele: per una tipologia delle corti padane dal XIII al XVI secolo», in G. Papagno e A. Quondam, *La corte e lo spazio: Ferrara Estense*, vol. III, Bulzoni, Roma, 1982, vol. I, pp. 47-82.

its life-cycle, the *Bucintoro* was used like all the other boats, in particular for transporting bricks, wood, glass, clay objects and, above all, salt, within the borders of the Duchy. This happened only for brief periods, coincident with the period of inactivity that preceded the renovation and restoration of the barge or with particularly difficult years for the Estense finances. What is really surprising is that, in the years in which the Estense *bucintori* were constantly used for transporting black salt, the Pope forbade the Estensi to extract salt from the mines of Longastrino (near Comacchio), obliging them to buy salt from Papal mines. This notwithstanding, the Estensi continued to produce their own salt and to sell it to other princes: they were literally stealing their own salt from their mines! Surprisingly, then, the Estensi were at the same time obsessed by reputation but also at continuous risk of losing their honour for their violation of papal provisions. I would like to try to give an answer to this syncretism in the last section of the present chapter.

The unwritten laws of honour and magnificence

This chapter mainly focuses on the concepts of respect, honour and magnificence, dealing in particular with the importance of showing personal magnificence, gaining respect and not losing personal honour. For this reason, it is particularly important for me to clarify my use of the word 'honour' to avoid any risk of misunderstanding the interpretation I am proposing for the original documents. The creation of personal 'honour' has been studied by anthropologists and historians of early modern and Renaissance Europe to help account for the mentality and behavior of princes, aristocrats, aspiring members of the bourgeoisie and even artisans.[395] From these studies it clearly appears that honour meant different things to different people, to men and to

[395] J.S. Amelang, *Honored Citizens of Barcelona: Patrician Culture and Class Relations, 1490-1714*, Princeton, 1986; J.R. Farr, *Hands of Honor: Artisans and their World in Dijon, 1550-1650*, Ithaca, 1988.

women, to respectable men and to transients and that any cross-cultural comparison across time must be dealt with cautiously.

In spite of all the warnings proposed by historians,[396] I am dealing with documents that are recording experiences of 'honour' and, although I recognize the importance of discerning terms such as 'honour', 'reputation' and 'respect', I cannot force the Estense documents into these strict categories without leaving them in an ambiguous artificial space. In this respect, men and women of the Estense courts had a clear perception of the meaning of public esteem, but a systematic distinction between their understanding of honour, reputation and respect is presently out of my reach. In such a wide multitude of interpretations, what is interesting in the present section is to consider that the practice of using luxurious *bucintori* derived its meaning and its force from a complex of ideas, words and gestures linked to honour. For these reasons, I am using here the term 'honour' to refer not to an abstract trait of the character, but to the construction of self as socially worthy, a theme that the members of the House of Este protected through the use of clear signs and codes of rhetoric, behavior and public displays. The kind of 'honour' I am dealing with must be conceived as a right – the inherent right to be treated with respect.[397] Historians have emphasized its inverse quality, that of shame, as demonstrated by a growing number of studies on insults, vendettas, and duels.[398]

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[396] P. Burke, *The Historical Anthropology of Early Modern Italy: Essays on Perception and Communication*, Cambridge University Press, 1987, pp. 13-14; P. Gavitt, *Gender, Honor, and Charity in Late Renaissance Florence*, Cambridge University Press, 2011.

[397] E.S. Cohen, «Honor and Gender in the Streets of Early Modern Rome», in *Journal of Interdisciplinary History*, XXII, no. 4 (Spring 1992), pp. 597-625.

[398] J.G. Peristiany (edt.), *Honor and shame: the values of Mediterranean society*, Chicago, 1966; E.N. Goody (edt.), *Questions and politeness: strategies in social interactions*, Cambridge, 1978; P. Burke, «The art of insult in early modern Italy», in *Culture and History*, 2, 1987, pp. 95-109; T.V. Cohen, «The lay liturgy of affront in sixteenth-century Italy», in *Journal of Social History*, 25, 1992, pp. 857-877; D.L. Smail, «Factions and Vengeance in Renaissance Italy», in *Comparative studies in Society and History*, n. 38, 1996, pp. 781-789.

Honour gained in public through splendid objects has at least three layers: a person's own feeling of self-representation, this person's assessment of his or her worth in the eyes of others and the actual opinion of other about her or him.[399] In this sense honour was unambiguously connected with values and virtues connected with magnificence and splendour. It was, then, a question of judgments, which implied power and hierarchies in the highest degree. Exterior objects were considered to reflect inner qualities, so appearance was crucial for reputation and honour, which have to be controlled and negotiated by those who bestow them. In this sense honour and reputation elevated one to a position of privilege and power. Returning once more the example of Borso d'Este, Michele Savonarola reminded his readers that the Marquis of Ferrara, in commissioning objects for public displays, was inspired by the: "[…] desire to do things worthy of honour […]"[400] and, as I have already quoted in Chapter Five, the 1459-1460 Ferrarese receptions were described by Pius II as magnificent and worthy of the honour of a Pope.[401] Honour was a condition, involving high stakes, which could either be won or lost in public.[402] This was true not only for the mid-fifteenth century use of *bucintori*, but also for the entire sixteenth century. A clear example is given by the letter sent by the Venetian ambassador Hieronimo Lippomano, who wrote from Cracow to Doge Alvise I Mocenigo (April 15, 1574) perpetuating the requests of Louis Gonzaga, Duke of Nevers: "[…] He made me say, that when you want to receive him, as you arranged in the past for other dukes or princes,

[399] P. Bourdieu, *Language and symbolic power*, Cambridge, Harvard University Press, 1991.
[400] Michele Savonarola, M.A. Mastronardi (edt.), *Del felice progresso di Borso d'Este al marchionato, al Ducato di Modena e Reggio e alla Contea di Rovigo*, Bari, Palomar, 1996, p. 126.
[401] "Pius secundus pontefice maxime a Borsio Estensi Duci Mutine", 1463, fol. 38v, in BCAFe, Ms. Classe I, n. 451, *Miscellanea di cose politiche che riguardano nella massima parte la Casa d'Este*, letter n. 7.
[402] J.C. Brown, R.C. Davis (edts.), *Gender and Society in Renaissance Italy*, London and New York, Longman, 1988; T. Scott, «Honour in the Early Modern Eastern Mediterranean – an Introduction», in *Journal of Early Modern History*, vol. 15, no. 4, 2011, pp. 301-310.

with your *Bucintoro* and with other terms of honour, he would like to come to visit you […]".[403] Being admitted to the close circle of the guests of courtly *bucintori* was a clear manifestation of honour and social recognition; owning a *bucintoro* was pure power.

This particular nuance of the concept of honour is indissolubly connected with the concept of magnificence, so that in the many documents I analysed in reference to the *bucintori* of the House of Este, the two 'social virtues' of honour and magnificence were usually considered as pairs. The magnificence of owning *bucintori* concerned luxury, great expenditures, the grandeur of organizing glorious shows, the importance of getting the very best of naval engineering and, at the same time, of painting, embroideries and tapestries.[404] As Pontano wrote in his *De splendore*:

> "It is appropriate to join splendour to magnificence, because they both consist of great expense and have a common matter, that is money. But magnificence derives its name from the concept of grandeur and concerns buildings, spectacle and gift, […]. Furthermore, magnificence reveals itself more in public works and in those that are destined for a longer life, while splendour is more concerned with private matters and does not despise something for being of short duration or small".[405]

Magnificence and honour were also a matter of competition between rulers, identifiable both for men and for women and that included political and economic notions of status and power. For these reasons the job of maintaining personal honour was particularly onerous and required continuous improvements of the objects intended for public displays, in the

[403] E.H.V. Noailles, *Henri de Valois et la Pologne en 1572*, Michel Lévy frères, 1867, vol. 3, p. 577.
[404] R.G. Brown, *The politics of Magnificence in Ferrara 1450-1505: a study in the socio-political implications of Renaissance spectacle*, Ph.D. thesis, University of Edinburgh, 1982.
[405] E. Welch, «Public Magnificence and Private Display. Giovanni Pontano's *De splendore* (1498) and the Domestic Arts», in *Journal of Design History*, 2002 vol. 15, n. 4, p. 214.

choreographies set up for festivals and in the introduction of innovative techniques for the structures and decorations of ephemeral *apparati*.

The aim of the present research is to demonstrate that the habit of owning and displaying *bucintori* was clearly reinforced by their faculty of showing the inner qualities of the owner, assuming the role of indicator of social position, truly 'status symbols' of princely habits widespread in northern Italian courts. What distinguished fifteenth-century *bucintori* from sixteenth-century ones was probably the decoration used in their main rooms. In fact, during the fifteenth century, attention was paid to painted, embroidered or woven heraldic symbols and to their accurate placing into allegorical displays, as I have explained through Borso's example. In contrast, in the sixteenth-century *bucintori* the decoration *per se* became the most important element, so that it was quite common to see, on the panels, complex embroidered or painted patterns of flower, arabesques and curves. In such a way, the artists occupied in creating new designs for the barges opted for more ornate and asymmetrical patterns. Unlike the more symbolically focused fifteenth-century embroideries, the sixteenth-century ones have more bizarre themes. In contrast to the church *apparamenti*, in which embroideries represented scenes and human figures naturally rendered, I have never found the representation of scenes or stories in *bucintori*. This variance in the patterns also marked a decisive change in the documents describing them. Indeed, mid-fifteenth-century documents describe design and patterns of the panels, while in the following century they record more broadly 'embroidered panels', without listing any particular pattern. For these reasons, in the following sections, I can merely guess as to how these barges were decorated, but I can definitely affirm that rich and complex embroidered *bucintori* persisted until the eighteenth century.

The fame and honour of the ruler's glorious *bucintori* were undoubtedly helped by the descriptions written by courtiers, foreign authors and ambassadors. In fact, in their search for *captatio benevolentiae*, these authors

transformed luxurious *bucintori* into immortal objects. Meaningful is the example of Annibale Romei, courtier of Alfonso II d'Este who recorded sumptuously his trip on the *Bucintoro*:

> "[…] Awoke in time and attended the usual Mass, His Highness, embarked with the Most Serene Lady the Duchess, Lady Marfisa, and Lady Bradamante, and others Lady-in-waiting, in a sumptuous boat; and he took the *Bucintoro* for the Countess of Sala and the court entourage. This is a great boat, turned out with such great artifice that it is not possible to manufacture another one more beautiful or sumptuous than this one, which is furnished with a Hall, Rooms, Corridors, and balustrades, so that you may enjoy a marvellous view looking out these balustrades, and I am sure that if this boat had been built at the time in which Jason set out on the quest for the Golden Fleece, they would have used this boat and not that vessel to adorn the fleece […]".[406]

Isabella d'Este-Gonzaga competing for her honour

In the present section I would like to present the *Bucintoro* used by Isabella d'Este-Gonzaga for her entry into Milan in 1491, because this entry perfectly embodies the need of the Marchioness to show herself as powerful, magnificent and honourable. For years the Estense diplomacy had been trying to establish a relationship with the Signory of Milan, and, finally in 1491, all their efforts were achieved in a double Sforza-Estense marriage: the first between Anna Sforza and Alfonso I d'Este and the second between Beatrice d'Este and Ludovico Sforza. In Italian courts, all public events called for the exhibition of grandeur, wealth, and magnificence, but none as effectively as a wedding between two great families, each of a noble ancestry or pretensions to nobility. Élite wedding ceremonies became increasingly complex after 1450,

[406] Annibale Romei, *Discorsi del conte Annibale Romei gentil'huomo ferrarese, di nuovo ristampati, ampliati, e con diligenza corretti. Divisi in sette giornate […]*, In Ferrara, per Vittorio Baldini, 1586, p. 8. See here, Appendix B, n. 6.

appearing to be more chivalric and even regal in tone.[407] As rulers either consolidated or established their dynastic hold over Italian courts, they developed a taste for aristocratic display and sought to increase their influence through spectacles which were expected to be elaborate.[408] As noted by Rosenberg, in Ferrara, Ercole d'Este and then the other Estense dukes used feast days and carnival as vehicles for political propaganda.[409]

The celebrations of 1491, and, in particular, Beatrice's wedding cast light on four women, whose aim was to dominate each other in extravagance: Beatrice d'Este, the bride, Anna Maria Sforza, future Duchess of Ferrara, Isabella of Naples, wife of Gian Galeazzo Sforza and, finally, Isabella d'Este, Marquess of Mantua. The wedding obtained for Beatrice, second daughter of the Duke of Ferrara, was undoubtedly more important than Isabella's one, notwithstanding the fact that Isabella was the Duke's first daughter. To reach Milan, Isabella d'Este moved with her own *Bucintoro* because she needed all the expedients that her wealthy position of Marchioness could offer in order to underline her supremacy over the other princesses who were taking part in the feast. As I would like to show, her *Bucintoro* played a major role in this important entry and it was done up to appear as the visible manifestation of the wealthy condition of the Duchy of Mantua and, more broadly, of her personal honour.

The year 1491 was surely one of the most important years in the consolidation of ties of the House of Este's alliances. Duke Ercole I and his ambassadors had, in fact, reached the goal of tying the Estense family to the Sforza's by accomplishing a marriage bond between an Estense princess and the actual ruler of Milan, the powerful Ludovico Sforza, known as "il Moro".

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[407] A. D'Elia, «Marriage, Sexual Pleasure, and Learned Brides in the Wedding Orations of Fifteenth-Century Italy», in *Renaissance Quarterly*, Vol. 55, No. 2 (Summer 2002), pp. 379-433.
[408] Aurispa Giovanni, R. Sabbadini (edt.), *Carteggio*, Roma, 1931, p. 105.
[409] C. Rosenberg, «The Uses of Celebrations in Public and Semi-Public Affairs in Fifteenth-Century Ferrara», in *Il teatro italiano del Rinascimento*, M. De Panizza Lorch (edt.), Milano, 1980, pp. 521-535.

After the assassination in 1476 of Galeazzo Maria Sforza, Duke of Milan, whom I introduced in Chapter Five while he escorted Pope Pius II on his trip from Florence to Mantua, his apparent heir was the seven-year-old son Gian Galeazzo. The boy was too young to rule and in 1480 Ludovico, Gian Galeazzo's uncle, became his guardian.[410] In a year, Ludovico seized control of Milan becoming the regent for the following thirteen years and acquiring one by one the titles that had previously been enjoyed by his brother Galeazzo Maria. Ludovico organized for his nephew the wedding with Isabella of Naples, who arrived with six Aragonese *bucintori* to the dock of San Cristoforo sul Naviglio on February 1, 1489. From the very beginning this wedding appears to have been unsuccessful and the rumours about the fact that it was unconsummated only stopped in May 1490 when Isabella disclosed her pregnancy.[411]

Ludovico was in search of a wife with a noble family lineage and after his intervention for the peace between Ferrara and Venice in 1484, the Estensi promised him Beatrice d'Este, the second daughter of the Duke of Ferrara Ercole I d'Este and Eleanor of Naples. Isabella d'Este, their first daughter, was in fact already promised to the Gonzaga's heir. The wedding was accordingly arranged to take place after Beatrice's sixteenth birthday. As I have already mentioned in chapter 3, in 1490 the six-hundred Ferrarese companions departed from Ferrara on December 29, reaching Mantua on carriages where, together with the Gonzaga companions, they departed for Milan, arriving only on 16th January 1490. While Ludovico asked for an intimate wedding, Eleanor of Naples pushed not only for a sumptuous celebration for her daughter Beatrice, but also convinced also Ludovico to pay for Anna's wedding.

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[410] D.M. Bueno De Mesquita, «The "Deputati del denaro" in the government of Ludovico Sforza», in C.H. Clough (edt.), *Cultural aspects of the Italian Renaissance*, Manchester, Manchester University Press, 1976, pp. 276-298.
[411] P. Tinagli, *Women in Italian Renaissance art: gender, representation, identity*, Manchester, Manchester University Press, 1997, p. 62.

Anna Maria Sforza had been promised to Alfonso d'Este since 1481, when she was four.[412] In 1484 she received from Eleanor of Naples (her future mother-in-law) a doll with a rich miniature dowry and a bedroom richly decorated with the Estense-Sforza shield (fig. 128). The most important artists of the Estense court worked on this doll, decorating the room with paintings and stuccoes, precious textiles and gilded objects. The doll's bed was furnished with three mattresses covered with yellow taffeta, the canopy decorated with golden knobs and a small stoup fixed with a gold chain came down from the canopy.[413] Anna received several gifts to seal the promise, as, for example, the illuminated manuscript *De Sphaera* (fig. 129),[414] as may be seen in the document recording Anna Maria's wardrobe, of which I have already spoken in Chapter Three.[415]

To ratify the wedding the Estensi required Anna Maria to be accompanied by a dowry of 150,000 ducats, the same amount that Ludovico granted to Anna's sister, Bianca, betrothed to with John Corvinus, illegitimate son of the King of Hungary. This wedding was never celebrated: John Corvinus in fact married Beatrice de Frangepan in 1496, while Bianca Sforza married Maximilian I, Roman Holy Emperor in 1494.[416] Anna Maria participated in her uncle's wedding in Milan and immediately after the celebration she was ready to move to Ferrara for her own wedding with the future Duke Alfonso I d'Este.

Beatrice d'Este, Isabella of Naples and Anna Maria Sforza obviously shared the same desire to appear more important one than the another.

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[412] J. Cartwright, *Beatrice d'Este duchess of Milan, 1475-1497: a study of the Renaissance*, London, J. M. Dent & Co, 1899.
[413] A.R. Battaglioli, *Pupattole e abiti delle dame estensi: ricerche di Luigi Alberto Gandini*, Modena, Mucchi Editore, 2010.
[414] S. Samek Ludovici, *Il "De Sphaera" estense e l'iconografia astrologica*, Biblioteca Estense di Modena, A. Martello, 1958.
[415] ASMo, *Amm.P.*, "Libro de la salvaroba de la Ill.ma Maria Anna (1491-1497)", n. 589.
[416] G. Lubkin, *A Renaissance Court: Milan Under Galeazzo Maria Sforza*, Berkeley and Los Angeles, California University Press, 1994.

Beatrice, entering into the new court of Milan, wanted to show her prestige as wife of the ruler of the city. Isabella of Naples needed to reacquire the ruling position of Duchess of Milan, undermining Ludovico (and Beatrice)'s authority. Anna Maria Sforza desired to show herself as the perfect heir of Eleanor of Naples in the role of Duchess of Ferrara. It is important to remember that, apart from the aforementioned princesses, Cecilia Gallerani, who was with child to Ludovico Sforza, was also a participant in the wedding, as was Lucrezia Crivelli, who became Ludovico's mistress after Cecilia. Could Isabella d'Este possibly tolerate being overshadowed by all these other women? And in what way could she draw attention away from the others?

Isabella d'Este had been in search of the most sumptuous entry possible since the summer that preceded the wedding, so she wrote to her mother in Ferrara asking for advice on the possibility of reaching Milan with the *Bucintoro*. Eleanor of Aragon replied:

> "[…] because it will be more honourable and comfortable for all your companions, since it is better to have at your disposal as many warm places as possible, but the main reason that confirms you in your opinion of taking it *[the Bucintoro]* is for your greater honour",[417]

confirming the importance for Isabella to appear in splendour. Isabella had received her *Bucintoro* in 1490 as a gift from her father, Duke Ercole I, for her wedding with the Marquis of Mantua. This *Bucintoro* was built in Ferrara under Biagio Rossetti's supervision.[418] On her wedding day, Isabella reached Mantua in the *Bucintoro* while Francesco II Gonzaga was waiting for her in Revere with his family's *Bucintoro*, which had been commissioned by Ludovico III Gonzaga in 1475 under Ludovico Fancelli's supervision. It was not by chance that Ludovico III had ordered this new state barge at a time when the habit of owning luxurious state barges in the courts nearest to Mantua was reaching its apogee. Fancelli wrote to this regard: "[...] and we are still working around the *Bucintoro* and because this boat is bigger than the other one, as you may know, I

[417] ASMa, Archivio Gonzaga, vol. 1184, 12 June 1490.
[418] B. Zevi, *Biagio Rossetti, architetto Ferrarese*, Torino, 1960, p. 591.

think that it would be better to augment the size of the floor […]".[419] He also recorded that the main room of this new *Bucintoro* measured the equivalent of 6,24m long and 3,08m wide.

For six months Isabella prepared her wardrobe and the *Bucintoro* for her entry into Milan. Ludovico waited for his wife and Isabella d'Este in Pavia, but Isabella wrote that her expectation of a warm welcome had been thwarted by the Sforza, who simply waited for them without deigning to reach them in his *bucintori*. The Estense ambassador Trotti, instead, described this reception with enthusiasm, recording that Isabella had received attention from all the guests, so that she, and not Beatrice, seemed to be the protagonist in the entry. Ludovico Sforza presented both Beatrice and Isabella with a *camora* embroidered with the device of the '*fanale*', as may be seen in fig. 130 (the lighthouse at the entrance of the port of Genoa), described in the case of Beatrice as: "[…] *camora* of crimson silk embroidered with the [device of the] port of *Fanale*, and in the sleeves two towers in each sleeve and two more on the breast, and on the top of each tower there was a big balas[420] […]", and in that of Isabella d'Este as: "[…] a piece of brocade *soprarizo*[421] with some silver, embroidered with the device called *el fanale*, or the port of Genoa, composed of two towers with a motto that said: *tal trabalio mes plaser por tal thesauro no perder*

[419] C.M. Brown, «Luca Fancelli in Mantua, A Checklist of His 185 Letters to the Gonzaga. With an Appendix on the Dating of Letters Regarding Luca Fancelli and Giovanni Bellini», in *Mitteilungen des Kunsthistorischen Institutes in Florenz*, 16. Bd., H. 2 (1972), pp. 153-166, quotation on p. 157.
[420] A red gem similar to a ruby, in C. Collier Frick, *Dressing Renaissance Florence: Families, Fortunes, and Fine Clothing*, Baltimore, Johns Hopkins University Press, 2002.
[421] A typical Venetian fabric, in I. Campagnol, «Venice 1870-1930: The Rediscovery of Textile Arts», in *Dress*, Costume Society of America, 2007, Vol. 34, p. 33.

[…]",[422] the latter being very similar to another one given to Cecilia Gallerani.[423]

Another competitive moment occurred during the wedding celebration, for which Beatrice had prepared a dance to be performed alone in honour of her husband, but Isabella of Naples, six-months pregnant, decided to take part in the dance with the aim of honouring Ludovico with Beatrice. Anna and Isabella d'Este joined the others and Ludovico praised all of them for their beauty and grace. In a few days all the guests returned to their homeland, each of them remembering the sumptuous feast organized by Ludovico Sforza. In the meantime, in Ferrara, a group of painters was at work to finish the *Bucintoro Grande* on time for Alfonso and Anna's wedding celebrations.[424]

Duke Alfonso II d'Este's theatrical entry into Venice

In the present section I would like to analyse a further important example concerning the use of *bucintori* by members of the House of Este. In particular, I would like to explain why in 1562 the fifth Duke of Ferrara, Alfonso II d'Este, commissioned a completely renovated superstructure for his *Bucintoro Grande*, specially remade for a trip to Venice. Alfonso II undertook the trip for his personal 'pleasure', officially without any particular political reasons. So far I have considered those *bucintori* which were used for important political events in Ferrara (in particular the case of Borso d'Este) or in foreign cities (embodied by the exemplary case of Isabella d'Este's *Bucintoro*), all of them conceived to impress visitors and guests on particular occasions. This third

[422] C. Zaffanella, «Isabella d'Este e la moda del suo tempo», in D. Bini (edt.), *Isabella d'Este. La primadonna del Rinascimento. Quaderno di civiltà mantovana*, Modena, Il Bulino, 2006.
[423] C. Pedretti, «La dama con l'ermellino come allegoria politica», in S. Rota Ghibaudi, F. Barcia (edts.), *Studi politici in onore di Luigi Firpo*, Milano, 1990; G. Uzielli, *Leonardo da Vinci e tre gentildonne milanesi del XV secolo*, Pinerolo, 1890.
[424] See here, Appendix A, doc. 8.

case, instead, shows the importance of obtaining recognition from other rulers in order to maintain ducal honour and status, not only for the general maintenance of order, as Robert Ashley in his very influential work *Of Honour* (1600) explained: "[…] by honour are cities kept, famelies preserved, the societie of men quietly and peaceably continued, the common wealth defended […]",[425] but also to maintain a sumptuous status for the preservation of alliances and territories. Alfonso, in particular, was mainly concerned about his personal campaign for the maintenance of Ferrara as the capital of his Duchy, notwithstanding the continuous pressures from the Papal State.

Since the mid-sixteenth century Pope Pius IV (and later his successors) had been claiming his rights upon the city of Ferrara and the salt mines of Comacchio and Longastrino, with the aim of reclaiming Ferrara back from the Estensi. Moreover, the Pope was not pleased that Duke Ercole II d'Este, the Pope's Vicar in Ferrara, had married the Calvinist Renée of France. Alfonso II was their first male child and the pressure from the Pope was so powerful that Alfonso II, after his succession to the position of Duke of Ferrara, had sent his mother to France.[426] Other problems came from Venice, which pushed the Estensi into a continuous war to obtain the territories of the Polesine. The Republic of Venice had in fact intended to divert the River Po towards Rovigo, in order to avoid the risk of the river silting into the lagoon. At the same time Alfonso was dealing with the thorny question of the precedence with the Medici[427] and diplomatic problems with the Marquis of Mantua.[428] As a result of all these diplomatic situations the finances of the House of Este entered in a

[425] Robert Ashley, V.B. Heltzel (edt.), *Of Honour,* San Marino, California, Huntington Library, 1947, p. 30.
[426] E. Belligni, *Renata di Francia (1510 – 1575). Un'eresia di corte*, Milano, UTET, 2011.
[427] V. Santi, «La precedenza tra gli Estensi e i Medici», in *Atti e mem. della Deput. ferrarese di storia patria*, IX (1897), pp. 72-82.
[428] ASMa, busta 388, *Affari di Famiglia*, X, "Viaggi dei principi (1564-1704)", 1588.

long period of crisis.[429] The fact that Alfonso II was still childless, after two marriages, the first to Lucrezia de' Medici and the second to Barbara of Austria, did nothing to help the future of the House of Este. For these reasons Alfonso II undertook the trip to Venice to obtain recognition and to show himself as the most honourable ruler for Ferrara.

Duke Alfonso II ordered the restoration of the superstructure of the *Bucintoro* in the six months that preceded the trip and commissioned an embroidered decoration in gold for the panels and curtains of its main room.[430] The size of the *Bucintoro* was so great that the Duke and his cortege decided to move by sea rather than to travel by inland waters, in order to avoid the risk of running the *Bucintoro* aground in the marshes of the Po. Minor tow boats were, therefore, equipped to escort the *Bucintoro Grande* from Papozze to Venice (fig. 131). Sixty members of the court escorted Duke Alfonso II from Ferrara to his Venetian House on the Canal Grande, as may be seen in Appendix B, doc. 4. This palace had been built by the House of Palmieri from Pesaro in 1250 circa and was subsequently presented by the Republic of Venice to the Marquis Niccolò II d'Este in 1364. It belonged to the Estensi until 1621 when the Republic of Venice reclaimed the palace, nowadays also known as 'Fondaco dei Turchi' (fig. 132).[431] As described in *La entrata che fece in Vinegia, l'illustrissimo et eccellentissimo S. Duca Alfonso II. Estense, Duca di Ferrara*, the Estense palace was furnished with dozens of tapestries adorned with the historical blazons of the House of Este; some of these represented the cities that formed the Estense duchy (Ferrara, Modena, Reggio Emilia, Rovigo, Carpi and Brescello), while others were enriched with courtly scenes, for which: "it took fifty years to realise them with greatest and excessive expenditures. And this is not

[429] G. Guerzoni, *Le corti Estensi e la devoluzione di Ferrara nel 1598*, Modena, Archivio di Stato, 1999.
[430] Fragmented information in: ASMo, Amm. C., *Navi*, n. 5, "Bucintori, Bergantini, Burchieli, Feluche, Battelli, Barche", and ASMo, Amm. P., n. 141, "Carte sciolte (libro delle navi 1565-1581)".
[431] A. Sagredo, F. Berchet, *Il Fondaco dei Turchi in Venezia*, Milano, Civelli, 1860.

surprising, because they are all done with a needle by professional hands, in a very excellent manner".[432]

Even though the Ducal Treasury was greatly reduced, Duke Alfonso II always maintained a sumptuous court and a magnificent display of powerful objects and garments. Orazio Dalla Rena, in fact, noted in 1589:

> "considering the Duke of Ferrara from the point of view of his power and the size of his State, he is surely a mediocre Prince, however he is always listed among the greatest princes because he uses all the artifices of courts so well that he seems so great, so illustrious, and so highly considered […] his court seems full of courtiers, and gentlemen, so much that he asks men without obligation to serve him to participate in his courtly processions".[433]

This trip to Venice perfectly embodied his desire to appear magnificent and powerful, in order to justify his position as a ruler of the city of Ferrara. All the elements of this voyage were designed to show the grandeur of the Duke, with no detail left to chance. The triumphal arches that preceded the entry into Venice, the Duke's garments and those of his courtiers, the sumptuous reception, and, last but not least, the wonderful *Bucintoro* played an important part in this voyage, which assumed seemingly theatrical connotations. In 1581, in fact, Duke Alfonso II set up another trip to Venice to escort there Maximilian of Austria, a trip that followed the same pattern as the one I am presenting in this section.[434] Trips to foreign cities with the *Bucintoro* became an honourable routine for princes, so that all the princes of northern Italian courts furnished their fleet with one or two *bucintori* in order to maintain their status as powerful rulers.

Duke Alfonso II died in 1597 without heirs, so that in his will he appointed his cousin Cesare d'Este as ruler of the Estense Duchy. The

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[432] *La entrata che fece in Vinegia, l'illustrissimo et eccellentissimo S. Duca Alfonso II. Estense, Duca di Ferrara*, In Venetia, Appresso Francesco Rampazetto, MDLXII. See here Appendix B, document 4.

[433] G. Agnelli, «Relazione dello stato di Ferrara di Orazio della Rena 1589», in *Atti e Memorie della Deputazione Ferrarese di Storia Patria*, vol.VIII, 1896, p. 305.

[434] ASMo, Amm. P., n. 123, "Spese per il viaggio di S.A. a Venezia con l'arciduca Massimiliano d'Austria", 1581.

Emperor Rudolf II recognised Cesare as Alfonso's successor, but Pope Clement VIII declared the line of the Estensi extinct and reclaimed Ferrara as a fief of the Church. In 1598 Cesare was compelled to leave Ferrara and he installed his court in Modena, which he designated as the new capital of the Estense Duchy. Alfonso's third wife, Margherita Gonzaga, who survived her husband, left Ferrara in 1601 taking possession of Casale (near Mantua).[435] Cesare granted her an annuity of 4,000 *scudi* and gave her as a gift *la Diamantina*, a farm in Vaccolino (near Comacchio).[436] The entry into Ferrara of Pope Clement VIII in 1598 marked the definitive change of politics in Ferrara and, probably, its economic decline, as I will present in the next Chapter.

An honorable routine for princes: luxurious trips on the Bucintoro

Until now I have mainly focused my attention on *bucintori* used on particular occasions by different Estense courts. Indeed, Borso's attempt to become the first Duke of Ferrara, Isabella's desire for affirmation and Duke Alfonso II's need to empower his position, are surely to be considered as pivotal moments in the history of the House of Este. However, I do not want to affirm that *bucintori* were used uniquely on these sumptuous occasions, which, instead, were commonly set up within the ambitious scope to please the multifarious needs of princes. In fact, *bucintori* were used also for short excursion, hunting trips, concerts, visits to foreign rulers and, surprisingly, for the transport of raw materials on inland waters. What distinguishes the magnificent examples I have described in the previous chapters from these 'everyday' occasions were in particular the choreographies specially set up to impress the observers. Processions of boats, multi-coloured vessels, the crew's costumes and ephemeral decorations marked the line between daily

[435] ASMa, Archivio Gonzaga, *Corrispondenza*, b. 1970, July 1601, c. 114.
[436] *Ibidem,* 19 September 1598.

experiences and superb entries. In the present and the following sections I would like to give an account of the use of *bucintori* in less emblematic moments than the examples I have so far described. In particular I would like to explain how *bucintori* were used and the kind of strategies which were developed to maximize the relation between the massive costs of production and preservation and their actual use by the courts. I will consider firstly the short trips made by the members of the Estense courts and in this section I will explain how *bucintori* were prepared to perform other tasks such as transporting bricks or sacks of salt.

Since the mid-fifteenth century three *bucintori* were listed in the Estense fleet: the *Bucintoro Grande* (Great *Bucintoro*), *Mediano* (medium), and *Piccolo* (small). The biggest of them is the barge I have been describing throughout the present work. It was mainly used for the dukes's political needs with the function of Apartment of State and for long and short trips in inland waters. It was kept in the arsenal *di là da Po* ('beyond the Po'), near Francolino, where its decorated superstructure was preserved and stored in the naval warehouses.[437] Commonly the *Bucintoro* was taken by the dukes to go fishing and hunting in the Estense reserves. For this reason every *delizia* (the monumental residences built by the Este in the countryside) was furnished with a dockyard to moor the *Bucintoro* and with a *Barco* (the game preserve of dukes). In the first half of the fifteenth century, a hunting scene with the *Bucintoro* was depicted in Belriguardo villa, which Sabadino degli Arienti described as follow:

> "[…] I entered in a room in which there were depicted courtiers on the *bucintoro*, some of them disembarking towards a thick wood for boar-hunting (*a cacciare li sylvestri porci*) with hounds, and the charm of this *fresco* was so vivid that I felt I could hear the hounds' barks and the hunters' voices, who were saying to each other "On guard! Look if it is coming" […]".[438]

[437] ASMo, Camera Ducale, Amm.C., *Navi*, "Arsenale di là da Po", 1599. See here, Appendix A, document n. 13.
[438] W.L. Gundersheimer, *Art and Life at the Court of Ercole I d'Este: The «De triumphis religionis» of Giovanni Sabadino degli Arienti*, Ginevra, 1972, pp. 67-72; A.

Notwithstanding the fact that Belriguardo is one of the best preserved Estense villas, no traces of this fresco are visible, but it is still possible to recognise where the dockyard and the Barco were built.[439] Moreover, there are several documents which recorded the requests made by Don Alfonso, Marquis of Montecchio and brother of Duke Ercole II d'Este, to obtain the right to go hunting in Belriguardo with the Marquis of Mantua using the ducal *Bucintoro Grande*.[440] Their trips were so famous among the Estense and Gonzaga courts that an ambassador wrote: "[…] they disembark everyday on late afternoon to go hunting for birds and after the hunt they return to the *Buzintoro* to sleep […]".[441]

Entertainment with music, dances and court jesters was organised in the course of hunting and fishing trips. For example, in 1465 the fool Scroccola was paid two gold ducats: "[…] for playing with His Highness in the *Bucintoro* […]"[442] and in 1493 Ercole d'Este wrote to Francesco Gonzaga that, for the trip to Pavia, Duke Ercole's wife, the Duchess of Ferrara Eleanor of Naples was accompanied by: "[…] twenty young actors, who came with us to play Comedies during the trip […]".[443] Unfortunately, the sudden death of Eleanor's favourite dwarf, *Nanino Domenico*, who fell off from the *Bucintoro*, diminished the pleasure of the Comedies.[444] These trips were so common that in 1492 Eleanor of Naples reproached her consort because he spent most of

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Cavicchi, «Sacro e profano. Documenti e note su Bartolomeo da Bologna e gli organisti della cattedrale di Ferrara nel primo Quattrocento», *Rivista Italiana di Musicologia*, L. Olschki Editore, 10 (1975), pp. 66-69.

[439] P. Humfrey, M. Lucco, A. Bayer, (edt.), *Dosso Dossi: Court Painter in Renaissance Ferrara*, Ferrara – Los Angeles, Palazzo dei Diamanti and J. Paul Getty Museum, 1998, p. 50; F. Ceccarelli, M. Folin, *Delizie estensi: architetture di villa nel Rinascimento italiano ed europeo*, L. S. Olschki, 2009, p. 365-423.

[440] ASMo, CDE, Archivio per Materie, n. 4, *Storia Naturale*, "Pernici" and "Uccelli".

[441] G. Müller, *Raccolta di cronisti e documenti storici lombardi inediti*, Milano, Francesco Colombo, 1857.

[442] ASMo, *Libro de entrada e usita*, 1465, c. 29.

[443] ASMa, *AG*, "Lettere dei Signori di Ferrara", b. 1185, 14 August 1493.

[444] *Cronaca Ferrarini*, BEM, F.5.18, c. 91v.

his time on games, feasts, music on the *Bucintoro* while "the citizens of Ferrara were crying" as a result of famine.[445] Ercole I's son, Alfonso I d'Este, was as passionate as his father for *bucintori* and ducal entertainments onboard. Documents inform us that Titian and Ludovico Ariosto were usually among the guests on his trips.[446] The former accompanied the Duke on the trips from Venice to Ferrara, painting and discussing matters of art with other courtiers, while the latter presented part of his most famous work *Orlando Furioso* (1516) during the summer trips. On the one hand this indicates the prestigious position famous artists enjoyed at court because, as I have repeatedly said, few guests were granted the right to participate in these courtly entertainments, but, on the other, it is important not to forget that the descriptions of these performances were usually driven by a need to obtain Duke's attention.[447] Just to quote an example, in the year 1515, Ludovico Ariosto was a 'special guest star' on the summer trips, but in the registers of the Ducal Wardrobe of the same year he is recorded as 'insolvent' because he never gave back an 'old mattress' and a turquoise blanket 'with few holes' which the Duke had generously lent him.[448]

Duke Alfonso II d'Este, passionate music-lover, formed an ensemble of three female singers, who performed music that was prohibited to publish for the unique pleasure of the Duke, sometimes during the trips with the

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[445] Biblioteca Vaticana, I.1.4, c. 227, 250, 293, in M. Catalano, «Messer Moschino (Beoni e buffoni ai tempi di Ludovico Ariosto)», *Giornale Storico della letteratura italiana*, 88:262/263 (1926), p. 18.

[446] "Titiano era divenuto così caro al Duca, che di quando in quando, partendo quegli da Venetia (ove spesso trattener solevasi) il riceveva nel suo Bucintoro, e conducevalo a Ferrara, e mentre ei dipingeva, era visitato da Messer Lodovico Ariosto, il quale conferiva con esso lui le compositioni che andava tessendo del divino suo poema", in C. Ridolfi, *Le Meraviglie dell'arte: overo le vite de gl'illustri pittori,* 1648, vol. 1, p. 145.

[447] G. Guerzoni, *Administrative knowledge and Renaissance courts. The Este case in XVIth century*, EBHA Conference, 2001.

[448] ASMo, Amm. C., *Guardaroba*, b. 12, "Inventari Parziali (1485-1599)".

Bucintoro.[449] From 1580 to 1597 the *Concerto delle donne di Ferrara* enjoyed fame throughout Europe, adroitly maintained by the mystery shrouding its music and performances.[450] This secret ensemble performed music declared forbidden to the outside world, and its mysterious concerts, composed by theatrical representations, dances and music were reserved for a hand-picked audience, sometimes on board of the *Bucintoro.* Anna Guarina, Livia d'Arco and Laura Peperara, who formed the ensemble, sang only unpublished music composed specially for them by Luzzasco Luzzaschi, Ludovico Agostini and Carlo Gesualdo. Among the happy few who were invited to hear them were the composers Giulio Caccini, Striggio, Strozzi, Orlande de Lassus, the Duc of Joyeuse and one of the favourites of Elisabeth I of England, Thomas Arundel. It is easy to imagine, during a trip with the *Bucintoro*, Anna, Laura and Livia singing like "truly angelic spirits" (as affirmed by Bottrigaro in his treatise *Il Desiderio*)[451] the madrigal composed by Ludovico Agostini:

> "Behold, with our Duke, ye happy souls,
> Flourish anew the virtues and the fine customs
> And the noble courtesy that recently were neglected".
> Thus proudly spoke the King of Rivers,
> While all around his prosperous banks
> The shores and the waters resounded "Alfonso".
>
> *Ecco col nostro Duca, alme gioconde,*
> *Fioriscon le virtuti e i bei costumi,*
> *E l'alta cortesia ch'un tempo giacque.*
> *Così disse superbo il Re dei Fiumi,*
> *Quando d'intorno a le sue ricche sponde,*
> *Risonarono Alfonso i rivi e l'aque.*[452]

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[449] L. Lockwood, *Music in Renaissance Ferrara (1400-1505): The Creation of a Musical Center in the Fifteenth Century*, Oxford, Oxford University Press, 2009.
[450] E. Durante, A. Martellotti, *Cronistoria del Concerto delle dame*, Firenze, SPES, 1989.
[451] Hercule Bottrigaro, *Il Desiderio overo De' Concerti di varij strumenti musicali. Nel quale ancho si ragiona della Participazione di essi strumenti, & di molte altre cose pertinenti alla Musica,* in Bologna, Appresso Gioambattista Bellagamba, 1599.
[452] I strongly recommend the musical version directed by Denis Raisin Dadre, recorded in 2008 by Zig Zag Territories and distributed by Harmonia Mundi.

All the events I have described exemplify the habit, widespread among all the Estense courts, of using *bucintori* to create spring and summer events for the intimate pleasure of the courts. The *Bucintoro Grande* was mainly used by the duke and his closer courtiers and relatives, while the *Bucintoro Mediano* and *Piccoli* served the other members of the court, to replicate, in a smaller version, the habits of the ruler of Ferrara. In the next section I will introduce the habit of using *bucintori* for the surprising activity of transporting raw materials on the inland waters.

Commercial trade on inland waters: contraband and the war for salt

One of the most unexpected information documents record is how *bucintori* were used to perform menial tasks, such as the transport of bricks, tiles and salt on the inland waters. In particular and brief periods in the history of the House of Este, in fact, the three *bucintori* were use as any other boat in pertained to the Estense fleet. On these occasions the more elaborate and costly parts of the *bucintori* were removed in order not to compromise their decoration. I imagine that this particular use of *bucintori* found its origins principally as a result of their dimensions (they were the biggest among the boats of the Estense fleet) and with their flat hull modelled for inland navigation. From the year 1514 the Estensi were prohibited by the Pope from producing salt within the borders of the Estense Duchy without specific permission. In exchange the Pope granted the Estensi a certain quantity of salt produced in Cervia at a lower price than the market price. Notwithstanding the agreement, dozens of trips were recorded in the registers of the *Bucintoro Grande* to the salt mines of Comacchio to collect sacks of salt. In the present section I would like to give an account of the trips performed by the *Bucintoro* to collect raw materials and explain what kind of agreements existed between the Estensi and the captains of the boat. After this I would like to present the agreement

between the Pope and the Estensi concerning the salt mines of Comacchio and how the Estensi broke the undersigned agreements.

The first document which recorded trips with the *Bucintoro* to collect materials within the borders of the Estense Duchy dates back to 1468, enlisting several voyages for the collection of bricks for the office in charge of "Munition and Buildings", after which several similar documents follow. These documents did not cover all the life-cycle of *bucintori*, covering a total of fifty years, and for this reason I am induced to consider these transporting activities as peculiar tasks performed only when the *Bucintoro* was not in use for ceremonies or for the necessities of courts[453] From these documents it is clear that each of the three *bucintori*, when used to collect goods an materials, performed at least two trips per month. The Estensi appointed a captain for each boat who recorded the monthly expenses of the boat and the quantity of materials collected. In particular it is clear that, apart from the captain's salary, the expenses mainly referred to sailors (two or four depending on the dimension of the boat), the carters and their horses and the boat's pantry (black and white salt, oil, candles, bread, tobacco and wine). For more than eighty years (from 1468 to 1550) the captains and the sailors of the *Bucintoro Grande* came from a single family from Comacchio, the Finotti, as I have explained in Chapter Two.[454]

With the *Bucintoro* they transported wheat, rice, broad beans, barley, wood, barrels, tiles and tools between Ferrara, the *delizie*, Porto Mantovano, Mesola and Consandolo. Another important document reveals that the *Bucintoro Grande* was also used to transport salt throughout the Duchy (App. A,

[453] ASMo, Amm.C., *Navi*, n. 1, "Conto del Capitanio della nave Andrea Finoto per le spese de nave e buzintoro", 1468; ASMo, Amm. C., *Munizioni e Fabbriche*, n. 7, B.B. Debitori e Creditori, 1471; ASMo, Amm.C., *Munizioni e Fabbriche*, r. 20bis, "Spexa de mandare bucintori da luogo a luogo", 1487; ASMo, Amm.P., n. 40, "Conto per le navi e pel buzintoro", 1515-1530; ASMo, Amm.P., n. 43, "Navi", 1519.

[454] ASMo, Amm. P., n. 60, "Libro del bucintoro inzignera et finotta principiando l'anno 1550-1553" and *Ibidem*, n. 65, "Libro del bucintoro inzignera et finotta principiando l'anno 1554".

doc. 12). But this seems very strange because on June 15th 1514 cardinal Ippolito I d'Este, representing his brother the Duke Alfonso I, and Cardinal Giulio de' Medici, representing Pope Leone X, undersigned an agreement to solve the long-standing dispute over the salt mines of Comacchio.[455] They ratified the passage of the salt mines to the Papal orbit, providing that the Duke of Ferrara was prohibited from:

> "producing salt in Comacchio and in the Duchy of Ferrara […] without permission from the Pope or his successors, who have the right to produce or grant the right to produce salt in the aforementioned territories in the quantity they wanted and preferred"[456]

and to accept the passage of foreign salt through the Estense Duchy. The passage of the Pope's salt was instead «free and exempt from any excise and duty». In exchange, the Pope acknowledged that Alfonso I had the right to a supply of 18,000 sacks of salt from the salt mines of Cervia at the price of 5 and ¼ ducats *al moggio* (1 *moggio* correspond to 6 sacks of salt) and an annual indemnity for the losses on transit duties of about 2,683 ducats (to be converted into salt).[457] In 1514, the Estense officials estimated the actual requirement for salt as 6,400 sacks, so the Papal supply offered at least 12,000 sacks of salt ready to be sold to other courts. The agreement provided Leone X with the right to activate the salt mines of Comacchio in exchange for 18,000 sacks of salt at the cost price.[458] The 1514 agreement marked the end of a long

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[455] I am very grateful to Guido Guerzoni for his suggestions about how to find these documents. Guido knows that I will be forever in his debt for all the help he gave me in the last ten years!

[456] ASMo., *Computisteria*, n. 10, "Capitoli stabiliti fra il Pontefice Leone X ed Alfonso I Duca di Ferrara intorno ai sali di Comacchio", 15 June 1514.

[457] ASMo, *LCD*, n. 217, "Libro Secreto Segondo de la Camera ducale", cc. 71 e 76.

[458] J.C. Hocquet, «Modernità del mercato del sale in Adriatico nel XVI secolo», in Di Vittorio A. (edt.), *Sale e Saline nell'Adriatico (sec. XV-XX)*, Giannini, Napoli, pp. 3-19, quotation on p. 11; *Idem,* «Monopole et concurrence: Venise et le sel de Cervia du XIIe au XVI siécle», *Studi veneziani*, XV (1973) 1975, pp. 21-133.

period of commercial anarchy and the epilogue of the Venetian protectorate.[459] In fact, since 1405, the Serenissima obliged the Estensi to stock up exclusively on Venetian salt, forbidding the exploitation of deposits in Comacchio. The Estensi supported the underground production of salt and aided the contraband: in a document compiled in 1508 by the *capitano della Signoria di Venetia sopra il sale* all the contrabandists listed were *paroni delle Valli* employed by the Ducal Chamber.[460]

Notwithstanding the signed agreement, the Estensi did not abandon the salt mines of Comacchio so that in 1522 Pope Adrian VI exhorted the Estensi to destroy their deposits of salt because: "his Excellence permits that they work in the salt mines of Comacchio so that there are two hundred or more deposits of salt yet, and He knows that this is to the detriment of this Holy See".[461] Similarly the documents of the Ducal Chamber reveal that in 1522 the salt mines of Comacchio produced "moggia 14379 et stara 15 de sale",[462] approximately 6,823 tons.[463] Between 1527 and 1539 Duke Alfonso I used the resources of Comacchio at the peak of their productivity, as may be seen in Table 18.[464] Disregarding the undersigned agreements, the Estensi

[459] ASMo, *Sali*, n. 7, "Salle Dispensato 1514-15".
[460] ASMo, *Sali*, n. 35, "Carteggio dei Rettori, Ferrara e Ferrarese, Comacchio", letter from the podestà Gian Galeazzo Bosio, 22 July 1508. In G. Guerzoni, La colonia sotto casa. Lo sfruttamento Estense delle risorse di Comacchio, XV-XVI secolo, Torino, Allemandi, 2008.
[461] ASMo, *Computisteria*, n. 10, letter May 26th, 1522.
[462] ASMo, CD, *Memoriali*, n. 58, "Memoriale della Camera ducale 1522-1535", c. 117-CXVIII.
[463] J.C. Hocquet, «Métrologie du sel et histoire comparée en Méditerranée», *Annales*, 29 anneé, n. 2, mars-avril 1974, pp. 393-424 and *ibidem,* «La divisione delle entrate e i profitti della gabella del sale a Venezia nel XVI secolo»*,* in A. Di Vittorio, (edt.), *Sale e Saline nell'Adriatico (sec. XV-XX)*, Giannini, Napoli, pp. 97-143, in particular p. 118.
[464] Salt was produced in: "Locus Agnoli ubi dicitur il Lago Santo; locus Paiverii et locus dictus la Sicha, qui tamen locus dictus la Sicha est de pertinentiis dicti loci Paduerii; locus dictus Longastrino; locus Vallis Augustae ubi dicitur etiam Longastrini; locus Hostellati ubi dicitur atiam il Mezan in valle dicta Paviero; locus dictus alli due arzoni aliter della Ca' de' Bardi; in loco praedicto de Paivero locus dictus la Sicha ubi etiam dicitur Quinta; et de pertinentiis dicti

continued unperturbed to exploit the valleys of Comacchio for twelve years, relying on the military weakness of a Pope who was not able to destroy the salt mine, as the Venetian had done before in the years 1482 and 1509. To clear the stock of salt produced in Comacchio and the 12,000 annual sacks of salt from Cervia, the Estensi started to sell the salt over the boundaries of the Duchy to Galeotto Lord of Concordia, Francesco and Giovanna Pico of Mirandola, the Marquis and Marquise of Mantua, Giberto Pio Lord of Sassuolo, Giulio Cesare Gonzaga Count of Novellara and Giovanni Carafa of Mirandola. These transactions are clearly recorded in the Ducal Treasury accounts and the fact that this salt was illegally produced was never mentioned.

The Estensi, who were so concerned about their reputation, performed actions that had the potential to jeopardise the honour of the whole House of Este. They were obviously driven by the confidence deriving from their reputation, so much so that they did not acknowledge a potential violation of the laws. The rulers of northern Italian courts probably did not consider these commercial transactions as 'illegal' but there is no doubt that Estense politics did nothing to help the cause with the Papal State and Venice. Without expressing any judgement, it is at least worth remembering the words of Thomas Hobbes, who said that men too confident of their personal honour do not break the laws, but rather refuse to recognize them, since these men:

> "have a great and false opinion of their own Wisdome, take upon them to reprehend the actions, and call in question the Authority of them that govern, and so to unsettle the laws with their publique discourse, as that nothing shall be a Crime, but what their own designes require should be so".[465]

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loci Paduerii locus appellatus Comachio ubi etiam dicitur de drie della Chiesa de pertinentiis Vallis Isole; locus appellatus li Punti in Valle de Lagnolo ubi dicitur etiam a Lago; locus appellatus la Mena confinans cum Valle Paverii" ASMo, *Computisteria*, n. 10, Longastrino 1530, *Loca ubi consuevit fieri sal in Vallibus Comacli*.

[465] Thomas Hobbes, *Leviathan*, 341.

7. Epilogue. The last flowering of Estense *bucintori*

Introduction

In the previous two chapters I tried to cast light on the uses of *bucintori* considering two different and important periods in the history of the House of Este. Indeed, in Chapter Five, I analysed the great *Bucintoro* of the mid-fifteenth century and the ambitions of the marquises Niccolò, Leonello and Borso (above all of the latter) who were eager to transform Ferrara into one of the most important courts in northern Italy, in order to boost their reputation and elevate their noble titles from marquises to dukes of the city of Ferrara and its territories. The *Bucintoro* conceived in precisely that period, was used almost exclusively for important celebrations or to delight the marquises with leisure amusements, over thirty years of intense political changes. In fact, it served them during the pivotal moments determined by their political and diplomatic interests, from the Council of Ferrara in 1438 to the 1459 entry of Pope Pius II into Ferrara, and from the marriage ceremony of Leonello to Mary of Aragon in 1444 to the celebrations that accompanied Borso in his elevation to Duke of Ferrara in 1471. By contrast, looking at the Estense courts of the sixteenth century, the theme of *bucintori* gave me a better understanding of the evolution of the courts themselves, as I revealed in Chapter Six. With the creation of the so-called '*particolari*' courts in the 1480s, the *bucintori* were used not only by dukes and duchesses, but also by princes and princesses, serving as honourable and sumptuous objects of personal achievement. To this end, these smaller courts had at their disposal small or medium-sized *bucintori*, to be used on either formal or informal occasions, while the Great *Bucintoro* was used by the ducal court principally for important receptions, but also for transporting goods along the river Po in moments of particular crisis for the finances of the ducal treasury. In the present chapter I would like to present another pivotal

moment of the House of Este: the devolution of Ferrara to the Church. Significantly, *bucintori* also played a key role on this occasion. As I will show in the present chapter Pope Clement VIII ordered a new *Bucintoro*, embroidered with the coat of arms of his family, the Aldobrandini,[466] for his glorious entry into Ferrara. In this way, this princely ruler of a territorial state as well as head of the Catholic church personally competed in luxury and magnificence with other secular Italian princes.

The pageantries of 1598 marked the end of the Estense government and for this reason the entry was arranged to offer the idea of a new foundation of the city under the government of the Church. In the naval procession that preceded the entry into the city the papal *Bucintoro* was accompanied by three *bucintori*, especially built or renovated for this celebration: those of Francesco Gonzaga, Ranuccio Farnese and Marguerite of Austria. The richness of this naval procession was the visible manifestation of political intents: the rulers who attended the parade with their own barges were in search of political privileges and diplomatic favours, so that their show of supporting and glorifying the Pope was enhanced by the richness of their possessions and their personal honour. It is very interesting that the period in which Ferrara was at the apogee of its wealth is circumscribed by two papal entries with the *Bucintoro*: those of Pope Eugene IV in 1438 and Pope Clement VIII in 1598.

When the Estensi moved out of Ferrara they maintained the ownership of their *bucintori*, so that the *Bucintoro Grande* built in 1579 would be moved outside Ferrara. This *Bucintoro* had replaced the one built in 1462 for Duke Alfonso II d'Este's journey to Venice, which I have presented in the previous chapter. Michael de Montaigne, who saw this *Bucintoro* during his 1581 trip to Italy, recorded that this sumptuous barge had been made for the Alfonso's wedding with Margherita Gonzaga (the third marriage), a woman he described,

[466] Born Ippolito Aldobrandini (1536-1622), he was elected Pope in January 1592.

however, as "too nice and too young for him".[467] In fact, on the day of their wedding Alfonso was forty-six while Margherita was only fifteen years old. This *Bucintoro* was used later by the Estense dukes of Modena and Reggio Emilia until the mid-seventeenth century, when Francesco IV d'Este commissioned a completely renovated state barge for his marriage to Laura Martinozzi, celebrated in Modena in 1655. As we shall see, the last Estense *Bucintoro* was commissioned by Francesco III d'Este sometime during the 1720s and a contemporary watercolour representing this sumptuous barge is now preserved in Modena. At the end of the eighteenth century, the Duke ordered the barge to be put up for sale, but a purchaser was never found. The barge was therefore abandoned or, as some chronicles report, it was intentionally sunk in the river Po.

The entry of Pope Clement VIII and the inspection of the Po Delta

I have previously shown that Alfonso II, the fifth Duke of Ferrara and Modena from 1559, used every possible stratagem to appear magnificent and powerful. He achieved his aims by building up the perception of his court's power and prestige through the size of the court itself, by indulging in expensive and luxurious court spectacles and through his patronage of the arts. The public gestures and events were all carefully organized to boost his reputation and to make him appear as one of the most important rulers of northern Italy. It is ironic that all the scholarly research and manoeuvring by Alfonso II to establish his precedence over the Medici was followed by the devolution of Ferrara to the Holy See. This occurred as a result of the 1567 bull promoted by Pius V (Pope from 1566 to 1572) that barred the succession

[467] See here Appendix B, doc. 7.

to Papal fiefs of illegitimate sons,[468] and the failure of Alfonso II, despite his three marriages,[469] to produce an heir. In 1597 Alfonso arranged for the passage of the duchy to his cousin Cesare[470] but Pope Clement VIII declared the line of Este extinct and reclaimed Ferrara for the Church.

The Ferrarese ceremonies of 1598 signalled the decisive shift in the Estense Duchy's political history: the solemn entries of the Pope accompanied by a group of Italian and foreign princes into the city of Ferrara marked the end of the government of the Estensi and the beginning of a new era under the authority of the Church.[471] When Pope Clement VIII entered into Ferrara in April 1598, just after Cesare d'Este had moved his court to Modena, he was escorted by a group of Venetian dogal guards dressed in parade liveries, followed by a cortege of three *bucintori:* that of the Duke of Parma and Piacenza Ranuccio I Farnese,[472] the barge of Vincenzo I Gonzaga, Duke of Mantua,[473] and another one for Marguerite of Austria.[474] In his entry into Ferrara Clement's intentions were first to impress Ferrara's inhabitants with his power and splendour; second to assure them that he would be an unusually fair ruler, superior to the secular one now departing; and third, to attend to the pressing need of doing something about the silting up of the River Po. For the Pope's entry into the city a *Bucintoro* embroidered with the devices of the Aldobrandini family was prepared, a barge also used during the following years

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[468] The bull *Prohibitio alienandi et infeudandi civitates et loca Sanctae Romanae Ecclesiae* was published on May 23, 1567, in A. Biondi, G. Biondi, *Modena Metropoli dello Stato: storie e microstorie del primo Seicento*, Modena, Assessorato alla Cultura, 2003, p. 36.

[469] In 1558 he married Lucrezia di Cosimo I de' Medici, in 1565 Barbara of Austria and in 1579 Margherita Gonzaga.

[470] Cesare d'Este (1562-1628), was the son of Alfonso d'Este, brother of Ercole I Duke of Ferrara. Cesare married Virginia de' Medici, see Table n. 2.

[471] B. Mitchell, *1598: a year of pageantries in Late Renaissance Ferrara,* New York, 1990.

[472] Ranuccio I Farnese (1569-1622), Duke of Parma and Piacenza from 1592.

[473] Vincenzo I Gonzaga (1562-1612), Duke of Mantua from 1587.

[474] I would like to thank the Society for Renaissance Studies in London for supporting part of this research.

for the inspection of the Ferrarese territory and the Po Delta. After the solemn entry Pope Clement VIII decided to spend a two-year period in Ferrara, moving his court from Rome,[475] using it to resolve diplomatic discourses and politically pressing needs.

The reason that induced the Pope to force the Estensi out of Ferrara was the outcome of conflicting relations deriving from the complex nature of Estense and Papal interests, based on the one hand on the obligations of the Estensi as vassals of the Pope, and, on the other, on the desire for independence and power on the part of the House of Este. Not only was Clement VIII deeply concerned about broader Este ambitions to produce and sell black salt to other north Italian courts, contravening all the obligations signed by the dukes of Ferrara, but he was also determined to stop this state from acting as a buffer between Milan, Venice and the papal territory. Furthermore, the dukes of Ferrara frequently acted as unfair vassals or even enemies of the Papal State. I mentioned in Chapter Three that Alfonso I, third Duke of Ferrara, was excommunicated by the Pope, and, in Chapter Five and Chapter Six, I indicated two troublesome issues, the position of Borso towards the Council of Mantua and Ferrara's position on the war for salt at the beginning of the sixteenth century, just to recall some of the most relevant examples.

In Venice, the Pope found one of his most faithful allies against the Estensi, since these last were at war with the Republic over the control of the River Po and its marshy boundaries in a fight to gain dominance over the commercial traffic in the area towards Lombardy and France. As I have previously shown, from the mid-twelfth century on,[476] the Serenissima had claimed its right to navigate the Po without paying any duties, asserting that rivers were free waterways created by nature, and, for this reason, could not be

[475] See here, Appendix B, doc. 9.
[476] S. Patitucci Uggieri, «La navigazione interna del delta padano nella "Chronica parva ferrariensi"», in *Atti e memorie della Deputazione provinciale ferrarese di storia patria*, Ferrara, s. III, XXX (1984), pp. 48-50.

privatized by any means. To this it must be added that the Republic of Venice wanted to expand its possessions over the Polesine di Rovigo and the valleys near Comacchio. The fact that the Estensi exploited the salt mines of Longastrino, in direct competition with the salt produced by Venice in the territories of Ravenna, further contributed to the general state of belligerency that had existed between Venice and Ferrara from the 1480s on.[477] Moreover, Venice blamed Alfonso II d'Este for the silting up of the river Po into its Lagoon, since he had detached the Po's Abate branch from its principal channel. For the Venetians, as this situation persisted, the Delta could have been developed in a north-easterly direction, enclosing the territories of Chioggia and Malamocco in the Lagoon. Indeed, from 1564 to 1580 the Duke of Ferrara decided to drain the marshy lands to the east of Copparo, between the Po of Volano and the Po of Ariano. This work, however, did not produce long-lasting results: in a few decades sea-storms, soil consolidation and the several diversions of the Po rendered all the Estensi reclamation efforts useless. But, in truth, a first Venetian project for a cut-off of the river Po was prior to any work done by Alfonso II, having been proposed in 1556 by two Venetian engineers Cristoforo Sabbadino and Giovanni Carrara.[478] A more complex project was presented to the Venetian Senate in 1562 by Marino Silvestri, and seven years later by the humanist Luigi Groto, who considered the possibility of excavating a new riverbed for the Po, to by-pass the old one. From March 1599 to June 1600, after the departure of the Estensi from Ferrara, visits to the Delta were organized, as well as meetings between Venetian and papal representatives in order to discuss the cut-off. On 10 May 1600, Venice obtained from the Pope the right to divert the course of the Po to avoid the

[477] See in particular M. Mallett, «Venice and the War of Ferrara 1482-1484», in J.R. Hale, D. Chambers, C.H. Clough, M. Mallett, (edts.), *War, Culture and Society in Renaissance Venice, Essays in honour of John Hale*, Continuum Publishing, 1993, pp. 57-72 and T. Dean, «After the war of Ferrara: Relations between Venice and Ercole I d'Este 1484-1505», in *Ibidem*, pp. 73-98.

[478] G. Folena, *Storia della Cultura Veneta: dal primo Quattrocento al Concilio di Trento*, Milano, Neri Pozza, 1980, in particular pp. 506-509.

silting of the river into the Lagoon of Venice. Cardinal Blandrata, the Pope's emissary, met the Venetian representative Alvise Zorzi in Papozze and they came to a decision on the route of cut-off, preserving the branch of the Po delle Fornaci, one of the main branches of the river that passed near Ferrara. This convention was later ratified in Rome by Pope Clement VIII and in Venice by Doge Marino Grimani. The project consisted of an excavation of a channel measuring about 7,000 meters in length which, starting from the right bank of Po delle Fornaci, was to reach the east and cross Valle Malipiera and the dune system. The excavation was then to head south-east, with a sharp bend, and end in the so-called 'Sacca di Goro', as may be seen in figure 133.[479] On 16 September 1604 the Superintendent in charge of the Works informed the Doge of the completion of the new riverbed.[480]

After a two-year stay in Ferrara (1598 and 1599) Pope Clement VIII returned to Rome where he proclaimed 1600 a Holy Year. He left the government of Ferrara to a papal legate, the first being his nephew Cardinal Pietro Aldobrandini, while reconfirming the same administrative and organizational structures the Estensi had previously accorded with the Commune of Ferrara; as a result, it remained responsible for the collection of specified direct taxes, the payment of the expenses for the maintenance of the water mains, forts, and city roads, the remuneration of the salaries of its own officials and magistrates, and, finally, the maintenance of the teachers of the

[479] C. Cencini, «Physical Processes and Human activities in the evolution of the Po Delta, Italy», in *Journal of Coastal Research*, vol. 14, no. 3, pp. 774-793, 1998; C. Cencini, P. Menegatti, «The Po Delta in the North Adriatic Coastal Plain of Italy: Natural and Man-Induced Processes», in R. Stiuca, I. Nuchersu (edts.), *The Delta's: State-of-the-Art Protection and Management*, Conference Proceedings, 26-31 July 1999, Tulcea, Romania.

[480] H. Dongus, «Die Reisbaugemeinschaft des Po-Deltas, eine neue Form kolletiver Landnutzung», in *Zeitschrift fur Agrargeschichte und Agrarsoziologie*, October 1963, pp 201-202; C. Errera, «La bonifica estense nel basso Ferrarese», in *Rivista Geografica Italiana*, 1934, pp. 49-53; F. Braudel, *The Mediterranean and the Mediterranean World in the Age og Philipp II*, California University Press, 1996, vol. 1, p. 68. For a critical approach see D. Standish, *Venice in Environmental Peril? Myth and Reality*, University Press of America, 2011.

University.[481] In the next section I will analyse the entry into Ferrara of the different Italian and foreign princes who followed the solemn entry of the Pope in 1598.

The 1598 naval procession and the princely entries into Ferrara

A few days following the entry of the Pope, Duke Vincenzo I Gonzaga, Duke Ranuccio I Farnese and Marguerite of Austria[482] joined Clement VIII in Ferrara to celebrate the 'devolution'. The first to come was Duke Vincenzo I Gonzaga, Duke of Mantua, who travelled there from the capital city of his Duchy by water in a richly decorated *bucintoro*. Vincenzo was Alfonso II d'Este's brother-in-law, since his sister Margherita Gonzaga had married Alfonso in 1579. The Este and the Gonzaga had, in fact, strengthened their ties through several important marriages since the early fifteenth century. Notwithstanding this relation, Vincenzo needed to confirm his alliance to the House of Habsburg, represented in the pageantries of 1598 by Marguerite of Austria. In fact, after the peace of Cateau-Cambrésis (1559), the Gonzagas had relied on the power of the Habsburg branch of their family to save their possessions, especially in the territories of Montferrat. On the one hand, Vincenzo replied to the requests of his sister Margherita by presenting her in 1598 with the Palazzo Montade and his estates in Casale (between Ostiglia and Mantua) where Margherita moved with her court in July 1601,[483] as well as with several objects like a gold chain, a gold cloth and a chalice.[484] On the other hand, he assured his loyalty to the Pope and to the Habsburg family, by

[481] See P. Sitta, *Le finanze Estensi*, Ferrara, Premiata tipografia sociale, 1895, 2nd edition, pp. 108-117 and 212-213.
[482] Marguerite (1584-1611) was the daughter of Archduke Charles II of Austria and Mary Ann of Bavaria.
[483] ASMa, Archivio Gonzaga, *Corrispondenza*, busta 1970, c. 114.
[484] ASMa, Archivio Gonzaga, *Corrispondenza*, busta 1970.

offering Marguerite of Austria hospitality in Mantua and having a special new *Bucintoro* built which he lend her for her journey to Ferrara on the river Po.[485]

Marguerite of Austria reached Ferrara by *Bucintoro*, immediately after Vincenzo Gonzaga. There, in November 1598, she would marry her cousin Philip III and thereby become the queen consort of Spain. On this occasion she gave a gift of two copes embroidered with stories of Saint Marguerite to the Cathedral of Ferrara, now preserved in the city's Cathedral Museum in Ferrara. This wedding was celebrated jointly with the one of Archduke Albert VII of Austria to the Infanta Isabella Clara Eugenia of Spain. The ceremony was held by proxy, with Albert first standing in for Philip III and the Spanish ambassador in Rome, Don Antonio Fernàndez de Còrdoba y Cardona, then representing Isabella.[486] Albert and Isabella were cousin and niece, and Pope Clement VIII not only granted them a dispensation to marry but also accepted Albert's resignation from his cardinalate.[487] As a dowry Albert and Isabella inherited the Low Countries from Philip II King of Spain. After the ceremonies, Queen Marguerite and Archduke Albert of Austria received hospitality in Mantua together with their three thousand courtiers and there they were present at several theatrical representations, among which I would like to mention the *Pastor Fido* written for the Estense court of Alfonso II d'Este by the Ferrarese Guarini, acted in Italian with a translation in German, the Queen's native language.[488]

Ranuccio I Farnese Duke of Parma and Piacenza also came by *bucintoro* along the Po, but from a greater distance than Vincenzo. In fact, these two

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[485] *The happie entrance of the high borne Queene of Spaine, the Ladie Margarit of Austria, in the renowned Cittie of Ferrara*, London, imprinted by John Woolfe, 1599. See here Appendix B, n. 8.
[486] B. Mitchell, *The Majesty of the State: triumphal progresses of foreign sovereign in Renassaince Italy 1494-1600*, Firenze, L. S. Olschki, 1986.
[487] L. Duerloo, *Dinasty and Piety: Archduke Albert (1598-1620) Habsburg political culture in an age of religious wars*, Ashgate, 2012.
[488] S. Frodella, «La migrazione del Pastor Fido in Inghilterra», in F. Fantaccini, O. De Zordo (edts.), *Saggi di Anglistica e Americanistica*, Firenze, Firenze University Press, 2012, pp. 105-162

princes had long been involved in a dispute since Vincenzo Gonzaga had repudiated Margherita Farnese, Ranuccio's sister, in 1583, after two-years of childless marriage to her.[489] In 1597 Clement VIII intervened in the dispute, bringing Alfonso II d'Este in as witness to the reconciliation, thus stipulating a series of obligations between the two dukes. The copy of the pacts owned by Alfonso II d'Este is now preserved in the Biblioteca Ariostea in Ferrara.[490] Notwithstanding these pacts, the dispute continued and in 1611 Ranuccio accused Cesare d'Este and Vincenzo Gonzaga of conspiring to kill him, the so called 'Sanseverino-Sanvitale conspiracy', which ended with the decapitation in Parma of the Farnese vassals Alfonso Sanvitale, Orazio Simonetta, Barbara Sanseverino and Pio Torelli.[491] The Farnese ducal *Bucintoro*, renovated and gorgeously embroidered for the pageantries of 1598, carried a hundred musketeers as well as the Duke and his nobles. It was preceded by two gunboats and followed by a large number of ordinary river boats carrying provisions: the impressive amount of eight hundred sacks of flour, one hundred and sixty barrels of wine, two hundred barrels of olive oil, two thousand three hundred young chickens, one hundred and fifty capons, eighty pairs of ducks and forty sacks of coal for cooking.[492] With his solemn entry into Ferrara in 1598, Duke Ranuccio laid the foundations for his wedding with the Pope's niece, Margherita Aldobrandini, married in Rome in 1600. This wedding appeased the conflicts between the Farnese and Aldobrandini families and brought the former a rich dowry. Ranuccio was also involved in diplomatic activities with the Spanish monarchy, since the unification of the Duchy of Parma and Piacenza had been granted with the 'peace of Ghent' signed in 1556

[489] ASMa, *Affari di Famiglia*, X, "Viaggi dei Principi", 1564-1704.
[490] Ferrara, Biblioteca Ariostea, Ms. Antonelli, Classe I, n. 110, 34 (cc. 166-167), "Istruzione per parte del Pontefice Clemente VIII intorno alle vertenze dei Duchi di Parma e di Mantova", 11 April 1597.
[491] H. Gamrath, *Farnese: Pomp, Power and Politics in Renaissance Italy*, Roma, L'Erma di Bretschneider, 2007, in particular pp. 120-125.
[492] Cristoforo Poggiali, *Memorie Storiche di Piacenza*, tomo X, Piacenza, Giacopazzi, 1761.

between Philip II of Spain and Ottavio Farnese, Ranuccio's grandfather. Vincenzo Gonzaga needed the support of the Habsburgs to maintain his estates, as much as Ranuccio was dependent on the Spanish King to confirm Parma as the capital of his Duchy. Their *bucintori* played an important role in the theatrics displayed by the two dukes: these barges were built as symbols of their power, in order to magnify their roles among Italian princes and to underline their prestigious social honour and material wealth.

Since all the Estensi's neighbours had vital interests in offering their loyalty to the Pope, Cesare d'Este could not count on them to support his cause, and rather unexpectedly neither could he depend on the King of France, considered by the Estensi their natural ally. In fact, Henry IV of the House of Bourbon had renounced Protestantism in 1593 in favour of Roman Catholicism and he was crowned King of France the following year. Pope Clement VIII solemnly absolved Henry IV of his Protestant heresy in 1595 and, after long negotiations, the Pope obtained the reconciliation of the kingdoms of Spain and France.[493] Moreover, in 1599 Henry IV obtained a papal annulment of his childless marriage to Marguerite of France, going to marry Maria de' Medici in 1600. The Pope, the Venetians, the Gonzaga, the Farnese, the Habsburgs and the Bourbons were all tied by mutual political interests: the small city of Ferrara was just a place where all these interests met and the Estensi were no longer considered significant players in this political game.

The 'new' Estense court in Modena and its landlocked bucintori

After the devolution of Ferrara to the Holy See, the House of Este went through a period of political and financial crisis. As I mentioned in the

[493] M.P. Holt, *The French Wars of Religion, 1562–1629*, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 2005.

previous section, not only were the Estensi unable to find a single foreign ally in their cause against the claims of the Pope, but Cesare d'Este did not even obtained the unconditional loyalty from those courtiers who had been employed at the six courts present in the territory of Ferrara before 1598. At that time, in fact, in addition to the Ducal court of Alfonso II, there had been the five other *particolari* courts: those of Duchess Margherita Gonzaga, Cesare d'Este and his wife Virginia de' Medici, the future Cardinal Alessandro, Princess Marfisa d'Este and the Duchess of Urbino, Lucrezia d'Este, who had returned to Ferrara after her separation in 1574 from Francesco Maria II della Rovere. Indeed, as demonstrated by Guerzoni, only thirty-eight of three hundred and seventy-six paid members of the Ducal court decided to follow Cesare to Modena, the new capital of the Duchy, all of them employed in the lower ranks of court (they were porters, waiters, servants, washerwomen and falconers, just to name some of their professions), and only fifty-seven out of one hundred and twenty-three of those who worked in Cesare's court before the devolution followed their patron to Modena, most of them in the service of his wife Virginia.[494] The reasons that might have induced nobles and high-ranking courtiers to stay in Ferrara, thereby abandoning their positions within the Este's courts, depended mainly on their personal estates and ambitions. In fact, most of these nobles had in fact acquired lands, palaces and villas in the territories of the Papal State, particularly in the areas surroundings Ferrara, Bologna and Ravenna, so they greatly feared losing their personal properties should they offer any form of loyalty to the Estensi. A second reason why these courtiers chose to stay in Ferrara was because the new Duke, in that particular moment in the history of the House of Este, was unable to offer them honourable positions, power or money in the city of Modena. Moreover, Cesare did not have enough time to build solid relations with the important families of Ferrara, given the brief time that had passed between the death of

[494] G. Guerzoni, *Le corti estensi e la devoluzione di Ferrara del 1598*, Modena, Archivio Storico Comunale, 1999, pp. 77-81.

Alfonso and the decision of Pope Clement VIII to reclaim Ferrara for the Church. In contrast, during the years before devolution, the family of the Archbishop of Ferrara Giovanni Fontana had established links with several Ferrarese families, such as the Bevilacqua, the Sacrati, the Tassoni and the Giglioli, thanks to the intervention of Lucrezia d'Este, who was a personal friend of Cardinal Pietro Aldrobandini, the Pope's nephew.[495] And, when the Pope left Ferrara to return to Rome, Pietro Aldobrandini was named papal legate in Ferrara. Notwithstanding these early alliances, the approach with the new government was not as easy as the nobles, who prior worked for Duke Alfonso II, had hoped. In fact, immediately after the Pope's entry into Ferrara the *ambasciatore di complimento* of Granduke Ferdinando I de' Medici, Curzio Picchena, stated on 2 March 1598 that: "Every day Cardinal [Aldobrandini] personally strives to satisfy all the Ferrarese nobility, but the citizens, who, in their opinions, are not considered as they might have been, are quite disgusted",[496] and seventeen days later, in his chronicle, Giovan Battista Spaccini noted that: "the five thousand Ferrarese citizens who previously worked for the dead Duke will sooner or later be begging for money […] because these cardinals who are governing certainly do not want to spend on their salaries […]".[497]

Cesare's court in Modena never reached the size of those of his predecessors, notwithstanding the fact that he built up strong relations with most of the noble families of Modena and Reggio Emilia. The size of his court depended on the finances at his disposal, which, especially at the beginning, were poured into building the new capital. In fact, at the time of the

[495] G.L. Williams, *Papal Genealogy: the Families and Descedants of the Popes*, McFarland, 1998.
[496] ASFi, Archivio Mediceo del Principato, n. 2911, *Lettere del Cavalier Curtio Picchena, ambasciatore di complimento, dal 15 febbraio 1597 alla fine di aprile del 1598*., no foliation. I am grateful to Prof. Suzy Butters for having informed me of these letters.
[497] G. Guerzoni, *Le corti estensi* […], quotation p. 84 and A. Biondi, *Giovanni Battista Spaccini, (1570-1636) e la tradizione delle cronache modenesi,* in "G.B. Spaccini, Cronaca di Modena", Modena, Panini Editore, 1993, pp. ix-xxii.

devolution, Modena was a small city with a medieval structure and its castle was certainly not appropriate for an early seventeenth century Duke and his dynastic successors. Moreover, it is important to remember that the Estensi lost many of their properties and possessions. A list drawn up before the devolution records the existence of more than three hundred properties in the city of Ferrara alone, carefully described as palaces with relevant buildings, apartments, rooms, houses, little houses, dwellings, in which courtiers resided, often on rentals.[498] The Estense remained in possession of most of these buildings, but their exploitation became difficult and the losses high. The entire reign of Cesare d'Este (1597-1628) was spent reconstructing the honour of the Estensi.

Francesco I d'Este, who governed the Estense duchy from 1629 to 1658, aimed to bring the House of Este back to its previous glory. In 1631 he married Maria Farnese, daughter of Ranuccio, to confirm the alliances between the two families, but during the Thirty Years Wars, he invaded Parma with Spanish troops. As a result of this invasion he joined the territory of Correggio to his Duchy. In 1634 he ordered the building of the Ducal Palace and the transformation of Modena into a modern capital city. In 1641, with the aim of getting Ferrara back, he took part in the war of Castro, part of the Farnese domains, against Pope Urban VIII. Fearing the loss of Ferrara, the Pope signed an agreement with the Farnese leaving Castro to Duke Odoardo. To enhance the power of his House, Duke Francesco I built a new Estense fleet consisting of five *bergantini*, twenty *burchielli*, three feluccas and a completely renovated *Bucintoro*. All these barges were built in the year 1655, before the marriage of Francesco's son, Alfonso IV, to Laura Martinozzi, Cardinal Mazarin's niece.[499] In the documents I have consulted there is no mention of the decoration of

[498] G. Guerzoni, *Angustia ducis, divitiæ principum. Patrimoni e imprese estensi tra Quattro e Cinquecento*, in I. Lo Pane, (edt.), *Tra rendita e investimenti. Formazione e gestione dei grandi patrimoni in età moderna e contemporanea*, Bari, Cacucci, 1998, pp. 57-87.

[499] ASMo, CDE, *Navi*, "Bucintori, Bergantini, Burchielli, Feluche, Battelli e Barche 1558-1780", fascicolo n. V.

this Estense *Bucintoro*, but I feel confident in affirming that it was richly painted and embroidered like all the other *bucintori* of that period, as I have already mentioned in Chapter One with regard to the decoration of the Venetian *Bucintoro* in the seventeenth century. Just to cite another example, in 1660 for his wedding with Margherita Violante di Savoia, Ranuccio II Farnese ordered a new *bucintoro*, a barge decorated with several statues carved by Pietro Luca Bertolini and Giovanni Battista Botta, gilded and painted by Lomello, furniture covered with crimson velvet and rooms decorated with laces made of gold threads.[500] The decorations of these *bucintori* focused on the abundance and richness of the decoration, more than on any particular chosen symbols and devices, as had been the case in the fifteenth century.

The abandonment of the Great Bucintoro *Estense*

The Estensi had never given up the idea of reacquiring Ferrara and with the accession of Rinaldo d'Este in 1694 it seemed their chance had finally come. With this aim in mind, among others, he married Carlotta Felicita of Brunswick-Lüneburg, thus reunifying the two branches of the Este family which had been divided since the eleventh century.[501] Rinaldo's wife was the sister of Emperor Joseph I's wife and, in this way, Rinaldo obtained influence at the German Imperial court. Imperial troops occupied Comacchio in 1708 so that imperial and Estense goals converged. Representatives of the Pope and the Emperor signed an agreement in which the imperial troops have evacuate the Papal State except for Comacchio, and the Estensi would negotiate their claims over Ferrara with the Pope. Several historians, such as Muratori and

[500] C. Amaldi di Balme, *Feste barocche: cerimonie e spettacoli nella corte dei Savoia tra Cinque e Settecento*, Milano, Silvana Editoriale, 2009.
[501] L. Chiappini, *Gli Estensi: mille anni di storia*, Ferrara, Corbo Editore, 2000.

Fontanini,[502] side either with the Pope or the Estensi, in their search for a historical solution to the pressing need to decide who was more entitled to govern the city of Ferrara.[503] The last Estense *Bucintoro* was commissioned around 1720, in a period full of expectations for the possible rebirth of the House of Este in Ferrara, a barge probably built for the wedding of Francesco III d'Este with Carlotta Aglae di Borbone-Orléans. A drawing of this sumptuous craft is now preserved in Modena, as may be seen in fig. 134. This single-deck *Bucintoro* was taken up almost entirely by a big room, decorated with several eagles and atlantes; at its top a rich balustrade was built, decorated with vases and the shield and coats of arms of the House of Este, while the poop and the prow were adorned with gilded sea monsters and shells. The entire barge was all painted in gold, white and turquoise scattered with *fleur-de-lis*. In the drawing there are no traces of panels or curtains in the room's windows, but most probably there were laces or embroidered curtains. In Modena a wonderful embroidery pattern with flowers and pearls is preserved, and for its size, preciousness and period I would like to suggest that this pattern for curtains could have been designed for the *Bucintoro* or for a very big canopy, as may be seen in fig. 135.

In 1785 the Estensi tried to sell this barge (called the *Bucintoro da gala per I Principi*) together with a smaller *Bucintoro* (called the *Bucintoro dei Cavalieri*), both largely unused and preserved in the port of Finale Emilia.[504] In that year, a Venetian agent received the mandate by the official in charge of the Estense

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[502] L.A. Muratori, *Delle antichità Estensi ed Italiane trattato*, Modena, Stamperia Ducale, 1717; G. Fontanini, *Il Dominio temporale della Sede Apostolica sopra la città di Comacchio: ove in primo luogo si purgano i Sommi Pontefici, e molti Imperadori da gravissime accuse, e si giustifica nuovamente la Sovranità della Chiesa in tutti i suoi Stati*, Roma, 1711.

[503] R. Tristano, «History "Without Scruple": the Enlightenment Confronts the Middle Ages in Renaissance Ferrara», in R.F. Glei, W. Polleichtner, N. Tomaszewski, (edts.), *Medievalia et Humanistica, Studies in Medieval and Renaissance Culture*, vol. 38, Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, 2013, pp. 79-122.

[504] ASMo, Amm.C., *Navi*, n. 5, "Bucintori, Bergantini, Burchieli, Feluche, Battelli, Barche" V/11-18. See here Appendix A, doc. 14.

Arsenal to sell these two *bucintori* in 1785 and after a year a first buyer wished to see the two boats. The official in charge of the Arsenal described the *Bucintoro* as follows: "a *Bucintoro* built in a masterly way and completely gilded, of ordinary dimensions, solid and beautiful. Because it is not used by the *Altezza Serenissima* [the Duke] who is not interested in this barge, He resolved to sell it […]". The agent suggested selling its decoration and furniture together with the barge, to offer the buyer the most sumptuous look possible to the *Bucintoro*: "I think it is opportune to furnish the room of the barge, as was customary when it navigated for the uses of the *Corte Serenissima*, and to sell together with the barge the mirrors, plate glass, chairs, couches and all the other furniture that completed it". In 1786 a client viewed the two *bucintori* without buying them. They were definitively abandoned in the port of Finale and most probably sunk in the Po. The sumptuous *bucintori* Estensi, that had served the court for four entire centuries, give way to the newest product of the nautical market: the steamboat.

8. Conclusion

In the present thesis I have analysed the ceremonial and political role of the Estense *bucintori* from their first appearance in 1438 to their decline during the second half of the nineteenth century, focusing my attention on important moments of the history of the House of Este, in order to offer to the reader a close consideration of the socio-historical contexts in which *bucintori* were originally produced and displayed. From this study it emerges that the attitudes of Renaissance courts toward *bucintori* changed over time, influenced by the ambitions of rulers, the gender of the owner, the political needs and, last but least, the financial wealth of the Ducal treasury. In fact, during the first half of the fifteenth century the Great Estense *Bucintoro* served the political ambitions of Niccolò III, Leonello and Borso, who wished to elevate their titles from marquises to dukes of the city of Ferrara. The decoration of the main room of their state barge, which had the function of stateroom, was set up to display their peculiar virtues and personal traits, while the richness of the barge and its dimensions were obvious signs of the magnificence of the House of Este. I have demonstrated that emblematic references could contribute to creating an effective vehicle of communication, based on separating those in the know from those who were not, so that foreign visitors, who might be dazzled or perfectly aware of the different cultural and historical references displayed in the carefully chosen decorative ensemble, were impressed and surprised by the court's sophistication.

As the sixteenth century progressed, *bucintori* continued to play a role in naval parades and other forms of water festivals, being used by the dukes of Este and their courts for important celebrations and weddings, as well as for luxurious hunting and fishing trips, concerts and theatrical representations. Further investigations into the usage in these contexts would surely yield important insights into how *bucintori* were appropriated by Renaissance courts

to centralize their power, and to distance themselves from the common realm. The sixteenth century, however, was also a period densely packed with political perils and financial crises for the Este Duchy. For this reason, *bucintori* passed through a period of relative decline, in which they served the Este courts for the movement of goods between Ferrara and other cities of the Duchy. The ephemeral decorations were removed and the barge used as any other flat boat, for inland navigation. As I have demonstrated, the uses of *bucintori* for transporting goods or for important celebrations never occurred at the same time, so that there were periods in which the *bucintori* were used only as flat boats and others in which they served just for parades, depending either on the status of the boat itself or on the needs of courts.

With the devolution of Ferrara back to the Church in 1598, the Estensi faced a period of profound economic and political crisis, in which all their resources were devoted to the foundation of a new capital for the mutilated Duchy. But the idea of restoring their dignity and increasing their honour and stature, persuaded the dukes in furnish their fleet once again with luxurious *bucintori*, notwithstanding the awkward geographical position on the south side of the plain of the Po. This habit lasted until the second half of the nineteenth century, when slow inland navigation along rivers with *bucintori* gave way to much faster travel with the new steamboat. However, the habit of owning luxurious barges, although they are not *bucintori*, to show power and magnificence is still alive in European culture, as Pope Benedetto XVI's 2011 (fig. 136) entry into Venice and Elisabeth II's Diamond Jubilee celebrations in 2012 clearly demonstrate (fig. 137).

Bucintori evolved so rapidly in their dimensions and decorations because they were stimulated by the continuous relations and rivalries between Renaissance courts. In fact, in the present work I have compared the different *bucintori* used in Italian and European courts, analysing for the first time which kinds of similarities existed between state barges of different courts, and in which ways they were connected to the well-known Venetian *Bucintoro*. In

comparing these different examples, I have underlined the possibility that the meaning of *bucintori* varied with the context and the period in which they were built and used. Through this analysis I have also attempted to identify the elements *bucintori* had in common, and I proposed a first classification of these kinds of boats, with attention to their functional, ritual and everyday contexts, more than to their nautical shapes. The political, cultural, technological and even archaeological settings in which they were developed is in fact fundamental for understanding them fully. This first study about the Estense examples opens a series of possibilities for further studies dedicated to the uses of luxurious barges in northern Italian courts, as well as in European courts, and to the diplomatic relations that occurred between these courts, and between the Papal State and the contemporary secular rulers during the Renaissance. Multifarious were the occasions on which these relations were materially expressed, from water festivals to naval parades, from solemn entries into cities to important weddings, and from commercial trade on inland waters to the circulation of professional workers among different north Italian courts.

The decoration of the stateroom was the most important and expensive part of the barge, because it was a public display of a family's magnificence and *virtù*, and the more decorated it was, the greater the honour it expressed. For visitors and viewers alike in Renaissance Ferrara there was no doubt that the Great *Bucintoro* embodied the power of the House of Este. The study of the panels and curtains that hung in the stateroom brought embroidery to my attention, underlining the importance of this art in Renaissance society and its system of production. Indeed, I have considered professionals and amateurs, male and female embroiderers, and high and low ranking embroideresses, with the aim of exploring craft and work practices at court between the fifteenth and sixteenth century. In particular, I have revealed the organizational structure of a profession that was never regulated by a guild, and the patent rights that protected some professional skills. I have offered new insights the kinds of techniques that were used to execute these works, not least the technique of

'etching' the patterns for embroideries over fabric; for its peculiarity, the invention and use of this innovative method opens a series of interesting questions on the early uses of nitric acid before the creation of etching on paper, that surely need further investigation.

The theme of *bucintori* has offered me the opportunity of finding close and often unexpected connections between quite different subjects, each with its own intrinsic interest, and it has allowed me to look at objects and issues from a variety of new angles. In fact, many of the most important aspects of the experiences that people had in relation to luxurious barges during the Renaissance, are not encoded into words and therefore do not appear in the documents that exist. For this reason, I have taken into consideration the evidence provided by different kinds of artistic mediums and materials, such as panel paintings, frescoes, embroideries, medals, and illuminated manuscripts, which, taken together, offers an insight into what it was like for Renaissance people to approach *bucintori* and their symbolic decorations. In this sense, visual objects can be seen to be complementary to the great number of original documents I was able to find in the many and diverse archives of north Italian courts. Notwithstanding the great number of documents that are still preserved about *bucintori*, it is always is very hard, or quite impossible, to offer an account of behaviour that nobody has described in written or visual form. The discussions and gestures that occurred between those who approached *bucintori*, and the feelings and emotions that stirred in each of them, are difficult to investigate, and even their traces are often obscured by the formality of contemporary letters and memoranda. We can only imagine how Ludovico Ariosto performed the readings of his *Orlando Furioso*, in what term and with what emphasis Leonello d'Este discussed the arts with his learned associates on board the *Bucintoro*, the emotions that Cristoforo Caleffino felt in realising the sixteen embroidered panels for the *Bucintoro*, in spite of the pains in his hand, or the boredom or delight felt by courtiers accompanying the Duke on his fishing trips in the Po Valleys. All these thoughts floated together with the

luxurious barges. Our own culture is probably close enough to the Renaissance to understand, or at least to think it possible to understand, its visual culture.[505] And considering emotions and behaviour, this is even more comprehensible, since we all share the same human condition,[506] as the Venetian playwright Carlo Goldoni, alludes to in his work *La gondola* or *Dialogue between Titta Venetian gondolier and Cecco Florentine charioteer*. Indeed, after a long discussion to resolve the question whether it is more sumptuous to travel by luxurious boats or by extravagant chariots, the gondolier Titta states:

> "Look at the *Bucintoro*, it is so wonderful;
> it is impossible to find a triumphal chariot similar to it;
> But in our fortunate land [Venice],
> in which we have the privilege
> of living in richness and good taste
> more than vanities and more than pleasures,
> I have learnt to appreciate above all my liberty."[507]

[505] M. Baxandall, *Painting and Esperience in Fifteenth-Century Italy*, Oxford University Press, 1972, ch. 2 "The period eye".
[506] E.W. Said, *Orientalism*, Vintage Publishing, 1978.
[507] Carlo Goldoni, *La Gondola. Dialogo tra Cecco cocchiere fiorentino e Titta gondoliere veneziano*, Venezia, Stamperia Remondini, 1755. See here Appendix B, n. 10.

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Splendour displayed: state barges, embroideries and power in Renaissance Ferrara

A thesis submitted to The University of Manchester for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy in the Faculty of Humanities

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Vol II of II

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Appendix A – Manuscript Sources

1. (1434) ASMo, Libri Camerali Diversi, n. 4, intrada e spexa 1434, cc. 132-133.

Expenditure (a) for the restoration of Leonello's boat and (b) for the purchase of a trasto (in venetian dialect a bench for the rowers) for the Bucintoro.

a) A piero di razi factore del n.ro signore m. Leonello adi xxj di agosto lire doe soldi cinque denari duj de marchesani et per luj a lodoigo de betto canzeliero del mag.co Uguzion di contrarij i quali luj a havere spexo m. Leonello per pegola et altre spexe in fare calcare et reparare la barcha del perfato n.ro sigore m. Leonello.
Al zornale a carta 147 L. ij S. v D. 2.

b) A m° Zohane bordiga adi xxiiij di novembre ducati quatro e mezo doro li quali ge de contanti Bartholome di pendagli m. Leonello per comprare uno trasto per lo bucintoro […].
Al zornale a carta 197 L x S. ij D. 6

2. (1457) ASMo, Amm. C., "Arazzi e Tappezzerie", registro n. 1, fols. 31-32.

Description of the embroidered panels of Leonello's *Bucintoro*, described by Marco dell'Assassino in in 1457.

[fol. 31v]
MCCCC°LVII Ornamenti e Robe de piu e diverse condicione e rasone pervenute ale mane de mi Marco de Galaoto e per lo modo che appresso se fara nota, e poste in governo in la stancia dove se governa le tapezarie del prefato n.s. in corte.
Le Jnfrascripte sono cosse consignate per nicolo de michelino za officiale a la tapezaria del prefato n.s. a mi Marco de Galeoto:
Primo uno ornamento de pano recamato cum altri pani reportadi e profilato e recamato per mane de recamatori ale arme e diuise de lo Jll. Olim n.s. misser lionello vechio e tarmato e repezato in molti luogi, e Bandiere e stendardi che sono per lo bucintoro del prefato s.n. el quale ornamento e chome appresso:

una vella de tella nostrana usada grande chome una lista de tella verde depinta al sieve larga uno somesso intorno via e uno compasso de tella azura depinto cum uno agnollo che tien larma ducale de lo illu.mo duca s.n. in mezo, da ogni lado de dita vella, cum una bandirola pizola de cendale rosso depinta cum oro e franza de seda intorno, che ha de capo de dita vella dal capo de la antena che sta sempre in suxo, e uno sacone de treliso, in che sta dita vella.

Due pezi de spaliere de pano recamate ut supra zoe una de pezzi diexe, e una de pezzi sedexe, de diversi coluri zoe verdi, rossi, bianchi e turchini, le quale vano intorno sia ali apozi de fuora de li banchi che sono intorno sia sopra el cuperto de la salla del dito Bucintoro, cum franze pendante de foleselo ala divisa intorno.

Due pezi de pendanti de pano rosso largi una spana recamati chome una vialba de pano verde e bianco, che sono lungi quanto è la salla soprascripta, li quali vano da ogni lado de sopra via ale appresso 16 cortine che vano da lado a dita sala cum una franza de fuleselo ala divisa larga de sotto via.

Sedexe cortine de pano recamate ut supra, che vano ad afferare da lado dita salla, zoe per lado, che sono de pano verde e rosso, bianco e turchino, cum franze intorno ut supra.

Una cortina de pano recamata al modo soprascripto de largeze tre de pano de tri coluri cusidi insieme, cum franze de foleselo da lado, la quale va ad afferare denanzi la dita salla in Coste la prima de la nave.

Doe cortinede pano, de largeze doe de pano de dui coluri cusidi inseme luna recamate ut supra, cum franze de fuleselo intorno, le quale vano da

poppa de la nave da ogni lado, zoe una per lado ad afferare dala salla del dito bucintoro fino alo appresso rivelino.

Uno ornamento de pano, de largeze 5 de pano pendante cuside inseme de piu coluri e uno pezo de pano turchino per ciello recamato e cum franze ut supra intorno, che va a coprire lo revelino de ligname che se fa incima de la punta de la poppa de la nave.

Una coltrinela de pano celestro schieta senza franze, che va ad afferare dinanzi dito revelino.

Li quali tuti ornamenti de pano sono fodrati de tella rossa tedesca grossa.

Diexe Bandiere quadre de taffetado verde, rosso, bianco e azuro, depinte tute a horo e arzento cum le arme e divise del prefato n.s. e cum franze de seda ala diuisa intorno le quale se metono per ornamento atorno da lado in cima ala salla del dito Bucintoro.

Uno stendardo de taffetado rosso depinto tuto a horo e arzento cum larma ducale del prefato nostro signore in mezo, cum franze de seda ala diuisa jntorno, el qual va in cima al revelino de la nave, de driedo.

Uno stendardo de dito taffetado rosso depinto tuto a horo e arzento ala divisa da le velle, cum franze de seda ala divisa jntorno, el quale va da lado del dito revelino.

Uno stendardo de taffetado rosso vechio e rotto dipinto a horo e arzento a zenochiali cum franze de seda ala diuisa jntorno che va da laltro lado al dito revelino.

Nota che de comisione de la ex° del Nostro Signore fo fatto de tuto el soprascritto ornamento de pano, cuperte sei da coprire ut ornare riemj da nave per sparmio de tapezarie che se adoperavano a dita casone, perche la sua ex° ne fece fare un altro novo pure de pano recamato ale sue arme e divise chome desto apparera.

[fol. 32r]
MCCCC°LVII Continuacione de ornamenti e altre robe de diverse condicione chome apresso. Recevuta per mi Marcho de galaoto antescripto ut Jnfra.
Pavaioni dui da campo de tella, cum le ferfe a divisa verde e rosse e bianche, cum cordele a divisa suxo le cusedure, li quali pavaioni sono uno grande e uno pizolo cum una via cuperta che va da luno a laltro fata al dito modo, atorno el capello de li quali pavaioni e via sono fraponi grandi depinti ale arme e divise de la ex° del Nostro Signore e jn cima al capelo de diti pavaioni sono Compasi grandi de tella depinti a le arme del prefato Nostro Signore li quali Pavaioni fece fare lo prefato Nostro Signore per suo bisogno.

3. (1459) ASMo, Amministrazione dei Principi, *Borso*, "Manifature de li ricami de lo ornamento del bucintoro fato de dito anno 1459", n. 9.

Description of the daily work of panters and embroiderers to complete the panels of the Bucintoro with arms and devices of Borso d'Este.

Lavori taiati per lo butintoro per lo ornamento se fa di novo di comissione di lo Ill.mo s.n.
[fol. 1r]

1459
Ricordo che adi 16 aprile Marcho da Mantoa famelgio de lo Ill.mo mess. Girolo da este de dare un telarolo de legno da reccamare lo quale ge presta Marco de la Sassino

[fol. 2r]
MCCCCLVIIII

A

m.o Antonio da Venexia	a carta	17
Anbroxo di Lupi da milano	a	22

B

Biaxio del Baillo	a	13
Bartolamio deli agnelli	a	19
m.a Bartolamia donna de m. delasassino	a	27
m.a Biatrixe di costabili	a	34

C

m.o Cristofalo Calefino	a	16
Cupino fiamengo	a	18
Cattabene da vila fuora	a	19
Catelina fiola de Marco	a	28
Catelina panegaia	a	30
Cornelia dona de G. Capelini	a	31

D
E
F
G

[fol. 3r]
1459
Lavori taiati per lo bucintoro per lo ornamento se fa di novo di commissione di lo Illustrissimo S.N.M.

30 pezi di pano di circa brazza 1 ½ per quadra luno, bianchi, russi e virdi che vano cusidi insieme in doe spaliere che vano atorno libanchi che e sopra dal ciello del dito bucintoro.
3 pezi de pano verdi lungi brazza 13 ut circa luno elargi 1/3 per pendanti che va sopra le infrascripte cortine.

3 cortine di pano rosso
dalado al cielo del dito
4 cortine di pano bianco
5 cortine di pano verdi
} zoe che sono parte de queli che vano da la salla di sotto.

1 cortina
4 pezi depano verdi cum sieve suxo che vano reportadi adite cortine
1 pezo simile a li soprascripti acompire le sieve di lo dito
2 cortine bianche che vano dal revelino ala xala
2 cortine bianche che vano al revelino
2 pezi virdi cum sieve che vano a le dite cortine dil revelino e dal revelino a la sala.

[fol. 3v]
Adi 21 di marzo taio m.o Jac.o del bailo pezze 5 di tello verdi sotto 10 cortine delle pizole
Adi 22 dito ebe biasio fiolo del dito pezzo 3 di diti telle per taiare sotto altri lavorj.
Adi 22 dito ebe biaxio figliolo del ditto peze 3 de ditto telle per taiare sotto altri lavori per lo toxo suo garzone.
Adi 28 de marzo ebe m.o Jacomo del Baillo peze 4 de tella verde per tagliare sotto le coltrine dal timone e Revelino del buzintoro.
Adi 29 ditto che m.o Jac.o del Baillo peze 3 de tella verde per tagliare sotto el revelino.

[fol. 4r]
Capitolo dele Coltrine et altri lavori che serano consegnate a m.o Jacomo del Baillo per portare a cassa sua a foderare e a pezare et serano como apresso
Adi 19 de marzo
1° coltrina de pano virde como Laguia bianca grande in mezo
1° coltrine de pano rosso como el batello in mezo
Rexe le ditte due coltrine.

[fol. 4v]
M.a Lucia da Venexia de dare adi 22 de zenaro lire una soldi quatro de marchesani che sono per la valuta de lire una de fuietti de bazillo zioè
lire 1 soldi 4 danari –
Adì 29 per onze 1/8 de zaferan lire – soldi 2 danari 6
Adì 4 de febraro de dare lire una de marchesani contanti alei per m.me de Scipio fortuna zioè
lire 1 soldi – danari –
Adi ditto de dare lire una de marchesani che sono per la valutta de lire una de fuietta de bazille zioè lire 1 soldi – danari –
Adi 30 de marzo de dare lire una soldi duj danari seij de marchesani a Leij per mane de Scipio fortuna
lire 1 soldi 2 danari vi
Adi 24 di marzo lire due soldi tri denari sei contanti aleij per mi Scipio fortuna
lire 2 soldi 3 danari vi
lire 6.13.6

M.a Catelina dona che fuo de Girardo da Este de dare adi 31 de zenaro lire una de marchesane che sono per la valuta de lire una de fuietta de bacille zioe
Lire 1 soldi – denari –
Et adì 24 de marzo de dare lire 0 soldi seij dinari cinque de marchesani li quali Leij ebe contanti per resto dela contrascripta rasone Lire 0 soldi 6 denari 5
~~Notta~~
Notta che volendo in contiare li denari pagati per conto de lanota dila tassa di otamano di novello tesuriero non die aparer che sia pagatto per contanti a la dita m.a Catelina sono li ditti soldi 6 danari 5 per che launti se gli difalcha per valuta dela dita fuieta.
Lire 0.6.5

[fol. 5r]
m.a Lucia da Venexia contrascritta de avere adi 22 de zenaro lire 0 soldi 6 denari ~~sei~~ de marchesani che sono per la valuta de onze due 1/8 de oro de bazille araxone de soldi 30 la lira monta
Lire 0 soldi 6 danari 0
Adi 24 ditto de avere per onze 3 de ditto oro aditto pretio
Lire 0 soldi 7 danari 6
Adi 29 ditto per onze 6 4/8 de dito oro
Lire 0 soldi 16 danari 3
Adi 31 ditto per onze 3 del ditto oro
Lire 0 soldi 7 danari 6
Adi p.o de febraro per onze 2 4/8 del ditto oro
Lire 0 soldi 6 danari 6
Adi 12 ditto per onze 7 2/4 del ditto oro
Lire 0 soldi 18 danari 9

Adi 21 ditto per onze 11 del dito oro

Lire 1 soldi 7 danari 6
4.10.0

Adi 24 de marzo de haver per libbre una onze cinque 2/8 di ditto oro filado

Lire 2 soldi 3 danari 6
6.13.6

M.a Catelina dona che fuo da Girardo da este contrascritta de avere adi 5 de febraio per la valutta de onze una 7/8 de oro de bazille a raxone de denari 30 de marchesani la lira monta

Lire 0 soldi 3 denari 1

Adi 7 ditto per onze una 4/8 de ditto oro

Lire 0 soldi 3 denari 9

Adi 12 ditto per onze due 3/8 ½ del ditto oro

Lire 0 soldi 6 denari 1

Adi 3 de marzo per onze cinque 3/8 del ditto oro

Lire 0 soldi 13 denari 6
1.6.5

[fol. 5v]

m.o Sadoche sarto contrascritto de dare adi 3 de febraio lire 0 soldi decenove denari octo de marchesani contanti ~~da S~~ a luj

Lire 0 soldi 19 danari 8

et adi 24 de marzo de dare lire una de marchesani li quali Luij ebe contanti

Lire 1 soldi 0 danari 0
1.19.8

Tura dona de aparuto dorio contrascritta de dare adi 3 de febraio lire una soldi uno denari 0 de marchesani contanti a leij zioe

Lire 1 soldi 1 denari 0

Et adi 31 de decembre de dare lire – soldi sei denari – marchesani alei dati contanti per lo pretio di onze sei di reve bianco araxone de soldi 12 la libra

Lire 0 soldi 6 denari 0
1.7.0

Gosme mazante contrascritto de dare adi 24 de marzo lire una soldi sedice dinari tri de marchesani li quali luij ebe contanti zioe

Lire 1 soldi 16 denari 3

Lena dona de Girardino de Marco contrascritta de dare adi 25 de febraro lire due soldi 0 denari 0 de marchesani per le contanti a leij zioe

Lire 2 soldi 0 denari 0

Et adi 31 de dembre de dare lire – soldi quatro denari tri dei marchesani contati a leij zioe

Lire 0 soldi 4 denari 3
2.4.3

[c. 6r]

1459

m.o Sadoche sarto de auere adi 15 de zenaro lire 0 soldi quatro denari octo de marchesani per lo pretio de onze una 7/8 de reue bianco sutille a soldi 2 denari 6 lonza monta

Lire 0 soldi 4 denari 8

A di 27 del ditto de auere lire 0 soldi quindice denari 0 de marchesani per lo pretio de onze seij de reue bianco sutille a soldi trenta la libra monta

Lire 0 soldi 15 denari 0

A di 16 de febraio de auere lire una soldi 0 denari 0 de marchesani per lo pretio de onze octo de reue bianco sutille araxone de soldi 30 la libra monta

Lire 1 soldi 0 denari 0
1.19.8

m.a Tura dona de aparuto dorio de auere adi 19 de zenaro lire una soldi uno de marchesani che sono per lo pretio de lire una onze due de reue bianco a soldi 18 la libra monta

Lire 1 soldi 1 denari 0

Et adi 7 de marzo de auere lire 0 soldi 6 denari 0 de marchesani che sono per lo pretio de onze seij de reue bianco araxone de soldi 12 la libra monta

Lire 0 soldi 6 denari 0
1.7.0

Gosme mazante de auere adi 30 de zenaro lire una soldi sedice denari tri de marchesani per lo pretio de libre una onze due ½ de reue bianco sutille araxone de soldi 30 la libra monta

Lire 1 soldi 16 denari 3

m.a Lena dona de Girardino de marco de auere adi 23 de febraio lire due soldi 0 denari 0 de marchesani per lo pretio de lire due de reue bianco sutile araxone de soldi 20 la libra monta

Lire 2 soldi 0 denari 0

Adi 15 de marzo de auere per onze [manca] de reue bianco utilissimo araxone de soldi [manca] la libra monta

Lire 0 soldi 4 denari 3
2.4.3

[c. 7 r. bianca]

[c. 7v]

M.a Lietta done de filipo dela Sassino de dare adi 29 de zenaro lire una de marchesane che sono per la ualuta de libre una de fuietta de bacille zioè

Lire 1 soldi 0 denari 0

[c. 8r]

M.a Lietta dona de filipo dela Sassino contrascritta de auere adi 31 de zenaro lire *[manca]* soldi *[manca]* denari *[manca]* de marchesani che sono per la ualuta de onze 3 4/8 de oro de bacille araxone de soldi 30 la libra

Lire 0 soldi 8 denari 9

Adi primo de febraro per onze una de ditto horo

Lire 0 soldi 2 denari 6

Adi 12 ditto per onze ~~sette~~ tre 7/8 ½ de ditto oro

Lire 0 soldi 9 denari 10

Non fuo aceta Adi 19 ~~ditto per~~ onze cinque 6/8 del ditto ~~oro~~ dito era molto cativo

Lire 0 soldi 0 denari 0

1.1.1

Capitolo de piu spexe menude fate per mandare tellari arecamare de quili del buzintoro et altre cagione per el ditto sono como apresso

zioe

In prima a Andrea fachin che porto in nanzi e in drio tellari a recamare che fuo adi 9 de febrario

Lire 0 soldi 1 denari 0

Adi 15 ditto per uno fachino che porto tellari ut sup.

Lire 0 soldi 2 denari 0

Adi 16 ditto per due fachini che porto lo adornamento vechio del buzintoro apo

Lire 0 soldi 1 denari 0

Adi 17 ditto per ~~un~~ duj fachini che retorno lo soprascritto adornamento a corte

Lire 0 soldi 1 denari 0

Adi 26 ditto per uno burchiello che porto lo aparamento vechio ala resana per meterlo al buzintoro soldi duj de marchesani

Lire 0 soldi 2 denari 0

Adi primo de marzo per uno fachino che porto el reuelino et una coltrina dil buzintoro apo zioe per landare et ritornare

Lire 0 soldi 0 denari 8

Adi ditto per uno barcarollo che porto dito reuelino e coltrina ala resana zoe per andare e ritornare

Lire 0 soldi 1 denari 0

A di 9 de marzo per uno fachino che porto una scarana a m.o Simone Sellaro

Lire 0 soldi 0 denari 2

A di 20 de marzo per uno fachino che porto i tellari in qua e in la per la terra soldi dui denari due

Lire 0 soldi 2 denari 2

A di 21 ditto per uno fachino che porto li pezi dele Sp*[aliere]* a po per andare e ritornare

Lire 0 soldi 0 denari 8

A di ditto per mandare una scarana a far coprire

Lire 0 soldi 0 denari 2

A di ditto per mandare le Spaliere ala resanada in nave a un bastirle al buzintoro

Lire 0 soldi 1 denari 6

Al franzoxe tapeziero soldi uno denari octo

Lire 0 soldi 1 denari 8

A di 23 ditto per mandare le coltrine et revelino in salla soldi 0 denari duj

Lire 0 soldi 0 denari 2

A di 24 de marzo per mandare a tuore tellari in qua in la soldi uno denari seij

Lire 0 soldi 1 denari 6

Suma Lire 0 soldi 17 denari 8

[c. 8v]

Continuando al capitollo dele spexe menude fatto in piu et diverse cagione et sono come apresso

Adi 27 de marzo per uno fachino che porto tellari a corte

Lire 0 soldi 0 denari 6

Adi 30 ditto per mandare in nanzi e in driedo el revelino vechio e novo e le coltrine et lanze dali stendardi del buzintoro apo che fuo duj fachini che ando et ritorno parechie volte

Lire 0 soldi 3 denari 6

Adi 31 ditto per fare squasare le coperte dale nave

Lire 0 soldi 2 denari 6

Adi primo de aprille per mandare lo aparamento del buzintoro apo

Lire 0 soldi 0 denari 8

Adi 29 ditto per fare vudare la salla dali recamaduri e far portare a dui fachini li telari da ricamare et scani et altre robe alo offitio da li razi

Lire 0 soldi 3 denari 6

Adi 30 de marzo per mandare atuore dui telari a cassa deli capelini che fano la liueradiga deli recami et mandare a casa de m.a Margarita darimino atuore uno telaro et acasa de malatesta degli ariosti uno telaio

Lire 0 soldi 2 denari 0

Lire 0 soldi 12 denari 4

0.12.8

0.17.0

---

1. 10.4

[c. 9 r e v bianca]

[c. 10 r e v bianca]

[c. 11 r e v bianca]

[c. 12 r]

Adi 4 de zenaro

Girardo da Vicenza depintor vene a lauorar a desegnar e apparechiare li lauori dil bucintoro cun 2 garzoni apresso se fara nota di li di che falarano

Sabato
Domenega } adi 6 7 che fo festa non lavorono
Domenega adi 14 dito non lavorono
Mercori adi 17 ditto lo dito non lavoro
Sabado adi 29 ditto lo dito non lavoro
Domenega adi 21 dito lo ditto non lavoro
Domenega adi 28 ditto non lavoro
Marti adi 30 del ditto li soprascritti non lavoro
Mercuri adi 31 ditto lavoro solamente m° Girardo
Zobia adi primo de feberaio lo ditto lavoro sollo
Veneri adi 2 ditto lo soprascritto non lavoro
Sabato adi 3 dito non lavoro
Domenega adi 4 ditto non lavoro
Luni adi 5 e adi 6 lavoro m° girardo sollo
Mercori adi 7 lavoro cun duj garzoni
Zobia adi 8 lavoro el ditto cun duj garzoni
Veneri adi 9 e adi 10 lavoro el ditto cun uno garzone
~~Sabato adi 10~~
Domenega adi ~~10~~ 11 non lavoro
Luni lavoro adi 12 el ditto cun uno garzone
Marti lavoro adi 13 ditto cum uno garzone
Domenega adi 18 non lavoro
Sabado adi 24 e adi 25 ditto non lavoro
Domenega adi 4 de marzo ditto non lavoro
Mercori adi 7 ditto lasso de lauorare el soprascritto
Marti mezo di luoro m° Girardo solo in fina sino adi 20 ditto
Mercori adi 21 lavoro m° Girardo sollo
Zobia adi 22 ditto lavoro como uno garzone.

Ha lauorato m° Girardo cun la persona soa di 50 lauoranti a soldi 12 el di monta lire 30 soldi 0 denari 0
Ha lauorato li soi lauoranti op.e 65 a soldi 8 luni lire 26 soldi 0 denari 0
Intuto lire 56 soldi 0 denari 0

Girardo da Vizenza soprascritto che li infrascritti denari per lui e per li suoi garzoni per parte de pagamento dele onere che lui dara disignare e pari chiare li lauori del buzintoro come apresso zioe

A di 13 de zenaro ebe lire tre soldi 0 denari zero zioe	L 3 . 0 . 0
A di 23 ditto ebe lire cinque soldi 0 denari 0 zioe	L 5 . 0 . 0
A di 27 ditto ebe lire sette soldi 0 denari 0 zioe	L 7 . 0 . 0

A di 3 de febraio ebe lire due soldi 0 denari 0 zioe	L 2 . 0 . 0
A di 10 ditto ebe lire seij soldi 0 denari 0 zioe	L 6 . 0 . 0
A di 17 ditto lire cinque soldi 0 denari 0 zioe	L 5 . 0 . 0
A di 3 de marzo ebe lire cinque soldi 0 denari 0 zioe	L 5 . 0 . 0
A di 14 ditto ebe lire 5 soldi 0 denari 0 zioe	L 5 . 0 . 0
A di 24 ditto ebe lire tre soldi 0 denari 0 zioe	L 3 . 0 . 0
	41 . 0 . 0
Ha havuto il boletino di suo resto	
A di 14 di setembro lire quindice se marchesani	L 15 . 0 . 0
Suma in tutto	56 . 0 . 0

[c. 13 r]

Biaxio del baillo vene a lauorare in lo lavoro del buzintoro adi 8 de zenaro a lauorare continuamente et apresso se notava li di che lui falara.

Domenega adi 14 dito non lavoro
Mercori adi 17 dito non lavoro
Sabado adi 20 lo ditto non lavoro
Domenega adi 21 lo ditto non lavoro
Domenega adi 28 lo ditto non lavoro
Luni adi 29 lo ditto non lavoro
Marti adi 30 lo ditto non lavoro
Mercori adi 31 lo ditto non lavoro
Zobia adi primo de feberaro lo ditto non lavoro
Veneri ad 2 ditto lo preditto non lavoro
Sabado adi 3 ditto non lavoro
Domenega adi 4 ditto non lavoro
Luni adi 5 ditto non lavoro e adi 6 non lavoro
Domenega adi 11 non lavoro
Domenega adi 18 non lavoro
Zobia adi 22 ditto non lavoro
Sabado adi 24 e adi 25 ditto non lavoro
Mercori adi 28 detto non lavoro
Veneri adi 2 de marzo ditto non lavoro
Sabado adi 3 e adi 4 de marzo ditto non lavoro e domenega
Luni adi 5 dito lasso de lauorare el soprascritto.
Ha lavorato el soprascritto Biasio di 30 a soldi 6 denari 2 al di monta
Lire 9 . 0 . 0

Biaxio del baillo soprascritto ebe li infrascripti dinari per parte de pagamento dele hauere che lui dara a tartaiare li lauori del buzintoro como apresso zioe

A di 13 de zenaro ebe lire una soldi 0 denari 0 zioe	L. 1 . 0 . 0
A di 23 ditto ebe lire una soldi diece denari 0	L. 1 . 10 . 0

A di 27 ditto ebe lire una soldi denari 0 zioe L. 1 . 10 . 0
Adi 10 ditto de febraio ebe lire una soldi 0 denari 0 zioe L. 1 . 0 . 0
A di 17 ditto ebe lire una soldi diece denari 0 zioe L. 1 . 0 . 0
A di 3 de marzo ebe lire una soldi diece denari 0 zioe L. 1 . 10 . 0
A di 24 ditto ebe lire una soldi diece denari 0 zioe L. 1 . 10 . 0

9 . 0 . 0
Ha hauto intuto 9 . 0 . 0

[c. 14 r]
Sadoche sarto vene a lauorare in lo lavoro del bucintoro adi 8 di zenaro a lauorare continuamente e apresso se notara li di che lui falara
Dominega adi 14 dito non lavoro
Mercori adi 17 dito lo ditto non lavoro
Sabado adi 20 ditto lo ditto non lavoro
Domenega adi 28 ditto lo dito non lavoro
Luni adi 29 lo ditto non lavoro
Marti adi 30 lo ditto non lavoro
Mercori adi 31 lo dito non lavoro
Zobia adi primo de febraro ditto lavoro
Veneri adi 2 ditto non lavoro
Sabado adi 3 ditto non lavoro
Domenega adi 11 non lavoro
~~Luni adi 5 ed 6 non l~~
Domenega adi 11 non lavoro
Domenega adi 18 non lavoro
Sabado adi 24 e adi 25 ditto non lavoro
Domenega adi 4 de marzo ditto non lavoro
Luni adi 5 ditto lasso de lauorare el soprascripto
Ha lauorato el dito di 40 di falcado li soprascritti di che non lavoro tassado a soldi 6 denari 3 el di

L. 12 . 0 . 0

Sadoche sartto ebe li infrascritti dinari per parte de pagamento dele houere che lui dara a tartaiare li lauori del buzintoro come apresso zioe
A di 13 de zenaro ebe lire una soldi diece denari 0 zioe L. 1 . 10 . 0
A di 23 ditto ebe lire una soldi diece denari 0 zioe L. 1 . 10 . 0
Adi 27 ditto ebe lire due soldi 0 denari 0 zioe L. 2 . 0 . 0
A di 10 de febraio ebe lire una soldi diece denari 0 zioe L. 1 . 10 . 0
A di 17 ditto ebe lire una soldi 10 denari 0 zioe L. 1 . 10 . 0
A di 3 de marzo ebe lire due soldi 0 denari 0 zioe L. 2 . 0 . 0
~~A di 24 del ditto ebe lire~~
Leuato el suo resto in boleti

A di 30 de zugno ebe lire due per suo resto dele soprascritte auere per lui dare L. 2 . 0 . 0
Ha autto in tutto L. 12 . 0 . 0

[c. 15 r]
Adi 4 di zenaro
Mathio di m° grazo da le vieze vene a far zoso horo e reue e lane per li ricami e lornamento al buzintoro apresso si fara nota de li di che lui falara
Sabato adi 6 dito
Domenega adi 7 dito } che fo festa non lavoro perche fe festa
Domenega adi 14 dito non lavoro
Mercori adi 17 dito lo ditto non lavoro
Sabado 20 ditto lo ditto non lavoro
Domenega adi 21 ditto lo ditto non lavoro
Veneri adi 2 de febraro lo predicto non lavoro
Sabado adi 3 ditto non lavoro
Domenega adi 4 ditto non lavoro
Luni adi 5 e adi 6 non lavoro
Domenega adi 11 non lavoro
Domenega adi 18 non lavoro
Sabado adi 24 e adi 25 ditto non lavoro
Domenega adi 4 de maro ditto non lavoro
Domenega adi 11 ditto non lavoro
Zobia adi 15 ditto de sira lasso de lauorare el soprascritto
El dito viene ad hauere lauorato abatudo li soprascritti di che non lavoro di 53 tassado a soldi 4 denari 3 el di L 10 . 12 . 0

Mathio de m° grazo soprascritto ebe li infrascripti dinari per parte de pagamento dele houere che lui dara in fare zoxo oro e reue e lane per li recami del buzintorro como apresso zioe
A di 23 de zenaro ebe lire una soldi diece denari 0 zioe L 1 . 10 . 0
A di 27 ditte ebe lire una soldi diece denari 0 zioe L 1 . 10 . 0
A di 3 de febraio ebe lire una soldi 0 denari 0 zioe L 1 . 0 . 0
A di 10 ditto ebe lire una soldi 0 denari 0 zioe L 1 . 0 . 0
A di 17 ditto ebe lire una soldi 10 danari 0 zioe L 1 . 10 . 0
A di 3 marzo ebe lire una soldi 0 denari 0 zioe L 1 . 0 . 0
A di 14 ditto ebe lire una soldi 0 denari 0 zioe L 1 . 0 . 0
A di 24 ditto ebe lire una soldi diece denari 0 zioe L 1 . 10 . 0
A di 30 de zugno ebe lire 0 soldi dodice de marchesani zioe L 0 . 12 . 0
Ha autto intutto L. 10 . 12 . 0

[c. 15 v]
1459
M° Jacomo del baillo vene a lauorare zioe a fodrare lo apparamento del buzintoro adi 20 de marzo cum cinque garzoni cum pura suo figliollo.

M° Jacomo del baillo soprascritto ebe li infrascritti dinari per parte de pagamento dela sua manifattura de lui et suoi garzoni de fodrare lo apramento del buzintoro et sono como aprisso zioe
A di 24 de marzo ebe lire sei soldi – denari – de marchesani zioe L. 6 . 0 . 0
A di 31 ditto ebe lire diece di marchesani L. 10 . 0 . 0

[c. 16 r]
Cristofalo calefino recamadore vene a lauorare adi ii di zenaro
Luni adi 5 di febraio lasso di lauorar per compire zornee di la famia di lo Illustrissimo Misser Ercule.
Venere adi ~~10~~ 9 de febraro vene a lauorare a mezo di
Zobia adi 15 de marzo a hora de disinare lasso de lauorare el soprascritto
Viene ad hauer lauorato el dito di 68 che sono mixi 2 e di 8 tassato lire 15 el mese a soi spexe monta
L. 34 . 0 . 0

M° Cristofalo calefino soprascritto ebe li infrascritti dinari per parte de pagamento del salario che se li dara per mexe per lauorare in li rechami del buzintoro como apresso zioe
A di 13 de zenaro ebe lire 3 soldi 0 denari 0 zioe L 3 . 0 . 0
A di 23 ditto ebe lire tre soldi 0 denari o zioe L 3 . 0 . 0
A di 27 ditto ebe lire tre denari 0 soldi 0 zioe L 3 . 0 . 0
A di 3 de febraio ebe lire 2 soldi 0 denari 0 zioe L 2 . 0 . 0
A di 17 ditto ebe lire tre soldi 0 denari 0 zioe L 3 . 0 . 0
A di 3 de marzo ebe lire 3 soldi 0 denari 0 zioe L 3 . 0 . 0
A di 14 ditto ebe lire tre soldi 0 denari 0 zioe L 3 . 0 . 0
A di 24 ditto ebe lire tre soldi 0 denari 0 zioe L 3 . 0 . 0
A di 21 de luio
Ha hauto el boetino del suo resto 23 . 0 . 0
A di 21 de luglio lire ondece de marchesani zioe L 11 . 0 . 0
Suma L 34 . 0 . 0

[c. 16 v bianca]

[c. 17 r]
1459
m° Antonio da Venezia recamadore vene a lavorare adi 8 di zenaro
Luni adi 5 di febraio lasso di lauorare per compire zornee di familgi di lo Illustrissimo misser Erculio
Veneri adi 4 vene a lauorare amezo di
Zobia adi 15 de marzo a hore 22 lasso de lauorare el soprascritto
Ha lauorate mixi 2 e di 2 adi 30 per mese a lire 13 soldi 3 el mixe monta
L. ~~34 . 14 . 4~~
L. 26 . 17 . 4

M° Antonio da Venexia soprascritto ebe li infrascritti dinari per parte del salario che se gli dara per mexe per lauorare in li recami del deto adornamento del buzintoro como apresso zoe

A di 13 de zenaro ebe lire due soldi 0 denari 0 zioe	L 2 . 0 . 0
A di 23 ditto ebe lire tre soldi ~~diece~~ denari 0 zioe	L 3 . ~~10~~ . 0
A di 27 ditto ebe lire tre soldi 0 denari 0 zioe	L 3 . 0 . 0
A di 3 de febraio ebe lire due soldi 0 denari 0 zioe	L 2 . 0 . 0
A di 17 ditto ebe lire tre soldi 0 denari 0 zioe	L 3 . 0 . 0
A di 3 de marzo ebe lire tre soldi 0 denari 0 zioe	L 3 . 0 . 0
A di 14 ditto ebe lire tre soldi 0 denari zioe	L 3 . 0 . 0
A di 24 ditto ebe lire tre soldi 0 denari 0 zioe	L 3 . 0 . 0
A di 30 de zugno ebe lire quatro soldi decesette denari quatro	L 4 . 17 . 4
	26 . 17 . 4

[c. 17 v]

Cupino fiamengo recamadore vene a lauorar adi 8 de zenaro

Luni adi 5 e ~~adi 6~~ di febraio non lavoro se non fino a hora di desinare falo el di di carnevali

Zobia adi 15 de marzo hora de desinare lasso de lauorare

Ha lauorato misi 2 e di 5 a lire 10 soldi iii el mese a soe spexe di boca monta

L 21 . 13 . 4

Cupino fiamengo recamadore soprascritto ebe li infrascritti dinari per parte de pagamento del salario che se gli dara per mexe per lauorare in li recami del buzintoro como apresso zioe

A di 13 de zenaro ebe lire una soldi diece denari 0 zioe	L 1 . 10 . 0
A di 23 ditto ebe lire una soldi diece denari 0 zioe	L 1 . 10 . 0
A di 27 ditto ebe lire due soldi 0 denari 0 zioe	L 2 . 0 . 0
A di 3 de febraio ebe lire una soldi diece denari 0 zioe	L 1 . 10 . 0
A di 10 ditto ebe lire una soldi diece denari 0 zioe	L 1 . 10 .0
A di 17 ditto ebe lire due soldi 0 denari 0 zioe	L 2 . 0 . 0
A di 3 de marzo ebe lire due soldi 0 denari 0 zioe	L 2 . 0 . 0
A di 14 ditto ebe lire due soldi 0 denari 0 zioe	L 2 . 0 . 0
A di 24 ditto ebe lire due soldi 0 denari 0 zioe	L 2 . 0 . 0
A di 30 de zugno ebe lire cinque soldi tredice denari quatro	L 5 .13 . 4
	21 . 13 . 4

[c. 18 r]

Franzoxe recamadore vene a lauorare adi 8 di zenaro

Luni adi 5 non lavoro se non fino ahora de desenare e non lavoro el di di carnauale

Zobia adi 15 de marzo la sira lasso de lauorare

Ha lauorato misi 2 e di 5 a lire 8 el mixe a soi spexe di boca monta

L. 17 . 6 . 8

Franzoxe recamadore soprascritto ebe li infrascritti dinari per parte del salario che se gli dara per mexe per lauor in li recami del buzintoro como apresso zioe

A di 13 de zenaro ebe lire una soldi diece denari 0 zioe	L 1 . 10 . 0
A di 23 ditto ebe lire una soldi 0 denari 0 zioe	L 1 . 0 . 0
A di 27 ditto ebe lire due soldi 0 denari 0 zioe	L 2 . 0 . 0
A di 3 de febraio ebe lire una soldi diece denari 0 zioe	L 1 . 10 . 0
A di 10 ditto ebe lire una soldi 0 denari 0 zioe	L 1 . 0 . 0
A di 17 ditto ebe lire una soldi diece denari 0 zioe	L 1 . 10 . 0
A di 3 de marzo ebe lire una soldi diece denari 0 zioe	L 1 . 10 . 0
A di 14 ditto ebe lire due soldi 0 denari 0 zioe	L 2 . 0 . 0
A di 24 ditto ebe lire due soldi 0 denari 0 zioe	L 2 . 0 . 0
A di 30 de zugno ebe lire tre soldi sei denari otto	L 3 . 6 . 8
	17 . 6 . 8

[c. 18 v]

Bartolamio di li agneli da mantoa recamadore vene a lauorare adi 8 di zenaro

Luni adi 5 ~~e adi 6~~ di febraio non lavoro se non fino a hora di disinare e non lavoro el di di carneuale

Luni adi 19 detto comenzo a lauorare a sua posta et se die pagare apezo per pezo segondo che lui lauorava.

A di 23 ditto liuero el soprascritto due frape de pano bianco cum duj alicornij suxo.

A di 17 de marzo a hore 23 lasso de lauorare el soprascritto che fuo sabado

Ha lauorato misi 2 e di 7 a lire 6 el mexe monta	L 13 . 8 . 0

Bartolamio deli agnellj recamadore soprascritto ebe li infrascripti dinari per parte del sallario che se gli dara per mexe per lauorare in li recami del buzintoro como apresso zioe

A di 13 de zenaro ebe lire una soldi 0 denari 0 zioe	L 1 . 0 . 0
A di 23 ditto ebe lire una soldi 0 denari 0 zioe	L 1 . 0 . 0
A di 27 ditto ebe lire una soldi 0 denari 0 zioe	L 1 . 0 . 0
A di 3 de febraio ebe lire una soldi cinque denari 0 zioe	L 1 . 5 . 0
A di 10 dito ebe lire una soldi 0 denari 0 zioe	L 1 . 0 . 0
A di 17 ditto ebe lire una soldi 0 denari 0 zioe	L 1 . 0 . 0
A di 3 de marzo ebe lire una soldi 0 denari 0 zioe	L 1 . 0 . 0
A di 14 ditto ebe lire una soldi diece denari 0 zioe	L 1 . 10 . 0
A di 24 ditto ebe lire una soldi diece denari 0 zioe	L 1 . 10 . 0
A di 30 de zugno ebe lire tre soldi tri denari 0	L. 3 . 3 . 0
	13 . 8 . 0

[c. 19r]

Catabon da villa fora recamadore vene a lauorare adi 8 di zenaro

Luni adi 5 ~~e adi 6~~ di febraro non lavoro se non sino alora di disinare e non lavoro el di di carneuale

Luni adi 19 ditto comezo alauorare a sua posta et se die pagare apezo per primo pezo segondo che lui lauorava.
A di 23 ditto liuero el soprascritto due frape de pano bianco cum due alicornij suxo.
A di 8 de marzo liuero el soprascritto Catabene et el contrascritto Bartolamio deli agnelli compagni recamaduri uno pezo de queli del reuelino al quale glilia fatto le palme el pauaione solamente.
A di 17 de marzo liuero li soprascritti uno pezo fato como lo spoprascritto at lasso de lauorare adi ditto a hore 23 che fuo sabado.
Ha lauorato mixi 2 e di 7 a lire 6 el mexe monta L 13 . 8 . 0

Catabene da villa fuora recamadore ebe li infrascritti dinari per parte del salario che se gli sara per mexe per liuorare in recami del buzintoro como apresso zioe
A di 13 de zenaro ebe lire una soldi 0 denari 0 zioe L 1 . 0 . 0
A di 23 ditto ebe lire una soldi 0 denari 0 zioe L 1 . 0 . 0
A di 27 ditto ebe lire una soldi diece denari 0 zioe L 1 . 10 . 0
A di 3 de febraio ebe lire una soldi cinque denari 0 zioe L 1 . 5 . 0
A di 10 ditto ebe lire una soldi 0 denari 0 zioe L 1 . 0 . 0
A di 17 dito ebe lire una soldi diece denari 0 zioe L 1 . 10 . 0
A di 3 de marzo ebe lire una soldi 0 denari 0 zioe L 1 . 0 . 0
A di 14 ditto ebe lire una soldi diece denari 0 zioe L 1 . 10 . 0
A di 24 ditto ebe lire una soldi diece denati 0 zioe L 1 . 10 . 0
A di 30 de zugno ebe lire due soldi tri denari 0 zioe L 2 . 3 . 0
13 . 8 . 0

[c. 19 v]
Luca di Jac.o da Venexia recamadori vene a lauorare adi 8 di zenaro
Luni adi 5 di febraio lavorono fino a hora di disinare e non piu
Marti adi 6 non lauorano
Mercori adi 7 e adi 8 non lavoro
Veneri adi 9 e adi 10 lavoro et comenzo veneri amezo di alauorare
Zobia adi 15 de marzo a hora de desinare lasso de lauorare
Ha lauorato misi 2 e di 2 a lire 3 el mese monta L 6 . 4 . 0

Luca da Venexia recamadore ebe li infrascritti dinari per parte del salario che se gli dara per mexe per lauorare in li recami del buzintoro como apresso zioe
A di 13 de zenaro ebe lire 0 soldi sedice denari 0 zioe L 0 . 16 . 0
A di 23 ditto ebe lire 0 soldi diece denari 0 zioe L 0 . 10 . 0
A di 27 ditto ebe lire una soldi 0 denari 0 zioe L 1 . 0 . 0
A di 3 de febraio ebe lire 0 soldi diece denari 0 zioe L 0 . 10 . 0
A di 17 ditto ebe lire 0 soldi diece denari 0 zioe L 0 . 10 . 0
A di 3 de marzo ebe lire 0 soldi quindece denari 0 zioe L 0 . 15 . 0
A di 14 ditto ebe lire 0 soldi quindece denari 0 zioe L 0 . 15 . 0
A di 24 ditto ebe lire 0 soldi diece denari 0 zioe L 0 . 10 . 0
A di 30 de zugno ebe lire 0 soldi decedotto denari 0 L 0 . 18 . 0

6 . 4 . 0

[c. 20 r]

Lanzalotto da mantoa recamadore vene a lauorare adi 6 di zenaro
Luni adi 5 di fabraio lavoro fino a hora di disinare e non più
Marti adi 6 non lavoro
Sabado adi 17 de marzo a hore 23 lasso de lauorare el soprascritto
Vene hauer lauorato mixi 2 e di 10 tassado per m° Jac.o di Bonauentura e ant° da Bonauentura a fe 4 el mese monta fe 9 1/3 a soldi 56 per fe monta quello di hauere L 26 . 2 . 0

Lanzalotto da mantoa recamadore ebe li infrascritti dinari per parte del salario che se gli dara per mexe per lauorare per li recami dil buzintoro como apresso zioe

A di 13 de zenaro ebe lire una soldi diece denari 0 zioe	L 1 . 10 . 0
A di 23 ditto ebe lire una soldi diece denari 0 zioe	L 1 . 10 . 0
A di 27 ditto ebe lire due soldi 0 denari 0 zioe	L 2 . 0 . 0
A di 3 de febraio ebe lire una soldi diece denari 0 zioe	L 1 . 10 . 0
A di 10 ditto ebe lire una soldi diece denari 0 zioe	L 1 . 10 . 0
A di 17 ditto ebe lire due soldi 0 denari 0 zioe	L 2 . 0 . 0
A di 3 de marzo ebe lire due soldi 0 denari 0 zioe	L 2 . 0 . 0
A di 14 ditto ebe lire due soldi 0 denari 0 zioe	L 2 . 0 . 0
A di 24 ditto ebe lire dodece soldi duj denari 0 zioe	L 12 . 2 . 0
Soma	L 26 . 2 . 0

[c. 20 v]

M° Jacomino di lupi recamadore vene a lauorae adi 10 di zenaro
Luni adi 5 e adi 6 di febraio non lavoro
Zobia adi 7 dito lasso di lauorar perche fomorsegato da un cane e non possea andare
Sabado adi 10 vene a lauorare el ditto
Zobia adi primo de marzo e adi 2 e adi 3 e adi 4 non lavoro
Zobia adi 15 ditto de sira lasso de lauorare
Ha lavorato mixi 1 e di 26 a lire 13 el mexe monta L 24 . 5 . 4

M° Jacomino di lupi recamadore che li infrascritto dinari per parte del salario che se gli dara per mexe per lauorare in li recami del buzintoro como apresso zioe

A di 13 de zenaro ebe lire una soldi 0 denari 0 zioe	L 1 . 0 . 0
A di 23 ditto ebe lire due soldi 0 denari 0 zioe	L 2 . 0 . 0
A di 27 ditto ebe lire tre soldi 0 denari 0 zioe	L 3 . 0 . 0
A di 3 de febraio ebe lire due soldi 0 denari 0 zioe	L 2 . 0 0
A di 10 ditto ebe lire una soldi 0 denari 0 zioe	L 1 . 0 . 0
A di 17 ditto ebe lire tre soldi 0 denari 0 zioe	L 3 . 0 . 0
A di 3 de marzo ebe lire tre soldi 0 denari 0 zioe	L 3 . 0 . 0
A di 14 ditto ebe lire tre soldi 0 denari 0 zioe	L 3 . 0 . 0

A di 24 ditto ebe lire tre soldi 0 denari 0 zioe L 3 . 0 . 0
A di 30 zugno ebe lire tre soldi cinque denari 4 L 3 . 5 . 4
24 . 5 . 4

[c. 21 r]

m° Conte recamadore ebe arecamare ebe arecamare per el bucintoro come apresso zioe
adi 13 de zenaro
1° telaro como due palme et 1° alicornio in mezo del quale e finido due foglie e 1° gamba e 1° datelo ebe per recamarlo come apresso
2 brozolle 1° cum oro de bazille
2 Giemi de reue una zallo 1° negro
Non ebe el soprascritto tellaro perche el soprascritto conte non era in questa terra.

[c. 21 v]

M° Jac° de Bonaventura recamadore vene a lauorare in lo recamo di lo ornamento del bucintoro adi ~~8 di z~~ 15 di zenaro
Veneri adi 16 de marzo la sirra lasso de lauorare el soprascritto.
Ha lauorato misi 2 a lire 15 el mese monta L 30 . ~~12~~ . 0

M° Jacomo de bonauentura recamadore soprascritto ebe li infrascripti dinari per parte del salario che seli dara per mexe per recamare in li recami del buzintoro como apresso zioe
A di 23 de zenaro ebe lire due soldi 0 denari 0 zioe L 2 . 0 . 0
A di 27 ditto ebe lire tre soldi 0 denari 0 zioe L 3 . 0 . 0
A di 3 de febraio ebe lire due soldi 0 denari 0 zioe L 2 . 0 . 0
A di 10 ditto ebe lire tre soldi 0 denari 0 zioe L 3 . 0 . 0
A di 17 ditto ebe lire tre soldi 0 denari 0 zioe L 3 . 0 . 0
A di 3 de marzo ebe lire tre soldi 0 denari 0 zioe L 3 . 0 . 0
A di 14 del ditto ebe lire tre soldi 0 denari 0 zioe L 3 . 0 . 0
A di 24 ditto ebe lire tre soldi 0 denari 0 zioe L 3 . 0 . 0
A di 30 de zugno ebe lire 8 soldi 0 denari 0 zioe L 8 . 0 . 0
L 30 . 0 . 0

[c. 22r]

Ambroso di lupi recamadore vene a lauorare in lo recamo dil bucintoro adi 15 di zenaro
Luni adi 29 ditto non vene a lauorare apresso se notara quando luj uignira a lauorare.

Ambroxo di Lupi recamadore soprascritto ebe li infrascripti dinari per parte de salario che seli dara per mexe per recamare in li recami del buzintoro como apresso zioe
A di 23 de zenaro ebe lire due soldi 0 denari 0 zioe L, 2 . 0 . 0

A di 27 del ditto ebe lire 2 soldi 10 denari 0 zioe L. 2 . 10 . 0
L. 4 . 10 . 0

[c. 22 v]

M° Anichim dalemagna vene alauorare in li recami del buzintoro adi 5 de febraro
Adi 14 ditto lasso de lauorare el soprascritto.

Anichino de alemagna recamadore soprascritto ebe li infrascritti dinari per parte del salario che seli dara per mexe per recamare in li recami del buzintoro como apresso zioe
A di 10 de febraio ebe lire una soldi 0 denari 0 zioe L 1 . 0 . 0
A di 17 ditto ebe lire una soldi 0 denari 0 zioe L 1 . 0 . 0
2 . 0 . 0

[c. 23 r]

Zorzo da Cremona recamadore vene a lauorare in li recami del buzintoro adi 6 de marzo.
Sabado adi 17 de marzo a hore 23 lasso de lauorare
Ha lauorato di 12 tassado a lire 4 el mese monta soldi 7 denari 6
L 4 . 10 . 0

Zorzo da cremona recamadore soprascritto ebe li infrascripti dinari per parte del salario che sali dara per mexe per recamare in li recami del buzintoro et sono como apresso zioe
A di 14 de marzo ebe lire una soldi 0 denari 0 zioe L 1 . 0 . 0
A di 24 ditto ebe lire tre soldi diece denari 0 L 3 . 10 . 0
Suma L 4 . 10 . 0

[c. 23 v bianca]
[c. 24 r e v bianca]

[c. 25 r]

m^{a} veneranda dona di Jac^{o} perondolo ebe arecamare chome apresso
Adi 10 di zenaro
Uno tellaro con brazza 13 o circa di pano verde largo i […] cum la sieue per una parte deli pendanti che va de sopra le cortine del buzintoro era fato […]
2 brozole i^{a} cum oro di bacile laltra cumlana
2 giemi di reue i^{o} zallo e i^{o} negro
fo tassado dito tellaro perstima de li recamaduri a soldi 6 el brazzo monta
L 3 . 12 . 0
rexe adi p° de febraro el ditto tellaro fini del tuto

i° tellaro cum uno pezo de pano verde cum due palme et ~~Colombarollo~~
Chioldara in mezo del quale a afinire le palme solamente che e una cortina

tassado per m° Jac° diti palmie fati L 1 . 0 . 0
rexe adi 19 ditto questo tellar° fato le palme solamente

i° tellaro cum una cortina de pano bianco cum due palme et alicornio in mezo del quale a afinire le palme solamente tassado ut supra
L 1 . 0 . 0
rexe adi 20 de marzo questo tellaro fate le palme solamente
L 5 . 12 . 0

M[a] Veneranda dona de Jacomo perondolo soprascrotta ebe li infrascritti dinari per parte dela sua manifatura de auere recamado li soprascritti lauori delo adornamento del buzintoro como apresso zioe
A di 24 de febraio ebe lire tre de marchesani contanti aleij zioe
L 3 . 0 . 0
A di 21 de marzo ebe lire una soldi dodice denari 0 de marchesani contanti a lei
L 1 . 12 . 0
A di 24 ditto ebe lire una de marchesani contanti a leij zioe
L 1 . 0 . 0
L 5 . 12 . 0

[c. 25 v]
M[a] Tura dona de aparuto di orio ebe arecamare chome apresso
Adi 10 di zenaro
I° tellaro cum i[a] lista di pano verde lunga brazza 13 larga 1/3 cum la sieue che e parte del pendante che va sopra le cortine per lo quale core ut infra del quale era fato braza 1 ¼ di fato, stimo li recamaduri soldi 6 el brazzo monta
L 3 . 10 . 6
2 brazolo i[a] cum oro di bacile e i[a] cum lana negra
2 gieme di reue i° negro e i° zallo
2 brozolle i[a] cum oro de bazille e i[a] cum lana negra
2 giemi de reue i° negro e i° zallo.
Reso 2 brazolo
Rexe el dito tellaro dele ditte sieue adi 27 del ditto finido del tutto
Adi 29 de zenaro
I° pezo de pano virdi grande cum i° scudo ~~a ladiuisa dela M~~ cum larma marchesana al quale ha aperfilato di negro la sieve di 4 pali e afare la sieve di pali 4 di fato tassa per recamaduri intuto
L 0 . 6 . 0
Reso adi 30 di zenaro fato questo telaro del qualo restaua afare a dito sieue
Adi 30 de zenaro
I° pezo de pano verde grande cum l'arme marchesana alquale ha afare di tuto la sieve di pali [con] tassado per m° Jac° di bonauentura
L. 0 . 12 . 0
Rexe questo tellaro adi p° de febraio finido de quello che Ley aueua afare.
Adi 8 de febraio

Iº tellaro cum uno pezo de pano verde cum el Colonbarollo in mezo et due palme et sieue di sotto da le ditte palme al quale a afinire le palme et brazo uno 1/3 de sieue, tassado per m° Jac° lire una le palme e soldi 8 el sieue intuto.

L 1. 8 . 0

Rexe adi 19 de febraio questa tellaro fato del tuto de quello gli aveva afare.
Adi 15 dito
Iº tellaro cum una cortina de pano rosso cum larma ducale in mezo del quale a afinire le palme solamente – tassado ut supª L 1 . 0 . 0
Rexe adi 22 ditto questo tellaro fate le palme solamente.
Adi 22 ditto
Iº tellaro cum 4 frape de pano virde chomo colonbarolj li quali ha afinire del tutto . tassado a soldi 6 luno L 1 . 4 . 0
Rexe adi 23 dito questo telarolo finido del tutto.
Ebe per mostra una frapa fata al soprascritto modo finida del tuto
Rexe questra mostra
Adi 19 de marzo
Tellaro cum una cortina cum 2 palme et colonbarollo et sieue de sotto dale ditte palme che e ditta sieue braza 2 1/3 ala quale a afinire la sieue solamente a soldi 6 el brazo

L 0 . 14 . 0

Rexe adi 27 de marzo questo tellaro fato la sieue solamente.

L 8 . 14 . 6

Tura dona de aparuto de orio soprascritta ebe li infrascritti dinari per parte dela sua manifatura de auere recamado li soprascritti lauori delo aparamento del buzintoro como apresso zioe
A di 24 de febraio ebe lire quatro de marchesani contanti a ley zioe L 4 . 0 . 0
A di 21 de marzo ebe lire tre soldi dodece marchesani contanti a ley zioe

L 3 . 12. 0

A di 31 di decembrio ebe lire una soldi duj denari sey contanti aley zioe

L 1 . 2. 6
L 8 . 14 . 6

[c. 26 r]

Mª Zohana dona di francº curione ebe a ricamare chomo apresso
Adi 10 de zenaro
Iº tellaro cum iª lista di pano verdi lunga brazza 13 larga 1/3 cum la sieue che e parte de li pendanti che va sopra le cortine dil quale e fato brazza 1 ¼ per la quale ebe ut infra tassado a soldi 6 el braso L 3 . 10 . 0
Rexe adi 5 de marzo questo tellaro finido molto tristamente
2 brozoli iª cum horo di bacile laltrª cum lana nigra
2 giemi iº di reue zallo e iº di reue negro.

Mª zohana dona de francº curione ebe li infrascritti per la sua manifatura de auere recamado lo soprascritto liuoriero delo apparamento del buzintoro et sono come apresso zioe

A di 24 de marzo ebe lire due de marchesane contanti aley	L 2 . 0 . 0
A di 31 de decembre ebe lire una soldi diece contanti aley	L 1 . 10 . 0
	L 3 . 10 . 0

[c. 26 v]

Mª Lucretia dona di zohane da lecalze ebe a recamare per lo bucintoro chomo apresso

Adi 10 di zenaro

Iº tellaro cum 2 parte di sieuo di pano virde che vano di sotto a lecortine de li quali efato brazza 1/3 di i° di […] per li quali ebe per farli ut infra stimado per m° Iac.o recamadore a soldi 6 […] braza

2 brozole i° cum oro di bacile e i° con lana negra

2 giemi di reue i° zallo e i° negro

Rese adi 31 di zenaro questo telaro fato del tuto

Rexe queste brozolle et li Giemi

L. 1 . 14 . 0

Adi 8 de febraio

Tellaro cum i° pezo de pano virde cum due palme et aguia bianca in mezo al quale a afinire le palme solamente che e una cortina tassado per m° Jac.o

Rexe adi 16 de febraio questo tellaro fatto le palme solamente

L. 1 . 0 . 0

Adi 16 ditto

I° tellaro cum una cortina de pano bianco cum due palme et alicornio in mezo del quale a afinire solamente ditto palme grande che è una cortina tassado ut supra

Rexe adi 21 ditto questo tellaro fato le palme solamente

L. 1 . 0 . 0

Adi 21 detto

I° tellaro cum una cortina de pano rosso cum due palme et batelo in mezo del quale a afinire le palme solamente

Rexe adi 4 de marzo questo tellaro fatto le palme solamente le quale non è fate tropo bene

L. 1 . 0 . 0

Ebe la soprascritta mª Lucretia lire una soldi tredice denari – de marchesani per uno telaro che lei fini el quale aueua principiado mª Nicolina sua figlia et non lo potte liuerare per che se amallo el quale è[…] in questo a carta 32

zioe	1 . 13 . 0
Suma	L. 6 . 7 . 0

Ma Lucretia dona de Zohane dalecalze soprascritta ebe li infrascripti dinari per parte dela sua manifatura de auere recamado li soprascritti lauori delo aparamento del buzintoro como apresso – zioe
A di 26 de febraio ebe lire quatro de marchesani contanti a m[a] Tura dona de aparuto sua sorella zioe

L. 4 . 0 . 0

A di 21 de marzo ebe lire due soldi sette de marchesani e per lei contanti a m[a] Tura dona de aparuto sua sorella zioe

L. 2 . 7 . 0
L. 6 . 7 . 0

[c. 27 r]

Ma Bartolamia dona de zohane […] di lassassino ebe a recamare per lo bucintoro chomo apresso

Adi 10 di zenaro

I° tellaro cum i° lista ebe 2 parte di sieue che vano di soto alecortine di i° di li quali e fato brazza 3/4 e ebe per farli chomo apresso stimado per m° Jacomo recamadore a soldi 6 el brazo
2 brozole i[a] cum horo di bacile e i[a] di lana nigra
2 giemi di reue i° zallo e i° negro. L. 1 S. 11 D. 6
Rexe adi 31 el ditto tellaro finido del tuto

Adi 29 ditto

I° tellaro cum uno pezo de sieue suxo del quale non glilie fato niente che e braza 5 ¾ le quale sieue non a pallj a soldi 6 el brazzo

L. 1 S. 14 D. 6

Rexe adi 22 de febraio questo telaro fato del tutto

Adi 20 de febraio

I° tellaro cum uno pezo de sieue che e due parte de quello che uano al reuelino le quale due parte e lunge braza 8 2/3 montano a soldi 6 el brazo

L. 2 S. 12 D. –

Rexe questo telaro adi 22 di marzo fato del tuto.

Ma Bartolamia dona de zohane dalasassino soprascritta ebe li infrascripti dinari per parte dela sua manifatura de auere recamado li soprascritti lauori delo aparamento del buzintoro como apresso
Zioe
A di 24 de febraio ebe lire due de marchesani contanti a ley zioe

L. 2.0.0

A di 21 de marzo ebe lire una demarchesani contanti a ley zioe

L. 1.0.0

A di 24 ditto ebe lire una soldi diece denari – de marchesani contanti a ley

zioe L. 1.10.0

A di 31 si dicembre ebe lire una soldi otto dinari – di marchesani contanti a ley zioe L. 1.8.0

L 5 . 18 . 0

[c. 27 v]

Catelina fiola di marco de Galaoto ebe arecamare chomo apresso per lo bucintoro

Adi 10 di zenaro

I° tellaro cum una lista di pano verdi cum 2 parte di sieue che vano di sotto ale cortine del quale e fatto brazza i, ebe er farlo chome apresso stimado per m° Jacomo recamadore a soldi 6 el brazzo monta

L. 1 S. 10 D. 0

2 brozole 1° cum horo di bacile e 1° cum lana negra
2 giemi di reue i° zallo e i° negro
Rexe adi 31 el ditto telaio fini del tuto

Adi 29 ditto

I° tellaro cum uno pezo de sieue suxo del quale non glie fato niente che e braza 4 le quale sieue non a pallj a soldi 6 lo brazo

L. 1 S. 4 D. 0

Rexe adi 22 de febraio questo tellaro fato del tutto

Adi 22 de febraro

I° tellaro cum due frape ala diuixa della calza le quale a afare del tuto. Ebe per mostra una frapa fata al ditto modo finida del tutto

L. 1 S. 0 D. 0

Rexe adi 13 de marzo questo tellaro finido del tuto
Rexe adi dito questa mostra

Adi 13 de marzo

I° tellaro como una parte de sieue como li pali che lunga braza 2 2/4 la quale a afinire del tutto a soldi 6 el brazzo

L. 0 S. 16 D. 6

Rexe adi 23 de marzo questo tellaro fatto del tutto

L. 4 S. 10 D. 6

Catelina figliola de Marco de Galaotto ebe li infrascripti dinari per parte dela sua manifatura de auere recamado li soprascritti lauori delo apparamento del buzintoro como apresso zioe

A di 24 de febraio ebe lire due de marchesane contanti a ley zioe

L. 2 . 0 . 0

A di 21 de marzo ebe lire una de marchesane contanti a ley zioe

L. 1 . 0 . 0

A di 24 ditto ebe lire una soldi diece de marchesani contanti a ley zioe

L. 1 . 10 . 0

L. 4 . 10 . 0

[c. 28 r]

M[a] dona de Antonio deli Strozi ebe arecamare per lo buzintoro como apresso zioe

Adi 12 de zenaro

I tellaro como I° pezo de pano verde cum la chioldara suxo el quale ua a fare le spaliere del dito del quale ne fato foglie 4 e i° datolo e i° pede de due palme le quale sono suxo el dito et finide del tuto ebe per farlo como apresso

2 brozolle i[a] cum oro de bazile e i[a] cum lana negra

2 giemi de reue i° negro e i° zallo

Rexe el soprascritto tellaro adi 18 dito per che lei non poteua lauorare et non gli a ficado punto.

[c. 28 v]

Ma Ludouiga dal canalle dona de [*manca]* ebe arecamare como apresso zioe

Adi 12 zenaro

I° tellaro como i° pezo de pano bianco et due palme cum lo alicornio in mezo che tene la corna in laqua che va in la spaliera del buzintoro del quale ne finido due foglie e e i° datolo e i° gamba de dite palme ebe per recamarlo como apresso stimato per m° Jac.o recamadore

Adi 29 de zenaro rese questo tellaro cum le palme fate solamente

L. 1 S. 0 D. 0

2 brozolle ia cum oro de bazille e ia cum lana negra

2 giemi de reue i° zallo e i° negro

Rexe adi 21 di marzo le brozolle et giemi

Adi 8 de febraio

I° tellaro cum uno pezo de pano verde cum due palme et colombarollo in mezo al quale a afinire le palme grande solamente che e una coltrina tassado per m° Jacomo

L. 1 S. 0 D. 0

Rexe adi 20 de febraio questo tellaro fatte le palme solamente

Adi 21 ditto

I° tellaro cum una coltrina de pano rosso cum lo batello in mezo et due palme dela quale a afinire le palme solamente

L. 1 S. 0 D. 0

Rexe adi 19 de marzo questo tellaro fate le palme solamente

L. 3 S. 0 D. 0

Mª Ludouiga dal canale soprascritta ebe li infrascripti dinari per parte dela sua manifattura de auere recamado li soprascritti lauori delo apaaramento del buzintoro como apresso zioe

A di 24 de febraio ebe lire una de marchesani contanti a ley	zioe	L. 1 . 0 . 0
A di 21 de marzo ebe lire una de marchesani contanti a ley	zioe	L. 1 . 0 . 0
A di 24 ditto ebe lire una de marchesani contanti a ley	zioe	L. 1 . 0 . 0
		L. 3 . 0 . 0

c. 29r

Mª Proba dona de m° Antonio zirbinatto ebe a recamare per lo buzintoro como apresso zioe

Adi 12 zenaro

I° tellaro cum i° pezo de pano bianco cum due palme et lo alicornio in mezo del quale ne finido due foglie e i° datelo e iª gamba de dite palme ebe per ricamarlo como apresso zioe

L. 1 S. 0 D. 0

2 brozole iª de oro de bazille iª cum lana negra
2 giemi i° cum reue zallo e i° cum negro
Rexe adi 22 de febraio questo tellaro fato le palme solamente da due foglie in fora

Mª Proba dona de m° Antonio zirbinatto soprascritto ebe li infrascripti dinari per la sua manifattura de auere recamado lo soprascritto lavoro delo aparamento del buzintoro come apresso
Zioe

A di 24 de marzo ebe lire una de marchesane contanti a ley	L. 1 . 0 . 0

Ma Catelina dona del panegaia ebe arecamare per lo buzintoro como apresso

Adi 12 de zenaro

I° telaro cum due palme e lo alicornio in mezo del quale e fini due foglie e i° datolo e iª gamba de dite palme ebe per recamarlo como apresso, tassado per m° Justo recamadore intuto

L. 1 S. 0 D. 0

2 brozolle iª cum oro de bazille iª cum lana negra
2 giemi de reue i° zallo e i° negro
Rese adi 26 di zenaro questo telaro con le palme fate solamente
Rexe adi 22 de marzo 2 brozolle e giemi

Adi 29 di zenaro

2 telari cum 2 frape di pano bianco cum la diuisa del batesimo, a fare de tuto, stimadi per li recamaduri zoe m° Jac° e bonauentura a soldi V lun frapa di dito pano fata di tuto per mostra

L. 1 S. 0 D. 0

Rese adi 12 di febraio i° di quisti telari fato e adi 16 dito rexe laltro fatto del tuto

Rexe la ditta frapa

Adi 12 de febraio
I° tellaro cum due palme et batisime in mezo del quale a afinire lo batissimo et verdure solamente che e de le spaliere tassado per m° Iac° recamador
L. 0 S. 12 D. 0
Rexe adi 21 ditto questo tellaro fini de quello gli aueua da fare

Adi 16 ditto
I° tellaro cum due palme et batisimo in mezo fel quale a afinire lo dito batisimo et verdure solamente che e dele spaliere tassado ut sopra L. 0 S. 12 D. 0
Adi 21 ditto
I° tellaro cum due palme et batisimo in mezo del quale a afinire lo ditto batisimo et verdure solamente che e dili spaliere
L. 0 S. 12 D. 0
Rese adi 27 di febraio questi due tellari fatti
L. 3 S. 16
D. 0
Catelina dona del panegaia soprascritto ebe li infrascripti denari per parte dela sua manifattura de auere recamado li soprascritti lauori de lo aparamento del buzintoro et sono come apresso zioe
A di 24 de febraio ebe lire 2 de marchesani in contanti a sua cognada
L. 2 . 0 . 0
A di 21 de marzo ebe lire una soldi sedice de marchesani contanti a Ley
L. 1 . 16. 0

c. 30 r
A la figliola de bonefacio da sandra ebe a recamare per lo buzintoro como apresso zioe
Adi 12 de zenaro
I° tellaro sum due palme et el colonbarollo in mezo del quale e finido sey foglie e i^{a} gamba de dite palme ebe per recamarlo como apresso, stimado per m° Jacomo intuto L. 1 S. 10
D. 0
2 brozolle i^{a} cum oro de bazille i^{a} cum lana negra
2 giemi de reue i^{a} cum zallo i^{a} cum negro
Rexe ditto tellaro finido del tutto adi 30 dito
Rexe adi primo de marzo 2 brozole e 2 giemi

La figliola de Bonifatio da Sandra soprascritta ebe li infrascripti dinari per parte dela sua manifatura de auere recamado li soprascritti lauori delo aparamento del buzintoro como apresso zioe
A di primo de marzo ebe lire una soldi diece de marchesani e per Ley contanti a bonifatio suo padre L. 1 . 10. 0

c. 30 v

Ma Catelina dona de Gironimo capelino ebe a recamare per lo buzintoro como apresso

Adi 12 de zenaro

II telari cum 4 palme due per cadauno telaro suxo i° glie laguia biancha in mezo e laltro como el colonbarollo in meza de quele dalaguia e finido due foglie e i^{a} gamba de dite palme e quelo dal colombaro e finida due foglie e i datolo e i^{a} gamba de dite palme ebe per recamarlo como apresso stimado m° Jac° quelo dal colonbarolo denari 1 soldi X e quela da laguia denari 1 soldi 10 in tuto

L. 3 . 0 .0

4 brozolle 2 de oro de bazile 2 cum lana negra

4 giemi de reue 2 zalli 2 nigri

A di 25 ditto rexe el tellaro dal beuerollo finido del tutto

A di 26 ditto rexe el telaro da laguia biancha finido del tutto da lo becco et piedi de ditta aguia in fora che non som finidi

Adi 26 ditto

I° tellaro de pano verde cum due beuerolli suxo li quali uano in due frape dele cortine del buzintoro uno de li quali ha fato 2 tondi e i° per filo stimado per m° Jac.o recamadore

L. 0 . 12. 0

Rexe li ditti finidi del tuto adi 30 dito

Adi 30 ditto

I° tellaro de pano rosso cum due palme et aguia bianca in mezo al quale gli resta afare tuti li datoli et dita aguia el resto e finido del tutto stimado per m° Jac° recamadore L. 0 . 15. 0

Rexe adi 8 de febraio questo telaro finido de queli gli aueua a fare. Da la testa de ditta aguia in fora.

Adi 9 de febraio

I° tellaro cum due palme et arma contalle in mezo del quale a afinire tuto el busto dela ditta aguia el resto e finido zioe el becho et lochio della ditta che e de li spalieri tassado

L. 0 . 10. 0

Rexe adi 17 dito questo tellaro finido de quello gli aueua a fare

Adi 19 ditto

I° tellaro cum due frape de pano bianco una cum lo alicornio una cum el batisimo le quale frape a afinire del tutto tassado L. 1 . 2 . 0

Ebe per mostra due frape de pano bianco ia cum lo batisimo una com lo alicornio finide del tutto

Rese adi 27 di febraio questo telaro fatto del tutto

Rese adi primo de marzo questo tellaro de queste due mostre

Adi 22 ditto
I° tellaro cum una frapa de pano bianco cum lo alicornio L. 0 . 12. 0
Rexe adi ditto questo tellaro finido del tutto

Adi 27 ditto
I° tellaro cum due frape de pano bianco cum due alicornij in mezo li quali a afinire del tutto a soldi 12 deluno L. 1 . 4 . 0
Rexe adi 7 de marzo questo telato fato del tuto

Adi 9 de marzo
I° tellaro cum una cortinella de pano bianco con due palme e batisimo in mezo et sieue desotto dale ditte palme el quale tellaro a afinire del tutto tassado per li recamaduri
L. 3 . 6 . 0
Rexe adi 27 ditto questo telaro finido del tutto
Ebe per mostra uno pezo de queli del reuelino finido del tuto et fato al soprascritto modo
Rexe adi dito questa mostra
L. 11 . 1. 0
Mª Cornellia dona de Gironimo capelino soprascritta ebe li infrascripti dinari per parte della sua manifatura di auer recamado li soprascritti lauori de lo apparamento del buzintoro como apresso
A di 26 de febraio ebe lire quatro de marchesani contanti a Ley zioe
L. 4 . 0 . 0
A di 21 de marzo ebe lire due soldi diece de marchesani contanti a Ley
L. 2 . 10. 0
A di 24 ditto ebe lire tre soldi 0 denari 0 de marchesani contanti a Ley
L. 3 . 0 . 0
A di 31 di Deccembre ebe lire una soldi ondice di marchesani contanti a Ley
L. 1 . 11. 0

[c. 31 r]
Mª Catelina dona di zohane capelino ebe aricamare per lo ornamento del bucintoro
Adi 12 di zenaro
I° tellaro cum pano rosso cum 2 palme dele quale e fatto folgie 2 e iª gamba cum lo batelo in mezo ebe per recamarli tassado L. 1 . 10. 0
2 brozole ia cum horo e ia cum lana negra
Ebe per mostra i° batello como lo soprascritto fato del tutto
Rexe adi 19 de febraio questo tellaro finido del tutto
Rexe adi 19 ditto questa mostra

Adi 19 ditto

I° tellaro de pano bianco cum due palme et batisimo in mezo del quale e finido 8 foglie et uno datolo e una gamba dele ditte palme ebe la punta dela teraza sotto el batisimo finida del tuto stimadi per m° Jac° recamadure L. 0 . 15. 0
Rese adi 26 de zenaro questo tellaro cum li palme fate solamente

Adi 24 ditto
I° tellaro cum due frappe de pano rosso suxo le quale e due batelli deli quali efinido meza una malgarita et uno batello stimado in tutto L. 0 . 9 . 0
Rese adi 29 di zenaro questo telaro fato del tuto

Adi 31 ditto
I° tellaro cum uno pezo de pano bianco cum duj batisimi picoli de due frape deli quali non lie fatto niente stimato a soldi 10 luno L. 1 . 0 . 0
Ebe per mostra una frapa de pano bianco como i° batisimo finido del tuto
Rexe adi 10 de febraio questo tellaro finido del tutto
Rexe la dita mostra

Adi 12 de febraio
I° tellaro cum due frape de pano bianco suzo i° glie el batisimo suxo laltra lo alicornio le quale due frape e afinire del tutto L. 1 . 2 . 0
Ebe per mostra uno alicornio dele spaliere finido del tutto
Ebe per mostra una frapa de pano bianco cum uno batisimo pizolo fatto del tutto
Rese adi 19 de febraio questo tellato fato del tuto
Rexe adi 17 dito questa mostra
Rexe adi 19 di febraio questa mostra

Adi 19 ditto i° tellaro cum due frape de pano bianco cum duj alicornj suxo li quali a afinire del tutto a soldi 12 luno L. 1 . 4 . 0
Rese adi 27 di febbraio questo telaro fato del tuto

Adi 22 ditto
I° tellaro cum una frapa de pano bianco chomo lo alicornio L. 0 . 12. 0
Rexe adi primo de marzo questo tellaro fini del tutto

Adi 27 ditto
I° tellaro cum due frape de pano bianco cum duj alicornij li quali a afinire del tutto a soldi 12 luno
L. 1 . 4 . 0
Rese questo tellaro adi 7 di marzo fato del tutto
L. 7 . 16. 0

M[a] catelina dona de Zohane capelino soprascritta ebe li infrascripti dinari per parte dela sua manifattura de auere recamado li soprascritti lauori delo aparamento del buzintoro como apresso zioe

A di 26 de febraio ebe lire due de marchesani contanti a ley zioe
L. 2 . 0 . 0
A di 21 de marzo ebe lire tre de marchesani contanti a ley zioe
L. 3 . 0 . 0
A di 24 ditto ebe lire due soldi sedice de marchesani contanti a ley L. 2 . 16. 0

[c. 31 v]
Mª Nicolina nuora de zohane rizolo ebe a ricamare per lo bucintoro
Adi 12 di zenaro
I° tellaro de pano verde cum 2 parte di sieue che vano di sotto ale cortine di le quale e fatto 2/4 e ebe per ricamarlo cho apresso stimado a soldi 6 le braza
2 brozole iª cum horo di bacille e laltra cum lana negra
2 giemi iª di reue zallo e iª di negro
Rexe adi 31 di zenaro questo tellaro fato.

Notta che el soprascritto lauoriero dela soprascritta mª Nicolina non lo potte finire per che se amalo et cusi mª Lucretia dale calze sua madre fini del tuto ditto tellaro et ebe li soprascritti dinari como apresso in questo a carta 27.

[c. 32r]
Mª Agnese dona di zohane del fabro ebe a ricamare per lo bucintoro
Adi 12 di zenaro
I° tellaro di pano rosso cum laquila marchesana cum 2 palme di le quali e fato uno pede e 2 foie per lo quale ebe per recamare stimado per m° Jacomo recamadore L. 1 . 0 . 0
2 brozole iª cum horo di bacile
2 giemi di reue i° zallo e i° negro
Rexe adi 29 di zenaro questo telaro fato de le palme solamente

Adi 30 di zenaro
I° tellaro cum 2 frape di pano verde cum lo columbarolo stimado L. 0 . 12. 0
Ebe ia frapa al dito modo fata di tuto per mostra
Rexe adi 5 de febraio questo teelaro finido del tutto. Reze la ditta mostra

Adi 6 de febraio
I° tellaro cum ~~un frapo~~ una frapa de pano verde como uno beuerollo: stimado per m° Jac°
L. 0 . 6 . 0
Rexe el ditto tellaro finido del tuto adi 9 de febraio
L. 1 . 18. 0
Mª Agnese dona de zohane del fabro soprascritta ebe li infrascripti dinari per parte dela sua manifattura de auere recamado li soprascritti lauori delo aparamento del buzintoro como apresso zioe
A di 20 de febraio ebe lire una soldi decedoto de marchesani contanti a ley
L. 1 . 18. 0

[c. 32v]

M[a] Stella fiola di Bartolazo di pizoli becarj grandi ebe a recamare per lo bucintoro

Adi 12 di zenaro

I° tellaro cum pano bianco cum lo alicornio e 2 palme del quale e fato 3 folgie i° pede e lo perfilo della franza di sotto ebe per ricamarlo stimado

L. 1 . 0 . 0

2 brozole ia cum horo di bacile ia cum lana negra

2 giemi i° di reue zallo e i° di negro

Rese adi 26 di zenaro questo telaro fato de le palme solamente.

Adi 25 ditto

I° tellaro cum una frapa de panno verde cum i° beuerollo in mezo del quale e finido una bocha del ditto stimado

L. 0. 6 . 0

Rese questo tellaro fato del tuto

Adi 26 ditto rexo lo tellaro dalo alicornio finido del tutto da ditto alicornio in fora che non gli e fatto niente

Adi 26 del ditto

I° tellaro cum 2 frape de pano verde cum due beuerolli de li quali non gli e fatto niente stimado soldi 6 luno

L. 0 . 12. 0

Rese adi 31 de zenaro questo telaro fatto del tuto

Adi 31 del dito

I° tellaro cum 2 frape verdi cum 2 beuerolj che sono a fare del tuto stimado soldi 6 L. 0 . 12. 0

Rexa adi 8 de febraio questo tellaro fatto del tutto

I° tellaro cum uno pezo de pano bianco cum 4 frape et 4 batesimi picoli li quali a afinire del tuto a soldi 10 luno

L. 2 . 0 . 0

Rexe adi 22 ditto questo tellaro fatto del tutto

Ebe per mostra una frapa fata el dito modo finidi del tuto

Adi 17 ditto rexe questa mostra

Adi 19 ditto

I° tellaro cum 4 frape de pano bianco cum 4 betisimi li quali a afare del tutto a soldi 10 luno

L. 2 . 0 . 0

Rexe adi 28 ditto questo telaro finido del tutto

L. 6 . 10. 0

[c. 32 v]

Ma Stella figliola de Bartolazo di pizoli becari grande soprascritta ebe li infrascripti dinari per parte dela sua manifatura de auere recamado li soprascritti lauori delo aparamento del buzintoro como apresso zioe
A di 24 de febraio ebe lire tre de marchesani contanti a ley zioe L. 3 . 0 . 0
A di 21 de marzo ebe lire due de marchesani contanti a ley zioe L. 2 . 0 . 0
A di 24 ditto ebe lire una soldi diece de marchesani contanti a ley zioe L. 1 . 10. 0
Suma L. 6 . 10. 0

[c. 33 r]
Ma Madalena sorela di malatista de li ariosti ebe a recamare per lo bucintoro
Adi 12 di zenaro
I° tellaro di pano verde cum lo beuerolo e 2 palme del quale e fatto 3 folgie e i° pede ebe per recamarlo stimado per m° Jac° L. 1 . 10. 0
Rexe lo dito tellaro adi p° de febraro finido del tuto
Ebe per mostra uno pezo de pano verde cum lo beuerollo finido
Rexe la ditta mostra de *[sic]* del dito beuerollo
2 brozole i[a] cum horo di bacile e i[a] cum lana nega
2 giemi i° di reue zallo e i° di negro.

Adi 19 ditto
I° tellaro de pano verde cum due palme et chioldara in mezo del quale e finido 6 foglie apresso la gamba e 2 de sopra e 3 datoli dele ditte palme e i[a] gamba e meza laltra stimado L. 0 . 15. 0
Rexe adi 29 di zenaro questo telaro fatto di le palme solamente

Adi 7 de febraio
I° tellaro como uno pezo de pano verde cum laguia bianca in mezo et due palme grande de quale tellaro a afinire le palme solamente che de le coltrine tassado L. 1 . 0 . 0
Rexe adi 15 de febraio questo tellaro finide le palme solamente

Adi 13 ditto
I° tellaro cum una cortina de pano cum due palme et chioldara in mezo el quale die fare del tutto cum la sieue tassado per li recamadori L. 3 . 0 . 0
Ebe per mostra una cortina fata como la soprascritta fatta del tutto.
Rexe adi primo de marzo questo tellaro finido del tutto

Adi 27 ditto
I° tellaro cum una cortina de pano rosso cum due palme et paraduro in mezo del quale a afinire le palme solamente L. 1 . 0 . 0
Rexe adi 12 de marzo questo tellaro fate le palme solamente

Adi 19 de marzo
I° tellaro cum una cortina e 2 palme e colonbarollo in mezo e brazza 2 1/8 de sieue desotto dale due palme ala quale a afinire sieue solamente a soldi 6 el brazo L. 0 . 12. 9
Rexe adi 23 ditto questo tellaro finido del tutto
L. 7 .17 . 9
Mª Madalena sorella de malatesta deli ariosti soprascritta ebe li infrascripti dinari per parte dela sua manifatura de auere recamado li soprascritti lauori delo aparamento del buzintoro como apresso zioe
A di 24 de febraio ebe lire due soldi diece de marchesani contanti a ley zioe
L. 2 . 10. 0
A di 23 de marzo ebe lire una soldi 0 de marchesani contanti a ley zioe
L. 1 . 0 .0
A di 24 ditto ebe lire tre soldi 0 de marchesani contanti a ley zioe
L. 3 . 0 . 0
A di 31 de decembre ebe lire una soldi sette denari noue in contanti a ley zioe
L. 1 . 7. 9.
Suma L. 7 . 17. 9

[c. 33v]
Mª Beatrixe dona di Zohane aluixe di li costabili ebe a recamare per lo bucintoro
Adi 12 di zenaro
I° tellaro cum pano rosso dala diuisa del paraduro cum 2 palme dil quale e fato 2 folgie e i° pede ebe per recamarlo tassado L. 1 . 12. 0
2 brozole iª cum horo di bacile e iª cum lana negra. Rexe iª delle due
2 giemi di reuo i° zallo i° negro. Rexe li due
Rexe adi 28 de febraro questo tellaro finido del tutto. Rexe iª brozolla cum dui giemi.

Adi 26 di lo dito
I° tellaro cum 2 frape di pano ala diuisa di la calza a soldi 6 luna L. 0 . 12. 0
Rexe el ditto tellaro fato del tutto adi 20 de febraio fato male
L. 2 . 4. 0
Mª Beatrice dona de zohane aluixe deli costabili soprascritta ebe li infrascripti dinari er parte dela sua manifatura de auere recamado li soprascritti lauori delo aparamento del buzintoro come apresso zioe
A di 23 de marzo ebe lire due soldi quatro de marchesani e per Ley a jacomo di S Dolcino suo parente L. 2 . 4 . 0

[c. 34 r]
La nuora de m° Bartolamio brusantino ebe a recamare como apresso zioe
Adi 13 de zenaro

I° telaro cum 2 palme e i° batesimo in mezo del quale e fini due foglie e i[a] gamba e i° datelo et la punta dela teraza de sotto dal batesimo ebe er recamarlo como apresso stimado

L. 1 . 0 . 0

2 brozzole i[a] cum oro de bazille i[a] cum
2 giemi de reue i° zallo i° negro
Adi 26 di zenaro rese questo telaro cum le palme fate solamente

La nuora de m° Bartolamio brusantino soprascritta ebe li infrascritto dinari per la sua manifatura de auere recamado lo soprascritto lavoro delo aparamento del buzintoro como apresso zioe
A di 26 de febraio ebe lire una de marchesani contanti a ley zioe L. 1 . 0 . 0

[c. 34 v]
La dona de zihane deli agusti ebe a recamare per lo buzintoro como apresso zioe
Adi 13 de zenaro
I° telaro cum 2 palme et i° batello in mezo del quale e finito 3 foglie de sopra et una gamba de le dite palme che per recamare como apresso stimado per m° Jac° recamadore

L. 1 . 10. 0

2 brozolle i[a] cum oro de bazille i[a] cum
2 giemi de reue i° zallo i° negro
Rexe el ditto tellaro finido dil tuto adi 30 ditto
Rexe adi 20 de marzo due brozolle e duj giemi

Adi 24 ditto
I° tellaro cum due frape de pano rosso suxo le quale e duj batelli suxo deli quali non ne fatto niente stimati soldi 6 luno L. 0 . 12. 0
Rese dito tellaro fato del tuto adi 26 di zenaro

Adi 26 del dito
I° tellaro cum 2 frape di pano rosso cum 2 batelj suxo che non e fatto nienti

L. 0 . 12. 0

Rexe ditto tellaro fato del tutto adi 27 de zenaro

Adi 27 del ditto
I° tellaro cum2 frape de pano rosso cum duj bateli suxo che non e fatto niente

L. 0 . 12. 0

Rexe el ditto tellaro finido del tuto adi 30 del ditto

Adi 29 ditto
I° tellaro cum due frape de pano rosso, suxo le quale e duj batellj deli quali e finido meza malgaritta monta L. 0 . 9 . 0
Rexe el dito tellaro fini del tuto adi 31 ditto

Adi 30 ditto
ii tellari cum duj pezi de pano rosso i° cum tri batelli et laltro como uno batello sollo deli quali non gli e fatto niente monta L. 1 . 4 . 0
Rexe adi 10 de febraio questi tellarij fatti del tutto

Adi 5 di febraio
I° tellaro cum ia cortina di panno rosso cum lo batelo a fare del tuto stimado L. 2 . 0 . 0
Rexe adi 12 ditto questo telaro fato del tutto dal volto in fuora che bisogna releuare

Adi 12 ditto
I° tellaro cum una cortina de pano rosso cum lo batello a fare del tuto L. 2 . 0 . 0
Rexe adi 15 dito questo tellaro fato del tutto in sopra che e de sopra dal batelo.

Adi 15 ditto
I° tellaro cum una cortina de pano rosso cum lo batello in mezzo el quale a afinire del tutto L. 2 . 0 . 0
Rexe adi 20 ditto questo tellaro fato del tuto dal volto in fora

Adi 20 ditto
I° tellaro cum una cortina de pano rosso cum lo batello in mezo el quale a afinire del tutto L. 2 . 0 . 0
Rexe adi 28 de febraio questo tellaro fini lo batello solamente zioe del tuto dal volto in fora

Adi 27 ditto
i° tellaro cum una frapa de pano rosso cum lo batello el quale a afinire del tutto L. 0 . 6 . 0
Rexe adi primo de marzo questo tellaro fini del tutto

Adi 5 de marzo
I° tellaro cum una coltrinella de panno rosso cum due palme et sieue de sotto dale ditte palme e batello in mezo al quale tellaro a afinire del tutto tassado per li recamaduri L. 3 . 6 . 0
Rexe adi 20 di marzo questo tellaro fatto del tuto dal volto in fuora

La dona de Zohane deli agusti soprascritta ebe li infrascripti dinari per parte dela sua manifatura de auere recamado li soprascritti lauori delo aparamento del buzintoro como apresso zioe

A di 20 di febraio ebe lire cinque de marchesani contanti a ley zioe
L. 5 . 0 . 0
A di 23 de marzo ebe lire quatro de marchesani e per lei contanti zioe
L. 4 . 0 . 0
A di 24 ditto ebe lire cinque de marchesani contanti a ley zioe
L. 5 . 0 . 0
A di 31 di decembre ebe lire due soldi ondice denari – de marchesani contanti a ley
Zioe
L. 2 . 11. 0
Suma L. 16.11. 0

[c. 35 r]
Mª Catelina dona de beltramino de beltramuo ebbe arecamare per lo buzintoro como apresso zioe
Adi 13 di zenaro
I° tellaro cum 2 palme ~~et i° batello~~ in mezo del quale e finido 3 foglie e iª gamba dele dite ebe per recamarlo como apresso L. 1 . 0 . 0
2 brozolle iª cum oro de bazille iª con lana negra
2 giemi de reue i° zallo i° negro
Rexe adi 31 di zenaro questo telaro fato di le palme e datarj rexe due brozole e duj giemi

Ma Catelina dona de Beltramdo de beltramuo soprascritta ebe li infrascripti dinari per parte dela sua manifatura de auere recamado lo soprascritto lavoro delo apparamento del buzintoro como apresso zioe
A di 26 de febraio ebe lire una de marchesani e per Ley contanti a sua madona
L. 1 . 0 . 0
Suma
L. 1 . 0 . 0

[c. 35 v]
La figliola de zuliano dali varrj ebe a recamare per lo buzintoro como apresso zioe
Adi 13 zenaro
I° telaro cum 2 palme et la chioldara in mezo del quale e finido due fogllie e i° datelo e iª gamba dele dite palme ebe per recamarlo como apresso stimado per m° Jac° L.1 . 10 . 0
Rexe el ditto tellaro finido del tuto adi 30 ditto
2 brozolle iª cum oro de bazille iª cum
2 giemi de reue i° zallo i° negro

Adi 30 di zenaro
I° tellaro cum 2 frape di pano aladiuisa di la calza a soldi 6 luna L. 0 . 12 . 0

Ebe per mostra i[a] frapa fata dil tuto a la dita diuisa
Rexe adi 20 de febraio questo tellaro fato del tutto
Rexe questa mostra

L. 2 . 2 . 0

La figliola de zuliano dali vari soprascritta ebe li infrascripti dinari per parte dela sua manifatura de auere recamado li soprascritti lauori delo aparamento del buzintoro como apresso zioe
A di 24 de febraio ebe lire una soldi diece de marchesani e per Ley contanti a sua madona

L. 1. 10 . 0

A di 23 de marzo ebe lire 0 soldi dodice de marchesani contanti a Ley

L. 0 . 12. 0

L. 2 . 2 . 0

[c. 36 r]

La figliola de feltrino caneuaro ebe a recamare per lo buzintoro como apresso zioe
Adi 13 zenaro
I° tellaro cum due palme et el batisimo in mezo del quale e finido 2 foglie e i° datolo e i[a] gamba dele dite palme ebe per ricamarlo como apresso e la punta dela teraza sotto el dito L. 1 . 12. 0
2 brozolle i[a] cum oro de bazille i[a] cum
2 giemi de reue i° zallo i° negro
Rexe adi 20 de marzo questo tellaro finido del tutto
Ebe per mostra uno batisimo fatto como lo soprascritto finido del tutto
Rexe adi ditto questa mostra

Adi 26 del dito ebe la dita
I° tellaro cum 2 frape de pano a la ~~calza~~ diuisa di la calza

L. 1 . 0 . 0

Rexe adi 5 de marzo i[a] frapa fata del tuto

L. 2 .12 . 0

La figliola de feltrino canouaro soprascritta ebe li infrascripti dinari per parte dela sua manifatura de auere recamado li soprascritti lauori delo aparamento del buzintoro come apresso zioe
A di 24 de marzo ebe lire una de marchesani contanti a Ley L. 1 . 0 . 0
A di 31 de decembre ebe lire una soldi dodice de marchesani in contanti a Ley

L. 1 .12 . 0

L. 2 .12 . 0

[c. 36 v]

La figliola che fuo de m° nigrixollo ebe a recamare per lo buzintoro come apresso zioe

Adi 13 zenaro
I° tellaro cum due palme e paraduro in mezo del quale e finido 3 foglio et i[a] gamba dele dite palme che per recamarlo come apresso stimado per m° Jac°
L. 1 .10 . 0
2 brozolle ia cum oro de bazille ia cum
2 giemi de reue i° zallo i° negro
Rexe adi 10 de febraio questo tellaro fatto del tutto

Adi 9 de febraio
I° tellaro cum una frapa de pano ala diuixa dela calza L. 1 . 0 . 0
Rexe adi 22 ditto questo tellaro fato del tutto
L. 2 .10 . 0

La figliola che fuo de nicolo nefigrixollo soprascritta ebe li infrascripti dinari per parte dela sua manifatura de auere recamado li soprascritti lauori delo apramento del buzintoro como apresso zioe
A di 24 de febraio ebe lire una soldi diece de marchesani contanti aley
L. 1 .10 . 0
A di 31 de decembre ebe lire una soldi – denari – de marchesani contanti a Ley
L. 1 . 0 . 0

[c. 37 r]
La figliola de m° barone ebe arecamare per lo buzintoro come apresso zioe
Adi 5 de zenaro
I° tellaro cum due palme et la chioldara in mezo del quale e finido 2 foglie et i[a] gamba dele due palme ebe per recamarlo come apresso tassado L. 1 .10 . 0
2 brozolle i[a] cum oro de bazille i[a] cum
2 giemi de reue i° zallo i° negro
Rexe adi 12 de febraio questo tellaro fato del tuto

La figliola de m° barone soprascritta ebe li infrascripti denari per parte dela sua manifatura de auere recamado li soprascritti lauori delo aparamento del buzintoro como apresso zioe
A di 23 de marzo ebe lire una soldi diece de marchesani e per ley contanti a Marco di multuni da mantoa famiglio delo Ill.mo Nicolo da Este
L. 1 .10 . 0

[c. 37 v]
La dona de piedro fulchi ebe a recamare per lo buzintoro come apresso zioe
Adi 15 de zenaro
I° tellaro cum due palme et larma ducale in mezo del quale e finido 2 foglie e i[a] gamba e i° datolo dele dite palme ebe per recamarlo come apresso stimado
L. 1 . 0 . 0
2 brozolle i[a] cum oro de bazille i[a] cum
2 giemi de reue i° zallo i° negro

Rexe adi 20 dito questo tellaro finide le palme solamente
Rexe adi primo de marzo ia brozolle et duj giemi

La dona de fulchi soprascritta ebe li infrascripti dinari per parte dela sua manifatura de auere recamado lo soprascritto lavoro delo aparamento del buzintoro como apresso zioe
A di 27 de febraio ebe lire una de marchesani e per Ley contante a sua madona L. 1 . 0 . 0

[c. 38 r]
La dona de messer Alberto di petratti ebe a recamare per lo buzintoro come apresso zioe
Adi 15 de zenaro
I° tellaro cum due palme et alicorno in mezo del quale e finido 3 foglie et i° datolo e i[a] gamba dele dite palme ebe per recamarlo come apresso stimado 1 . 0 . 0
2 brozolle i[a] cum oro de bazille i[a] cum
2 giemi de reue i° zallo i° negro
Rexe el dito tellaro finido le palme solamente et brozolle e li giemi

La dona de messer Alberto di petrarti soprascritta ebe li infrascripti dinari per la sua manifatura de auere recamado lo soprascritto lavoro delo aparamento del buzintoro come apresso zioe
A di 24 de febraio ebe lire una de marchesani contanti a ley zioe L. 1 . 0 . 0

[c. 38 v]
La dona de Antonio da Verona nodaro ebe a recamare per lo buzintoro como apresso zioe
Adi 15 de zenaro
I° tellaro cum due palme del quale e finido due foglie et una gamba dele dite palme ebe per recamarlo como apresso L. 1 . 0 . 0
2 brozolle i[a] cum oro de bazille i[a] cum
2 giemi de reue i° zallo i° negro
Rexe questo tellaro finido le palme solamente adi 30 del ditto
Rexe adi 22 de marzo 2 brozolle et giemi

La dona de Antonio da Verona nodaro soprascritta ebe li infrascripti dinari per la sua manifatura de auere recamado lo soprascritto lavoro delo aparamento del buzintoro come apresso zioe
A di 24 de febraio ebe lire una de marchesane contante a ley L. 1 . 0 . 0

[c. 39 r]
Ma Solla bella Dona de Nicolo tempesta ebe arecamare per lo buzintoro come apresso zioe
Adi 16 de zenaro

I° tellaro cum due palme et batissimo in mezo del quale e finido 3 foglie et una gamba e i° datolo dele dite palme ebe per recamarlo come apresso stimado L. 1 . 0 . 0

2 brozolle ia cum oro de bazille i[a] cum
2 giemi de reue i° zallo i° negro
Rexe adi 29 di zenaro questo tellaro dato dele palme solamente
Rexe adi 22 de marzo due brozolle et giemi

Adi 31 ditto
I° tellaro de pano bianco cum due palme et alicornio in mezo al quale a afinire lo ditto alicornio solamente stimado L. 1 . 5 . 0
Ebe per mostra i° pezo de pano bianco cum 2 palme e alicornio finido del tutto
Rexe adi 9 de febraio questo tellaro fino de quello Ley gli aueua a fare
Rexe questa mostra adi 7 di marzo

Adi 9 de febraio
I° tellaro cum due palme et alicornio in mezo del quale a afinire lo alicornio verdure et sieue del tuto solamente tassado ut sopra L. 1 . 5. 0
Rexe adi 16 ditto questo tellaro fini de quello lei gli aueua a fare

Adi 16 ditto
I° tellaro cum due palme e alicornio in mezo del quale afinire lo alicornio verdure et sieue del tuto solamente tassado ut sopra L. 1 . 5 . 0
Rexe adi 22 ditto questo telaro fato lo alicornio et verdure solamente
Adi 27 ditto
I° tellaro cum due palme et alicornio in mezo del quale a afinire lo alicornio et verdure solamente L. 1 . 5 . 0
Rexe adi 7 di marzo questo telaro fato L. 6 . 0 . 0

Ma Solla bella dona de messer nicolo tempesta soprascritta ebe li infrascripti dinari per parte dela sua manifatura de auere recamado li soprascritti lauori delo aparamento del buzintoro como apresso zioe
A di 26 de febraio ebe lire tre de marchesani contanti a Ley L. 3 . 0 . 0
A di 23 de marzo ebe lire due de marchesani contanti a Ley L. 2 . 0 . 0
A di 24 ditto ebe lire una de marchesani contanti a Ley L. 1 . 0 . 0

[c. 39 v]
La nuora de girardino de marco ebe a recamare per lo buzintoro como apresso zioe
Adi 19 de zenaro

I° tellaro cum due palme et arma Ducale in mezo del quale e finido 2 foglie e una gamba et uno datelo dele ditte palme che per recamarlo como apresso stimado per m° Jac° L. 2 . 5 . 0
2 brozolle ia cum oro de bazille ia cum lana negra
2 giemi de reue i° zallo i° negro
Rexe adi 9 de febraio questo tellaro finido del tutto
Rexe adi 22 de marzo due brozolle et giemi

Et adi 26 di zenao ebe la dita
I° tellaro cum 2 frape de paradurj del quale e fato uno poco de mostre L. 0 .12 . 0
Rexe adi 30 di zenaro fato questo tellaro del tuto

Adi 10 de febraio
I° tellaro cum due palme et arma ducale in mezo del quale a afinire la ditta arma ducale solamente tassado per m° Jac° L. 1 . 5 . 0
Rexe adi 15 de febraio questo tellaro fini larma ducale solamente

Adi 14 ditto
I° tellaro cum una cortina de pano bianco cum larma contale in mezo del quale e finido due teste et due piedi de la ditta arma del tutto tassado per m° Jac° L. 2 . 0 . 0
Ebe per mostra uno pezo de pano rosso cum larma contale fata del tuto che e de quele dele spaliere
Rexe adi 21 ditto questo tellaro fato del tuto de quello gli aveva a fare.
Rexe la ditta mostra

Adi 22 ditto
I° tellaro cum due frape ala diuisa dela calza le quale a fare de tutto L. 1 . 0 . 0
Rexe adi 28 ditto questo tellaro finido del tutto fato bene

Adi 27 ditto
I° tellaro cum due frape de pano bianco cum duj alicornij le quali a afinire del tutto a soldi 12 luno L. 1 . 4 . 0
Ebe per mostra due frape fate al soprascritto modo finido del tutto
Rexe adi 5 de marzo questo tellaro finido del tutto
Rexe adi 3 de marzo questa mostra

Adi 3 de marzo
I° tellaro cum una cortina de pano rosso chomo lo parauro in mezo et due palme el quale a afinire le palme solamente L. 1 . 0 . 0
Rexe adi 21 ditto questo tellaro fatto le palme solamente

Adi 6 ditto
I° tellaro cum una coltrinella de pano rosso cum due palme et paraduro in mezo et sieue desotto dale ditte palme el quale tellaro a afinire del tutto tassado per li recamaduri L. 3 . 6 . 0
Ebe per mostra una parte de sieue fata del tutto
Rexe adi 22 ditto questo tellaro finido del tutto
Rexe adi 13 de marzo questa mostra L. 12.12.0

La nuora de Girardino de marco soprascritta ebe li infrascripti dinari per parte dela sua manifatura de auere recamado li soprascritti lauori delo aparamento del buzintoro como apresso zioe
A di 24 di febbraio ebe lire tre de marchesani contanti aley
L. 3 . 0 . 0
A di 23 de marzo ebe lire tre de marchesani contanti a ley
L. 3 . 0 . 0
A di 27 del ditto ebe lire quatro de marchesani contanti a ley
L. 4 . 0 . 0
A di 31 di decembre ebe lire due soldi dodice de marchesani contanti a ley
L. 2 .12 . 0

L.12 .12. 0

[c. 40 r]
M[a] dona de Mario de sechiero ebe a recamare per lo buzintoro como apresso zioe
Adi 8 de febraio
I° tellaro cum uno pezo de pano rosso cum 2 palme et arma ducale del quale afinire le palme solamente ebe per ricamarle come apresso zioe ebe i[a] cortina tassado L. 1 . 0 . 0
2 brozolle i[a] cum oro de bazille i[a] cum lana negra
2 giemi de reue i° zallo i° negro
Rexe adi 21 de febraio questo telaro fato le palme solamente

La dona de Mario de sechiaro soprascritta ebe li infrascripti dinari per parte dela sua manifatura de auere recamado lo soprascritto lavoro delo aparamento del buzintoro como apresso zioe
A di 23 de marzo ebe lire una se marchesani contanti a ley zioe
L. 1 . 0 . 0

[c. 41 r] Sumario de li recami del ornamento fati per elbuzintoro fati dil presenti anno como si contene in questo

Per li recamaturi che recamono diti lauori che sono in tuto recamaturi tredise como in questo da carta 16 fino a carta 23 comenzando a m° Xristofalo Calefino finido a zorzo di cremona in tuto
L. 224.4.8

Per piu […] done recamatrize che anno lauorato in dito lavoro che sono in tuto done 31 di questo da carta 25 fini a carta 41 comenzando da ma Veneranda di perondoli e finendo ali dona di Matio di Sechiero che montano in tuto

L.149.12.3

Per piu opere date per linfrascripti a lauorare in dito lavoro

M° Jac° Alberto strazarolo a carta 16

Biasio Alberto strazarolo a carta 13

M° Sadoch sarto a carta 14

Che fo per loro […] di tagliare e far tagliare curtine e fodrare di tella diti lauori in tuto

L. 37. 0 . 0

Per piu opere pagati a mario di grazo per fare zoso e suso sefe e ori reue lane per dito ornamento come in foglio 15 L. 10.12. 0

4. (1459) ASMo, Memoriale, ff, 1459, c. 400.

Cosmè Tura has painted tapestry and embroidery cartoons for Galeazzo Maria Sforza's entry into Ferrara in 1459.

Ill.mo nostro S. al Capitolo deli pani doro […] de dare adi soprascritto ultimo de dicembre L. trenta m[archesane] le quale se fano bone per la sua S. de comissione del Sp. Generale factore havendo Relatione ad uno Rescripto del prefato S. de di XJ de octobre proximo passato facto ad una supp[lica] de lo Infra scritto Gosme depintore per soa manifactura e mercede de depinzere uno patrone grande da fare Coperte da lecto e uno patrone da fare antiporti e uno da fare banchali de Razo e più dessigni per Cagione de dicti Razi e per Rechamo da paramenti e più altre cagione e fiece più Cosse per la festa dela venuta del M.co Conte Galeazo Sforza per la nave fiece fare in po Anselmo e per la festa che fiece ad hostellato uno fiorentino per lo M.co Conte Lorenzo [Strozzi] come del tuto appare in la supplicatione del predicto Gosme comettando la prelibata soa s. che quelli portare se devano a Spesa e tuti per dicta cagione qui se pone per Creditore epso gosme per portarli a Rincontro del suo debito L. XXX

5. [1463] ASMo, CD, Giornale, 1463, 82.33

Girardo da Vicenza is paid for the *bandirolle* of the *Bucintoro*

Girardo da Vicenza, depintore .
Lire 69.4.5.
viz: per bandiere 6 quadre de tella azura, cum frapponi 9 per ciascuno bandiera, con le devixe del N.S. dentro e in mezzo ale altre due, l'arma marchionale grande, e in meza le altre due, l'arma del contado grande. Per ii quali fo adainandato lire 10 per bandiera, ma tassato per Marco di Galeotto
lire
39.12.0 in tuto.
Per manifattura e spexa de uno stendardo de dicta tela, lungo Br 9 come una festa intorno, e in mezo una festa con foiame, che in pè tuto el dicto stendardo con l'arma ducale grande in mezo, tassada per Marco de Galiotto
lire 11.10.0.
Per maniffatura e spexa de avere fato stendardi II dela dicta tela, Br 6 l'uno, solo con una festa in mezo al arma ducale, et 30 s l'uno monta
lire 16.10.0.
Per maniffatura e spexa de avere fato penonzeli 31 da barca, con larma ducale suso, alla taxa usada de 6s l'uno
lire 9. 6.0.
le quale ornimenti forno fate per el buzintoro picolo del N.S. che monta in tuto lire 69. 4.5.

6. (1471) ASMo, Amm.C., "Munizioni e Fabbriche", 7.111.

Girado da Vicenza was paid for painting parts of the *Bucintoro Grande*

Girardo depintore de avere a d ultimo desembre per ii infrascripti lavorieri che lui a fato, come apreso, viz.
A d1 23 de febraro, per la depintura del albaro et antena del bocintore grande. Item; per avere depinto et invernigado banchi sedese (16) cum le soe spaliere, sopra la coperta del dito bocintore. Item; la bancha sopra la dicta coperta cum la soa spaliera depinta et invernigada
Item; per reparare el dicto bocintore dal lado dentro, dove è fato bisogno, et per fare rosso el chaxello da proua.
In tuto lire 23. 0. 0.
E adi 14 de mazo, per la depintura de una barcha donde and el Spetabile Zoanne de Compagno contra lo Ill.mo. N.S. che tornava da Roma. La quale ge fo meso tuto el schelmo de ropello dorato cum armc desedoto (18) nove per facada, grande de mezo folio, de stagno, epsa tuta la barcha rossa et tra un arma et l'altra feste verde, tuta vernigada, tasada lire sei lire 6. 0. 0.
a Libro b b, da Mro. Girardo a.c. 29
a Libro b b, a spesa de bocintori a.c; 81.

7. (1488) ASMo, Amm.C., "Munizioni e Fabbriche", 21.16.

Giovanni Trullo was paid for painting panels to look like marble for the *Bucintoro Grande*

Le infrascripte e sequente spexe devono dare a d dicto (27 agosto) le infrascripte e sequente quantità de denari per tanti faciano boni per epse a Mro. Zoanne Trullo depintore, per lo amontare deli infrascripti lavoreri che lui ha depinti da el primo zenaro 1488, per tuto questo di soprascripto, como distintamente apare per una soa scripta sotoscripta per mano de Mro. Biaxio Roseto, e pasta in filza. e sono utinfra, viz

Spexa de bucintori de dare a di dicto lire cento quatro soldi dodexe per lo amontare de avere depinto per lo bucintoro mexano, quadri 246 de carta de azuro fino e biancho con una roxa in mezo in cadauno de lacha fina; forno posti in 10 sufito del dicta, zoè in la sala et camara. Per dare li cornise deli quadri de roseta de lacha et de oropimento et soldi 2 1'uno; et per avere dipinto lo dicta bucintoro de fora via, con le colonelle de biancha fina, e ii cornixoni facti a videgado e marmori contrafacti; e depinto con le colone e lo basamento avidigato, computando el pegignolo de drieto del dicta depinto a marmori. E per avere depinto lo bucintoro picolo, zoè el cornixone avidegato e le colonnelle de drie de biancha fina et depinto con marmori tra una colonna e l'altra, con lo basamento sopto dicte colonnelle avidigado. viz.

lire 104.12.0.

Spexa de bucintori in Libro a.c. 22
Mro. Zoanne Trullo dipintore in Libro a.c.35.

8. (1504) ASMo, Amm.C., "Munizioni e Fabbriche" n. 45.46.

The painters Fino and Bernardino were paid for the preparation of the *Bucintoro grande* for the wedding of Duke Alfonso I d'Este.

Le infrascripte e sequente spexe devono dare a di dito (13 Luio) -la infrascripta e sequente quantità de denari per epse faciano boni a Mro. Fino e Bernardino Fratelli depintori, per lo amontare de avere depinti ii infrascripti lavoreri, insino delo anno 1500, 1502, 1503, e 1504 in le fabriche delo Ill.mo S.N. per lo tempo dele noze delo Ill. Don Alfonso, como destintamente apare per 7 soe scripte, viste e tasade per mi Zoanne Stancharo e posto in filza, e Sono Ut infra, videlizet
Spexa de Bucintori de dare a d1 dito lire undese per lo amontare deli infrascripti lavoreri lui a fate a tute soe spexe in dicti bucintori, insino del anno 1502, viz
Item, per avere fato fare rose 6 de legno a Mro. Bernardino de Dona Bona, per metere al bucintoro grande.
Item, per avere dà roxe 24 indorate e de stucho a tute soe spexe, e ciaschiduna de dite roxc mese in opera al bucintoro grande.
Item, per aver dorato roxe 6 a soc spexe.
Item per aver indorato roxe 2 grande e da uno roxone de stucho
Item per avere depinto bandirole 30 da metere suxa le barche.
Item, per avere depinto e conza 10 bucintoro grande e pizolo, e depincto bancheti che vi sono dentro.
monta tuta dicta spesa de bucintori lire 11.0.0.
Spexa de Bucintori, in Libro a.c. 19
Mro. Fino et Mro. Bernardino depinturi in Libro a.c. 85.

9. ASRE, Società d'arti, "Arte della Lana e del Panno", n. 19, busta 2353.

«[…] Item qui per dictum comune fabricent edifficia nectia et congrua ad ipsam artem exceda ut sunt **clodarie** fullj et purgam et mansio tintorie. […]»

10. ASMo, Archivio per Materie, Arti e Mestieri, b. 27, "Lana", undated (but 1548).

«Appiè sarà nota de manifattori e filiere che bixogna avere a chondurre panni 1500 in circha per anno come appiè, e prima: 10 omini aranno che fare a lavare le lane / 40 divettini, che sono quegli battano la lana / 30 pettinatori, che pettinino del chontinuo / 40 ischardazieri, che ischardassano la lana / 600 filiere a rocha, lavorando el chontinuo / 300 filiere a mulinello, che lavorino senpre / 10 orditori, che ordischino le tele / 100 tessitori, per tessere del chontinouo, che si fiura che 40 telara che lavorino senpre fanno 1500 panni l'anno, e li bixogna cento omini / 30 fra purghatori e gharzatori / 30 riveditori, che riveghano e' panni / 8 folatori chontinui / 10 cimatori, chontinoui / **6 ciodare e tirare e' panni** /10 tintori, fra mistri e gharzoni.

11. BCAFe, Archivio Antonelli, Ms. Classe I, L'arte della lana come se usita nella città di Ferrara, 1555, fols. 29r-v.

«[…] Fa poi portare il panno, o più panni che tu habbi alle chiovare più netto et pulito che tu poi, et quando el panno fusse per biancho non saria fuori de proposito haver una bisacha netta et metervi dentro il panno acciò che dalla nave o dal portadore non fusse amachiato. Ascolta ancora questo secretto: **se nel tuo panno fusse per biancho fallo atacare aposte alli ferruzi delle chiovare, et cusì più volte. Seco chel sarà lo farai cepare in bone saponate et cusì atacarlo aposte alli feruzzi cusì facendo più volte fin chel te parerà ben sbianchezato; et dopo l'ultima volta lo farai tirare un pocco gagliardamente accio che se apra**; et possa tra li filiti recevere lavoriero dal garzo et questo per che finito che sia li pani et che siano bagnati viene arestare spessissimo del pello […]».

12. (1528-1532) ASMo, Amm.C., Navi, n. 2, "Estratto de navi".

List of trips for transport goods with the *bucintori* between 1528 and 1532

Estratto dele Naui delo Illu.mo Sig.e n.ro

Buzintoro grando in questo a carta 3

Buzintoro Picollo in questo a carta 15

Naue che fu de don Sismondo a carta 30

[c. 1r]

Al nome de dio
Notta fago et tegno chonto diuiazi che fano li naue del s. nostro liquale menemo miei et zoè aldi che le separte et aldi che leariuo et de la roba che le chonduxe

A Rechordo chome adi 13 de octobre del 1528 al bucitoro picollo se parte da ferara per andare achargare de legname inti chanali de rouigo abagnuolo ala posesione de s. nostro.

A Rechordo chome albucitoro grande separtti da ferara adi 27 del dito per andare achargare ala polexela de qupi et chalcina e tauele grande.

A Rechordo chome adi 3 de nouembre uene al bucitoro a firara chargo de qupi et chalcina et tauele zoè meiara n° ~~1450~~ 14/500 di qupi di muoza 12 de chacina e piu meiaro uno e mezo de tauele grande tolte ala polexela li qupi e la chalcina e le tauelle ala fornaza di garofalo de ms guido di stroci

A Rechordo chome adi 4 del dito ariue al bucitoro picollo ~~charo~~ a ferara chargo delegne tolte in tichanali dirouigo abagnuollo ala posesione del s. nostro zoè fu legnari n° 29 stange cioche efasine chonsignade a batisto naxelo dele fornaxe del s. nostro

A Recordo fago adi 8 di nouembre chome albucitoro grande separti da ferara per andare achargare de qupi ala fornaza degarofalo de ms guido

A Recordo chome adi 9 del dito separti da ferara al bucitoro picolo per andare achargare delege intichanali de rouigo abagnuolo ale posesione del s. nostro

A Recordo chome adi 9 del dito separti da ferara la naue ~~del s.~~ che fu del s. dono siximondo chome sachi di sale n° 120 per portare a modena.

[c. 1v]

A Recordo fago adi xv de nouembre chome albucitoro grande ariue aferara chargo de qupi liquali fumeiara n° 10 futuolti ala fornaza de' garofalo li quali fumisi ala montagna de sopra

A Recordo chome adi 23 del dito separtti al bucintoro grande de ferara per andare acargare de qupi ala fornaza de ms. guido di stroci

A recordo chome adi ultimo de nouembre ariue al bucitoro grando a ferara chargo de legne le quelle fu tolte abagnuolo ale posesione del s. nostro fulegnari n° 28 le quale fu per bixogno de la cortte fu chonsegna acorino

A Recordo chome adi 4 de dexembre ariue al bucitoro grande aferara chargo de qupi tolte ala polexela ala fornaza de ms guido di stroci fu meiara n° 11

A Recordo chome adi 8 de dexembre se partti al bucitoretto da ferara chargo de sale per andare aguastala per al s. nostro fu muoza ala grosa

1529 adi 7 de zenaro

A Recordo chome albucitoro mezano ariue a ferara uodo aluene da guastalo

A Recordo chome adi 21 de zenaro ariue albucitoro grande aferara che aluene da guastala

[c. 2r]

1529 adi 22 de zenaro

A Rechordo chome aquesto di de sopra separti al bucitoro de ferara per andare al meiaro achargare de fene per al s. nostro

A Rechordo chome adi primo de feueraro ariue al bucitoro grande aferara chargo de fene fumesso al fenile dal s. nostro faccharo n°30

A Recordo chome adi 6 de feueraro se partti albucitoro mezano da ferara per andare achargare de uino al fosa de zaniolo per al s. nosttro

A Rechordo chome adi 7 de feueraro aiue a ferara lanaue che fu del s. siximondo chargo de fasi fuortti li quali tolse ala salxeda fu meiara n° 4000

A Rechordo chome adi 14 del ditto ariue aferara albucitoro mezano chargo de uino lequali fu boette n° 18

A richordo chome adi dito separti da ferara la naue che fu dal s don siximondo per andare achargare de fene al meiaro per al s. nostro
Ritorno dita naue a ferara adi 20 de febraio carga di feno dal meiaro.

[c. 2v]

1529 adi 15 de feueraro
A Rechordo chome aquesto di de sopra se partti da ferara albucitoro mezano per andare achargare delegne intichanali abagnuolo ale posesione del Il.mo s. nostro per menare aferara

Adi 20 dito
R.do come se parti el buzintoro grando adi dito per andare acargare alongastrino de fasine per bisogno dele fornaze

Adi 24 de febraio
R.do come se parti da ferara la naue che fu de don sisimondo per andare a cargare de feno dal miaro
Adi primo de marzo ritorno dita naue carga de fen dal meiaro

[c. 3r]

Al nome de dio Mvxxviii
Conto dela naue del buzintoro grando deli uiagi che fece per bisogno del sig. nostro et del retorno che uiene indrieto de giorno in giorno

adi 21 de otobre
R.do come se Partite el buzintoro grando adi sop.o per andare ala polesela acargare de cupi e calzina e tauele
adi 3 de nouembre ritorno deta naue carga dele soprascritte robe

adi 8 de nouembre
El dito buxintoro se partito da ferara per andare a cargare de cupi ala fornasa de ms guido strozo
adi 15 dito ritorno dita naue a ferara

adi 23 de nouembre
Eli dito buzintoro se parti da ferara per andare acargare de chupi ala fornasa sopradita
adi 4 dexembre ariuo aferara dita naue

adi 11 dexembre
El dito buzintoro se parti da ferara cargo di sale per andare aguestala per bisogno de la salina de regio
adi 21 zenaro 1529 ritorno dita naue

adi 22 zenaro 1529
Lo dito buzintoro se parti da ferara per andare al miaro acargare de fen per bisogno del Ill.mo sig.e n.ro
Ritorno adi p.o febraro dita naue a ferara

Adi 20 de febraio
La dita naue se parti da ferara adi dito per andare alonastrino acargare de fasine per bisogno dele fornase
Adi 8 de marzo ritorno dita naue carga de legno

Adi 14 de martio
se parti deta naue per andare alongastrino acargare de ~~leg~~ fasine per le fornase di lo Ill.mo s. n.ro
adi 25 dito dita naue aue di m.to adi p° di aprille
facto creditore per tuto

Adi 19 di luio
Se parti dita naue per andare a longastrino acargare sale dello ill.mo sig. n.ro
adi 26 de luio ariuo dita naue

Adi 30 di luio
Se parti deta naue per andare acargare de sale alongastrino per lo signore nostro
adi 6 de agosto ritorno detta naue

[c. 3v]

Adi 10 di agosto
se parti el buzintoro grando per andare acargare sale a longastrino
adi 14 de agosto ariuo dita naue

adi 20 de agosto
Se parti dita naue per andare alongastrino acargare sale per lo Ill.mo sig. n.ro
adi 25 dito ariuo dita naue

adi 22 di agosto
Se parti dita naue per andar acargare sale alongastrino per lo Ill.mo sig.re n.ro
adi 2 de setembre torno dita naue

adi 9 setembre
Se parti dita naue per andare alongastrino per sallo per lo Ill.mo sig.re n.ro
ritorno dita naue adi 17 dicto

adi 22 dito
Se parti dita naue da ferara per andare alongastrino a cargare de sale
adi 7 de otobre ritorno ditta naue a ferara

adi 10 de otobre
Se parti dita naue per andare a longastrino a cargare sale per lo Ill.mo sig. n.ro
adi 18 dicto ariuo ditta naue

adi 14 nouembre
Se parti ditta naue per andare a cargar fasine alongastrino per lo Ill.mo sig.re n.ro
adi p° dexembre ariuo ditta naue

[c. 4r]

1530
Adi 20 zenaro 1530
Se parti detta naue per andare alongastrino acargare fasine di tamaresi per bisogno de le fornase
Adi ultimo dito torno dita naue dalongastrino

Adi 3 de febraro 1530
Se parti dita naue per andare alongastrino acargare fasine di tamariso per bisogno dele fornasi
adi 15 ditto ritorno dita naue a ferara

Adi 5 de martio
Se parti dita naue adi dito per andar alabera acargar legne de la posesione del sig.e per le fornase
adi 3 de aprile ritorno deta naue

Adi 5 de aprille
Se parti deta naue per andare a cargare di tamarisi alongastrino per bisogno dela fornase
adi 16 de aprile torno dita naue

Adi 29 de aprille
Se parti dita naue per mandare ala bera acargare legne de la posesione del sig.re
adi 13 de magio ritorno dita naue

adi 9 de zugno
Se parti ditta naue per andare alongastrino a cargare legne per ill.mo signore n.ro
adi 15 dito ariuo dita naue

adi 20 de zugno
Se parti dita naue per andare alfosa di zaniolo acargare fasine
adi p° di luio retorno detta naue

adi 2 de luio
Se parti dita naue per andare alongastrino acargare sale alo Ill.mo sig.e n.ro
adi 14 luglio ariuo deta naue

[c. 4v]
Adi 16 de luio
se parti duta naue per andar alongastrino a cargar sale per lo Ill.mo sig.re n.o
Adi 21 ditto ariuo ditta naue

Adi 26 de luio
Se parti el dito buzintoro per andare alongastrino per cargar sale
Adi 30 dito ritorno dita naue

Adi 2 de agosto
se parti ditta naue per andare acargar sale per lo Ill.o sig.e n.o a confortino
Adi 8 dito ritorno dita naue

Adi 10 dito
Se parti dita naue per andare cargar sale per lo Ill.mo sig.e n.o alongastrino
Adi 14 dito ritorno dita naue

Adi 19 di agosto
Se parti dita naue per andar alongastrino a cargar sale per lo Ill.o sig.e n.ro
torno dita naue adi 25 dito

Adi 1 dito se parti deta nave
Se parti dita nave per andare alongastrino per cargare sale
adi 2 de setembre ariuo dita nave

Adi 3 di setembre
Se parti detta nave per andare acargare salle alongastrino per lo Ill.mo sig.e n.ro
Adi 10 dito torno dita nave

[c. 5 r]
Adi 16 settembre 1530
Se parti el buzintoro grando per andare al fola di zaniono acargar fasine per bisogno di le fornasi
Adi 28 dito ritorno deta nave

Adi 30 dito
Se parti dita nave per andar a la bastia a cargar legno per bisogno de le fornasi
adi 7 de octobre ariuo dita nave

Adi 12 di octobre
Se pari dita nave per andar a longastrino acargar di sale per lo Illu.m sig.e n.ro
Adi 22 diti ariuo dita nave

Adi 25 de octobre 1530

se parti dita nave per andare ala cocha a cargare legni per bisogno de le fornaxe
adi 9 dito de nouembro ariuo dita nave

Adi 11 de nouembro
Se parti dita nave per andare ala girondazola a cargare legname per lo Ill.mo sig.e n.ro
Adi 22 dito ariuo aita nave

Adi 26 di nouembre
Se parti dita nave per andar ala gunda per cargar legna per le fornase ducale
Adi 14 de dexembre ariuo dita nave

Adi 7 de zenaro 1531
Se parti dita nave per andar a figarole a cargar legname
Adi 13 de zenaro ritorno dita nave

Adi 24 de zenaro 1531
Se parti dito buzintoro per andare alongastrino per cargare legna per bisogno de fornase
Adi p° de febraio ritorno dita nave

[c. 5v]
Adi 6 de febraio 1531
Se parti deta nave per andare alongastrino acargare fasine
Adi 16 dito ritorno deta nave

Adi 23 febraio 1531
Se parti dita nave per andare acargare legne afillo per le bisogna dele fornasi
Adi 9 di martio riariuò dita nave

Adi 12 di martio
Se parti dita nave per andare ala Cocha per cargare legne per bisogno del seg. n.ro
Adi 23 deto retorno la nave

Adi 27 dito
Se parti deta nave per andare ala bera acargare legne per lo Ill.° s. n.ro
Adi 6 de aprile retorno deta nave

Adi 12 di aprile
Se parti deta nave per andare ala bera acargare legne per lo Ill.o sig.e nro
Adi 22 di aprile ariuo il buzintoro

Adi 25 dito

Se parti dita nave per andar a folonega a cargar legne per lo Ill.o s. n.ro per le fornaxe
Adi ult° dito ariuo dita nave

Adi 4 de magio
Se parti dita nave per andare alo sp.le di bondeno acargare legne per bisogno di le fornase
adi 8 dito ariuo dita nave

[c. 6r]
Adi 10 di magio 531
Se parti dita nave per andare folonega acargare legne per bisogno dele fornase
Adi 18 dito aiuo deta nave adi 19 dito aue el m.to

Adi 23 di magio
Se parti dita nave per andaral fos ala cauezola acargare di fasine per bisogno de le fornase
Adi 29 dito ariuo dita nave adi 31 aue el m.to

Adi 2 di zugno
Se parti deta nave per andar ala guatria acargare legne per bisogno dele fornase
Adi 12 dito ariuo dita nave

Adi 14 dito
Se parti deta nave per andar al fonsa di zaniolo a cargare legne per le fornasi
Adi 20 dito ariuo la nave

Adi 21 dito
Se parti detta nave per andare al fosa de zaniolo a cargare fasine
Adi 14 dito ariuo dita nave

Adi 28 di zugno
Se parti dita nave per andar a longastrino acargare de fasine
adi 4 de luio 1531 ariuo dita nave

Adi 10 di luio
Se parti deta nave per andare a longastrino a cargare fasine per le fornasi
adi 15 dito ariuo dita nave

[c. 6v]
Adi 4 di agosto 531
Se parti dita nave per andare alabastia cargare fasine per bisogno dele fornasi
Adi 10 di agosto ritorno dita nave

Adi 14 di agosto

Se parti dita nave per andar a longastrino a cargar salle per lo Ill.o s. nro
Adi 21 de agosto ritorno dita nave

Adi 22 dito
Se parti dita nave per andare a longastrino acargare salle per lo ill.o s. n.ro
Adi 28 dito ariuo dita nave

Adi 29 dito
Se parti dita nave per andar a longastrino a cargare salle per ill.o sig.re n.ro
Adi 2 di setembre ariuo dita nave

Adi 3 di setembre
Se parti dita nave per andare ala rosita a cargare di biaca per lo ill.o s. nro
Adi 17 dito retorno dita nave

Adi 19 dito
Se parti dita nave per andare ala rosita acargare de fasine per bisogno de feornase
Adi ult.o di setemre ritorno dita nave

Adi 3 dotobre

[c. 7r]
1533
Sabado adi p° di marzio
Se parti el buzintoro grande per andare acargare de legne ale quabelle de mantoane
adi 9 di martio se descargo el buzintoro

Adi 10 de martio
Se parti dita nave per andare acargare fasine di spin comprato da ms tomaso di fuiari a rauale
Adi 19 di martio se descargo dita nave

Adi 21 dito
Se parti dito buzintoro per andare al prion a cargare di legne
adi 28 dito retorno dita nave

[loose sheet]
Adi 17 de marzo se parttj al bocitoretto per andare achargare de legname alequatrele
Adi 22 del ditto ariuo lo ditto

[c. 7r]
buzintoro picollo

Adi 11 martio
Se parti dita nave per andare a cargare fasine al quabello
Adi 22 ditto retorno dita nave

Adi 24 di martio
Se parti dita nave per andare al prion a cargare di fasine per bisogno dele fornasili
Adi 31 ditto ariuo dita nave

[7v – 14v]
white sheets

[c. 15r]
Buzintoro Pichollo
1528
Adi 13 de octobre
Rdo come adi dito se Parti el buzintoro Picholo da ferara per andare inti canali de rouigo per cargare legne de quelle da banolo
Adi 4 de nouembre aiuo a ferara dita nave carga de legno

Adi 9 de nouembre
Adi dito se parti dita nave da ferara per andare inti diti canali a cargare de legname di quelle del sig.e
adi ult.° de nouembro riorno a ferara dita nave

Adi 8 decembre
Adi dito se parti dita nave da ferara carga de sale per andare a guastalla per bisogno dela salarie de regio
adi 7 zenaro 1529 ritorno a ferara dita nave uoda

Adi 6 febraio 1529
Adi dito se parti dita nave da ferara per andare al fosà de zaniollo a cargare li uini della dezima de romagna
Adi 14 de febraio ritorno a ferara dita nave

Adi 15 febraro
Adi dito se parti dita nave da ferara per andare a cargare de legne ti canali abagnollo di quele dei sig.e nro per menare a ferara
adi 12 de marzo ritorno dito nave a ferara carga de legne

Adi 5 de marzo
Adi dito se parti dita nave per andare alabera per legne de quello del sig.nro
adi 16 de martio ritorno dita nave carga de legno

Adi 18 de martio

Se parti deta nave per andare alabera acargare de legne dil sig.e nro
adi 7 di aprille ritorno dita nave a ferara

[c. 15v]
Adi 8 de magio
Se parti dita nave per andare ala bera acargare de legne di quile del sig.e n.ro
adi 17 de magio ariuò dita a ferara auto el mandato adi 20 magio

Adi 19 magio
Separti dita nave da ferara per andare acargare di legne a bagnolo
adi ult.o magio ariuo dita nave auemo el m.to adi p° di zugno 1529

Adi i° zugno
se parti dita nave de ferara per andare in ti canali a agiazano per cargare legne
adi 14 de zugno ariuo dita nave a ferara. adi 15 zugno aumo il mandato

Adi 16 zugno
Se parti dita nave da ferara per andare a banolo acargare di legne di quele del si.e
adi 25 dito ritorno dita nave a ferara adi dito auemo il m.to

adi 28 dito
se parti dita nave da ferara per andare ala ciota sabadini per cargare staghe
adi 17 de luio ariuo dita nave carga de sagha auemo el m.to adi 21 de luio

adi 19 de luio
se parti dita nave per andare alongastrino acargare sale delo ill.o s. n.ro
adi 25 de luio arivo deta nave dalongastrino

Adi 27 di luio
se parti dita nave per andare a cargare sale alongastrino dello illo sig.e n.ro
adi 2 agosto se ariuo dita nave

adi 5 di agosto
se parti dita nave per andare a cargare sale alongastrino dello Ill.mo s. n.ro
adi 9 dito torno dita nave

Adi 13 de agosto
Se parti dita nave per andare a cargare sale dello illu.o sig.e no a longastrino
adi 21 dito ritorno dita nave

[c. 16r]
Adi 27 di agosto
Se parti dita nave per andare al fosa di zaniolo acargare formenti per lo illu.o sig.e n.ro

adi 4 setembre ariuo dita nave

Adi 6 di setembre
Se parti dita nave per andare a cargare for.te al fosa di zaniollo per lo Ill.mo sig.e n.ro
adi 12 dito ariuo dita nave

Adi 15 setembre
Se parti dita nave per andare al fosa di zaniolo a cargare sale per lo Ill.o sig.e n.ro
adi 2 de octobre ritorno ditta nave adi 5 de octobre auemo al m.to

Adi 22 di octobre
Se parti dita nave per andar ala canda acargar legne per lo Illu.o sig.e n.ro
adi i° di nouembre ariuo dita nave

Adi 12 nouembre
Se parti dita nave per andar a cargar piante per bisogno delo ill.o sign.n.ro
1530 adi 8 de zenaro

Adi 10 de febraro 1530
se parti dita nave per andar al fosa di zaniolo a cargare for.ti di molmo per
9897

13. [1599] ASMo, Amm.C., Navi, n. 4, Arsenale di là da Po.

Inventory of the Arsenale

IV/1

[c. 1]

Al nome di Dio 1599

Inventario di tutti li armezzi et altre cose che sono posti nel Arsenale de la da Po fatto d'ordine dell'Ill.mo marchese di Scandiano per m. Fab.o Costabili questo di 14 agosto quale Robbe sono statte poste nelle mane di m. Cesare Zanibello

Prima Amezi della Barca longa
La Tella mezzana usa al Artimoni
Un cauo
Una sorta, la fonda et l'orza
Un pano rosso per la Carcha
Due ferri
Remi n° ventiquattro

La Diamante
Una vella noua
una anzana
un cauo
l'orza la sorta et la fonda
un ferro
sei rimi co' il Piombo
Remi sedeci senza piombo
Duoi rimi da Zirone

[c. 2]
Fornimenti della Barcha detta Aquila
Una Vella nova
un'anzana
un Cauo
Un baza una sorta er una fonda
un ferro
Remi n° ventiquatro
Duoi da Zirone

Chiozzotta vecchia
Una vella usa ma buona co il suo zabandalo

un'anzana
un cauo
una sorta un'orza et una fonde
un ferro
undeci remi

Frusta maggiore
una vella usa co' il suo zabandalo
una anzana
un cauo
un'orza una sorta et una fonda
trideci remi
un ferro

La levezera
la vella nova
la vella artimone nova

[c. 3]
Fornimenti della Barcha
la vella usa
la vella artimone di renso in uno sacho

La metta della tenda della galea
Due velle da burchio una usa et l'altra noua
Una vella da trinchetto nuova che si tiraua sopra a S.A. per il sole
Due anzane nuove
un'anzanella nuova
un'anzana vecchia
tri pezzi d'anzana
Duoi caui noui non adoperati
duoi caui noui de de Rissi per tonghettari
otto pezzi de caui noui di bona longezza
tri caui noui da far menali
otto caui usi ma buoni
duoi caui longhi usi come due al zanelle
sette pezzi de caui
un cauo piano impegolato
gomene n° quarantadue pezzi
una celega berettina vecchia
due coperte rossi per li bergantini vecchie
due coperte negri et duoi frontali per la chiozzotta vecchia et non perilia
cosini otto di corame negro pieni di pena per il borghello di crestallo
otto pezzi di rede da cacia et un pezzetto picollo vecchio
remi n° cinquantaquatro usi

Remi da bergantino n° sessantaquattro
piche n° 64
un'argana co' il fusso

[c. 4]
Porte n° setti per le barche longhe
duoi calusi
un cartello da barcha de legno
un felzo de cantinelle vechio et rotto
~~forcole n° cinquatasette de duoi morsi~~
~~forcole n° 23 da duoi morsi~~
~~diece forcole da un morso~~
4 artimoni vecchi
quatro antena usa
duoi alberi picoli
quattro ponti
barilli n° diecinove
sechio n° settembre una cassa de pezzi co' serramenti
una cassa de piombo co' balle da moscheto dentro
Quatro scalle due rote due bone
una stadiera grande de bronzo co' il marcho
dodeci archebuggi di ferro
un archibuggio di bronzo co' la cassa
una piria de ramo
un maiprigo di ferro
due balestri
una zangola di legno
un tamburo da guerra rotto
ventiquatro stroppelle per fregate e bergantini
tri cassette de legno vecchie
un'arma ducale de legno
un'aquila in argentata
buselli da mari non buoni n° 10
un taino de bronzo
un armario
duoi fereli
una lanterna
quattro bandieri de sei telli de zendale zallo e turchino

[c. 5]
cinque scale per le Barche da nodare
dodice zucche da nodari
stuore cinque vecchie
una cassa piena de fenestrini fatta de seda zalla
due casse in quadro piene de deti fenestrini

legnami di piu sorte in una camera
quatro pezzi grandi di spaliera di corame
il felzo della Barcha de cristalo
un martello
otto tassini
remi centouenti da galea
una cadena per il bocintoro

Robbe che mancano

la tenda della galea
il trinchetto della galea
la vella della barca lunga
la Tenda del Brigantino fu persa al tempo ch'era il papa a ferrara
la Tenda della barcha longa
Un fero hebbe m. Nicola Borgione
Un ferro hebbe il sig. Marchese Bentivoglio
Un ferro il Co: Herc.le Mosti
Un ferro il Cap.e del forno nel viaggio de Turino

[c. 7]
Al nome de Dio 1599 adi 20 agosto
Inventario delle barche poste nel Arsanale di san Giorgio sotto la custodia de m. Nicola Borgione

Prima
La Galea disfornita
la frusta magiore co' albori et antena fornita
la Diamante co' l'antena et suoi fornimenti
la chiozzotta vecchia co' l'albori antena et fornimenti
il bergantino da Beriguardo nudo
la barcha longa co' albori antena et fornimenti
la barca mezzana co'albori antena et fornimenti
il remorchio del Bucintoro nudo
la Barcha detta la Leueziera nuda
La Barcha detta l'aquila co li albori antena e suoi fornimenti
un cauo per il bocintoro
duoi caui de prissa per il detto
un'argana con il fuso
li vasi di dette Barche et parte di quelle che sono al finale con le sue tallie e pallanche bisogneuole porle al acqua e tirarle in terra.

14. (1785-1786) ASMo, Amm.C., Navi, n. 5, "Bucintori, Bergantini, Burchieli, Feluche, Battelli, Barche" V/11-18

Bucintori

n° 1° da Gala pe' Principi

n° 2° detto de' Cavalieri di seguito al primo

Idea di esitarli = primi relativi passi dati a Venezia presso quell'agente 11 8bre 1785

e rinovati

presso il med.mo 9 maggio 1786

nota Riessendo sarà affare da portarsi in Consiglio d'Econom.

V/12

Sig.re Avvocato Novello Agente di S.A: Serenissima in Venezia

Modena 11 8bre 1785

Ill.mo Sig.re

Tiene il Serenissimo Sig.re Duca mio Signore nel suo Arsenale della città del Finale un Bucintoro lavorato con arte soprafina messo a oro di ordinaria grandezza e molto consistente si nella solidità che nella bellezza.

Siccome l'A.S. attualmente non ne fa uso, ne vede luogo, onde servirsene; quindi perché non abbia col tempo a spregiudicarsi, e andar a male si è risoluto di farne la vendita e bramerebbe perciò che V.S. Ill.mo di quest'effetto s'interessasse colla solita di Lei attenzione, e zelo pel sovrano sua servigio per ritrovarne cossì una opportuna occasione, giacche con facilità potrebbe il detto Bucintoro inviarsi in codeste parti.

La qualità, lavoro e finitura del Bucintoro potrebbe fuor di dubbio aver luogo nell'Arsenale di codesta Repubblica.

Né promuova pertanto V.S. Ill.ma gl'incontri più favorevoli, onde né segua un vantaggioso esito, mentre facendolene per porne deli A.S.S. le più vive premure con auersarla del Sovrano suo gradimento colla solita distinta prima mi confermo.

V/13

Sig. Novello Agente Venezia

Modena 9 maggio 1786

Descrissi già a V.S. Illustrissima fin dal g.no n. 8bre anno scorso un nobile e ricco Bucintoro esistente nella città del Finale che non essndo servibile nacque pensiero e brama a S.A. Serenissima di esitarlo per mezzo di V.S. Illustrissima. Eguale idea e desiderio è tornato in oggi all'anima del Ser.mo Duca, che si lusinga di facilitarne la vendita non tanto per il vantaggioso partito che farebbe all'acquirente, quanto anche perché essendovi un altro legno di seguito a forma pur di Bucintoro non avrebbe d'uopo il compratore di prendersi ulteriori core, onde vendere perfezionato un legno subalterno l'acquisto del primo. Se a V.S: Ill.ma riuscisse di trovar persona che volesse applicare al negozio non avrebbe che ad accompagnarla coll'unito mio mandato da accludersi in una di lei credenziale diretta al Sig.re Conte Onorio Giacobazzi Governatore del Finale che è presentato fin d'ora di questa onoranza: attenderò i di lei riscontri e intanto etc.

Oltre il Bucintoro Nobile esistente in codesto Arsenale esiterebbe S.A.S. anche l'altro di seguito così detto de' Cavalieri. Si è riferito a Venezia a quell'Agente Ducale Sig. Avv. Gio. Novello perché stia in pratica di un compratore che venendo ritrovato quale si desidera verrà al Finale munito di una credenziale del Sig.e Avv. medesimo che consignerà un mandato firmato dal mandatario sottoscritto di cui si unisce copia i quali recapiti il Sig. Gov.e ….

V/14

L'esibitore del presente mandato che verrà compiegato a credenziale dell'Agente di S.A.S. in Venezia Sig.e Avvocato Gio: Novello si comsidererà il Sig.e Conte Onorio Giacobazzi Gov.e della città del Finale d'intesa

coll'Ammiraglio Ducale di far osservare i due Bucintori da esitarsi conforme la mente ricevuta dal S. Comm. Gov.e Me.o in data di questo stesso giorno […] Modena 9 maggio 1786.

V/15

Eccellenza

Sempre quando si presenterà a me Persona, che sia munita della credenziale del sig.le Avvocato Gio: Novello Agente di S.A. Serenissima in Venezia, e del Mandato in essa compiegato, di lui mi parla il veneratissimo dispaccio della segreteria dell'A.S. Serenissima firmato dall'E.V. sotto li 9 corrente, le sarà dato da me previa l'intelligenza gia a quest'ora fissata coll'ammiraglio, l'ingresso in quest'Arsenale, onde possa à suo piacimento esaminare tanto il Bucintoro quanto l'altro cosi detto dei Cavalieri, i quali è in disposizione il Pron. Ser.o di esitare. Le obblazioni che mi verrano fatte saranno da me sul momento rassegnate a V.C. e non lascierò d'inssinuare all'obblatore di portarsi piuttosto a dirittura costà per stringere il contratto, tanto più poi, se si dasse il caso, che alle sue obblazioni volesse, che precedesse qulche dimanda dalla parte nostra, ed in allora risolvendo di trasferisi alla Capitale, sarà accompagnato dà opportuna mia credenziale per V.E..

Perché poi il Bucintoro Nobile si vegga, dà chi possa avere intenzione di acquistarlo, nel migliore suo aspetto, io crederi opportuno di corredarlo nel suo interno, come era solito a farsi, quando gittavasi in acqua per servigio della Corte Serenissima, supponendo che i specchi, cristalli, carreghe, canapè e tutt'altro che serve a'nobilmente guarnirlo, e che sono mobili fatti à bella posta per esso abbiano a tener dietro alla di lui vendita. Se queste mie riflessioni saranno consenzanee alle Sovrane intenzioni, io darò poi su ciò gli ordini in conformità ed in tanto con pienezza d'ossequio mi rassegno di V.E.

Finale 11 maggio 1786

Mo
Deu: Obbl: Servitore
Onorio Giacobazzi Governatore

V/16
Eccellenza
Modena 29 luglio 1786
Dalla lettere del Manini accompagnatami da V.S. Ill.ma sotto il 24 ande rilevo con piacere le pratiche da lui intraprese per la vendita de' saputi due Bucintori intorno ai quali si gradirà che il Manini stesso essermi prima la sua obblazione in iscritto che rimessami da Lei, sarà passata a questi min.ri Camerali per l'opportuno esame in seguito del quale verrà Ella edotta da me sul contegno da tenersi in questo affare. Non dubito dell'attenz.e e zelo di V.S. Ill.ma tanto su questa che sull'altra premura e con pienissima stima….

Dalla compiegata lettera potrò l'A V. li passi da me dati per la vendita delli due Bucentori e mi si rende presentemente necessario, che faccia la grazie di addittarmi il contegno che dovrò tenere riguardo al prezzo che mi si ricerca. Messo così in avviamento il contratto mi lusingo che non mene riuscirà difficile la conclusione onde supplicando l'A.V. per questa graziosa intenzione con profeondissimo ossequio mi rassegno dell'A.V.
Finale 24 Luglio 1786

Obblig.o ed Ossu.mo Serv.e Angelo Borsari
Si risponda mostrando gradimento, che il Menini faccia la sua obblazione, mentre venuta cosi si farà esaminare dai Ministri delle Serenissima Ducal Camera, i quali trouandolo ragionevole li presteranno al contratto
27 luglio 1786

15. ASMo, Libri Camerali Diversi, n. 87, cc. 154 e sgg.

Embroideressess of Borso's funeral pall

Spesa de la sepoltura de lo Ill.mo Duca Borso da Este.
[…]
Sono in soma tuti i preci per braza 5494 ¼ de pano cupo cupo

	L. 52	S. 2	D. 11
[…] per bastire […]	L. 74	S. 8	D. 0
[…] per filato d'oro e damasco nero	L. 185	S. 4	D. 7

La spesa fata de la sepoltura del prefato S. […] per la infrascripta quantita di velli dati ale infrascripte madone […]

a la Ill.ma madona Biatrixe			
a la Ill.ma madona Biancha	L. 13	17	6
a la Ill.ma Margarita da rimini	L. 5		
a la Ill.ma Orsina de m. Andrea gualnuto	L. 5		
a la Ill.ma Limanda da este	L. 5		
ala m.a Madona Anna di Rubie	L. 5		
ala m.a Madona filipa de la tauola	L. 5		
ala m.a Madona margarita sua fiola	L. 5		
a una niza de m.a filipa	L. 5		
a m.a pulisena da este	L. 5		
a m.a lucretia da este	L. 5		
a m.a isota da este	L. 5		
a m.a zenevra da este	L. 5		
a suora dominica da este	L. 5		
a suora verde da este	L. 10		
a m.a camila de contrari	L. 5		
a m.a batista di contrari e m.a biancha	L. 10		
a m.a margarita de m.ro franceschino	L. 5		
a m.a catilina di m. prisiano	L. 5		
a m.a tadia de Rinnaldo di costabilli	L. 5		
a m.a catilina di girardo da este	L. 5		
a m.a girardina madre di m. francesco da este	L. 5		
a la dona de Hieronimo forsani	L. 5		
a la dona de Hieronimo da este da modena	L. 5		
a la fiola de lo Ill.mo m. Rainaldo da este	L. 5		
a la fiola di m. Baldesar da triuisio	L. 5		
a la d. de m. Antonio guidone fatore	L. 5		
a la d. de Bonvicino fatore	L. 5		
a la d. de franc.o di canossi	L. 5		
a la d. che fo de pollo di costibilli	L. 5		
a m. suora Laura da este abadessa in padoua	L. 5		

a m. Lucia perondola	L. 4
a la d.na de m. Anibal da gonzaga	L. 4
a doe donzelle de m.a Anna	L. 8
a m. Zanevira dal sagia [?]	L. 4
a la dona de m. girolamo pincharo	L. 4
a la dona de m. manfredo ugaldini	L. 4
a la d. de m. francisco Suorli	L. 4
a la d. che fo de m. Francisco da sagia	L. 4
a la dona de girardo da la binalagna	L. 4
a la d. de galeotto de la sassino	L. 4
a la d. de folcho da villa fuora	L. 4
a la d. de marcho de galeoto	L. 4
a la d. de aliprando guidizoni	L. 4
a dui donzelle de m.a Biancha da este	L. 8
a la d. de m. Hierolamo da Bondini	L. 4
a la d. de m. Oacomo di Sipion dal Sagia	L. 4
a la d. de antonio sando	L. 4
a m.a Maria di costabili	L. 4
a doe donzelle di m. margarita da Rimini	L. 8
a la dona di m. pelegrino di paxino	L. 4
a la d. de m. tito stroza	L. 4
a la d. de Tomaxo camerlengo	L. 4
a la d. de Cristofallo Ruscio	L. 4
a la d. de Gaspar da fogliami	L. 4
a la d. de mazon camerlengo	L. 4
a la madre de Lionello da barexe e ala sorella	L. 8
a la d. del conte Tomaxo condalmino	L. 4
a doe donzelle de la Ill.ma m. Biancha	L. 8
a la d. de m. Iacomo dal sagia	L. 4
a la d. de zamblani	L. 1
a m.a Ixota dalara	L. 1
a m.a Zohanna da la farina	L. 1
a ma. Margarita da la farina	L. 1
a m.a Catilina da Quartesana	L. 1
a m.a Biadrise del Signore	L. 1
a m.a Antonia da Lodi	L. 1
a m.a Benvegania porzanara	L. 1
a m.a Bartolamia di Ridolfo	L. 1
a m.a Paxinia di Bartolamio di mizi	L. 1
a m.a Maria del dito	L. 1
a m.a catilana da sismondo del reglaro	L. 1
a m.a Biatrixe Biasa	L. 1
a m.a Franscescha spinola	L. 1
a m.s domina salarola	L. 1
a m.a Animina de Bertaldo	L. 1

a m.a Zohanna de Bergamo L. 1
a m.a Ixabella da Verona L. 1
a la dona de Zohane dal chiarino L. 1
Soma L. 323 . 17 . 6

a m. Cosme depintore per depintura de più legnami depinti a la cirtoxa […]
L. 20 . 0 . 0
a Simone Rofino
(per filo da ricamo e colori) L. 28 . 4. 0

[…]

16. ASMo, C.D.E., *Guardaroba*, 1459, "Registro e mandati e spexa de lo officio de galaoto et de marco"

[c. 72r]

1459

Capitolo de mandati che se registrearano et spexa che da queli procedera in lano presente per fornimenti o altre cosse che se auerano afare per lo buzintoro e naue et altre caxone apertinenti ala custodia de cristofalo finoto al presente ofitiale azo segondo che per lo ill.o n.ro s. sera concesso al quale cristofalo se conssignate tute quele cosse se farano cuomo apreso se di notera

primo per piu diuerse cosse fate in adornamento del buzentoro ornado per la andata che de fare lo prefato duca a uenexia posto da m° girardo dipintore
adi 31 de marzo a libro x 41

lire 82 . 14 . 4

Apare comissione per lista fata adi 24 di agosto et signada adi v di otobre et posta in filza per H 48

Item broche 200 ebe finoto per adornare lo dito buzentoro de bancali per landata de lo s. auenexia posto da marchione
adi 4 de mazo a libro X

lire 0 . 3 . 0

Item broche 200 ebe el dito finoto per adornare la naue per la uenida de lo ill.mo cunte mess. Galeazo Sforza posta da marchione
adi 24 de dito

lire 0 . 3 . 0

per broche 100 ebe lo dito per adornare la nave la quale doveva andare contra lo s. al mess. alessandro sforza posto da m. adi 30 de novembre

lire 0 . 1 . 6

17. ASMo, C.D.E., Guardaroba, n. 59

[c. 83]

Capitolo de tuta la spesa che se fara per fare adornare le cortine de panno le quale sono per adornare lo buzentoro de lo Ill.mo duca n.ro per la venuta de lo sancto padre la quale spexa prima se fa per comissione e nota a boca da lo prefato duca di tuta la montanza di quela et sono cuomo apreso

Primo a simone rofino per costo de libre tre oro de bazile a soldi 30 per libra posto adi 2 de zenaro a libro X a carta 3 lire 9 . 0 . 0

A zohane de cabeli per libre tre de stame pingo per filare posto adi 2 de dito a libro X a carta 3 lire 3 . 4 . 0

Per braza 7 de pano de 70 de quelo de lo oficio lo quale era apresso marco de la sassino posto che valgia a soldi 31 denari 6 per brazo posto da marco adi 11 de dito a libro X carta 181 lire 0 . 0 . 0

A franzoxe recamadore per costo de libre tre de stame filado pingo a soldi 8 posto adi 12 dito a libro X a carta 7 lire 1 . 4 . 0

A m° zoliano dal niro tintore per tintura de libre 7 de dito stame pingo comprato da dito zohane et dito franzoxe tinto in colore negro di guado posto a soldi 3 per libra adi 30 di zenaro a libro x carta 21
lire 1 . 1. 0

A Simone rofino per libre 27 de oro de bazile lire 40 . 10 . 0

per libre dito de argento de bazile lire 8 . 8 . 0

per libre 4 de folgieta de bazile per fare filato doro a soldi 14 per libra

lire 2 . 16 . 0

Intuto monta lire 41 denari 14 posto adi 30 dito a libro X carta 3
lire 41 . 14 . 0

A simone predito per le aprese robe per dito date cuomo apreso

per braza 349 de pano de piu culuri posto de auere fato tute le cortine e li recamj suzo quele a soldi 27 monta lire 484 . 6 . 6 posto adi 31 de dito a libro X a carta 13

lire 484 . 6 . 6

ad alberto dal barca per zimadura de dite braza 349 de pani a denari 4 per brazzo posto adi 31 dito a libro X a carta 16
lire 4 . 19 . 10

A simone predito per le aprese robe auote da luj per cuzere et recamare le dite cortine

per libre 4 de oro de bazile a soldi 30 lire 6 . 0 . 0

per onze 9 de lana tinta a soldi 12 per libra lire 0 . 9 . 0

per libre 10 onze 10 di reue a soldi 18 per libra lire 10 . 13 . 9

In tuto monta lire 17 soldi 2 denari 9 posto adi 31 dito a libro X a carta 20

lire 17 . 2 . 9

A mateo de erbe per onze 4 de arzento de bazili posto a soldi 3 per onza in li recami de dite cortine posto adi 6 di marzo a libro X a carta 33

lire 1 . 12 . 0

A girardo di andrea da vizenza dipintore per sua carta et fatura posta in auere fato et straforato dessigni 26 ale arme et diuise de lo prefato duca grandi meza et pizoli per fare li recami de le dite cortine posto da lui adi 31 de zenaro a libro X a carta 20 lire 10 . 0 . 0

et per lo precio de sechie due de acqua forte per dito posta in auere onbrezado diti recami posto da lui adi 31 dito a libro X a carta 20

lire 2 . 4 . 0

A marchione bindochero merzaro per piu diverse robe avute da lui per adornare dete cortine zoe broche ranpinj de fero reve quele de fero folexelo aladevisa lavorado in carbone franze et cordela de reve posta da lui partidamente adi 31 de marzo s libro X a carta 38

A jacomo del bailo strazarolo per fatura de avere talgiato cosido et fornite de franze tuto dito fornimento posto adi 31 de dito a libro X a carta 18

lire 47 . 0 . 0

A romeo di zorzo speciale per piu robe auete de spiciaria per onbrare dite cortine in aque posto da luj adi 31 dito a libro X carta 8

lire 1 . 9 . 9

18. ASMo, Ambasciatori dall'estero, Roma, Gurrone d'Este, 1459, n. 2/3,

Lettera 3/2
[c. 1r]
La tanta instantia qual fiece al Duca mio la S.ta de n.s. insino a Ferr.a, et quella medema anche di poi ripetuda, si per brevi, come etiam a die passati per uno suo cubicullario
noto maestro Oratio perché venisse a Mantoa a questa dieta, faceva chel prefato mio illu.mo S. haveha deliberato de venirsi, sia perchel e pur principe et sig.re fidele, et catolico a cuj piace mirabilmente questa sancta et gloriosa dicta, sia perchel è ancho affectionatissimo et dispositissimo ver la B.ne de n.s. tanto per natura quanto per altro obligo de vicariado.
Ma il denota et dechiara a la V. Col. che molto piu incomparabilmente il respecto solo de la vostra inclita Sig.ra gli lo conduceva, che non feceva tute le altre cose, perche essendo il sig. mio dedito a la V.S.nta nel modo chel e, et essendo de quella inamorato, et infiamato, non come de sig.re humano, ma come de un s. celeste, in cuj riposa tuto il suo conforto suo ardentissimo desiderio brama sopra tute le altre letitie e consolatione per tocharla, abbracciarla, goderla et truimpharse cum epsa. Ni crede il S.re mio che quelli S.ti padri spectassero ladvento del Messia al Limbo, cum tanto desiderio ni cum tanta avidita, quanto che la sua s.ra voria vedere quello giorno il quale lo faria compitamente felice et beato. Et se piu alto, on piu degno, et ancho piu demonstrativo exemplo la sua s. potesse radure a questo proposito chal preallegato, cussi in suo nome lo ramenta de suo comandaminto. Ma acte, on sia per recevere alcuna amaritudine mortale, questa volata de non potere venire a Mantoa, solo per ritrovarse cum la V. Inclita S.ra il fa altri stare et addolorarse acerbamente come ancho versavice il teme et stima, che la V. Col. ricevera molestia et del dispiacere. Ma havendo il S. mio puoi pensitto et ripensato sopra la littera ho qui a legere ala V.S. come tuto confuso et tuto commosso il gli e parso de pigliare altra deliberatione. Et puoi che epsa littera da a vedere al S. mio comel suo venire a Mantoa produria ne la mente de quella brigata qualche sinestro et suspicioso concepto, conoscendo la sua s. li huomini, et li animi, et le maniere de Venetianj
li quali per ogni cossa le atterano et si le commoveno, come etiamdio la V. Col. conosce davantagio la natura lora. Il gli e parso chel sia molto meglio ristare a casa et supplire a la opportunita cum n.s. per una Ambasciaria la qual habia balia et possa de acceptare liberamente ogni cosse gli impegni taxa' la sua B. in epsa Dieta. Racordando a la V. Illu. su che come lhara etiam lei in memoria quella s.ra tanto le commosse et tanto le guastete, a quisti mixi vargati per quella casipula, on verteza del polexene gitata a terra, et per quella differentia laoltra de pocha importanza la quale fiece fare de stranij et de mancho cha belli parlari in Vinesa, chel fue la suoi errori, et che se purgasseno, et purificasseno di suspecti havevano

prexo – perlaqualcosa parendo al Sre mio, chel lhabia da tenire ogni via
perche vinitian non intrino in alcun suspecto del facto suo, puoi che Dio vole
cussi
cussi ha deliberato de non venire a Mantoa; et non dubita per niente che
[c. 1l]
la V. Cel. lo commendara et lodata come sapientissima et come quello S.re che
non voria che la sua S.ra stesse a partito de scoziere in un minimo sdegno de la
Prefata Sig.ra; et posto chel S.re mio habia a fare sempre tanto, quanto la V.
Cel. il consigliasse. Il non crede pero che quella mai dicesse cha lhabia facto
altro che saviamente a non venirsj. Et per la Ismesurata confidentia ha il S.re
mio in la V.Cel. gli sempre et apre liberamente la cagione vera et certa
per chel se ni resta a casa pregandola caramente che questa cossa stia presso
de lei et non sia altramente scritta, per non stare a partito de receuersj
carrico. Et ponga per fermo la V.S. chel S. mio non teneria mai cossa
veruna celada ni oculta a la V. Cel. quale et quanto la fusse. Aduisando la
V.S. che col papa lha pigliato altra scusa fundandole sul dire gli e stato
facto per astrologi et per altre uenerabile persone le quale sogliore dire
il vero che hanno pronuntiato // che in questo agosto et septembre
il staua a partito de amalarse grauemente secondo che e pur vero che
cussi e stato predicto del facto suo. […]

Appendix B – Primary Printed Sources

1. Enea Silvio Piccolomini, *Commentarii*, in Totaro L. (edt.), Piccolomini E. S., *I Commentari,* Milano, Adelphi, 2004.

Liber Secundus, 40. "De Borsio, et dubiis eius moribus, et ingressu Ferrariae."

[…] Illud in hac familia singulare, quod patrum nostrorum memoria nemo legitime natus ad principatum pervenit, adeo concubinaru, quam uxorum filii fortunatiores fuere: res non christianis modo sed omnium fere gentium legibus adversa. […]

[…] Obtinuit tamen concessiones alias magni ponderis speravitque maiores in dies accipere. Atque ob eam rem et quod aliorum exemplis admonebatur, summis honoribus Pium excepit adnixusque eos superare per quos iter fuer habitum […] Spoponditque Dux in conventu Mantuano sese minime defuturum, ut qui Rem Christianam inter omnes qui viverent conservari maxime cuperet. […]

Liber Tertius, 21. "De Borsii instabilitate insulsa atque mendaci".

Promiserat, ut rettulimus, Borsius Mutinensium dux, qui pro Romana Ecclesia Ferrariam gubernabat, iturum se Mantuam cum Pius vocaret. Vocatus, rescripsit paucos intra dies venturum. Iterum vocatus, mutato consilio, renuit, astronomorum iudicia causatu, qui sibi mortem portendere astra confirmarent, Mantuam petituro. Increpavit eum Pontifex, qui Gentilium sequeretur ineptias et per astrotum inspectionem futuri se conscium diceret; excogitata haec ne Conventum accederet; vereri inter bonos viros apparere; malle cum bestiis quam cum hominibus vivere; ingratum Deo atqie indignum qui tot bonis affluerет, quando in causa fidei nollet unius diei navigatione fatigari; nec religiosum nec cristianum esse qui conventum pro tuendo Christi nomine indictum effugeret; astrologum iudicia, mense martio edita,, prius sibi nota fuisse quam Pontifici promisisset adventum; nihil principem minus decere quam promissa rescindere.

Responsit multa Borsius, verum iuvenilia et indigna quibus Pontificis aures obtunderentur; cumque rationibus vinceretur, vinci noluit. Febri se tandem laborare affirmavit et egere quiete. Verum, egressus Ferraria, per Aemiliam profectus, medios inter aestus venaticas sequebatur, non sine irrisione omnium qui eam fabulam novere.

Sic mores nonnullos principes urgent: sequuntur desideria sua; perire potius rempublicam sinunt, quam minimam partem detrahi suarum voluptatum patiantur; et adulatoribus credentes, quorum plenae sunt aulae, quae faciunt sicut in praesentia sic et in absentia laudari putant. Contra multo evenit: raro absent colitur, qui coram celebratur. Borsius quacunque iter fecit inter subditos, voces applaserunt populi; in aliena terra nomen eius infame fuiit, quamvis dicere consuerverit Ferrariam scholam esse in qua disceretur quicquid Itali nossent, seque magistrum ei praesidere. Sapiebat multum suo iudicio, alieno parum. Statum eius non tam prudentia sua quam fortuna gubernavit:

felicem Ferrariam vicinorum inter se conflictationes praestitere, non industria principum.

Ceterum Borsius, crebis nunciis ac litteris ex venatione ad Conventum accersitus, confusus tandem, venturum se Augusto exacto rescripsit, quod is esset fatalis mensis, non minus quam antea mentitus. Leve est assueto fallere, nec claudi mendacio facile possunt ora, quae menti endi usum induerunt. Misit tamen oratorem unum ex fratibus suis, nomine Gurronem, cui duos adiunxit iureconsultos, hisque mandatum dedit pro necessitate Reipublicae auri et ccc[ta] milia nummun oìpollicerentur, tamquam magnificis verbis turpia facta compensari possent.

Liber Quartus, 4. "Legatio Pii ad Venetos et discessus e Mantua; profectio in Ferrariam, Borsiique occursus."

[…] Nocte in Roverio peracta, sequenti die Borsium occurrentem in Pado habuit, navi buccinatoria vectum et magna minorum navigiorum multitudine circundatum, adeo ut nullam fluminis partem non agitarint pulsarintque remi. Vexilla multi coloris impulsa ventulo aspectum mirabile reddere. Tubae, tibiae et omnia musicorum genera, in altioribus collocata puppis, dulcere praebere concentum. Personatus apparere diversi deorum ac dearum et gigantum et virtutum; pueri ac puellae cantare; in aggeribus, qui amnis inundationem cohibent, quasi ad spectaculum viri ac mulieres sedere. Illi Papae isti Borsio vitam precari. Ludovicus mantuanus, invento Borsio, cum se Papae saepius commendasset, domum rediit. Pius buccinatoria Borsii nave conscensa, Ferrariam adnavigavit, ubi, occorentibus sacerdotisbus sacra ferentibus et magna populi pompa, in arce quae supra litus iacet collocatus est. […]

2. Girardi G.B., *Commentario delle cose di Ferrara, et de principi da Este, di m. Giovanbattista Giraldi gentil'huomo Ferrarese ... Tratto dall'epitome di m. Gregorio Giraldi; & tradotto per m. Lodovico Domenichi*, Fiorenza, appresso Lorenzo Torrentino, 1556, pp. 97-98.

[p. 97]

Fu Borso nel vestir suo piu ambitioso, che non conveniva. Percioch'egli portava calze di broccato, & saio, o vuoi piu tosto giornea fino al ginocchio, pur di broccato, la cui parte dinanzi, & di dietro con giusto spatio dalla cima al fondo era tutta increspata & una berretta di seta lunga, e aguzza, tutta fornita d'oro, & di gioie.

[p. 98]

[…] l'anno 1471. à 14. di Aprile, magnificamente alloggiò Papa Pio, il quale con animo molto pio, havendo sollevati assaissimo Principi Christiani

contra Mahomete (fra i quali Borso non havea l'ultimo luogo) apparecchiava l'esercito contra i Turchi, nell'andare à Mantova, & nel ritornare.

3. Flavius Blondus, Lucio Fauno, *Roma ristaurata et Italia illustrata*, in Venetia, 1542, pp. 77-79.

[…] percio che Prospero Colonna il cardinale, essendo per heredita signore di queste due castella Nemore, e Cintiano, & havendo da quelli di Nemore inteso alcuna volta dire, che erano in quel lago due nave annegate, che non erano cosi putride, anco, che se ne venissero a pezzi con le reti, che vi s'erano a caso alcuna volta impicciate o con le fune, che vi havevano a posta per tirarle su attaccate, ne si potevano facilmente cosi intiere da tutti que paesani tirare su nel secco: venne vuoglia al cardinale studiosissimo de le lettere buone, & de le historie antiche di volere vedere, e sapere, che cosa, & a che proposito si fussero cosi gran navi in cosi picciol lago, e circondato di ogni intorno da altissimi monti, onde fu a cio chiamato Leon Battista Alberto gran geometra del tempo nostro, e c'ha composti belli libri d'Architettura, costui fe dunque ligare insieme in molti ordini alcune botti vote per potervi tenere su quasi su ponti alcune machine, dove erano molti uncini di ferro attaccati con lunge fune, e tirate poi su con ingegni da maestri legnaiuoli, e furono condotti di Genova alcuni marinai che notavano come pesci i quali sommozzando giu nel fondo del lago sapevano dire la grandezza de le barche, e quanto le fussero intiere, o rotte, e vi attaccavano poi quelli tanti uncini di ferro, essendone dunque ligata una ne la proda, e tirandosi su, si spezzò, e ne venne su solo una parte, la quale vennero di Roma per vedere, come era fatta, i piu belli ingegni de la corte Romana. Ella era fatta tutta di tavole grosse tre deti d'un legno chiamato Larice, e tutta intorno di fuora era coverta d'una bona colla di color giallo, o purpureo, e sopra questa, vi erano tante piastrelle di piombo chiavati con spessi chiodi non di ferro, ma di bronzo, che manteneuano la nave, e la colla intiere, e la difensavano da l'acqua, e da le pioggie: di dentro poi era fatta talmente, che non solo era secura da l'acque, ma si posseva e dal ferro diffendere, e dal fuoco. Egli era prima sopra il legno tutta distesa di buona creta, che era alta un deto, e poi haveano sopra questa creta sparso tanto ferro liquefatto, che faceva una piastra, poco meno quanto era tutta la nave di tavole, & in alcun luoco era grossa un deto, in alcuno altro due, e sopra il ferro era anco un'altra impiastratione di creta, e ci pare di vedere, che mentre era il ferro caldo vi fusse su posta la creta, per essere talmente, cosi la creta di sotta, come quella di sopra, afferrata, e ristretta col ferro, che pare & il ferro, e la creta una medesima colla, e mentre, che per trare su questa nave siaffaticava ciascuno molto, furono nel fondo del lago trovate alcune fistule, o tosi di piombo, lunge duo cubiti, e ben massiccie, li quali si vedea, che era una attaccata a l'altra, & atte a gire molto in lungo, & in ogni una di quelle erano scolpite belle lettere, che dimostravano (come pensiamo) che l'autore de la nave fusse stato Tiberio Cesare, e giodicò Leon Battista, che dal bel fonte & abodante, che scaturisce presso a Nemore, e, dove sono hoggi i molini, si stendessero molte di queste fistole di piombo, infin nel mezzo del lago per condure acqua in servitio de le case sontuose, e belle, che noi crediamo, che fussero sopra queste navi

edificate, bella cosa è, e quasi maravigliosa a vedere i chiodi grandi di bronzi d'un cubito longhi, cosi intieri, cosi politi, che pareva, ch'allora a posto fussero di mano del maestro usciti. […]

4. *La entrata che fece in Vinegia, l'illustrissimo et eccellentissimo S. Duca Alfonso II. Estense, Duca di Ferrara, De eiusdem Principis in urbem venetam ingressu natalis de comitibus carmen*. In Venetia, Appresso Francesco Rampazetto, MDLXII.

[...] la qual sia col discrivervi brievemente in questa lettera l'entrata, che ne' di passati fece L'Illustrissimo & Eccellentissimo S. Don Alfonso da Este Duca di Ferrara in questa città, per essere ella veramente degna di scriversi, si per la Regal pompa, e sublime e Magnifica compagnia, con che egli vi entrò; come per il grande
Apparato, e singolar dimostramento di affettione, e di allegrezza; con la quale da questo Serenissimo Prencipe, dalla Illustrissima Signoria, e da tutta questa città comunemente fu ricevuto.

Partissi adunque questo Eccellentissimo Signore da Ferrara a diece d'Aprile, e s'imbarco a Francolino; che è luogo discosto da Ferrara cinque miglia, posto alle rive del Po. Era accompagnato da cento de' principali suoi gentilhuomini, e da altri personaggi, & huomini da servigio: i quali tutti il numero di due mila quattrocento e trentacinque facevano. Quivi salì nel sùo Bucentoro; ch'é un bellissimo legno e con bell'ordine fabricato: & era di dentro e di suori tutto adorno di panni d'oro. Accompagnavano la sua persona gl'Illustrissimi Signori; Don Francesco e Donno Alfonfo suoi Zij: cosi parimente i Conti della Mirandola e di Novolara, il Signor Cornelio Bentivoglio, Cavaliere dell'ordine della Maestà Christianissima, & altri principali personaggi, che erano al numero di cinquanta. ll rimanente de' suoi gentilhuomini alcuni sopra una fusta, chegli attendeva, & alcuni sopra barchi lunghe e fregatte montarono. Glialtri tutti di mano in mano entrarono in altri navigli, che erano settanta, e tutti coperti di razzi, & addobbati in guisa , che rappresentavano di loro a gli occhi de' riguardanti una maravigliosa vista: oltre la profonda harmonia de i trombetti, de i piffari, tamburi, e musici di ogni sorte, la quale rimbombava lungo il Po con istupore di tutti. Giunse il Duca la sera a un luogo, detto le Papozze, posto ancora esso sopra la rivera del Po, e discosto da Francolino trentadue miglia. Di donde il giorno seguente, desinato che egli hebbe, s'imbarcò nel sovra detto Bucentoro, & arrivó la sera stessa a Chioggia. Oue allo sbarcare fu incontrato dal Clarissimo M. Antonio Giustiniano, Podeslà di quella città il quale era accompagnato da sessanta gentilhuomini Vinitiani, che questo Serenissimo Prencipe gli haveva mandati in contra: e questi erano tutti vestiti di panni lunghi di seta chermesina. E, perche già era imbrunita l'aria, gli andarono incontra d'intorno a cento huomini della città con torchi grossissimi di cera bianca accesi in mano: e fu il Duca fra tanto salutato da molti tiri di artiglieria. Poco discosto dalla riva era fatto uno arco trionfale, considerandosi alla brevità del tempo, assai bello. In questo arco erano ritratti molti fiumi, che mettevano in Po; e'l Po medesimo in mare, con un cosi fatto motto. OMNIA FLVMINA IN MARE DECVRRVNT, ET MARE NON EXVNDAT. Con questa compagnia camino il S. Duca diritto al palagio: il quale di dentro e di suori era

ornato di festoni, di base, e di colonne con razzi e panni nel vero superbissimi. L'habito, che quivi sua Eccellenza portò, era un lungo manto, bardato a torno di oro, & foderato di veluto, con calze e giubbone di raso chermesino, tutte raccamate a oro: e parimente la maggior parte de' suoi gentilhuomini havevano manti della stessa maniera foderati, qual di broccato, qual di argento, e qual di simili fodre di prezzo.

Trovaronsi quìvi da tutti i lati tavole apparecchiate di tutte le sorti di rarissime vivande. Ma oltre, che la cena fu sontuosissima v'intervennero anco suoni e canti maravigliosi. La seguente mattina havendo il Duca co' medefimi Signori, e gentilhuomini desinato, risali sopra il suo Bucentoro: ilquaIe, come ho detto, era tutto dentro e di fuori adorno di panni d'oro; e vi fu accompagnato dal medefimo Clarissimo Podestà, e da i sovra detti sessanta gentilhuomini, che'l Prencipe gli haveva mandato incontra. E, percioche si dubitava, che'l Bucentoro non potesse navigare per le paludi, essendo esso di molta grossezza, delibero il Duca di fare il viaggio per mare, ancora che ei si vedesse alquanto gonfio, oltre il vento, ch'era contrario: come quello, che fieramente soffiava dalla parte di Greco Levante. Ma, come che Eolo volesse agevolar la venuta di tal Signore, cessando il vento di Levante, ecco che in quella vece si fece sentire in un subito il fiato d'un favorevole silocco. Onde le barche lunghe & altri legni facendo vela, rimorchiandosi il Bucentoro, si entrò sicuramente nel Porto di Malamocco: ove fu il Duca da tutte le navi; che quivi molte erano; con più di mille tiri di artiglieria salutato.

Quindi si navigò a San Spirito: ove venne egli incontrato dal Senato su certi legni, che s'addimandano piatte, per essere ellino a cotali uffici assai commodi. Dentro uno de' quali salì il Duca con i due Zij, e parimente con due ambasciadori; che fu quel di Savoia, e di Fiorenza, Vescovi, e principali cavalieri. Gli altri seguitarono dietro su i medesimi navigli, con che essi erano venuti. Di questo luogo si navigò verso Sant'Antonio; dove era il Serenissimo Prencipe, e la Illustrissima Signoria; e così il Duca per camino fu incontrato da alcune Galee sforzate, e da sei Bregantini, con numero infinito di artiglierie, & accompagnato insino alla detta Chiesa di Sant'Antonio: ove egli si trovò aspettato da esso Serenissimo Prencipe col Bucentoro. Quivi adunque giunto il Duca, il Prencipe lo andò a incontrare: e condottolo in quella Chiesa, & indi fatte orationi al Sommo IDDIO, montarono poi tutti insieme sopra il detto Bucentoro del Serenissimo per venirsene al palagio di esso Duca,seguiti da i Brcgantini, e dalle Galee, che venivano ordinatamente, & havevano bandiere di ormigino azurro con le arme della casa di Este; e similmente dal Bucentoro, e da altri legni venuti di Ferrara, sentendosi da per tutto risuonar trombe, tamburi, e musiche di varie sorti con diverso e gratissimo concento. Ne è da tacere, ch'cra nobile e giocondo ispettacolo, il veder le fenestre de i molti palagi; che sono lungo il canal maggiore di diverfi gentilhuomini; di mercatanti, e di altre persone civili, tutte coperte di finissimi tapeti, e ripiene di bellissime matrone e d'huomini di stima, che stavano a riguardar con molta allegrezza la venuta di questo Signore: senza quasi infinite gondole pur ripiene di gentilhuomini, di donne, e d'huomini e di fanciulli mossi per la medesima

cagione: cosi di Bregantini, e d'altre barche, che andavano su e giù per questo canale, in varie guise festeggiando, e dimostrando effetti chiarissimi di allegrezza. Et era tale e cosi fatto il numero, che spesso l'un l'altro urtando e percotendo, alcuni legni affondarono. Snza che le piazze e le rive de i traggetti; le quali sopra al detto canale sono molte; si vedcvano cosi colme per tutto di genti, che non vi si havrebbe tra loro potuto gettare un grano di miglio: percioche tutto il popolo era corso per vedere pur la venuta di esso Signore. Ora smontò il Duca alla riva del suo palagio: alla qualesi trovò un ponte di lunghezza di cinquanta piedi; e di larghezza di venti. E le porte e le fenestre del palagio erano tutte superbamente ornate di festoni con le arme di San Marco, e della casa pur di Este. Questo parimente s'era fatto a sei altri palagi: i quali questo Sereniss. Dominio haveva fatto apparecchiar superbissimamente per li personaggi principali; cioé per gl'Illustrissimi Signori Don Francesco e Donno Alfonso, il S. Galeazzo Gonzaga, il Conte della Mirandola, il Conte di Novolara, & il S. Cornelio Bentivoglio, di maniera, che pareva, che l'un palagio garreggiasse con l'altro di apparecchio e di ornamento. Era si per ciascun di questi adornata una gondola co finissimi panni di razzo a differenza di quella del Duca, che era coperta di broccato. Furono medesimamente assegnate cinquanta altre gondole con tapeti a servigio della corte. Ma per tornare al palagio del Duca, nell'entrata stto la Loggia, la quale é di diece assai gran volti su colonne di marmi finissimi, v'erano al d'intorno bellissimi razzi fatti di seta e d'oro:ne' quali fi vedeva co grandissimo artificio ritratta Ferrara, Modana, Reggio, Carpi, e Bressello; citta e luoghi principali del medesimo Duca: ove si scoprivano interamente con bellissima arte di prospettiva le contrade e i palagi. Col medefimo ordine di razzi di altre sorti era adorno tutto il portico sino alla piazza in cui v'ha due grandi scale di marmo, per le quali commodamente alla gran sala si ascende: al capo della quale v'era un Catapalco infino al tetto di altezza di quaranta piedi, e di lunghezza di ventidue, carico a maraviglia di vasì di argento e d'oro, fra quelli si discernevano quattro bellissime fontane, che maestrevolmente gettavano acqua.La sala era vestita di razzi dal tetto infino a terra: ne' quali sono con ben formato disegno espresse le effigie di molti cavalli ritratti dal naturale cosi bcne, chc paion vivi: & erano da per tutto tramezati in fra di loro d'Aquiloni bianchi di grandezza de' medesimi cavalli: insegna antica della casa di Este. Passossi di questa sala per un'altro corridore, addobbato riccamente di razzi d'oro e di seta: ne' quali oltre che fi vedevano tutte le sorti de gli animali creati dalla Natura, vi erano anco i dodici Mesi dell'Anno; lavoro non men superbo, che vago a vedere. Da cosi fatto luogo adunque entrò il Duca nella gran loggia, che guarda sopra il canal maggiore: la quale s'appoggia sopra a diciotto colonne di finissimo marmo. Questa loggia era vestita al d'intorno di ricchissimi e superbissimi panni d'oro: i quali s'addimandano la pastorella. E dicesi, che nella testura di essi vi furono consumati cinquant'anni di tempo con grandissima & eccessiva spesa. Di che non è perciò da maravigliarsi, essendo eglino tutti lavorati con l'ago da maestrevole mano eccellentissimamente. La onde fermossi quivi il Serenissimo una gran pezza a riguardar con molta attentione i paesi, la varietà degli animali, e la forma de gli

habiti di diversi huomini, che porgevano invidia a molti di questi nostri pittori. D'indi s'entro in una sala guernita di finissimi razzi alla grottesca, tessìuti sottilmente di seta, di argento, e d'oro. E da l'un capo della sala v'era l'alloggiamento dell'illustrissimo S. Don Francesco addobbato di altri razzi pure alla grottesca: e dall'altro capo una gran stanza accommodata à uso di Capella, con panni di broccato al d'intorno. Si passo di questa sala in un camerone: dentro il quale erano in surperbissimi razzi con oro, argento, e seta ritratte le forze d'Hercole: e di quindi si andò nella Camera, in cui haveva a dormire la persona del Duca: la qual camera era pomposamente fornita di broccato d'oro e d'argento, con i corni della Dovitia. Et al dirimpetto di questa ve n'era un'altra adorna di razzi: ne' quali si vedeva la favola de' Giganti, quando entrò loro nell'animo la folle arroganza di mover guerra a gli Dei. Quivi si licentiò il Prencipe nostro insieme con la Illustrissima Signoria, il qual Prencipe fu accompagnato insino di sotto del Cortile da gli Illustrissimi Signori Don Francesco e Dono Alfonso, accompagnati ancora essi da principali gentilliuomini: e dal capo del ponte insino al piede dal Conte Girolamo Faleti, e dal Conte Nicolò Estense Tassone, Gran Maestro: ringratiando amendue in nome del Duca il Serenissimo, e d'uno in uno la Illustrissima Signoria e Senato, di cotanta cortesia verso lui usata. Per tutto lo spatio, che durò quella notte, non si sentì giamai altro, che artiglieri e razzi, fuochi, trombe, tamburi e piffarij che da i Bregantini, i quali si erano fermati inanzi al palagio, venivano con grandissima allegrezza tirati, pervenendo si lontano il suono, che tutte le contrade di Vinegia ne risonavano, & ogni orecchia n'era ripiena. Il giorno seguente il Duca non si mosse di casa: percioche fu visitato dal Nuntio di N. Signore, da gli ambasciadori di Cesare, del Christianissimo, e parimente da altri persosonaggi. L'altro giorno poi andò saa Eccell. a visitare il Serenissimo Doge. Il quale mandò cinquanta gentilhuomini de' primieri a levarla: capo de' quali era il Clarissimo M. Giacomo Soranzo cavaliere, vestito di broccato d'oro. L'ordine, che dalla corte del Duca si tenne nel caminare, fu in questa guisa. Andavano primieramente i Trombetti, che erano dodici; gli Staffieri, che erano similmente dodici, con venticinque paggi, i quali haveano sagli e calze di velluto turchino, bardati di broccato d'oro. Seguitava dietro questi la guardia de gli Allabardieri, che sessanta erano: la metà Svizzeri,e l'altra metà Tedeschi, con calze e giubboni pur di velluto turchino e giallo: e dopo loro i Luogotenenti col Capitano Giulio Tedesco. A cui seguiva poi il Capitano Bellingambe, Ammiraglio del Duca: il quale haveva in dosso una giubba lunga insino a terra di velluto turchino e di broccato d'oro. Appresso venivano gli uscieri, gli scudieri, gli scalchi, & altri vfficiali della bocca del Duca. Capo de' quali era il S. Girolamo Bellencino scalco maggiore. Seguivano di poi ventiquatro camerieri, e dopo il Cavaliere Tassone, Maestro di camera. Dietro poscia di mano in mano cento gentilhuomini, che nel fine di questa lettera saranno notati in una lista: dopo i quali era il Conte Nicolo Estense Tassone, gran Maestro, col bastone in mano del grado di Maggiordomo, vestito d'una robba alla Francese tutta a raccami di perle. Qui io non istarò a raccontare i superbi habiti di tutti con raccami d oro e di argento tempestati di gioie, che facevano vna vista

pomposissima, e da non credere da chi non gli ha veduti di leggeri. Seguiva dopo questi il S. Duca, accompagnato, come s'è detto, dal Cavalier Soranzo; e dinanzi il Conte Girolamo Faleti ambasciadore qui in Vinegia di esso Duca. Il qual Duca era vestito di calze e giubbone di color chermosino superbissimamente raccamati d'oro, con vna verta di raso nero raccamato similmente d'oro a rilevo, carica di perle e di balassi grossissimi, havendo etiandio nella beretta grossissime perle, & un balasso in iscambio di medaglia assai grosso e bello. Dietro v'erano gl'illustrissimi Signori, Don Francesco, e Donno Alfonso: poi i sovra detti ambasciadori, di Savoia e di Fiorenza, i Vescovi, e i Consiglieri dello stato, e giustitia, con prelati & altri personaggi di robba lunga, ciafcun di loro accompagnato da un Senatore. Et in questa guisa si camino infino al palagio ove il Duca fu incontrato dal Prencipe, e dalla Signoria a' piedi della sala, per cui si scende alla sala del gran Consiglio; ove si sogliono ricevere i Re & i gran Prencipi: & il luogo, ove hebbe a sedere il Serenissimo, e'l S. Duca, era ornato di raso chermosino con ricche frange d'oro, e'1 rimanente di spalliere. E da la manca mano del Doge, v'era l'illustrissimo Don Francesco, e presso del Duca l'Illustristimo S. Donno Alfonso.

Parlo il Duca a lungo col Prencipe. Ma quello, che l'uno all'altro si dicesse, non tocca a me a scriverlo: sc non, che in generale si ragiona, che questo Eccellentiss. S. Duca è venuto in perfona a confermare e rinovar l'amicitia e confederatione antica fra l'uno stato e l'altro. Ragionato, che ambedue hebbero per lo spatio d'un hora, ritornò il Duca al suoo palagio, accompagnato dal Doge infino al corridore di socto, e da gl'istessi, ch'erano venuti a riceverlo, infino alla propria camera. Poscia il giorno seguente andó a veder l'Arsenale, accompagnato da molti gentilhuomini di questa citta; i quali a nome del Serenissimo erano venuti a levarlo; vestiti tutti di seta chermosina ove fu fatta vna salva di artigliere delle belle, che giamai si udissero. Quivi parimente da' Signori dell'Arsenale fu apprettata con bell'ordine una collatione di cnnfettioni, nel vero sontuosissima. Prese il S. Duca assai diletto in vedere, essendo egli guerriero e soldato, la bella artiglieria, & altri istromenti da guerra, che questi Signori Illuftrissimi del continuo mantengono. Il venere dipoi la mattina fu a vedere la pala, e'l thesoro di S. Marco con la fala de' Signori Capi di Diece; che e cosa stupenda a riguardare. Il sabbato dopo desinare il Doge con tutta la Signoria e Senato andò a visitare a casa il S. Duca: ove egli lo ricevette nella gran Loggia, che riguarda il canale, con vn concerto maraviglioso di Musica di varie sorti d'istromenti: la qual durò d'intorno a due hore con una harmonia per certo rarissima. La domenica andò Sua Eccellenza a licentiarsi con la usata pompa: e nel ritorno al suo palagio fu accompagnato da gli stessi Senatori. Dopo il desinare andò a vedere lo spettacolo dell'abbattimento del ponte, chiamato da noi la guerra: il quale abbattimento si fa con bastoni.

Et finalmente la mattina, che segui appresso, si parti per Ferrara, ove arrivò l'altro giorno a hora di desinare. Ma non è da lasciarsi a dietro, che Sua Eccellenza in tutti i giorni, che dimorò in Vinegia, si mutò di ricchissimi habiti. Il primo giorno, quado fu incontrato dal Prencipe, haveva una vesta bardata di raccami d oro a rilevo, adorna da per tutto al d'intorno di grossissimi diamanti,

e di perle, con la beretta alla medesima maniera:nella quale in luogo di medaglia v'haveva un grossissimo diamante. & al cappello, che un paggio gli portava innanzi, similmente v'era pure un altro diamante. Quando andò a visitare il Doge, portò una vesta con balassi e perle, come s'è detto di sopra, e parimente la beretta & il cappello. Il terzo giorno haveva vna cappa raccamata di argento a rilevo, adorna di perle, & al capuccio d'alto a basso un filo doppio di perle molto grosse, e due a ciascun capo di smisurata grossezza. Cosi all'intorno della beretta a guisa di cordone perle grossissime e rotonde: e di sopra e di sotto v'erano attaccate trenta altre perle a faccia di peri di grossèzza non più vedute, essendo elle grandi poco meno di comuni uova di colombe. Le calze e'l giubbone erano bianche, raccamate, come la capa. Il quarto giorno vesti una robba pure alla Francese, come l'altre raccamata d'oro, e tempestata di perle con robini all'intorno, & alla beretta medesimamente al d'intorno pur robini: & in luogo di medaglia ve ne era un grossissimo. Il quinto giorno portò una robba alla guisa dell'altra con raccami d'oro, con perle similmente di gran prezzo: & il collaro e le maniche erano adorni di smeraldi: cosi alla beretta vi haveva parimente uno smeraldo di non più veduta grandezza. Il sesto hebbe una robba raccamata, e con perle, e tempestata di pretiose gioie a mischio: che erano diamanti, robini, zaffiri, e smeraldi: cosa superbissima sopra modo. Le quali vesti furono riputate di ricchezza inestimabile, di maniera, che ciascun fu indotto a creder, questo Prencipe havere uno infinito thesoro di gioie. E mi viene affermato da molti, che, vedute l'hanno, che Sua Eccellenza haveva portato seco, oltre a questi nove, altri habiti, tutti con perle e gioie, e l'uno dall'altro disserente, in guisa, che i personaggi, chel'hanno, come io dico, veduti, conchiudono, ciò essere delle più superbe cose, che veder si possano tra Christiani.

Qui mi potrei estendere d'intorno alla larghezza e splendidezza nel vivere della fin corte: che nel vero fu tale, che io non istimo, che le si possa trovar paragone: alla grandezza dell'animo, & alla liberalità da lui dimostra in questa città, non solamente verso a' letterati, de' quali egli sutole essere Mecenate e protettore, ma a poveri, &: a diverse qualità di persone:d'intorno alla humanità, nella quale è incomparabile, alla moderatezza, & alla prudenza. & a quelle altre parti, che si aspettano a vero Prencipe, e si veggono tutte in lui. Ma oltre, che sarei troppo lungo, basta a dire, che niun'altro Prencipe fu giamai veduto in questa città, ne in altro luogo, con tanta ammiratione, allegrezza, & amore universalmente di tutti: quanto è avenuto a questo Signore. L'aspetto del quale fa piena fede
del suo candido, benigno, e Regal cuore; e delle virtù incomparabili parimente del suo veramente alto &
Heroico animo, corrispodente del tutto a i singolari effetti.
Di Vinegia a VI di Maggio. MDLXIL

[...]

Lista de i personaggi venvti in compagnia dell'eccell. S. Duca di ferrara a vinegia.

1. L'illustriss.S. Don Francesco da Este Marchese di Massa, e della Padulle,cavaliere dell'ordine de la Maestà christianiss.
2. L'illustriss. S. Donno Alfonso da Este, cavaliere del medesimo ordine.
3. Il S. Nicolò Taparello S. di Lagnasco, Ambasciadore di Savoia.
4. Il S. Salustio Piccolhomini, ambasc. di Fiorenza.
5. Il Marchese Galeazzo Gonzaga.
6. Il S. Lodovico Picco Conte della Mirandola, cavaliere del Re christianiss.
7. Il S. Cornelio Bentivoglio cavaliere del medesmo ordine.
8. Il S. Alfonso Gonzaga Conte di Novolara.
9. Il S. Hercole Pio di Sassuolo.
10. Monsignor il Vescovo di Ravello.
11. Lo eletto di Comacchio.
12. Il cavaliere Ruggeri, conte di Canossa, consigliere secreto.
13. Il S. Bartholomeo Miroglio, cont di Monfestino, consigliere secreto.
14. Il cavaliere Bellencino consigliere secreto .
15. Il S. Benedetto Cipello, consigliere di Giustitia.
16. Il S. Vincenzo Maggio filosofo.
17. Il S. Lucio Paganucci Secr.sup.
18. Il S.Gio.Bat. Pigna.
19. Il conte Nicolo Estense Tassone Maggiordomo di sua Eccell.
20. Il conte Hercole Rangoni.
21. Il Conte Hercole Estense contrarii Capitano della guardia dei cavalli leggieri.
22. Il Conte Hercole Estense contrarii, il vecchio.
23. Il Conte Alfonso Estense contrarii.
24. Il Conte Alessandro Rangoni.
25. Il S. Hercole Bentivoglio
26. Il S. Guido Bentivoglio.
27. Il S. Antonio Galeazzo Bentivoglio.
28. Il S. Aluigi Gonzaga,
29. Il S. Hippolito Turco, conte di Arriano.
30. Il Conte Ferrante Estense Tassone.
31. Il Conte Hercole EstenseTassone.
32. Il Conte Giulio Estense Tassone.
33. Il. S. Roberto Malatesta.
34 Il S. Camillo Barani.
35. Il. S. Sergio Pola.
36. Il S. Enea Pio.
37. Il S. Enea Pio Obizzo.
38. Il Conte Girolamo Montecucoli.
39. Il Conte Camillo Montecucoli.
40. Il Conte Hercole Estense Calcagnini.

41. Il Conte Thomaso Estense Calcagnini.
42. Il Conte Guido Estense Calcagnini
43. Il Conte Hippolito Bevilacqua
44. Il Conte Alfonso de' Mosti.
45. Il Conte Annibale Bevilacqua.
46. Il Conte Pompeo Sacrato.
47. Il Conte Ottavio da Tiene
48. Il Conte Antonio da Tiene.
49. ll Conte Alessandro Romeo
50. Il Conte Annibale Romeo.
51. Il Conte Hercole Trotto.
52. Il Conte Pirro Ruggero.
53 Il Conte Tadeo Manfredi.
54. Il Conte Emilio Fontanella.
55. Il Conte Francesco Fontanella.
56. Il Conte Hercole Scaiuola .
57. Il Conte Federico Montevecchio.
58. Il Conte Giuseppe Strozzi.
59. Il Conte Gio. Paolo Malchiavelli.
60. Il Conte Camillo Costabili.
61. Il Conte Gio Battista Sacrati
62 Il S. Cavaliere Azzale.
63. Il Prothonotario Ariosto.
64. Il Cavalicre Marano.
65. Il Cavalicre Molza
66. Il Cavalicre Bellinceno.
67. Il Cavaliere Evaino.
68. Il Conte Alvarotto.
69. Il S. Giacomo Trotti
70. Il S. Nicolo Bonleo.
71. Il S. Hercole Bonleo.
72. Il S. Nicolò Bendedio.
73. Il S. Ridolfo Cesis
74. Il Cavaliere Pacherone Maestro di Stalla
75. Il S. Alfonso Trotti
76. Il S. Alfonsino Trotti.
77. Il Conte Almerico Gilliolo .
78. Il S. Marcoantonio Gilliolo .
79. Il S. Lodovico Forni.
80. Il S.Cesare dal Moro.
81. Il S. Luigi Muzzarello
82. Il S. Cesare Pasqualetti.
83. Il S Gasparo Monte.
84. Il S. Gio Maria Riminaldi.
85. Il S. Francesco Gualengui

86. Il S. Pietro Guaresco.
87. Il S. Giulio dei Marzi.
88. Il S. Francesco Calvelli.
89. Il S. Girolamo Rossetti.
90. Il S. Paolo Canale.
91. Il S.Thomaso Saracco.
92. Il S. Girolamo Fabiano.
93. Il S. Gia. Battista Pio.
94. Il S. Annibale Pio.
95. Il S. Gia.Battista Molza.
96. ll S. Hippolito Bellencino, Sescalco maggiore.
97. Il S. Horatio Calcagni.
98. Il S. Francesco Bradonieri.
99. Il Capitano Taliano.
100. Il Capitano Camillo Caula
Il Cap Lazzaro de' Marzi.

Tutti quelli gentilhuomini havevano con loro altri gentilhuomini, e persone da servigio insino al numero di 1050 bocche; che computati con i sovradetti fanno 1150.

Cancellieri.

Il Cavalier Bottoni.
M. Evangelista Baroni.
M. Hercole Novarra.
M. Lodovico Tassone.
M. Lodovico Ghilini.
M. Bartholomeo Griffoni.
M. Archelao Acciaiuoli.
Tutti questi con lo Scaramuccia Maestro delle poste, Forieri, e persone da loro servigio ascendono al numero di 50.

Camerieri.

Il Cavaliere Tassone Maestro di camera.
Il S.Vincenzo Eliseo.
Il S. Alessandro Andriaso.
Il S.Hercole Gilliolo,
Il S. Hettore Furlano.
Il S. Federico Miroglio,
Il S. Hercole Brasavola.
Il S. HercoleTannella.
Il S. Fedrico Bruto.
Il S. Fabritio Romano.

Il S. Scipione Silva.
Il S. Giacomo Badoaro.
Il S. Hippolito Corrile.
Il S. Cossardo Francese.
Il S. Leonello Lavezzuolo.
Il S. Paolo Ricchetto.
Il S. Girolamo Forno.
Il S. Girolamo Semenza.

Tutti questi ascendono con gli aiutati di camera, che fono 16, e persone da loro servigio, a bocche 114.
Lancie spezzare numero 24 con persone dì loro servigio, sono 48.
La guardia degli Allabardieri, Svizzeri, e Tedeschi, numero 50, che con i servitori dei due capitani loro e Luogotenenti sono num.70
Tamburi e piffari numero 4
Trombetti 10
Forieri 4
Con i loro servitori 25
Paggi di sua Eccell. con il governatore, Maestro e servitori 25
Staffieri e Lachai 20
Seschalchi, sottosescalchi, Trinzari, e scudieri per la tavola di sua Eccellen. 83
Cappellani 8
Musici per la Cappella, e per la Camera num 41 li quali, computandovi le persone di loro servigio, ascendono al num. di bocche 85

GVARDAROBBA.

Il S. Hercole Bonaciuoli Maestro de'la guardarobba Maggiore.
Il S. Nicolò da Vicenza Maestro de la Guardarobetta con gli ufficiali, e persone di loro servigio, sono bocche 46
Spenditori.
Bottiglieri.
Credencieri.
Panatieri.
Canevari.
Dispensatori
con i loro ufficiali 60
Sopracuochi.
Cuochi.
Aiutanti di cucina, e lava massaritie. 60
Uscieri, 3
Ufficiali di tinello, 32
Varrorari, sarti, e taglia calze con loro garzoni. 14
Ufficiali alla beccaria, & alle farine, 6
Lo Ammiraglio.

Sopracomiti.
Marinari e Bombardieri del Bucentoro.
Fusta.
Bregantino.
Barche lunghe, e Burchi. 70

Ascendon'alla somma di bocche 400.
Fanno la somma di 3310

5. Filippo Pizzichi, «Viaggio per l'alta italia del Serenissimo Principe di Toscana poi Granduca Cosimo III descritto da Filippo Pizzichi», in Mutinelli Fabio, *Annali urbani di Venezia dall'anno 810 al 12 maggio 1797*, Venezia, Merlo, 1841.

Giornata VIII, A dì 18 maggio (1664).

[…] quando un miglio lontano da Brondolo si scopersero due peotte coperte di rosso, che col vento in poppa e con l'aiuto de'remi venivano velocemente verso di noi. Avanzate in giusta distanza da poter distinguere i colori, fu riconosciuta la livrea de' remiganti, né si dubitò più che fosse il sig. residente, mentre egli con altri cavalieri montato a prua salutò, et accostatosi entrò nel bucintoro d'ordine di S.A., restando gli altri nelle peotte. Una di esse, preparata per il signor Principe, era tutta coperta di velluto rosso, con tavola in mezzo, e tappeto compagno, altri, sotto ai piedi, bellissimi con cuscini simili, banderole a poppa ed a prua, guidata da sei remiganti con livree nuove turchine e gialle. L'altra era senza livrea dovendo servire per la casa.

6. Annibale Romei, *Discorsi del Conte Annibale Romei Gentilhuomo Ferrarese di nuovo ristampati, ampliati, e con diligenzia corretti. Divisi in sette giornate, nelle quali tra dame e cavaglieri ragionando, nella prima si tratta della bellezza, nella seconda dell'amor humano, nella terza dell'honore, nella quarta dell'iniquità del duello, del combattere alla macchia; e del modo d'accomodar le querele, e ridur à pace le inimicitie private. Nella quinta della nobiltà, nella sesta delle ricchezze, nella settima della precedenza*, Venezia, 1586, p. 8.

Levatasi dunque per tempo sua Altezza, & udita la solita Messa, s'imbarcò colla Serenissima Signora Duchessa, la Signora Donna Marfisa, & Signora Donna Bradamante, et le Dame di Corte, in una sontuosissima Nave; & fece dare alla Signora Contessa di Sala, & al restante della Corte il Bucintoro. Questa è una gran nave fabbricata con tanto artificio che altra, né più bella, né più sontuosa far si potrebbe, come quella che ha Sala, Camere, Corridori, e poggi, di modo, che di se porge a riguardati una vista mirabile, e sono sicuro, che s'ella fosse stata al tempo, che Iasone navigò allo acquisto del Vel d'oro: questa e non quella delli Argonauti adornerebbe il velo.

7. Michel E. de Montaigne, *Journal du voyage de Michel de Montaigne en Italie, par la Suisse & l'Allemagne en 1580 & 1581, avec des notes par m. De Querlon*, Paris, chez Le Jay, 1774.

Nous fumes tout ce jour-là à Ferrare, & y vimes plusieurs belles Eglises, jardins & maisons privées, & tout ce qu'on nous dît être remerquable: entre autres, aux Jesuates, un pied de rosier qui porte fleur tous le mois de l'an, & lors mesmes [(a)] s'y en trouva une qui fut donnée à M. de Montaigne. Nous vismes aussi le Bucentaure que le Duc avoit faict faire pour sa nouvelle fame [(b)], qui est belle & trop jeune pour lui, à l'envi de celui de Venise, pour la conduire sur la riviere du Pô. Nous vismes aussi l'arsenal du Duc, où il y a une piece [(c)] longue de trente cinq pans [(d)], qui porte un pied de diametre. Les vins nouveaus troubles que nous beuvions, & l'eau tout ainsi trouble qu'elle vient de la riviere, lui [(e)] faisoit peur pour sa colique. A toutes les portes des chambres de l'hostelerie, il y a escrit: *Ricordati della boletta* [(f)]. Soudein qu'on est arrivé, il faut envoyer son nom au magistrat & le nombre d'homes [(g)], qui mande qu'on les loge, autremant on ne les loge pas.

(a) Au mois de Novembre 1580.

(b) Marguerite de Gonzague, fille de Guillaume, Duc de Mantoue.

(c) C'est-à-dire, une coulevrine, espece de canon, qui étant plus long que les pieces ordinaires, chasse beaucoup plus loin. Le diamètre de son calibre est d'environ cinq pouces, & son boulet de seize livres. On le nomme aussi *passe-mur*, *pélican, ribadoquin.* La coulevrine de Nanci est célébre; elle a vingt-cinq pieds de long. *Voyez* Calmet, Histoire de Lorraine.

(d) Pans. Le pan de France est de neuf pouces deux lignes, comme la palme de Gènes.

(e) A Montaigne.

(f) Souvenez-vous du billet de ville, ou de santé.

(g) De sa suite ou compagnie.

8. *The happie entrance of the high borne Queene of Spaine, the Ladie Margarit of Austria, in the renowned Cittie of Ferrara*, London, imprinted by John Woolfe, 1599.

The happy entraunce of the high borne Queene of Spaine, the Lady Margarit of Austria, in the renowned Citty of Ferrara.

With feastivall ceremonies vsed by Pope Clement the eight, in the holy Mariage of their Maiesties.

As also in that of the high borne Archduke Albertus of Austria, with the Infanta Isabella Clara eugenia, Sister to the Catholique King of Spaine, Phillip the third.

First translated out of Italian after the Coppy printed at Ferrara, allowed by the Magistrates.

Imprinted at London by Iohn Woolfe, and are to be solde at his shop in Popes head Alley neere to the Exchange, 1599.

On the Thursday at night, being the twelfe of the moneth of November, came the high borne Queene, Lady Margarit of Austria on the Iland, a delightfull place, at the Bridge of darke Meyrs, nine miles from Ferrara, where she was received, feasted, and served by the the housolde of the Pope. And the morrow following, her Maiestie was advertised that at her pleasure she might come into the cittie of Ferrara : whereupon was presentlye replyed, that she would repaire to the cittie at ten of the clocke, to which ende his Holinesse sent two Legates, which were the illustrious Cardinall Bandino, and the Cardinall of St. Clement, noblye accompanied by many Prelats and Gentlemen, and two bandes of Launces, and one of Carabins, and then the Coaches and Litters : all which repaired in good and modest order to the said lland, where (after the dewe ceremonies of the Legates were ended) She with her mother the Archeduchesse, mounted in a coache prepares for them, followed with all their sute and retinue, together with the highborne Archeduke Alberto, the Dukes of Candia and Vmala, and the great Constable : the governour of Millain, the Embassador of Spaine, and the Prince Don Zanges, D. Maximillian Tristiani, and a Germaine Princesse, with many other lords of name in coaches and Litters, and came thus in faire order to wards the gate of Angels, where not farre from thence she descended into a house made of purpose of wood, richely beautified, with a pavillion and a Chaire. There her Maiestie stayed untill the holye Colledge of Cardinals appeared, cloathed pontifically to receive her, and to conduct her to the Palace with their traine. The said Cardinals being come, and making a faire shew in turning, her Maiestie had conference with the

Cardinall De Medicis : after which she was saluted of all the rest, and taken betweene the Cardinals, Sforza and Mont Alto : when comming to the Cittie gate, many peeces of ordinance were discharged . Upon the saide gate on the out side were painted three armes, to wit : those of his Holinesse in the middle, at the left hand the Queenes, and at her right hand those of the Catholique King, with this writing :

Angelii gaudent, mortales exultant, Margaritam Augusti sanguinis pietatis virtuumque omnium splendore lucidissimam, simul lætissime excipiunt.

Which is in English

The Angels reioyce, and mortall men make merrie and receive with great ioye, Margarit of imperiall linage, adorned with the light of godlinesse.

Within the gate were like wise painted nue armes, in the middle the Popes : on the right band those of the King of Spaine and of the Archeduke Albertus, and on the left hand those of the Queene of Spaine, and of the high borne Infant, wife to the said Archeduke Albertus, with these verses upon them.

Vrbem adventus tui lumine illustratum
Regina, redde tuo hospitio gloriosam

In this sorte came her Maiestie happilye in, at eleven of the clocke with a calme weather, in so much that it seemed that the heaven was cleered by her royall presence : there appeared for her avantguarde (after that a number of Wagons and Carts, laden with sundrye goods and bagadge were come in, also the coaches and Litters of her Maiestie, richly furnished and opened) two companies of Horsemen, the one being shot, and the other Launces, with their Trumpets in mourning apparrell, with blacke Flags at their Lauces, which were the men of the grat Constable of Millain. After these followeth a great number of Horse of the Guarde of the Legate Cardinall Aldobrandino, the one company were shot, the other Launces : then came eight Trumpets and one in the middle, who played on two great Danish Bettel drums. After these followeth the bagadges of the Cardinals, and then many Milanesians and other Gentlemen, all mourning.

Then followed the Mace bearers of the Cardinals, and the Mules, pontifically clothed in redde, and the Cardinals with Purple Cappes, to the number of 19, to wit, Fiorenza, Ascoli, Montelparo, Boromeo, Camerino Orimontano, Bandino, S. Clement, Baronio, Auila, Bianchetto, Ceuara, Arrigone, Farnese, Santiquatro, Aldobrandino, and Cesis, with the Popes Guarde of Switzers.

There appeared the high borne Queene in the middle, betweene the Cardinals Sforza, and Mont Alto, with her guarde of Germained clothed in blacke velvet: her Maiestie was on a white Palfrey, caparassoned with cloath of

Silver wought with Gold, she being apparelled in blacke with a blacke silke Cap, and a rich pleasant head-tyre, which was open so that one could perceive her faire haire, which resembled threds of Gold. After her, came the high borne Archdutchesse her mother also in horsebacke, on a Palfrey covered with Peache colour Velvet, imbrodred with Golde. These Palfreyes with their furniture, were sent them by the Pope, on the left hand of the Archdutchesse, rode the Archduke Albert clothed in black. For the Reere guard, followed one company of Archers on horse back, with paeces in their hands apparrelled in blacke, and after them came the lyght borse men of his Holinesse. And lastly followed and innumberable number of waggons with Lordes, Gentlemen and Gentlewomen belonging to his Maiestie.

In this order they came through the Angell streete, towarde the great Court, and being come to the pallace of the Embassadour of the Emperor, there was an upper portall fairely painted and adorned with many garlands : in this portall was a woman holdinf a great base, on the which were foure armes, to wit : those of his holinesse, of the Emperour, of the King of Spaine, and of the archeduke Albertus, which were accompanied and defended by religion and Justice, and from the heaven descended victory, who with her hand, pointed to the fame Armes. Her Maiesty following on uill (?), and comming at the Cathedrall Church, she passed through a triumphall Arke, set up before the Court gate very costly, and underset with foure pillers, in the mannet of the right band held a garland of Bapes with a role, wherein was the word Iugum and on the left hand also was a role wherein was Maritald in the frontespice.

Philippo & Margarite Austriacis, imperatorum gloria, suaque pietate inclitis, vt Catholicorum Regium soboles propagetur, matrimonio di unitas coniunctis anni multi, liberorum copia, perpetua felicitas.

Which is

Phillip and Margaret of Austria, illustrous through the imperiall glory, and her owne Godlinesse : to the end that the royall generation might be delated, through the matrimoniall estate by God conioyned, God grount long life, store of children, and a continuall felicity.

In the Nichien were two Images with trumpets, the one signifyng frame, in the uppermost, the armes of his holinesse, in the middest on the right side, the King of Spaines, and on the other side the Queenes.

As soone as she was come into the Court, she found a great paire of stayres builded of wood, with leaves, & before on the base were the picture of the holy Apostles S. Peter and S. Paul, where her Maiesty alighted, and went by the said staires betweene the aforesaid two Cardinals: after her the Archduches her mother, with the Archduke, & the rest following, & she was conducted in a certaine Chamber, and from thence into the concistory hall, where she reposed her selfe, untill (by the Lord Bernardin Scotto of Millan,) was spoken a short but excellent and eloquent oration to his Holinesse, who sate in th'upper end of the Hall, mounted in pontificall robes, and enuironed with his holy Colledge

of Cardinals : at the ends of the oration, appeared the Queene with her mother, the Archeduke and her Court, with many burning Torches, and comming before his Holinesse, kneeled all thrice downe, and then kissed his feete, first her Maiesty, after her her Mother, and then the Archeduke, to the Queene the Pope bowed himselfe, giving her his benediction, saying certaine words, and without other ceremonies he departed with the Cardinals.

Her Maiesty departing went into the new Chambers, which were richly adorned, and especially one (which the Pope had caused of purpose to be made for her Maiesty) was rich, sumptuous, and wonderfull, which if I should describe, these leaues would not suffice me. The Ladies and Gentlewomen of the Queenes traine were likewise all royally lodged in Chambers close to the Chamber of her Maiesty.

The Satterday morning after that the Queene had heard the Masse which was celebrated by his Holinesse, together with the high borne Mother, the Archduke, they went to dinner with his Holinesse, and the great Constable, serued her for Cup bearee, and when she had drunke, th'Embassador of Sapine gaue her rhe Napkin, at night the Cardinall Aldobrandino supped with her Maiesty.

The Sunday Morning earlye, her Maiestie appeared like Bride, richely attired, and accompanied with the Cardinals Farnese and Santiquato, with all her retinue, appair lledin richely vestes, and her Germaine Guarde, cloathed in Silke and Velvet, red and yellow, also the horsemen with flags of silver, red and black.

Being come into the Cathedrall Church, which was suptuously bung and beatified, the mariage was solemnized, with such ceremonies ad were requisite, her Maiesty was married to the Archduke in the name of the Catholique King Phillip the thyrd and the same Archduke married the Embassador of Spaine in the name of the Infanta of Spaine, the Lady Isabella clara eugenia, sister to the King, whome he hath taken to wife. […]

9. Giovan Francesco Ferro, *Istoria dell'antica città di Comacchio scritta dal dottore Gio. Francesco Ferro Comacchiese*, in Ferrara, Appresso Bernardino Pomatelli, 1701.

Libro Quarto, pagg. 467-469.

[…] [Mercoledì 23 settembre 1598]

Havea scielti frà gli altri il Cardinale Palavicino Galli, quatro Baroni Romani, Giorgio Bandino, & Aldobrandino, con Prelati, & altri di sua Corte, & arrivato alla Porta degli Angioli, montato in Letica, e tutti li Principi, e nobiltà in Carozza, s'incaminò al Ponte di Lago scuro, accompagnato dal Card. Pietro suo Nipote, da tutti gli Ambasciadori, guardie e Nobiltà, ove essendo arrivato, e data à tutti con cortesi maniere la sua Santa benedittione, salì nel superbo Bucintoro col Cardinale, Principi, e Baroni eletti per suo seguito, che dal Duca di Mantova à quest'effetto gli fù mandato. Era questi nel di dentro riccamente apparato con superbi broccati, e nel di fuori tutto coperto à veluto cremeso con stendardi di seta gialli, & azzurri, antica insegna Ducale, con che faceva non meno nobile, che dovitiosa comparsa. Al primo arrivo di così gran Monarca fece lo sparo d'alcuni piccioli pezzi, e con trombe, e tamburi festeggiando la sua fortuna, pareva ripieno d'immenso giubilo per essere destinato à portare chi con la sua presenza compativa le gratie. Salotovi adunque, conforme habbiamo detto: molt'altri Signori, e persone di suo seguito andarono in Bucintori diversi, tutti però nobilmente adornati: onde alla corrente del Po' felicemente viaggiando, veniva dalle militie che stavano squadronate sopra le sponde di quegli con militari saluti benignamente accettato. Venuta l'hora di pranso, non volle il Papa salir in terra, per non ritardar il camino, mà nel Bucintoro medesimo apparecchiata la Mensa, conforme alla grandezza di così gran Monarca si conveniva, col Card. Palavicino, Baroni, Principi, e Nobiltà riguardevole, che nel medesimo si ritrovavano, pransò con tanto piacere, che non può esprimersi il godimento che da così nobile diporto ne ricevesse. Non sospirò allora le delizie della sua Regia, peroche havendole ritrovate in mezzo all'acque, e'specialmente del Rè de' Fiumi, in ogni parte le conobbe reali. […]

Licenziate allora le Carozza, & il necessario provedimento di Terra, arrivati che furono al porto di Gorgatello, si trovò alla ripa di questi un Bucintoro tapezzato superbamente al didentro, coperto al di fuori di veluto cremeso, trinato, e fregiato d'oro, con stendardi di seta, effegiati con la sua arma, con Uomini superbamente vestiti d'azzurro, e giallo, facevano nobile, e maestosa comparsa. In questi salì il Pontefice, col Cardinale, e la solita nobiltà, & essendovi per accompagnamento altri Buccintori, Gondole, e Barcareccio, si diede comodo abbondante alla gente che lo seguiva per fare il viaggio per acqua. Per questo Porto s'entrò nelle Valli di Comacchio, & ammirando il Pontefice la vastità delle medesime ne pigliaua sommo diletto. […]

10. Carlo Goldoni, *La Gondola. Dialogo tra Cecco cocchiere fiorentino e Titta gondoliere veneziano.*

[…]
Cecco Io starei ad udirvi notte e giorno,
Gondolier mio, che parlate sì bene;
Quasi davver davvero il mio soggiorno
Fare in Venezia volontà mi viene.
Ma lo girar coi navicelli intorno
Fra'l sì ed il no in bilico mi tiene.
Per far bella Venezia in mezzo al rio,
Mancano le carrozze, a parer mio.

Titta Che bisogno ghe xe de carrozzar,
(E per i ponti non se poderìa)
Se in gondola da nu se pol andar
Comodi, solitaria e in compagnia?
Senza paura de precipitar,
Senza bisogno de cavalaria;
E poi star con el mazor governo
Freschissimi l'istà, caldi l'inverno.

Cecco La carrozza non va chiusa e scoperta,
Come un vuole, nel verno e nell'estate?
Il primo luogo la carrozza merta
Sopra le vostre gondole abbrunate.
Bello è il vedere in una strada aperta
Le carrozze magnifiche dorate
Colle frangie e i guanciali di velluto
Di colori vari, e non vestiti a luto.

Titta La carrozza val più, questo el se sa,
Ma la rason del prezzo no me pol.
Bezzi no ghe ne manca in sta città,
E coi bezzi se fa quel che se vol.
De le gondole d'oro se ne dà,
Che star dal pari a le carozze pol.
E vardè el Buzintoro, se el xe belo;
Non gh'è caro trionfal simile a quelo;

Ma in sto nostro paese benedeto,
Dove regna el bon gusto e la ricchezza,
Più de la vanità, più del dileto,
Comodo vero e libertà se aprezza.
Voleu farve vogar? andè a un tragheto;
Subito montè in barca con franchezza;
Co se vol la carozza, el savè vu
Se se aspetta mezz'ora e fursi più.

Sa sé stracco, andè in barca, e treve là.
Collegheve sul trasto, e po dormì;
Comodo, come in un letto stravaccà,
Podè intorno zirar la notte, el dì,
Lezer, bever, magnar, tuto se fa:
Ma la carozza no la xe cusì;
Se salta, se stiate, se stracola,
No se sente dal strepito parola.

Cecco Voi dite male; i carrozzier miei pari
Non fanno mica saltellar le genti.
Faccio andar la carozza pari pari,
E a' miei cavalli faccio far portenti.

Titta So che una volta ho speso i mi dinari,
Son andà in birba, e me sbateva i denti;
E so che coi stracoli in certe volte
M'ho morsegà la lengua diese volte.

Cecco Questo vuol dir, perché non siete avvezzo.

Titta Tutto quel che volè, caro paron,
Ma se col scarozzar mi me scavezzo,
E a andar in barca ogni foresto è bon,
La gondola xe meggio, e circa al prezzo
Tra questa e quella non gh'è paragon;
La gondola con poco aver se pol,
Per aver la carozza altro ghe vol!

Se parleremo de quei che la mantien,
Ghe vol el carozzier, el cavalcante;
I cavai magna un diavolo de fien,
E poi ghe costa de le doppie tante.
Quei che a do remi la gondola tien,
No i spende la mità con el contante:
E i se serve de nu certi signori
Per lacchè, camerieri e spendidori.

Cecco Questo talvolta si fa pur da noi
Con qualche miserabile cocchiere,
Costretto appunto, come dite voi,
A far da maggiordomo e da staffiere,
E fa talora alli padroni suoi
Colle sudice mani anche il barbiere:
Indi della carrozza fan di meno,
Vendon le bestie per pagare il fieno.

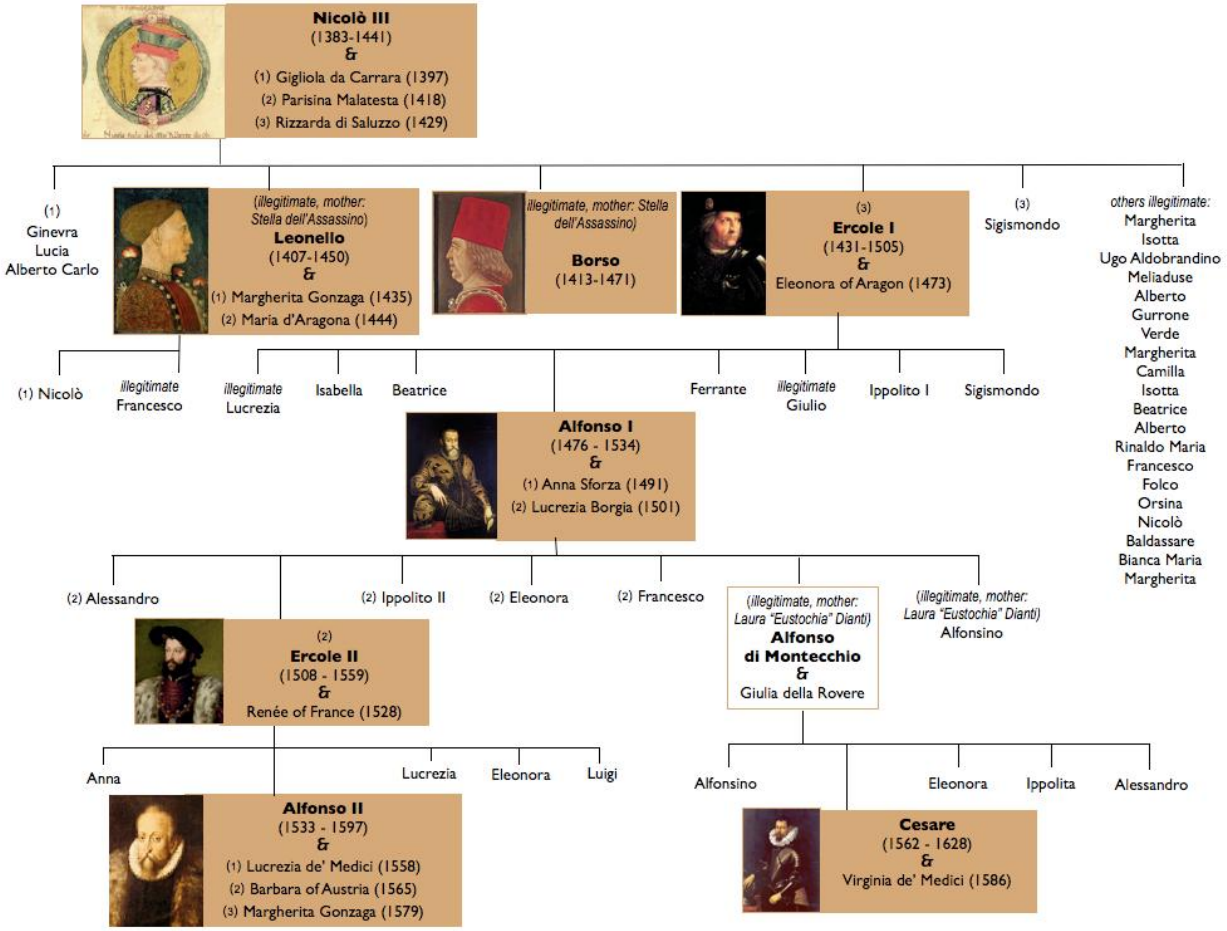
[…]

10. Gospel of Pseudo-Matthew, ch. 20

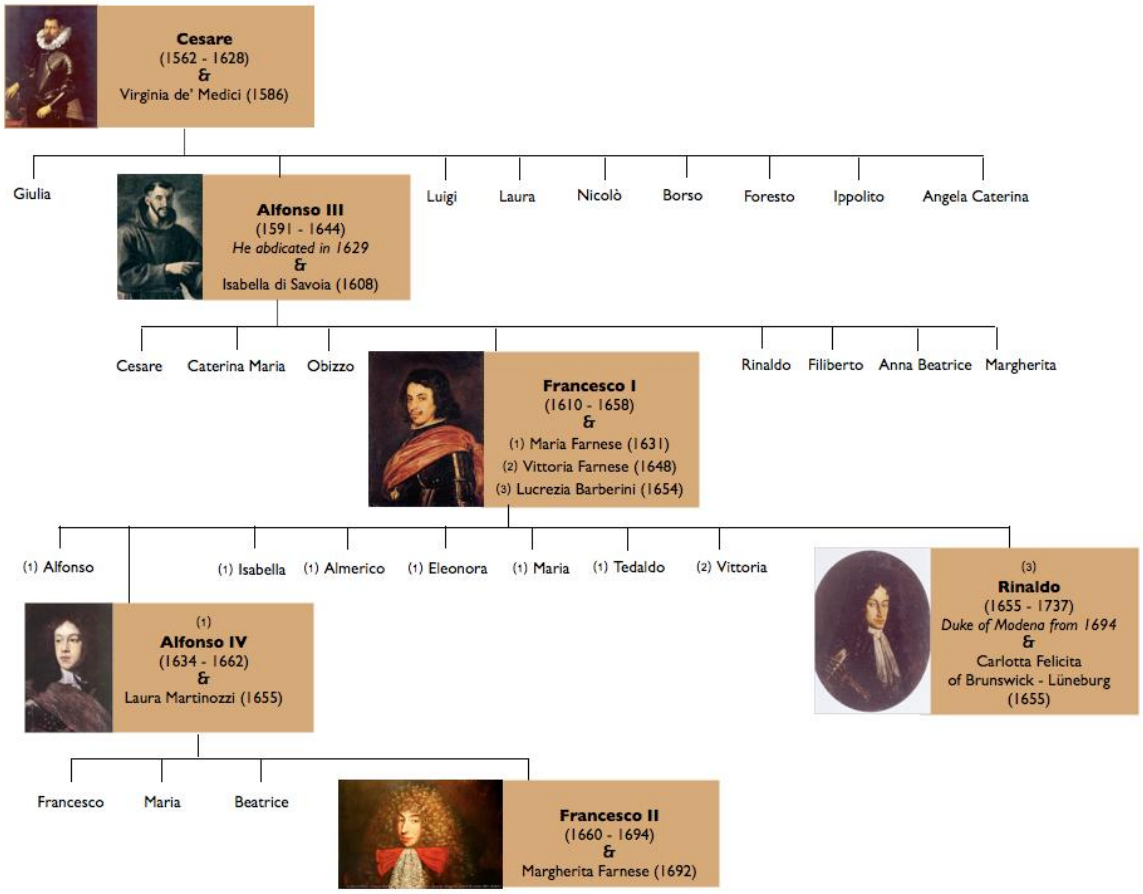
"And it came to pass on the third day of their journey, while they were walking, that the blessed Mary was fatigued by the excessive heat of the sun in the desert; and seeing a palm tree, she said to Joseph: Let me rest a little under the shade of this tree. Joseph therefore made haste, and led her to the palm, and made her come down from her beast. And as the blessed Mary was sitting there, she looked up to the foliage of the palm, and saw it full of fruit, and said to Joseph: I wish it were possible to get some of the fruit of this palm. And Joseph said to her: I wonder that thou sayest this, when thou seest how high the palm tree is; and that thou thinkest of eating of its fruit. I am thinking more of the want of water, because the skins are now empty, and we have none wherewith to refresh ourselves and our cattle. Then the child Jesus, with a joyful countenance, reposing in the bosom of His mother, said to the palm: O tree, bend thy branches, and refresh my mother with thy fruit. And immediately at these words the palm bent its top down to the very feet of the blessed Mary; and they gathered from it fruit, with which they were all refreshed. And after they had gathered all its fruit, it remained bent down, waiting the order to rise from Him who bad commanded it to stoop. Then Jesus said to it: Raise thyself, O palm tree, and be strong, and be the companion of my trees, which are in the paradise of my Father; and open from thy roots a vein of water which has been hid in the earth, and let the waters flow, so that we may be satisfied from thee. And it rose up immediately, and at its root there began to come forth a spring of water exceedingly clear and cool and sparkling. And when they saw the spring of water, they rejoiced with great joy, and were satisfied, themselves and all their cattle and their beasts. Wherefore they gave thanks to God".

Charts and Tables

1. The Estense Family Tree (1383 – 1598)



2. The Estense Family Tree (1598 – 1694)



3. Entries into Ferrara with the *Bucintoro Grande* (1438 – 1597)

Date	Visitor	Pageantries	Estense Ruler
1438	John VIII Palaeologus	Council of Ferrara	Niccolò III
1452	Emperor Frederick III	Return from crowning in Rome	Borso d'Este
1459	Pope Pius II	Council of Mantua	Borso d'Este
1473	Eleonora of Aragon	Bridal entrance	Ercole I
1502	Lucrezia Borgia	Bridal entrance	Alfonso I
1528	Renée of France	Bridal entrance	Alfonso I
1543	Pope Paul III	Return from Parma and Piacenza	Ercole II
1559	Alfonso II of Este	Official reception of Ferrara	Alfonso II
1560	Lucrezia de' Medici	Bridal entrance	Alfonso II
1565	Barbara of Austria	Bridal entrance	Alfonso II
1569	Archduke Charles of Austria	Official visit	Alfonso II
1574	King Henry III of France	His return from Cracow to assume the crown of France	Alfonso II
1579	Margherita Gonzaga	Bridal enrtance	Alfonso II

The decoration of the stateroom	Marquis/Duke of Ferrara	Event	Shield	Devices	Technique	Colours
1438	Niccolò III (Marquis)	Council of Ferrara	Marchional?	Unknown	Unknown	Unknown
1444	Leonello (Marquis)	Entry of Mary of Aragon, Leonello's second wife	Marchional	Unknown	Painting and embroideries	Turquoise, green, red and white
1449	Leonello (Marquis)	Carnival in Venice	Marchional	Knee armour and full blown sail	Painting and embroideries	Turquoise, green, red and white
1459	Borso (Marquis of Ferrara and Duke of Modena and Reggio)	Pius II's entry into Ferrara	Countal, Marchional and Ducal	Sluice gate, door knocker, pigeon trough, tenterhook, baptism and unicorn	Embroideries	Green, red and white
1465-1467	Borso (Duke)	-	Ducal	Borso's devices (unknown which ones)	Tapestries	Green, red and white

4. The decorations of the main room of the Estense Bucintoro (1438-1467).

1452	**1459** *Bucintoro*	*Literal translation*
Batesimo	Batesimo	*Baptism*
Alicornio	Unicorno	*Unicorn*
Paraduro	Paraduro	*Sluice Gate*
Asse	-	*Board*
Batelo	Batello	*Boat (?)*
Diamante	-	*Diamond*
Malgarita	-	*Daisy*
Sieve	Sieve	*Fence*
-	Colombarollo	*Pigeon trough*
-	Chioldara	*Nails*

5. Borso's devices in 1452 and 1459

Devices	**Number of times**		**Total**
	Vol. I	**Vol. II**	
Sluice gate	28	18	46
Glass Furnace	25	15	40
Fish pot	20	15	35
Cheetah/dragon	16	13	29
Diamond ring and daisy	16	8	24
Unicorn	9	7	16
Tree	10	6	16
Baptism	8	3	11
Hydra	4	4	8
Pigeon trough	6	1	7
Fence	6	-	6
Door knocker	5	-	5
Tenterhook	3	-	3
Full blown sail	3	-	3
Gourd	-	1	1
Total	**159**	**91**	**250**

6. Number of times in which Borso's devices have been illuminated in his Bible (1450-1475). In grey the devices used also in the Bucintoro.

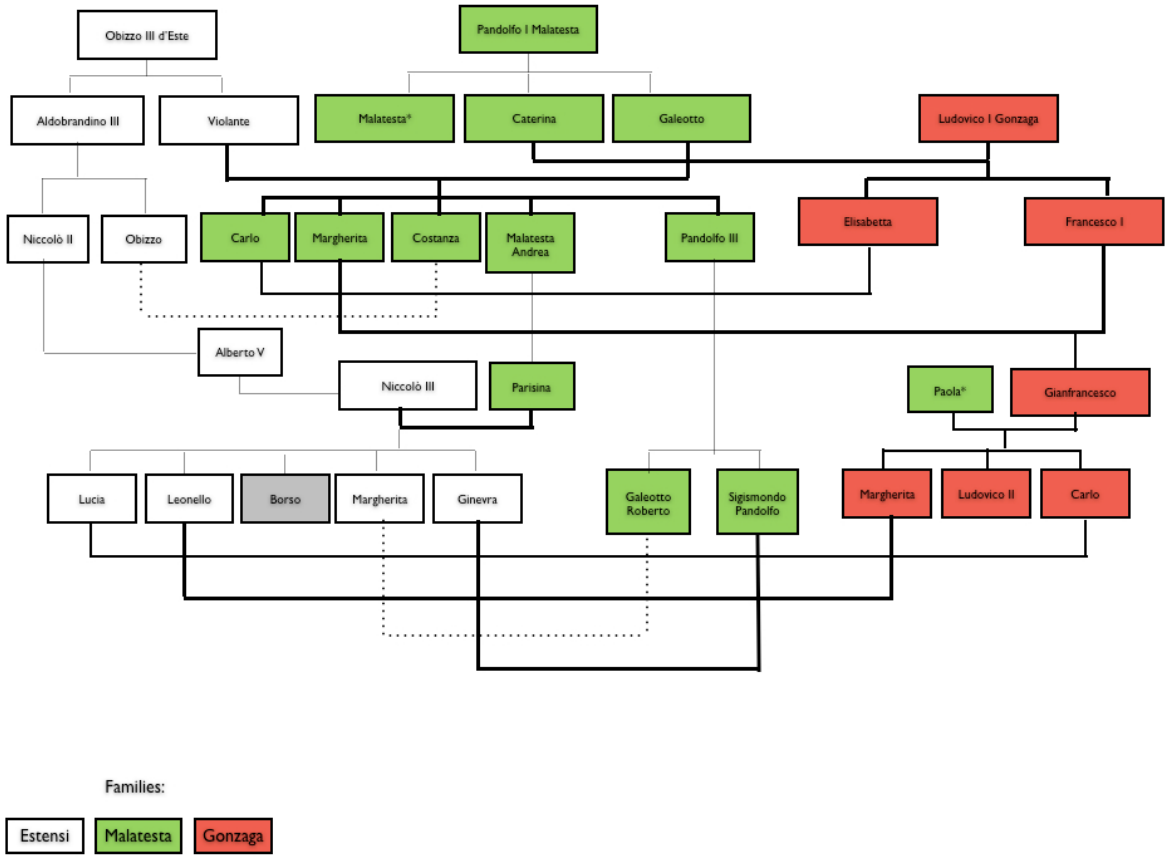
7. Estense liveries between 1440 and 1459

	Niccolò III's liveries	**Leonello's *Bucintoro***	**Borso's bed**	**Borso's *Bucintoro***
	1440	**1444**	**1457**	**1459**
Yellow	✓		✓	
Turquoise		✓	✓	
Red	✓	✓		✓
Green	✓	✓		✓
White		✓	✓	✓

8. Colours and Devices of the Estense Bucintoro in 1459

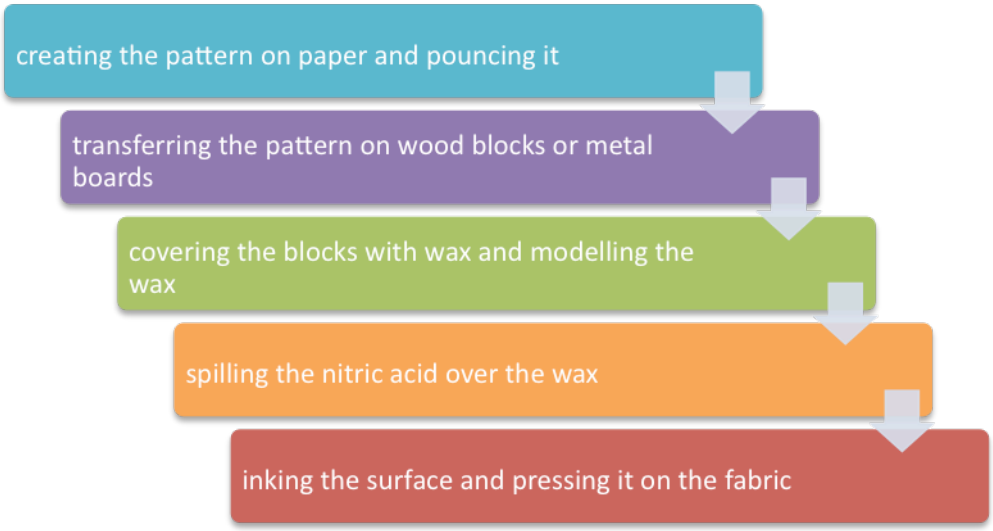
Colours	**Devices**	
Red	Sluice Gate	*Paraduro*
	Door Knocker	*Batello/Picchiotto*
White	Unicorn	*Unicorno*
	Baptism	*Battesimo*
Green	Tenterhook	*Asse/Chioldara*
	Pigeon Trough	*Colombarollo/Beverolli*

9. Gonzaga, Estensi e Malatesta family trees



Name	City of origins	Profession	Task	A	B	C	Lire	Soldi	Denari
Gherardo	Vicenza	Painter	Patterns	77	27	50	30	0	0
I assistant	*Unknown*	*Garzone*	Pouncing	77	12	65	13	0	0
II assistant	*Unknown*	*Garzone*	Pouncing	77	12	65	13	0	0

10. The work performed by the painters for Borso's Bucintoro (1459)
A = number of employment days
B = number of days off
C = total number of working day



11. The process of creating the pattern for embroideries and transferring it on the fabric

12. The work performed by the professional embroiderers for Borso's Bucintoro (1459)

Name	City of origin	A	B	C	Lire	Soldi	Denari
Cristofalo Calefino	Ferrara	72	4	68	34	0	0
Antonio Negri	Venice	67	5	62	26	17	4
Luca di Giacomo Negri	Venice	67	5	62	6	4	0
Lanzalotto	Mantua	71	1	70	26	2	0
Bartolamio degli agnelli	Mantua	69	2	67	13	8	0
Catabene	Da villa fuora (from the town of Villafora)	69	2	67	13	8	0
Cupino	Fiamengo (man from flandres)	67	2	65	21	13	4
Franzexe	(Frenchman)	67	2	65	17	6	8
Anichim	Dalemagna (German)	9	0	9	2	0	0
Zorzo	Cremona	17	0	17	4	10	0
Jacomo di Bonaventura	*Unknown*	60	0	60	30	0	0
Conte	Ferrara	0	0	0	0	0	0
Jacomino di Lupi	Ferrara	64	8	56	24	5	4
Ambroso di Lupi	Ferrara	14	0	14	4	10	0

A = number of employment days
B = number of days off
C = total number of working days

13. Embroideresses who completed Borso's *Bucintoro*

Name	Surname	Relation	Start Date	End Date	*lire*	*soldi*	*Denari*
Veneranda	perondolo	di Jac.o	10/01/1459	20/03/1459	5	12	0
Tura	di orio//dorio	di Aparuto	10/01/1459	27/03/1459	8	14	6
Zohana	Curione	di Francesco	10/01/1459	05/03/1459	3	10	0
Lucretia	da le calze	di Zohane	10/01/1459	04/03/1459	6	7	0
Bartolamia	di lassassino	di Zohane	10/01/1459	22/03/1459	5	18	0
Catelina	di lassassino	fiola di Marco de Galaoto	10/01/1459	23/03/1459	4	10	0
	de li Strozi	dona di Antonio	12/01/1459	18/01/1459	0	0	0
Ludovica	dal canale	dal canale	12/01/1459	19/03/1459	1	0	0
Proba	Zerbinatto	dona de Antonio	12/01/1459	22/02/1459	1	0	0
Catelina	Panegaia	Panegaia	12/01/1459	27/02/1459	3	16	0
	da Sandra	figliola de bonefacio	12/01/1459	30/01/1459	1	10	0
Cornelia	capelino	dona de Gironimo	12/01/1459	27/03/1459	11	1	0
Catelina	capelino	dona de Zohane	12/01/1459	07/03/1459	7	16	0
Nicolina	da le calze	nuora di zohane rizolo	12/01/1459	31/01/1459	0	0	0
Agnese	del fabro	dona di zohane	12/01/1459	09/02/1459	1	18	0
Stella	di pizolj becari grandi	fiola di Bartolazo	12/01/1459	17/02/1459	6	10	0
Maddalena	de li ariosti	sorella di malatista	12/01/1459	23/03/1459	7	17	9
Biatrixe	de li costabili	dona di zohane alvixe	12/01/1459	20/03/1459	2	4	0
	brusantino	nuora di m° Bartolamio	13/01/1459	26/01/1459	1	0	0
	deli agusti	dona di zohane	13/01/1459	20/03/1459	16	11	0
Catelina	beltramio	dona de beltramino	13/01/1459	31/01/1459	1	0	0
	dali varrj	fiola di zuliano	13/01/1459	20/02/1459	2	2	0
		fiola di feltrino canevaro	13/01/1459	05/03/1459	2	12	0
	nigrisollo	la figliola	13/01/1459	22/02/1459	2	10	0
	barone	la figliola	15/01/1459	12/02/1459	1	10	0
	fulchi	dona de pietro	15/01/1459	01/03/1459	1	0	0
	petratti	dona de messer Alberto	15/01/1459	-	1	0	0
		dona de Antonio nodaro da Verona	15/01/1459	22/03/1459	1	0	0
Solla bella	tempesta	dona de nicolo	16/01/1459	07/03/1459	6	0	0
	de marco	nuora de girardino	19/01/1459	13/03/1459	12	12	0
	sechiero	dona de marco	08/02/1459	21/02/1459	1	0	0

14. Embroideresses who worked for the projects of Borso's bed, *Bucintoro*, funeral pall

counter	number	First name	title	Referee name	Surname	bed 1457	bucintoro 1459	funeral pall 1471
1	1	Maddalena	*sister*	Malatesta	Ariosti	✔	✔	
1	2		*wife*	Zohane	Augusti	✔	✔	
1	3	Isabeta			Bagaroto	✔		
1	4		*daughter*		Barone	✔	✔	
1	5	Angielica			Bataia	✔		
1	6	Catelina	*wife*	Beltramino	Beltramio	✔	✔	
1	7		*wife*	Girardo	Binalagna			✔
1	8	Angielica			Bonfigli	✔		
1	9		*d-in-law*	Bartolamio	Brusantino		✔	
1	10		*daughter*	Feltrino	*canevaro*	✔	✔	
1	11	Cornelia	*wife*	Gironimo	Capelino	✔	✔	
1	12	Catelina	*wife*	Zohanne	Capelino	✔	✔	
1	13		*wife*	Antonio	Cendali	✔		
1	14		*wife*	Conte	Condalniero	✔		
1	15	Battista			Contrari			✔
1	16	Bianca			Contrari			✔
1	17	Camilla			Contrari			✔
1	18	Catelina			Cordoani	✔		
1	19		*wife*	Pellegrino	Cospi	✔		
1	20		*wife*	Pollo	Costabili			✔
1	21		*maid*	Pollo	Costabili	✔		
1	22	Taddia	*wife*	Rinaldo	Costabili			✔
1	23	Biatrixe	*wife*	Zohanne Alvixe	Costabili	✔	✔	
1	24	Zohanna	*wife*	Francesco	Curione	✔	✔	
1	25		*wife*	Panfio	da Bondeno	✔		
1	26		*wife*	Ambroso	da Milano	✔		
1	27		*damsel*	Margherita	da Rimini	✔		
1	28	Margherita	*madam*		da Rimini			✔
1	29		*daughter*	Baldassarre	da Treviso			✔
1	30		*wife*	Antonio	da Verona	✔		
1	31	Ludovica			dal Canale	✔	✔	
1	32	Lucrezia	*wife*	Zohanne Rizolo	dalle Calze	✔	✔	
1	33	Nicolina	*d-in-law*	Zohanne Rizolo	dalle Calze		✔	
1	34	Lietta	*wife*	Girardino	de Marco		✔	
1	35		*d-in-law*	Girardino	de Marco		✔	
1	36		*wife*	Simone	del Bruno	✔		
1	37	Agnese	*wife*	Zohanne	del Fabro	✔	✔	
1	38	Caterina	*daughter*	Marco de Galeotto	dell'Assassino		✔	
1	39	Bartolamia	*wife*	Zohanne	dell'Assassino	✔	✔	
1	40	Margherita	*damsel*	Anna	della Tavola		✔	✔
1	41		*damsel*	Anna	della Tavola		✔	✔
1	42	Filippa			della Tavola			✔

counter	number	First name	title	Referee name	Surname	bed 1457	bucintoro 1459	funeral pall 1471
1	43		*wife*	Francesco	di Canossa			✔
1	44		*wife*	Francesco	Diari	✔		
1	45	Tura	*wife*	Aparuto	Dorio		✔	
1	46		*d-in-law*	Manuelo	*ebreo*	✔		
1	47	Laura	*nun*	abadessa Padova	Este			✔
1	48	Girardina	*mother*	Francesco	Este			✔
1	49	Caterina	*wife*	Girardo	Este		✔	✔
1	50		*wife*	Hieronimo	Este			✔
1	51		*daughter*	Rinaldo	Este			✔
1	52	Beatrice	*madam*		Este			✔
1	53	Bianca	*madam*		Este			✔
1	54	Domenica	*nun*		Este			✔
1	55	Ginevra			Este			✔
1	56	Isotta			Este			✔
1	57	Limanda	*madam*		Este			✔
1	58	Lucrezia			Este			✔
1	59	Polissena			Este			✔
1	60	Verde	*nun*		Este			✔
1	61		*wife*	Antonio Guidone	*fattore*			✔
1	62		*wife*	Bonvicino	*fattore*			✔
1	63		*wife*	Hieronimo	Forsani			✔
1	64		*wife*	Pietro	Fulchi		✔	
1	65		*wife*	Annibale	Gonzaga			✔
1	66	Orsina	*madam*	Andrea	Gualnutro			✔
1	67		*daughter*	Nicolò	Nigrisollo	✔	✔	
1	68		*wife*	Antonio	*nodaro*		✔	
1	69		*daughter*	Giovanni	Nogara	✔		
1	70		*wife*	Manfredo	*orefice*	✔		
1	71	Catelina			Panegaia	✔	✔	
1	72	Lucia	*daughter*	Jacomo	Perondola		✔	✔
1	73	Veneranda	*wife*	Jacomo	Perondola	✔	✔	
1	74		*wife*	Alberto	Petratti		✔	
1	75		*wife*	Girolamo	Pincharo			✔
1	76		*wife*	Ludovico	Pio	✔		
1	77	Stella	*daughter*	Bartolazo	Pizolj becari	✔	✔	
1	78	Anna			Rubie			✔
1	79		*nun*		s. Antonio	✔		
1	80		*nun*		s. Barnaba	✔		
1	81		*wife*	Francesco	Sagia			✔
1	82	Zanevira			Sagia			✔
1	83		*daughter*	Bonifacio	Sandra		✔	

counter	number	First name	title	Referee name	Surname	bed 1457	bucintoro 1459	funeral pall 1471
1	84	Nicolosa			Sardi	✔		
1	85		*wife*	Mattia	Sechiero	✔	✔	
1	86		*wife*	Nanni	Siviero	✔		
1	87		*wife*	Antonio	Strozzi	✔	✔	
1	88		*maid*	Nicolò	Strozzi	✔		
1	89		*wife*	Francesco	Suorli			✔
1	90		*daughter*		Taiapreda	✔		
1	91	Solla bella	*wife*	Nicolò	Tempesta	✔	✔	
1	92		*wife*	Filippo	Tinto	✔		
1	93		*niece*	Filippo	Tinto	✔		
1	94		*wife*	Manfredo	Ugaldini			✔
1	95		*daughter*	Zuliano	Varrj/del Varo	✔	✔	
1	96	Proba	*wife*	Antonio	Zerbinatto	✔	✔	
1	97	Caterina	*wife*	Francesco		✔		
1	98	Margherita		m.ro Franceschino				✔
1	99	Caterina	*wife*	Prisciano				✔
1	100		*wife*	Santo		✔		
						50	**36**	**40**

15. Expenses for the Estense Bucintoro and for Galeazzo Maria Sforza's boat (1459-1460).

		lire	soldi	denari
Main Room Embroidered Curtains	Gold	67	5	11
	Silver	10	0	0
	Wool and Cotton threads	22	2	8
	Textile (m. 240)	488	0	0
	Painters	56	0	0
	Male Embroiders	224	4	8
	Female Embroiders	149	12	3
	Tailors (cut and line)	84	0	0
	Spinner	10	12	0
	Porters	1	10	4
	Etching of the cartoons	13	13	9
Total (curtains)		*1,127*	*1*	*7*
Bucintoro	Benches	0	3	0
	Painted decoration (by Girardo da Vicenza)	82	14	4
Sforza's boat	Benches	0	3	0
	Painted decoration (by Cosmè Tura)	30	0	0
Total (other decorations)		*113*	*0*	*4*
TOTAL		*1,240*	*1*	*11*

16. Receptions of the Florentine Commune (1451-1467).

Year	*Florentine Commune Reception*	*Fiorini*	*Lire*
1451	Emperor Frederick III	15000	40000.0.0
1459	Pope Pius II and Galeazzo Maria Sforza	13626	48091.0.0
1459	Duke of Calabria	-	1949.5.6
1464	10 Venetian Ambassadors	-	2867.0.0
1465	Ippolita Sforza	-	32595.4.6
1465	Don Federigo of Naples	-	15273.0.0
1467	Alfonso Duke of Calabria	-	18174.0.0

17. Expenses for the reception of Pope Pius II in Ferrara (1458-1459)

		lire	soldi	denari
Embroidered curtains of the Bucintoro		1,127	1	7
Bucintoro	Benches	0	3	0
	Painted decoration (by Girardo da Vicenza)	82	14	4
Sforza's boat	Benches	0	3	0
	Painted decoration	30	0	0
Gifts	Ten painted chests for Pope Pius II	50	3	0
	Folws (alive)	22	8	0
City decorations	Painted decorations	140	0	0
	Painted angels	?	0	0

1451

18. Production of salt in Comacchio and Longastrino (1527 – 1538)

YEAR	*N. OF WORKERS*	*MOGGIA E STARE*	*SACKS*	*TONS*
1527	46	129.18	475	61.478
1528	172	7,872.02	28,864	3,735.766
1529	128	9,357.11	34,310	4,440.623
1532	-	4,449.19	16,315	2,111.593
1533	54	6,859.02	25,150	3,255.076
1535	126	9,277.16	34,017	4,402.701
1536	93	9,132.10	33,485	4,333.846
1537	140	7,073.19	25,936	3,356.805
1538	-	1,342.00	4,921	636.908

Sources ASMo: 1527 *Sali* n. 17; 1528 *Memoriali* n. 62, c. 98; 1529 AFP *Comacchio* n. 214, *Vacchetta delle saline* 1529; 1532 *Memoriali* n. 64, c. LXXXIII; 1533 *Memoriali* n. 65, c. 67; 1535 *Memoriali* n. 67, c. 56; 1536 *Memoriali* n. 68, c. 45; 1537 *Memoriali* n. 69, c. 49; 1538 *Memoriali* n. 70, c. 44.

Illustrations



1. Giovanni Antonio Canal, known as Canaletto (1679-1768), *The Bacino di San Marco on Ascension Day*, 1733-34, cm. 78,8x125,4, London, The Royal Collection RCIN404417. © The Royal Collection.



2. Nicolò dell'Abate, *Battle on the sea with several galleasses*, sixteenth century, Modena, Galleria Estense © Galleria Estense

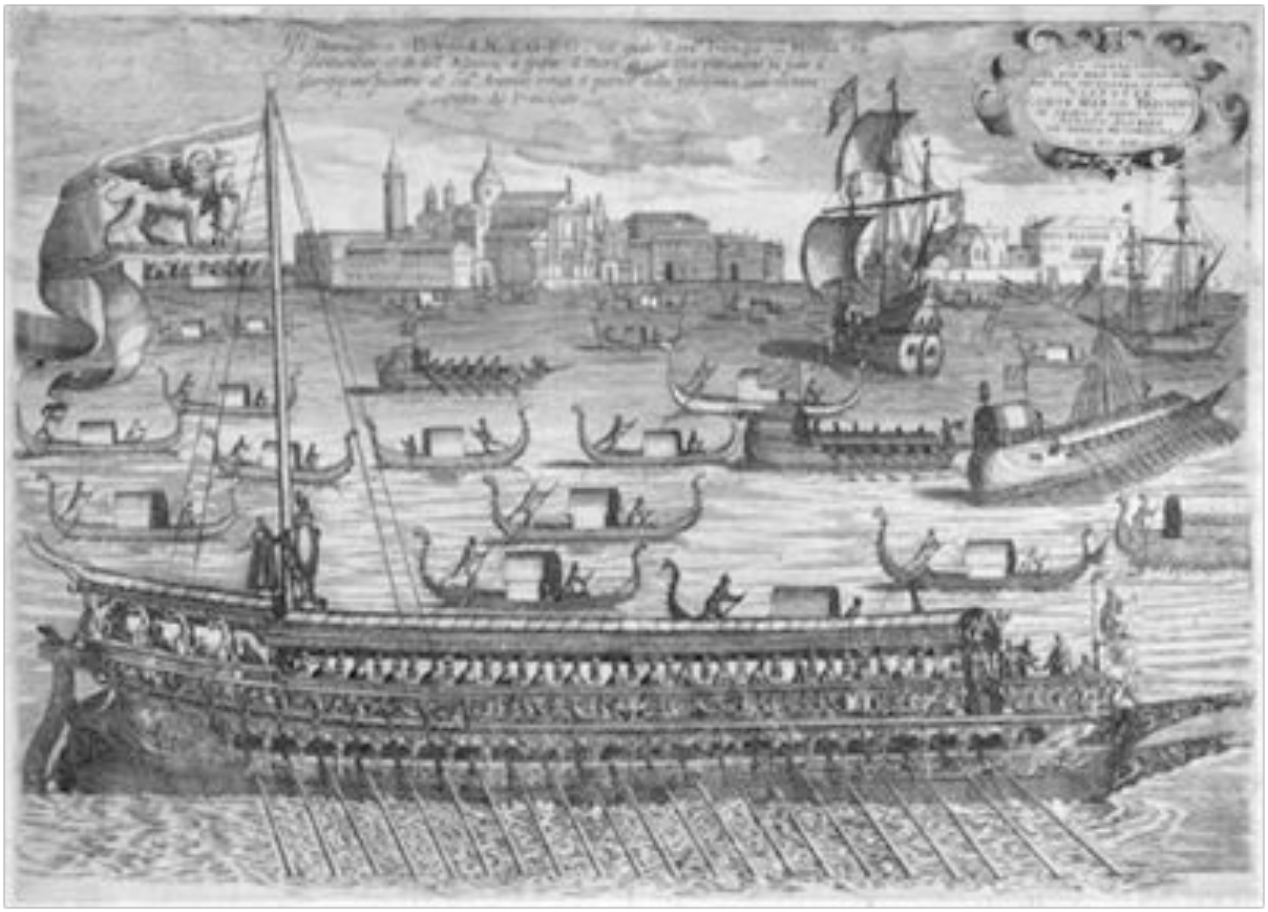
3. *The Venetian Bucintoro* in the fifteenth century. © Urban L., 1998.



4. *The Venetian Bucintoro* in the sixteenth-century. © London, British Library.



5. Justus Sadeler, *Il Meraviglioso Bucintoro, nel quale il Ser.mo Principe di Venetia va solennemente il dì dell'Ascensa à sposar il mare et con esso parimente fù fatto il gloriosissimo incontro al Ser.mo Antonio Priuli il giorno della serissima sua venuta al possesso del Principato*, Venice, 1619, copper engraving, cm. 41,9x58. Verona, Private collection. © Beatrice Mezzogori.



6. *The Savoia Bucintoro*, 1729-1731, Venaria (Torino), Reggia di Venaria Reale. © Torino, Palazzo Madama.



7. *The Borbone Bucintoro*, detail with the gilded decoration on the prow, eighteenth century, Napoli, Museo di San Martino. © Ecomuseo dei Campi Flegrei.

8. *The Borbone Bucintoro,* detail with the Hall on the stern, eighteenth century, Napoli, Museo di San Martino. © Ecomuseo dei Campi Flegrei.





9. *A burchiello towed by a horse*, engraving, 1591. Ferrara, Private collection. © Beatrice Mezzogori.



10. Fallers on the rivers Brenta and Piovegro (Veneto region) in the 1930s. © Gilberto Penzo.







11. An eighteenth-century Venetian *Burchiello*. Venice, Museo Navale. © Beatrice Mezzogori.



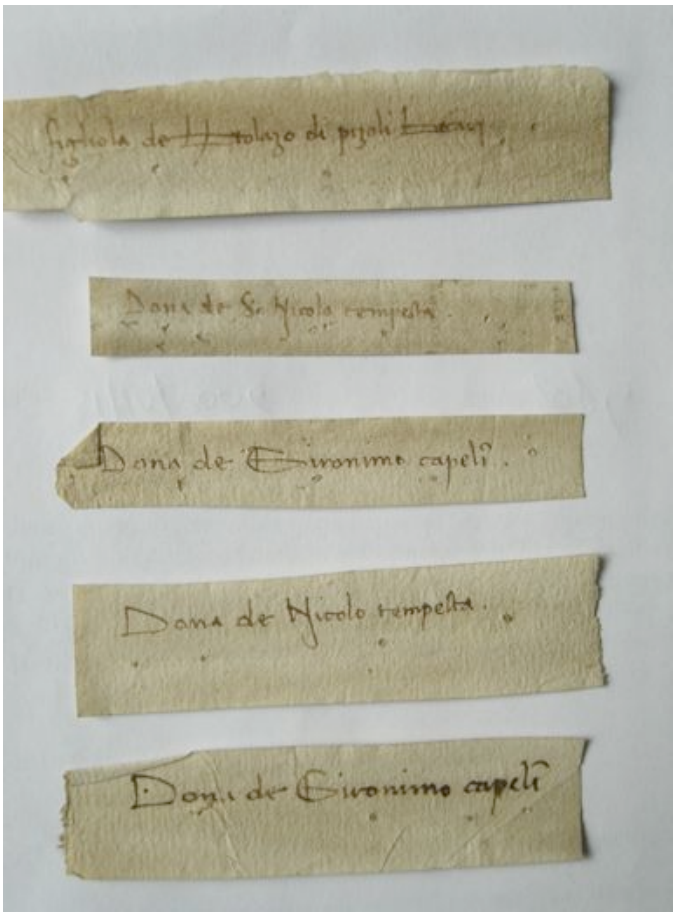
12. Gian Francesco Costa, *Villa Pisani in Stra (Venice) with a burchiello and fallers*, nineteenth-century, engraving. Ferrara, private collection. © Beatrice Mezzogori.



13. Salenti (etcher), *Ferrara and its land*, seventeenth-century, Ferrara, private collection. © Beatrice Mezzogori.

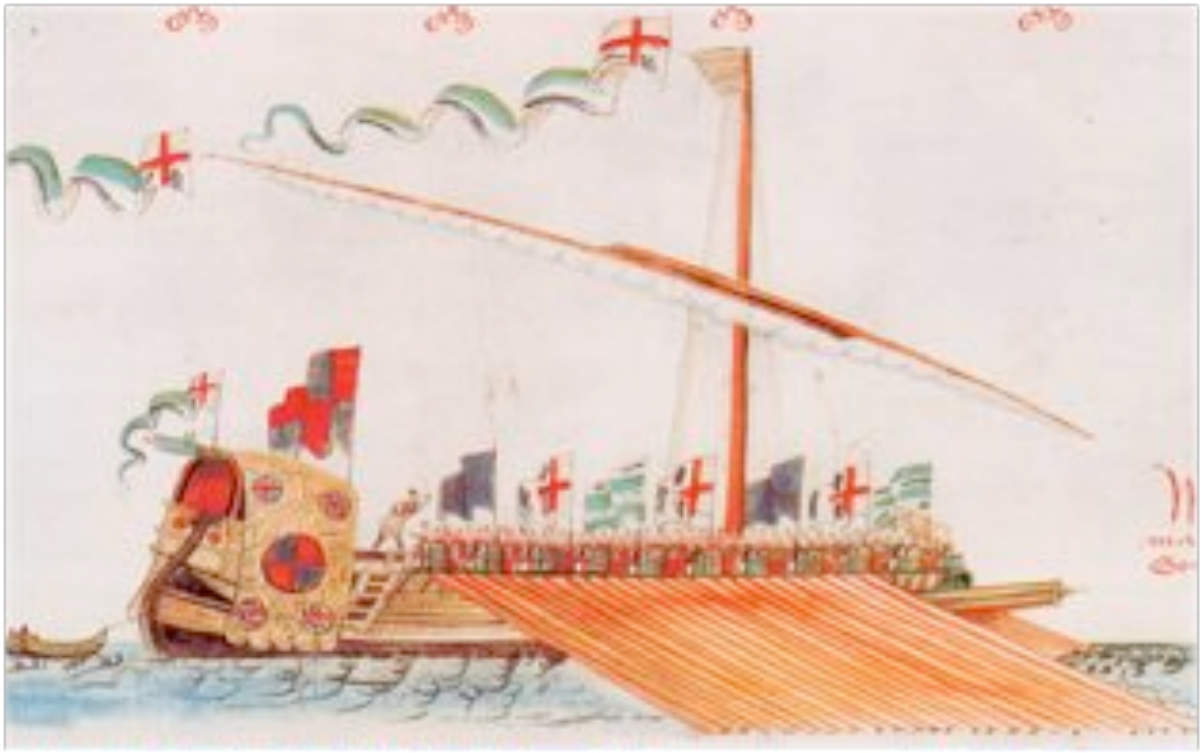


14. Paper tags of the looms prepared for Borso's *Bucintoro* (1459), in ASMo, Amministrazione dei Principi, *Borso*, "Manifature de li ricami de lo ornamento del bucintoro fato de dito anno 1459", n. 9. © ASMo.





15. The Venetian *Bucintoro*, coloured engraving, 17th century. © Venice, Fondazione Bucintoro del Terzo Millennio.



16. Anthony Anthony, "Henry VIII's Galley Subtile", from the so-called *Anthony Roll*, after 1546, watercolours on vellum, London, British Museum. © British Museum.

17. "The Venetian Bucintoro towed by two galleys", from *A voyage into the Mediterranean seas*, Kings. Mss. 40, London, British Library. © British Library



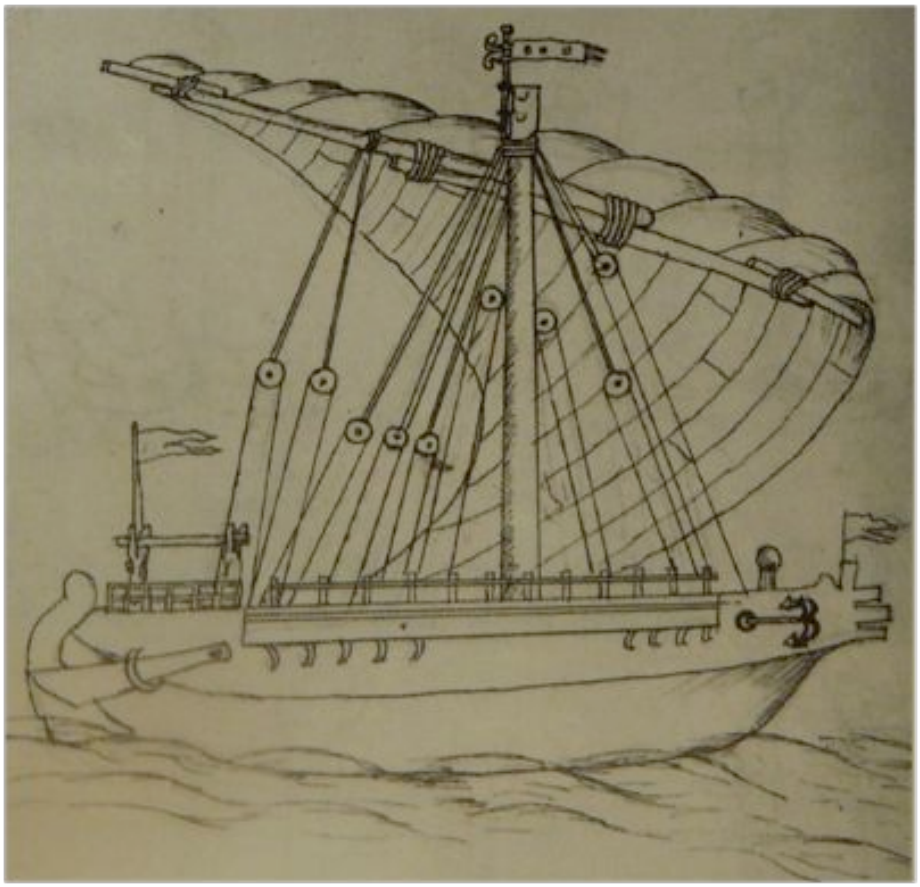
18. Lake Nemi. © Andrea Massimini.

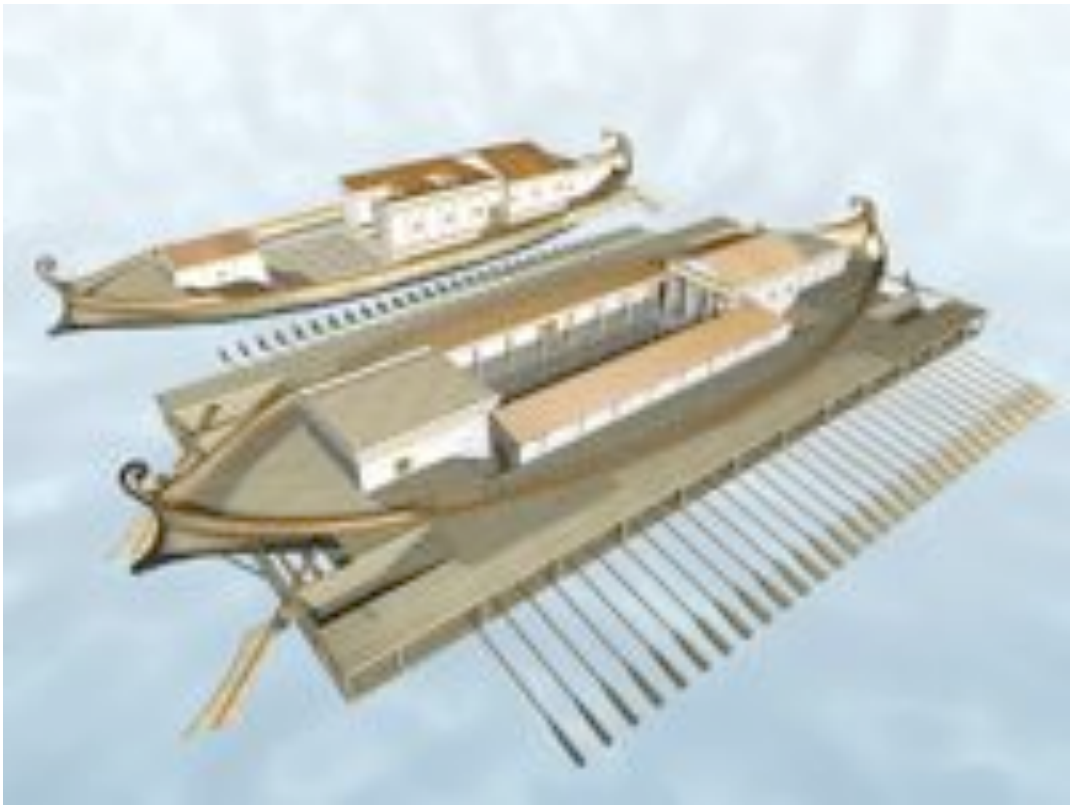


19. Balustrade of one of the Roman Ship of Nemi, Rome, Museo Nazionale Romano. © Carole Raddato



A "Large Galea", from the manuscript *Arte de far Vasselli*, fifteenth century. Wien, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek. © Wien, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek.





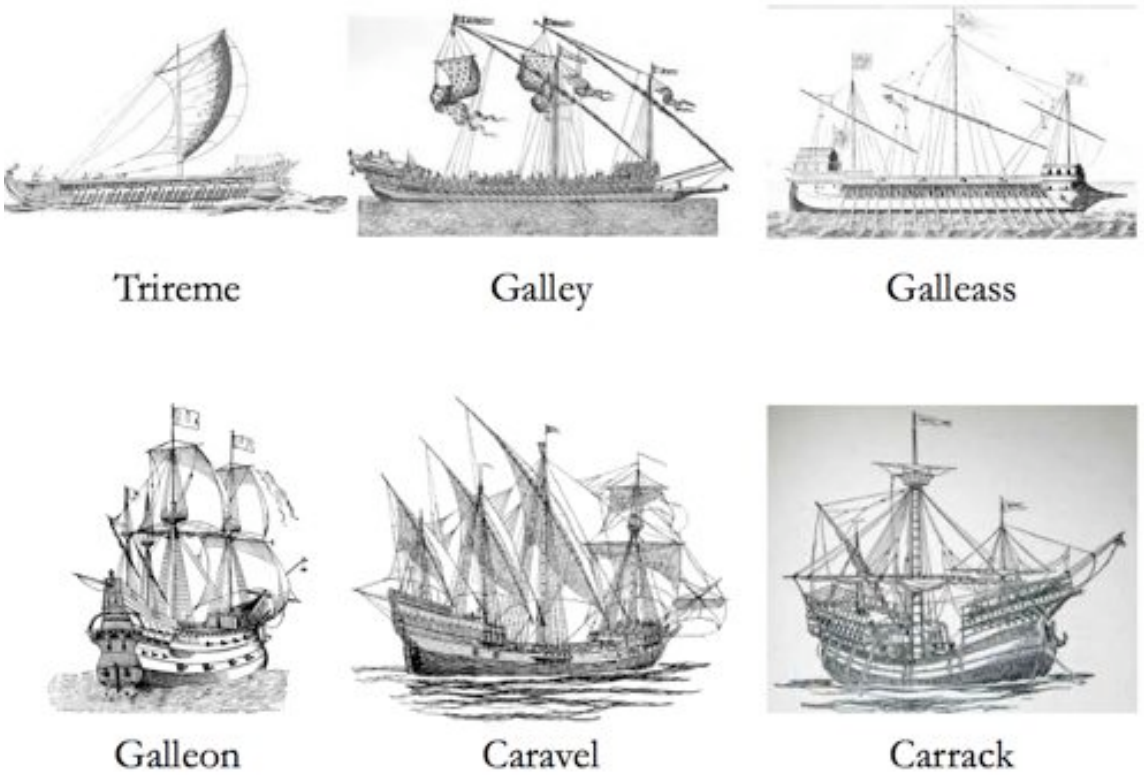
21. Reconstruction of the Nemi Ships. © Bonino (2003).





22. The recovery of the Nemi Ships in 1932 © Soprintendenza Archeologica del Lazio.

23. Main kind of ships in use in the fifteenth century.



24. Prince Frederick's barge, 1732, Maritime Galleries at the Greenwich Maritime Museum. © London, Greenwich Museum





25. Barge haulers on the Volga. © Roy Bolton.



26. *Atakebune* in the sixteenth century.

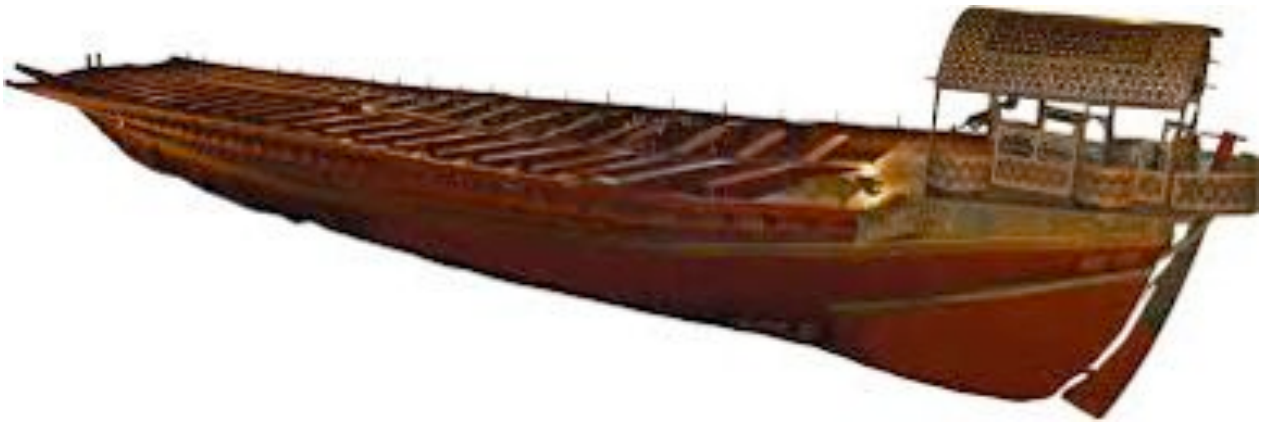


27. "Valois Tapestry", *Water Festival at Bayonne*. Tapestry, Florence, Uffizi, 1580-1581. © Uffizi, Firenze.



28. "King Louis IX and his wife Marguerite de Provence board shipa (a carrack)", in *Le Livre des Faiz Monseigneur Saint Loys*, c. 1482, Bibliothéque nationale de France, Française MS 2829, fol. 47v. © RMN Photo.

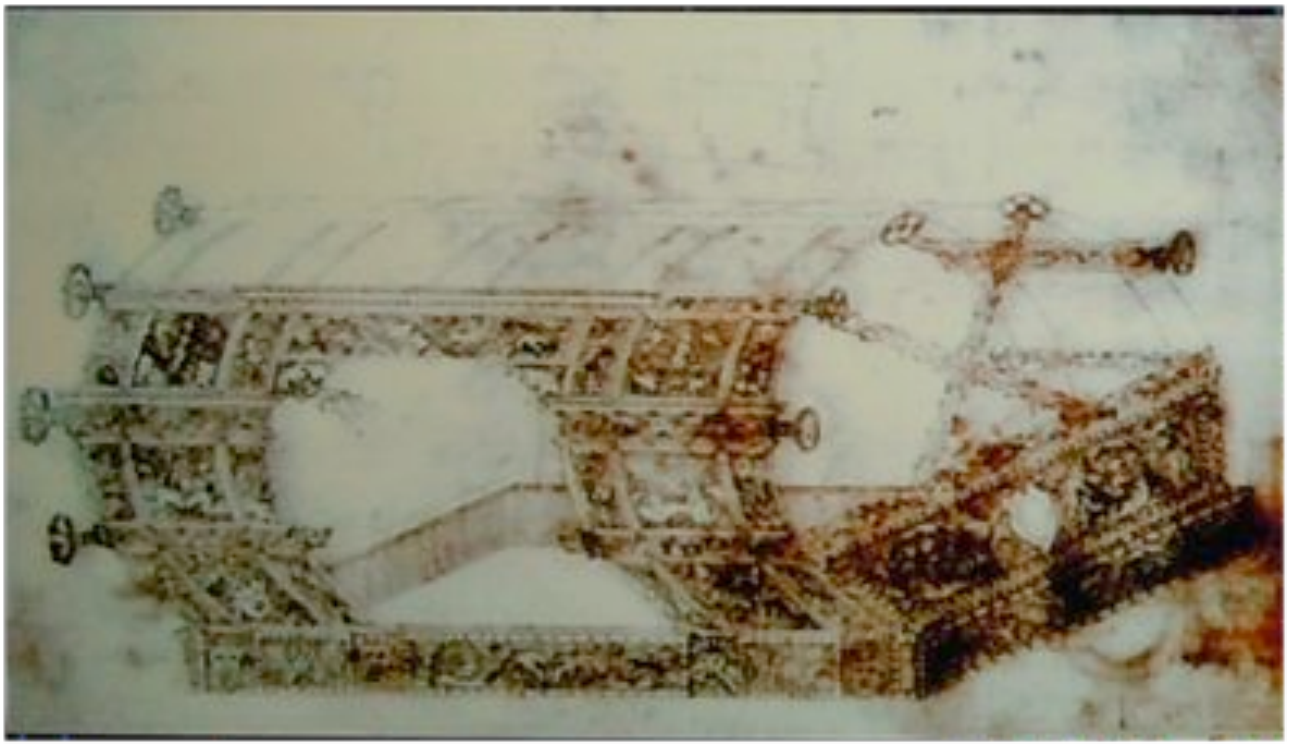




29. *Kadirga*, Istanbul, Naval Museum.

30. Detail with the *Kadirga*'s main room.





31. Anonymous (previously attributed to Ferrarese architect Giovan Battista Aleotti), a) Drawing of a *Bucintoro* semi-circular calotte. b) Detail, c. 1530-1540, 365x205 mm, ink on paper. Album di disegni 'Aleotti' Collezione Borromeo. © Milano, Amministrazione Borromeo.



32. The north ravelin. Ferrara, Castello Estense. © Ferrara, Provincia di Ferrara.



33. Anonymous, *Estense Galley*, sixteenth century, watercolour on paper, cm 42x47, ASMo, *Mappe e Disegni*, vol. 5, no. 57/5. © Beatrice Mezzogori.



34. Antonio di Pietro Averlino, known as Filarete, Details of the Bronze doors of Old Saint Peter's Basilica, c. 1445.



35 and 36. The devices of the "knee armour" (*zenochiale*) and the "full blown sail" (*vela ventosa*) in Livy, *De bello punico*, Private Colletion, fol. 9v (detail). © Franco Cosimo Panini Editore.





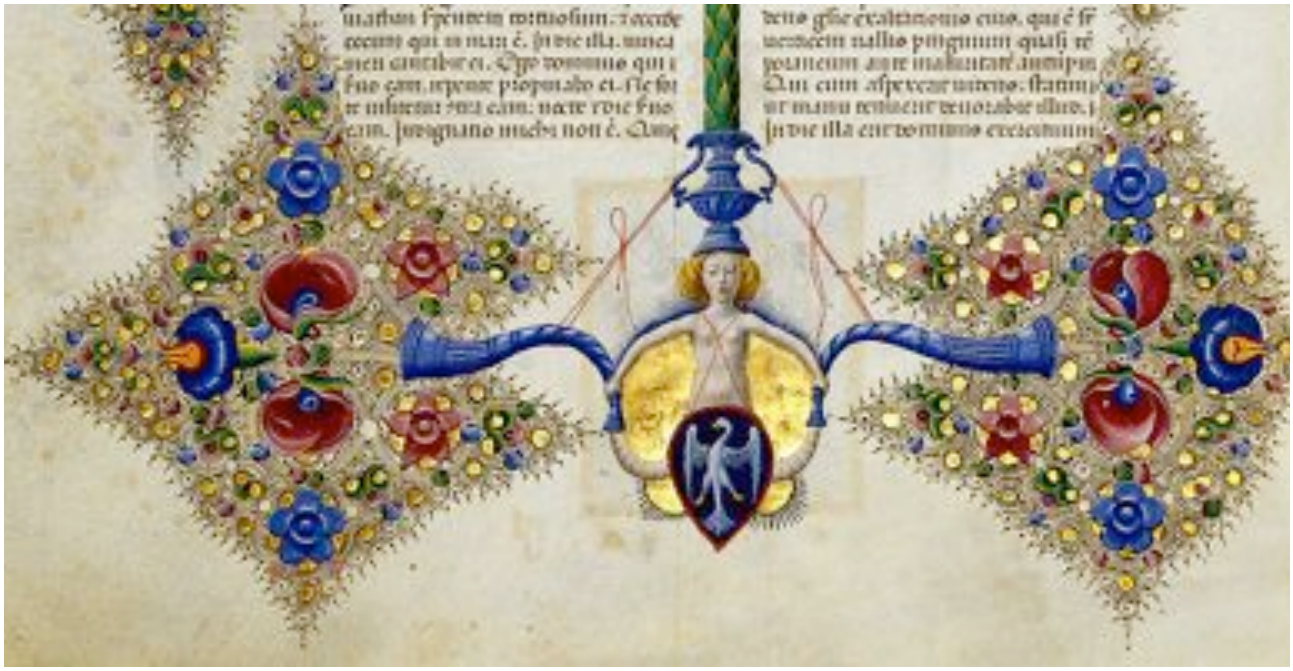
37. (on the right) Amadio da Milano (?), *The Shield pertaining to the Este Marquis* (reverse) and *Nicolò III d'Este Marquis of Ferrara* (obverse), circa 1440, bronze, Washington, National Gallery of Art, Samuel H. Kress Collection. © Washington, National Gallery.



38. "Leonello's Shield", in Gioacchino da Fiore (attr.), *Vaticinia pontificum*, 1447-1450, Modena, Biblioteca Estense Universitaria, ms. α M.5.27 = Lat. 233, fol. 12r (detail). © BEMO.



39. Taddeo Crivelli, "Shield pertaining to the Estense Count", Borso d'Este's *Bible*, vol. II, fol. 11 left, Modena, Biblioteca Estense Universitaria. © BEMO.



40. Anonimous, "Box of Borso d'Este with the Estense Ducal Shield" (obverse), the device of the "sluice gate" (reverse), leather over a wooden core, damask, cm. 20x19x5, London, Trinity Fine Art Ltd. © Trinity Fine Art, London.



41. Taddeo Crivelli, "Estense Shield with the Papal crossed keys" and "Estense Ducal Shield", in Borso d'Este's *Bible*, vol. II, fol. 253, Modena, Biblioteca Estense Universitaria. © BEMO.



42. *Libro d'ore di Alfonso I d'Este*, Lisbona, Museu Colouste Gulbenkian, inv. L.A. 149, fol. 13r. © Modena, Il Bulino Editore.



43. Rogier Van der Weyden, The Estense Marchional Shield (reverse); Francesco d'Este (?) (obverse), oil on wood, ca. 1460, New York, The Metropolitan Museum of Art, The Friedsam Collection. © New York, MET.



44. Nicola di Gabriele Sbraghe da Urbino, Dish from the Isabella d'Este service ("Peleus ans Thetis"), Urbino, 1524-1525, Cambridge, Fitzwilliam Museum. © Fitzwilliam Museum.



45. Giovanni Bianchini, *Tabulae Astrologiae*, 1452-1455, Ferrara, Biblioteca Comunale Ariostea, ms. I 147, fol. 1r, Giovanni Bianchini, introduced by Borso d'Este, offers to the Emperor Frederick III his work. © BCAFe.



46. The device of the *Granata svampante* (the "cannonball in flames"). Ferrara, Certosa di San Cristoforo. © Beatrice Mezzogori.



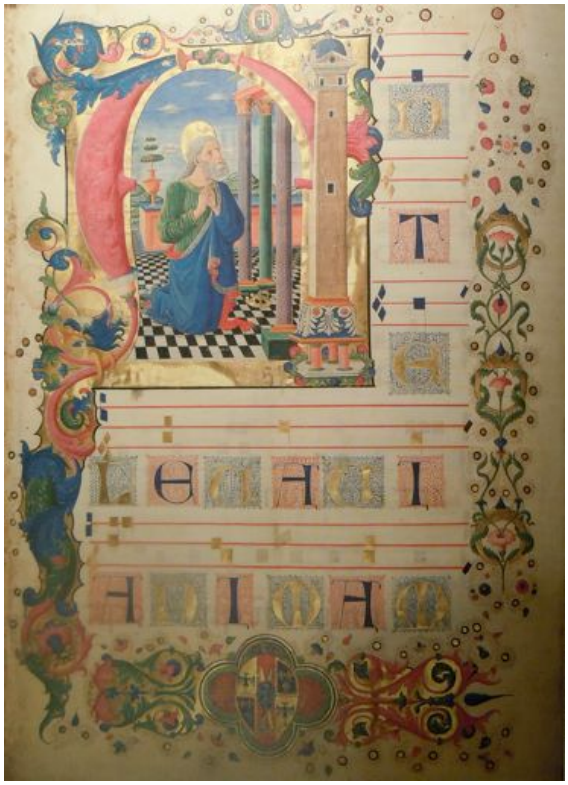
47. Paolo Giovio, *Le Sententiose Imprese di monsignor Paulo Giovio, et del signor Gabriel Symeoni, ridotto in rima per il detto Symeoni, Al Serenissimo Duca di Savoia*, Lyone, appresso Guglielmo Roviglio, 1562, pag. 68 © Beatrice Mezzogori.



48. *Stemmario Cugini*, fols. 34-35. Reggio Emilia, Archivio di Stato. © Reggio Emilia, Archivio di Stato.



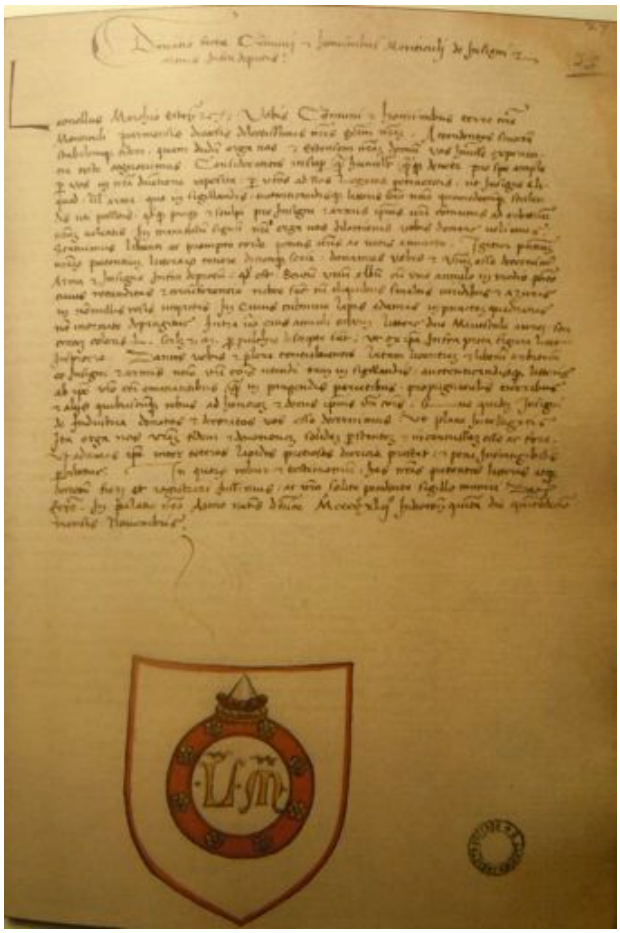
49. Letter "N" with David genuflected, in *Coral* of the Carthusian monk of the Church of San Cristoforo, Ferrara. Graduale L, OA 1341, fol. 1r, Ferrara, Museo Schifanoia © Museo Schifanoia.



50. Ivory box with a) the bust of Borso d'Este, the double-headed eagle and the french fleur-de-lis; b) the Estense Ducal Shield, the devices of the 'daisy' (*margherita*) and the 'fence' (*sieve*), sculpted ivory, 30,7x6x2,4 cm. Paris, Musée du Louvre, OA169. © RMN Photo.



51. Concession of the use of the symbol of the 'diamond ring' (*diamante*) to the community of Montecchio, 15 November 1442, Modena, Archivio di Stato, Cancelleria Marchionale, Leggi e Decreti, vol. V, c. 27r.



52. Rogier Van der Weyden, Sforza Tryptich, detail of symbol of the 'diamond ring', ca. 1460, Bruxelles, Royal Museum of Fine Arts.



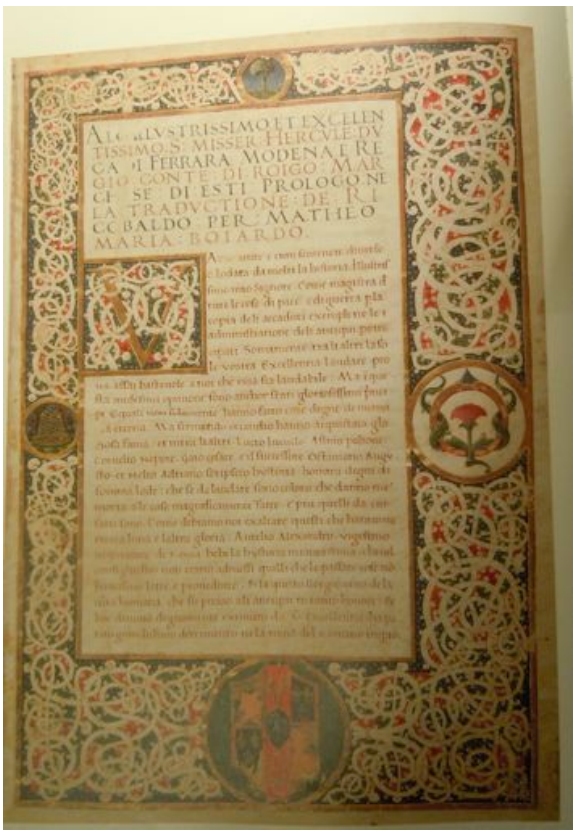
53. Anonymous artist, Petrarch, *Canzoniere*, Ms. Ital. 561, Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale de France. © Photo RMN



54. *Annunciation*, Messale, Vigevano, Museo del Duomo, c. 7r.



55. Riccobaldo da Ferrara, *Istoria Imperiale*, Ravenna, Biblioteca Classense, ms. 424, c. 1r.



56. Detail of the title-page with the Sforza and Estense coats of arms, in Cristoforo de Predis, *De Sphaera*, 1460 ca, Lat. 209 = α.X.2.14, Biblioteca Estense, Modena. © BEM



57. Taddeo Crivelli, "Genesis", Borso d'Este's *Bible*, vol. I, fols. 5l – 6r, Modena, Biblioteca Estense Universitaria. © BEMO.



58. The device of the *unicorno* ("unicorn"). Ferrara, Palazzo Schifanoia, Sala delle Virtù. © Ferrara, Palazzo Schifanoia.



59. Borso's devices in the columns of the Church of San Cristoforo, Ferrara. © Ferrara, Fondazione Carife.



60. Detail with the device of the 'baptism' (*battesimo*), torn page from *Breviary*, Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, ms. Lat. 9473. fol. 2 (1454-1458). © RMN Photo.



61. Detail with the device of the 'baptism' (*battesimo*), in Giorgio d'Alemagna, *Missale secundum consuetudinem Romanae Curiae*, Modena, Biblioteca Estense Universitaria, ms. α. W. 5. 2. = Lat. 293, fol. 7r. © BEMO.



62. Petrecino da Firenze, *Medal of Borso d'Este*. Bust of borso (obverse), device of the baptism (reverse). London, British Museum, Department of coins and medals. © British Museum



63. Pisanello (Antonio di Puccio Pisano), *Portrait of man with a falcon*, (Portrait of Borso d'Este?), on paper. Paris, Institut Néerlandais, Fritz Lugt Collection. © RMN Photo.



64. Detail with the device of the "unicorn" (*unicorno*). Torn page from *Breviary*, Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, ms. Lat. 9473. fol. 2 (1454-1458). © RMN Photo.



65. Cosmè Tura's workshop, *Urania* (detail with the device of the "unicorn"), c. 1450, tempera on wood, cm. 123,6 x 71,9. Ferrara, Pinacoteca Nazionale. © Fototeca di Palazzo dei Diamanti.



66. *The man and the unicorn*, thirteenth-century, Ferrara, Museo della Cattedrale. © Arcidiocesi Ferrara-Comacchio.



67. Benedetto Antelami, *The man and the unicorn*, Parma, Cathedral, south lunette. © Beatrice Mezzogori.



68. Cristoforo di Bendoccio, *Barlaam's wheel*, Asciano di Siena, Museo diocesano di Palazzo Corboli. © Beatrice Mezzogori.





69. Giorgio d'Alemagna, *La Spagna in rima*, 1453, Ferrara, Biblioteca Comunale Ariostea, ms. II 132, c. 1r (detail). © BCAFe.

70. Capital letter "D" with the device of the "sluice gate" (*paraduro*), Borso d'Este's *Bible*, vol. I, fol. 286r. © Il Bulino Editore.



71. Detail with the device of the "fence" (*sieve*), in Giorgio d'Alemagna, *La Spagna in rima*, 1453, Ferrara, Biblioteca Comunale Ariostea, ms. II 132, fol. 1r (detail with the fence). © BCAFe.



72. Giorgio d'Alemagna, *La Spagna in rima*, 1453, Ferrara, Biblioteca Comunale Ariostea, ms. II 132, c. 1r. © BCAFe.



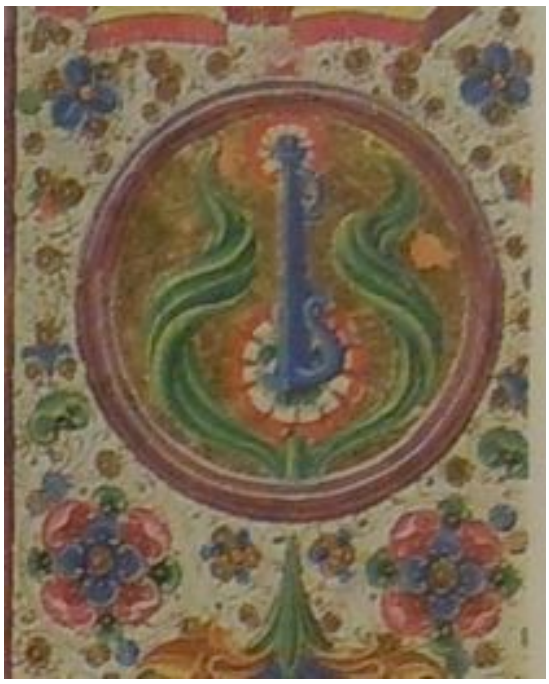
73. Giorgio d'Alemagna, *Missale secundum consuetudinem Romanae Curiae*, Modena, Biblioteca Estense Universitaria, ms. α. W. 5. 2. = Lat. 293, fol.7r, King David in the Temple anguished by demons. © BEMO.



74. Detail with the device of the 'pigeon trough' (*beverollo* o *colombarollo*). Teared page from a *Breviary*, Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, ms. Lat. 9473. c.2 (1454-1458). © RMN Photo.



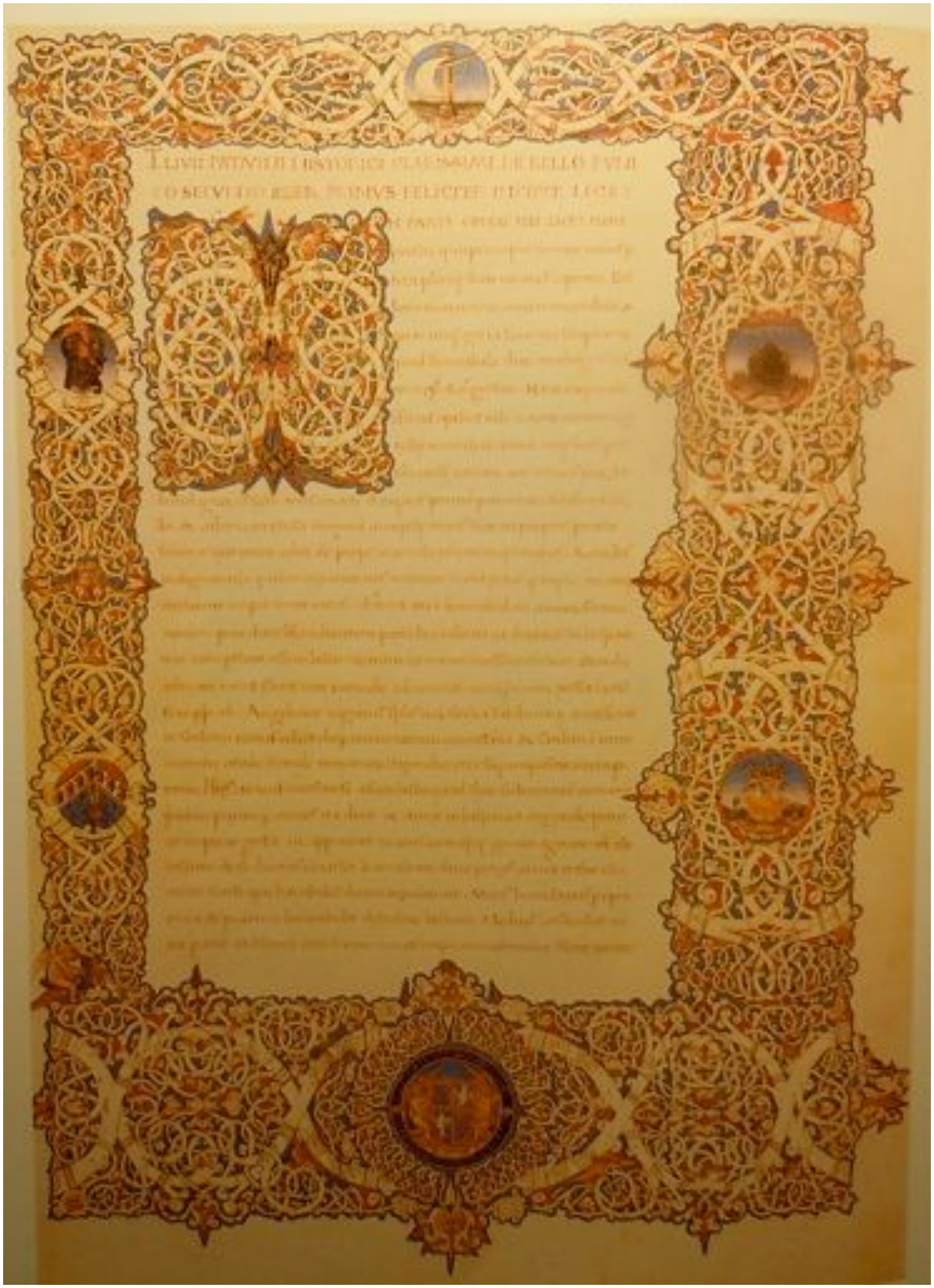
75. Detail with the device of the "door knocker" (*picchiotto*), in Giorgio d'Alemagna, *Missale secundum consuetudinem Romanae Curiae*, Modena, Biblioteca Estense Universitaria, ms. α. W. 5. 2. = Lat. 293, fol.146r. © BEMO.



76. Amadio da Milano, *Medal of Borso d'Este*. Bust of Borso (obverse), the device of the "door knocker" (reverse). London, British Museum, Department of coins and medals. © London, British Museum.



77. Marco dell'Avogaro, Livy, *De bello punico*, Private Collection, fol. 9v. © Modena, Franco Cosimo Panini Editore. (a) Illuminated page with the devices (clock-wise direction) of the "full blown sail" (*vela ventosa*), the "cannonball in flames" (*granata svampante*), the "jug" (*boccale*), the "German padlock" (?) (*chiavadura tedesca*) and the "knee armour" (*zenochiale*). (b) Detail of the "German padlock" (?).

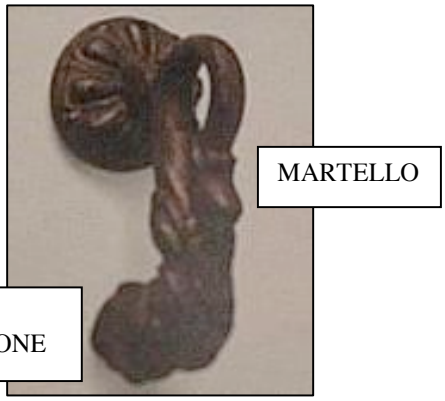




78. A interpretation of the device of the "door knocker" (*picchiotto*) proposed by Irene Galvani. © Galvani (2010).



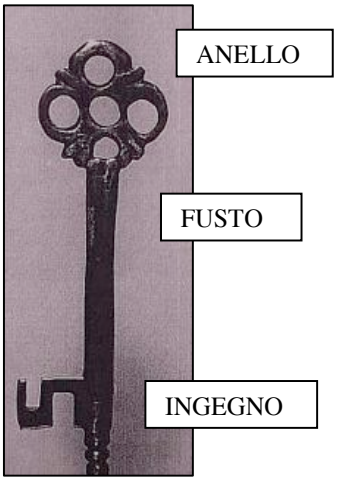
"Picchiotto", *Bibbia* di Borso d'Este, Modena, Biblioteca Estense Univetrsitaria, c. 65r (riproduzione Panini, Modena, 1997).



Battente con figura zoomorfa, Italia, XVI sec.; da I. MAFFEIS, *La maniglia (…)*, 1996.



"Picchiotto", *Bibbia* di Borso d'Este, Modena, Biblioteca Estense Univetrsitaria, c. 65r (riproduzione Panini, Modena, 1997)
- rotazione di 180° -



Chiave gotica, Francia, XV sec.; da G. MANDEL, *La chiave (…)*, 2001.

79. Detail with the device of the "chioldara", in Giorgio d'Alemagna, *Missale secundum consuetudinem Romanae Curiae*, Modena, Biblioteca Estense Universitaria, ms. α. W. 5. 2. = Lat. 293, c.146r. © BEMo



80. Apollonio di Giovanni, *Georgiche*, (detail) 1458-1460, f. 18r, Firenze. Biblioteca Riccardiana, ms. Ricc. 492. © Firenze, Biblioteca Riccardiana.



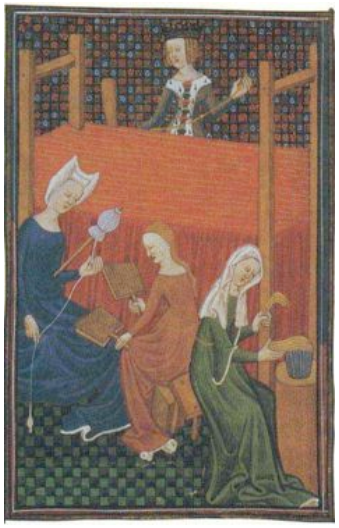
81. Antonio di Puccio Pisano (Pisanello), detail of Studies of Costume (recto), pen and brown ink with water-colour washes (magenta, dull green and a little blue) on vellum. Oxford, Ashmolean Museum. © Oxford, Ashmolean Museum



82. The device of the 'tenterhooks' (*chioldara*) under the shining sun. Ferrara, Sala delle Imprese, Palazzo Schifanoia. © Palazzo Schifanoia, Ferrara.



83. "Women carding wool", Ms. Royal 16 GV, f. 56, London, British Library. © London British Library.



84. Jacopo de' Barbari, *Venice*, detail with tenterhooks, print on paper, Venice, Museo Correr. © Museo Correr



85. Racks for drying wool used in Piedmont region, Italy. © Beatrice Mezzogori



86. Antonio di Puccio Pisano (Pisanello), *Studies of Costume*, pen and brown ink with water-colour washes (magenta, dull green and a little blue) on vellum, cm 27,3x19,6, Chantilly, Musée Condé. © RMN Photo.



87. Antonio di Puccio Pisano (Pisanello), *Studies of Costume* (recto), pen and brown ink with water-colour washes (magenta, dull green and a little blue) on vellum. Oxford, Ashmolean Museum. © Oxford, Ashmolean Museum.



88. Jean Fouquet, "The Hall of Justice in Vendôme", in Boccaccio, *De casibus virorum illustrium*, 1459, illuminated manuscript, Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek. © Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek.



89. Jean Fouquet, *Portrait of the buffoon Gonella*, oil on wood, cm. 24x36, Wien, Kunsthistorisches Museum. © Wien, Kunsthistorisches Museum.



90. Anonimous, *Estense white eagle*, a fresco, Ferrara, Palazzo Paradiso. © BCAFe.



91. Francesco del Cossa, *The Triumph of Venus*, a fresco, Ferrara, Salone dei Mesi, Palazzo Schifanoia. © Ferrara, Fototeca Palazzo Diamanti.



92. Battista Massa, *Pro servanda salute et veneniis*, 1472, Ferrara, Biblioteca Comunale Ariostea, ms. classe I 352, fol. 2r. On the right the Herculean device of the 'three columns' (*colonne*) in red, white and green. © BCAFe.



93. Antonio di Puccio Pisano (Pisanello), *Portrait of Margherita Gonzaga*, cm. 43x30, oil on wood, Paris, Musée du Louvre. © RMN Photo.



94. Livy, *Ab urbe condita*, Decas IV, Cesena, Biblioteca Malatestiana, S. XIII.3, fol. 1r (detail). © Cesena, Biblioteca Malatestiana.



95. Gherardo Fiorini, *Month of August*, detail with the "Triumph of Ceres", Ferrara, Palazzo Schifanoia, Sala dei Mesi, c. 1460-1465. © Palazzo Schifanoia.



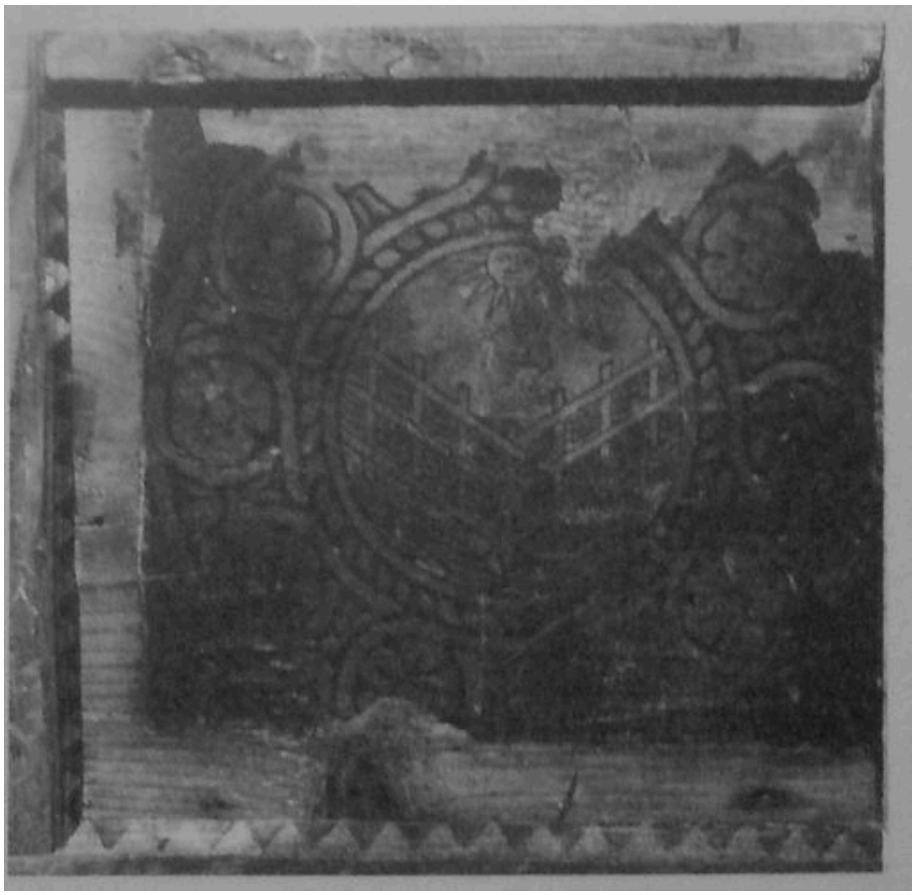
96. Gherardo Fiorini (?), Three Tarot Cards, n. V. Gentleman (*Zintilomo*), n. XXVII Poetry (*Poesia*), n. XXXXVIIII Prime Mover (*Primo Mobile*), engraving, 174x94 mm., in The Illustrated Bartsch, vol. 24, Early Italian Masters. © ARTStore Inc.



97. The Duchesses's Balcony (also known as "The Garden of the Orange Trees"), Castello Estense, Ferrara. © Ferrara, Provincia di Ferrara.



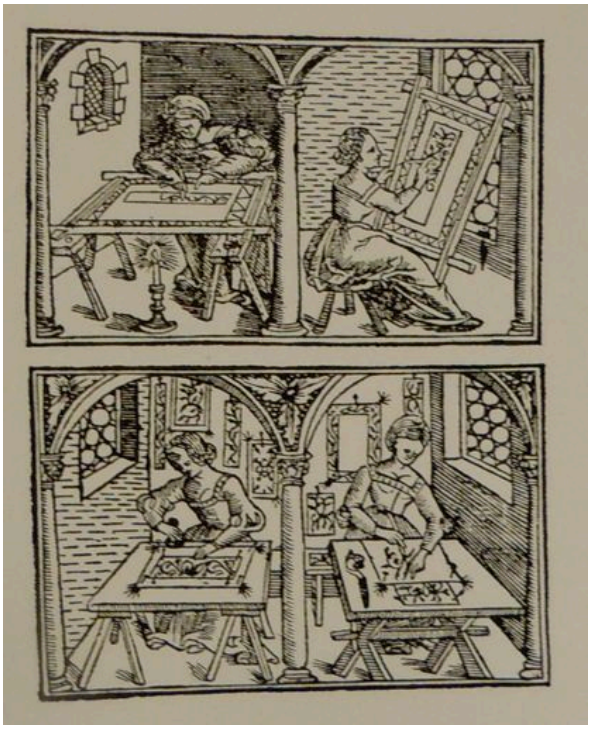
98. Andrea Fiorini, The device of the *paraduro* ("sluice gate"), paper on wood, Ferrara, Palazzo Schifanoia, Ceiling of the 'Sala degli Uomini Illustri', 1452-1456,. © Palazzo Schifanoia, Ferrara.



99. Ercole de' Roberti, *Month of September*, The Triumph of Vulcano (detail), a fresco, c. 1460-1465, Ferrara, Palazzo Schifanoia, Sala dei Mesi. © Palazzo Schifanoia, Ferrara.



100. "Women tracing, pricking and transferring embroidery designs", in Alessandro Paganino, *Libro primo de rechami*, Venice, 1527. © Beatrice Mezzogori.



101. Anonymous, *The Estense Eagle*, Pattern for embroidery, sixteenth-century, ink on paper, Modena, Archivio di Stato, Stampe e Disegni, vol. 5, n. 90/14. © Beatrice Mezzogori.



102. Carved hand blocks

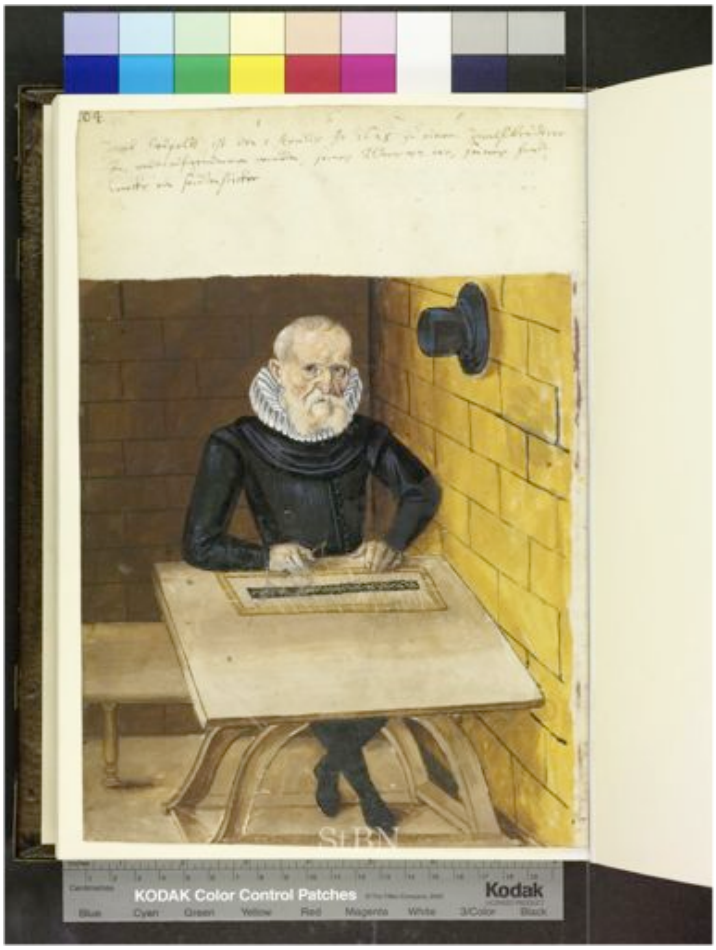


103. Carving and pressing hand blocks





104. Anonymous, *Jacob Leupollt, embroiderer*, in Amb. 279.2°, f. 94v (Landauer I), 1625, Nürnberg, Stadbibliotek.



105. *Miniature of embroiderer*, Japan, Edo period (1603 – 1868). Leiden, Museum Volkenkunde, Japanese Collection.



106. Or nue effect. © Beatrice Mezzogori.



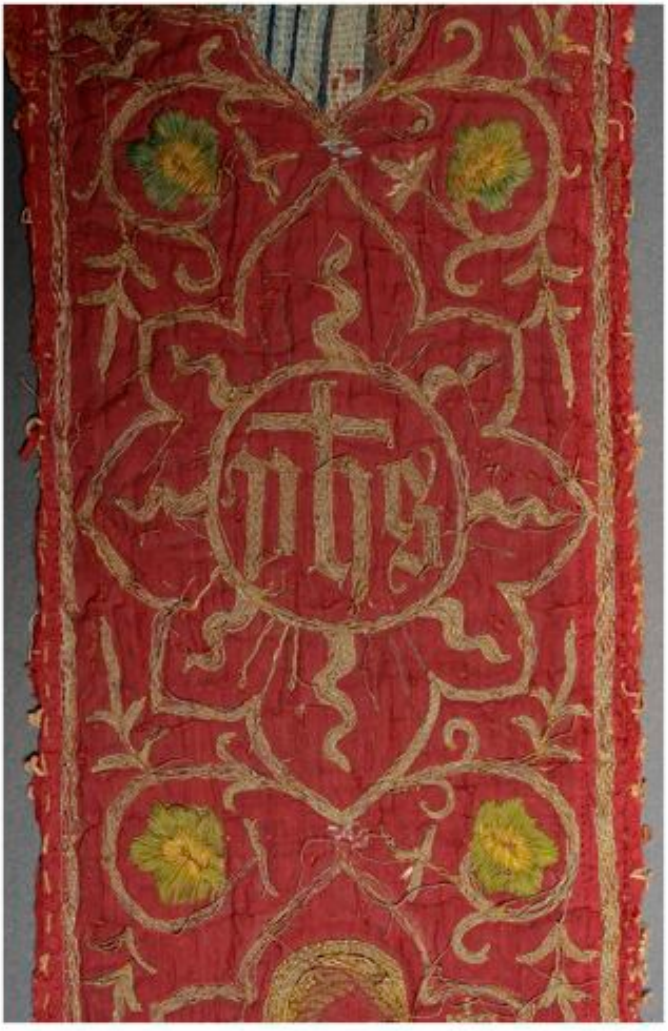
107. Sforza's *Biscione* ("snake"), Milan, Castello Sforzesco. © Beatrice Mezzogori



108, 109, 110, 111. Details of Beato Tavelli da Tossignano's embroidered pluvial. Ferrara, formerly in the Church of Saint Jerome, Ferrara, temporarily in the Ferrarese Archbishopric. © Beatrice Mezzogori



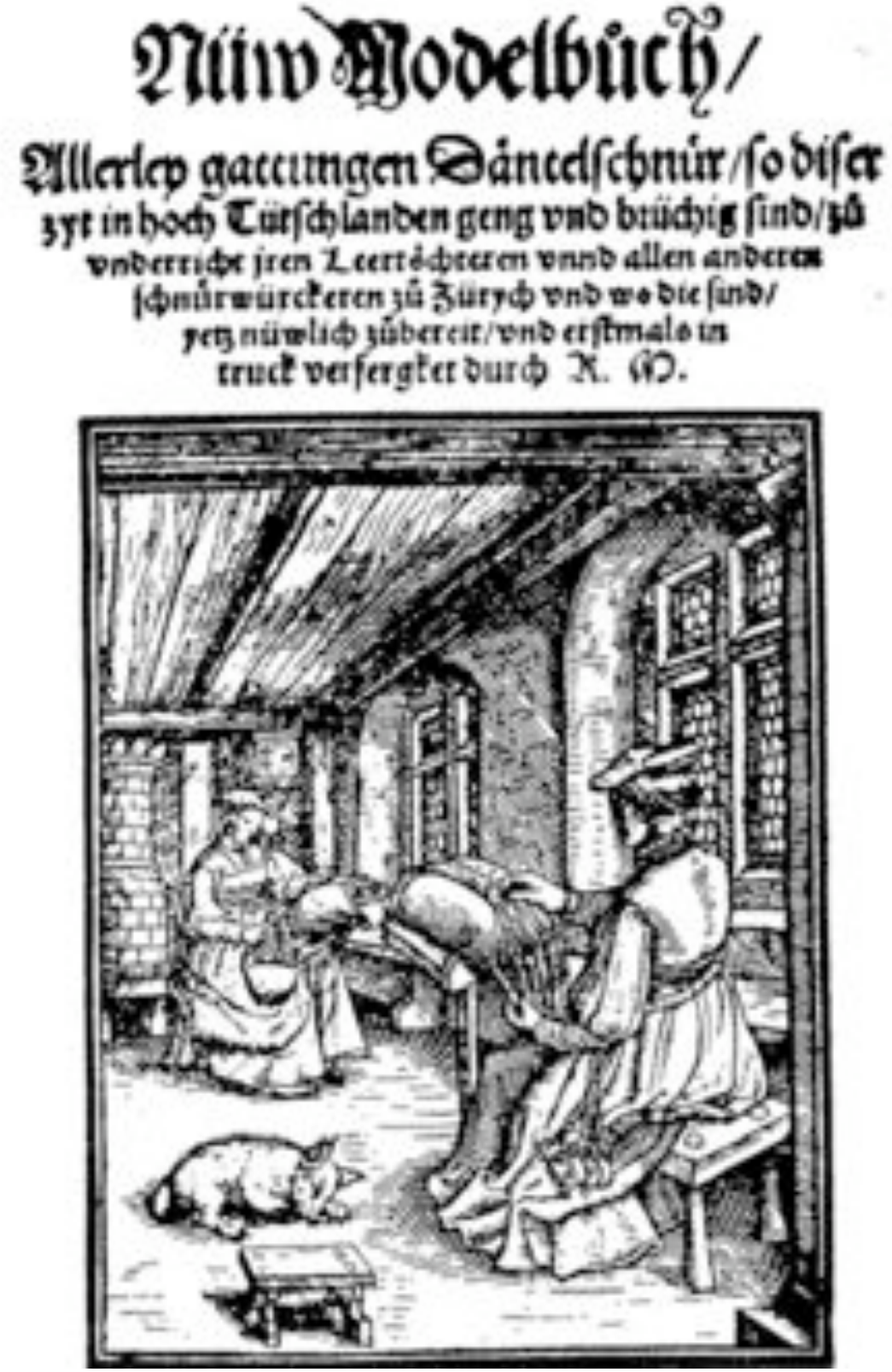
Details of Saint George before and after the restoration.





Details before and after the restoration.

112. Title page of *Nüw Modelbuch allerley gattungen Däntelschnür so diser zyt in hoch Tütschlanden geng und brüchig sind [...] erstmals in truck verfergket durch* R. *M.*, Zurich: Christoph Froschauer, ca. 1561. © Christie's 1996.



113. Route of Pope Pius II's trip to Mantua (1459). © Beatrice Mezzogori.

20 January 1459 - 27 May 1459
Pope Pius II's trip to Mantua



Date	*City*
20 January 1459	Roena
	Campagnano
	Civita Castellana
	Narni
	Terni
	Spoleto
	Foligno
	Assisi
1 February 1459	Perugia
	Lago Trasimeno
	Chiusi
	Sarteano
22 February 1459	Corsignano (Pienza)
	Buoncovento
	Cuna
24 February 1459	Siena
	Poggibonsi
	San Casciano
25 April 1459	Firenze
5 May 1459	Firenzuola
	Pianoro
9 May 1459	Bologna
17 May 1459	Ferrara
	Revere
27 May 1459	Mantova

114. Route of Pope Pius II's return journey to Rome (1460). © Beatrice Mezzogori.

20 January 1460 - 7 October 1460
Pope Pius II's return to Rome



Date	*City*
20 January 1460	Mantua
	Revere
	Ferrara
22 January 1460	Bologna
23 January 1460	Pianoro
	Scarcagliasini
	Firenzuola
	Cafaggiolo
27 January 1460	Firenze
	Poggibonsi
31 January 1460	Siena
	Capriola
	Macereto
	Petriolo
14 September 1460	Corsignano (Pienza)
	Radicofani
	Proceno
	Acquapendente
	Bolsena
27 September 1460	Orvieto
	Bagnoregio
	Montefiascone
	Viterbo
	Caneprina
	Nepi
	Formello
7 October 1460	Roma

115. Princely palaces in which Pius II had received hospitality. © Beatrice Mezzogori.

1. Mantua, Ducal Palace.
2. Revere, Gonzaga Palace.
3. Ferrara, the Palazzo Schifanoia.
4. Perugia, Baglioni Palace.
5. Pienza (Corsignano), Palazzo Piccolomini.
6. Cafaggiolo, the Medici Villa.
7. Firenze, Palazzo Strozzi (Medici).



116. The Piccolomini Palace and the Duomo in Pienza. © Beatrice Mezzogori.



117. The monumental well in Pienza. © Beatrice Mezzogori.



117bis. Detail of the monumental well with the building date, Pienza. © Beatrice Mezzogori.



118. Detail of the *Opus Anglicanum*, mid-fourteenth century. Pienza, Museo Diocesano. © Fondazione Musei Senesi.



119. Pius II's pluvial, embroideries dated 1420-1430, textile dated 1460-1470. Pienza, Museo Diocesano. © Fondazione Musei Senesi.



120. "The investiture of Borso as Duke of Modena and Reggio", in Michele Savonarola, *Del felice progresso di Borso d'Este al marchionato, al Ducato di Modena e Reggio e alla Contea di Rovigo*, Ravenna, Biblioteca Classense, cod. 302, fol. 31v. © Ravenna, Biblioteca Classense.



121. Galeazzo Maria Sforza, Sigismondo Pandolfo Malatesta,Lorenzo de' Medici and Pope Pius II, portrayed by Benozzo Gozzoli, *Magi Procession*, 1459, Firenze, Palazzo Medici Riccardi. © Electa Editore.



122. Copy from: Nicolò Baroncelli, *Borso d'Este administering Justice*, Ferrara, Piazza del Duomo. © Beatrice Mezzogori.



123. Francesco del Cossa, *Month of April* (detail with "Borso administering justice"), Ferrara, Salone dei Mesi, Palazzo Schifanoia. © Palazzo Schifanoia, Ferrara.



124. Giorgio d'Alemagna, "Book of Judith", in Borso d'Este's *Bible*, vol. I, Lat. 422 = ms. V.G. 12, fol. 217r. Detail with Borso administering justice. © Franco Cosimo Panini Editore.



125. Medal of Borso d'Este, reverse and obverse. © Charles Rosenberg.



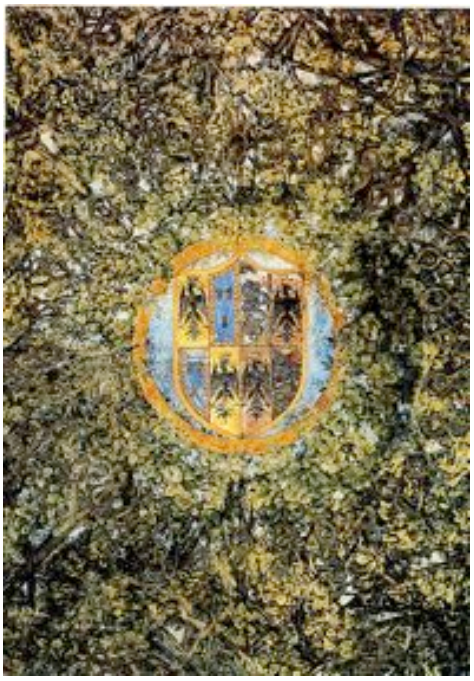
126. Pius II's bull for the crusade (1460), Rossano (Cosenza), Museo Diocesano. © Beatrice Mezzogori.



127. Pinturicchio, *Aeneas Silvio Piccolomini arrives to Ancona*, 1505, Siena, Duomo, Piccolomini Library. © Beatrice Mezzogori.



128. Leonardo da Vinci, "Impaled Sforza and Estense Shields", Milan, Sala dell'Asse, Castello Sforzesco. © Fototeca Castello Sforzesco, Milan.



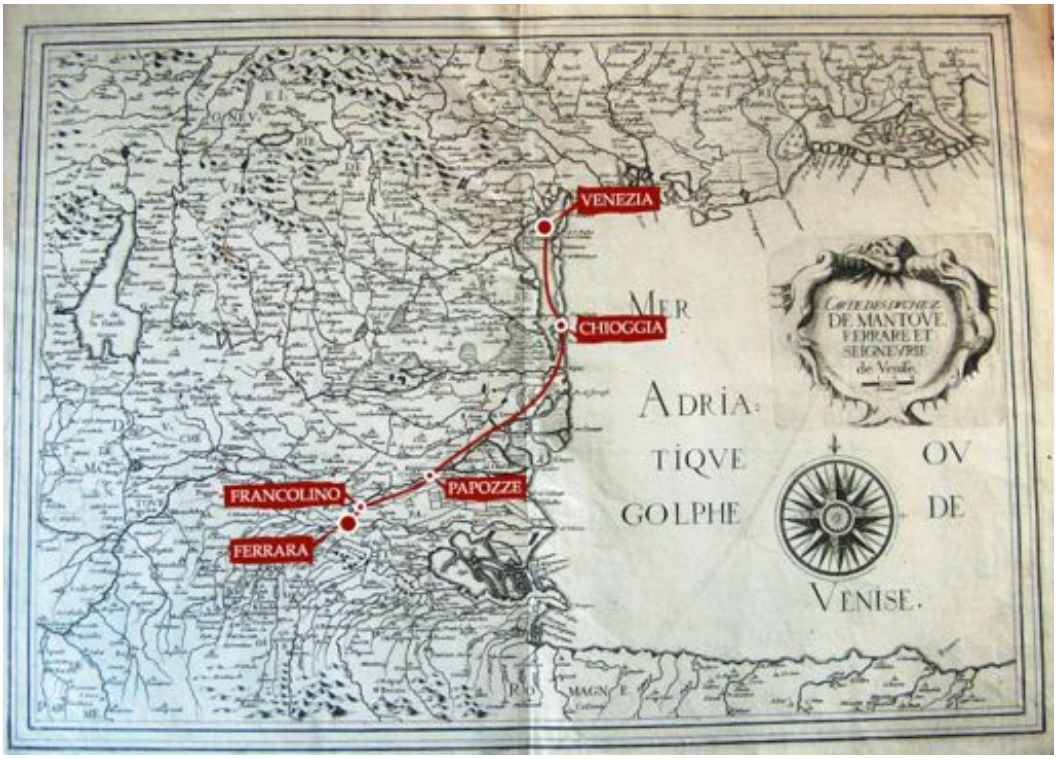
129. Cristoforo de Predis, *De Sphaera*, "Venus", 1460 ca, Lat. 209 = α.X.2.14, Biblioteca Estense, Modena. © BEM



130. "The triumph of Massimiliano Sforza", in Elio Donato, *Grammatica*, Biblioteca Trivulziana, Milano. The device of the 'Port of Fanale' is painted in the shield on the left.



131. Route of trip of Duke Alfonso II d'Este from Ferrara to Venice. © Beatrice Mezzogori



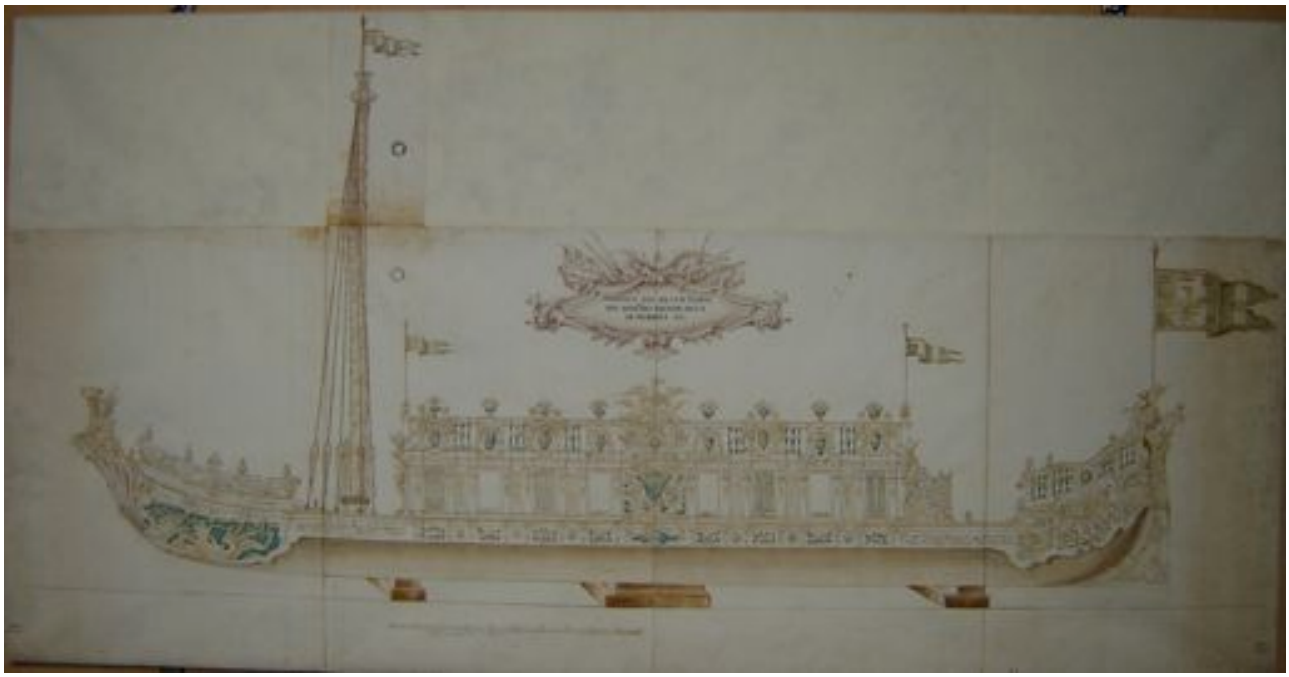
132. The "Fondaco dei Turchi", Venice. © Beatrice Mezzogori



133. Giovanni Battista Aleotti, *Polesine d'Ariano with the cut-off and floods*, 1611. Ferrara, Biblioteca Comunale Ariostea



134. Duke Francesco III d'Este's *Bucintoro*, ASMo, Mappe in Volume 75/1, Grandi Mappe, n. 16, ink and colours on paper, cm. 147x50. © Archivio di Stato di Modena



135. Anonymous, *Floral pattern*, Pattern for embroidery, eighteenth century, ink on paper, Modena, Archivio di Stato, Stampe e Disegni, vol. 5, n. 90/18. © Beatrice Mezzogori.





136. Pope Benedetto XVI's entry into Venice (2011)



137. Elisabeth II's Diamond Jubilee (2012)



